

**RESEARCH
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THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF GUIDANCE

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Abstract

This draft of a chapter for the Review of Educational Research, scheduled for publication in April 1969, discusses the present state of theory for the practice of guidance and reviews relevant publications issued between June 1965 and July 1968. Main topics include metatheory, definitions and purposes, content, and methods.

Theoretical Foundations of Guidance

Martin Katz¹

In the previous triennial review on this topic, Kehas (1966) identified two divergent views of the relationship between guidance and theory. One is an "atheoretical orientation, crediting guidance with no independent substance and hence no need for its own theory." The other is a "substantive orientation," which posits that guidance is not merely a "derivative of more basic disciplines," but warrants distinctive theories of its own. The work emanating from the latter orientation he characterized as, mainly, "discussions of theory," with some presentations of theoretical constructs but no "full blown theoretical systems of guidance." Theory may still not be full blown, but three more years of huffing and puffing have probably inflated it somewhat.

Metatheory

What is required for a theory of guidance is a rationale for intervention. Research in career development has often been regarded as a foundation for guidance theory. Studies in the "natural history" of career development, however, while related to guidance theory, are not sufficient for it--just as theories of learning are not sufficient for a theory of instruction. Some of the topics to be covered in theoretical systems of guidance might include definitions, purposes, contents, methods and processes, outcomes, participants, and settings (Katz, 1967). Of these, career development theory would pertain mainly to the content and outcomes of guidance. Career development theory may help us to recognize stages of development: it describes what is there

¹Ruth B. Ekstrom assisted in compiling publications for this review.

and what is happening. But this falls short of specifying purposes and methods of intervention.

The distinctive element in guidance theory is to go beyond discovery and explanation of what is already there or what is happening, and lead into a rationale for what we (who?) want (why?) to make (how?) happen (did it?). "Theory" has often been used as an antithesis to practice; yet guidance requires development of a theory for practice.

Sprinthall and Tiedeman (1966) suggested that a comprehensive theory of guidance might emerge from a "consolidation of counseling theory and career development," but were not explicit as to how the consolidation might take place. If guidance involves intervention in people's lives, there would seem to be an obligation to be as explicit as possible about the nature of the intervention. Theory is, after all, an attempt to make implicit beliefs explicit.

The convention is to support such beliefs with evidence. This leads to conclusiveness in theories. Another convention is to support beliefs with logical connections to other beliefs. This leads to inclusiveness. One may provide depth; the other, breadth, to borrow Oppenheim's (1957) nomenclature. In a theory for practice, breadth without depth can lead to the quackery that often comes from knowing too little about too much. But narrow depth can lead to the quackery that comes from knowing too much about too little.

For that matter, a theory that is relatively broad and deep, if it becomes rigidified, is no guarantee against quackery. When practitioners stop being theorists, they may "know" too much about too much. Bakan (1968) recreated

what we may regard as a full-blown theory of guidance--phrenology. According to his analysis, phrenological theory had the flavor of modern science. It had breadth: concepts of anatomy and physiology were related to behavior, and the cortical localization of functions permitted measurement, diagnosis, prescription, and training in accordance with "individual differences." It also acquired considerable depth, testing numerous propositions experimentally. It produced many successful outcomes. Bakan credited phrenology with bringing about humane treatment of the insane--"exercising" a weakened faculty rather than "literally beating the devil out of the afflicted." Other significant and distinctive interventions based on phrenological theory included educating blind deaf-mutes previously regarded as ineducable, advocacy of "learning by doing," and exposing infants to a multitude of sensations and stimuli. The theory of the skull eventually "failed," and vocational guidance as practiced by phrenologists became a pet subject for castigation in the literature of guidance right up through the 1930's.

Clearly, a "full-blown theory of guidance" is not all gravy. Any theory of intervention can be dangerous. But so can atheoretical intervention. In a beautifully written book, Kaplan (1964) points up the uncertain (but irresistible) rewards of theory:

...a theory...reaches out beyond itself.... The possibility of failure is intrinsic to its effort, and the aspiration to truth may be paid for by facing the ever-present risk of error, as the danger of death is the price exacted of life. ...error, to be sure, is of man's making[;] so, in the same sense, is truth-- "nothing ventured, nothing gained" is also sound epistemology.

We may note, in this connection, Bakan's claim that phrenology paved the way for the "American psychology" of James, Dewey, and Angell. Perhaps this

is the most useful function of all theories--paving the way for new ones. Theory may be superior to brute empiricism primarily because it helps us to learn more from our mistakes.

Thus, a theory may be useful even if it lacks veridicality. For we must remind ourselves that a theory is not reality. It is the way we construe the world. It makes our premises, as well as our conclusions, explicit. It may deal, therefore, both with what we believe we know and also with what we know we believe.

Still, we must note that some theories of action contain greater risks than others. After all, the first rule of medicine is to do no harm. (Perhaps part of the appeal of counseling labeled "non-directive" was the connotation of harmlessness, or at least lack of responsibility on the part of the counselor. Perhaps also the heavy reliance placed on the counselor's judgment accounts for some of the resistance to "behavioral" counseling.) It is not enough that a system be explicit. The most rigid dogmas can be highly explicit. But it is the rigidity, not the explicitness, we should fear. As Muller (1953) said, "...pretensions to absolute certainty...are the ultimate source of corruption, the reason why the best becomes the worst and crusaders for heaven make a hell on earth." We may conclude, then, that the more explicit a system is and the more open to extension, modification, or even discard, the less harmful it may be. Of course harmlessness is not a sufficient standard for a theory of intervention. What other standards have been invoked?

Standards and Judgments

Efforts have been made to establish standards and pass judgment on the state of theory. Carkhuff (1966) and Carkhuff, Alexik, and Anderson (1967)

gave both counseling theory and "vocational choice theory" low marks, according to the rules of an inductive-deductive model specified in the latter article. Indeed, the efforts reviewed in both areas--130 publications on counseling and five programs of research on "vocational choice"--were sternly denied the accolade of "theory." The latter article complained of the lack of connection between low-level generalizations based on data and high-level constructs. In a judgment on the judges, however, the authors' discussion of scientific method was characterized, in passing, as "jejune" by Roe (1968). The present reviewer merely wonders, how can an inductive-deductive model set standards for judging at what stage of development theory should be in a given field at a given time? And if theoretical efforts have not come up to these standards, does this mean that there are no theories?

In this connection, we may note Bakan's (1967) argument that hypothesis testing is no royal road to psychological understanding. Oppenheim (1957), a distinguished philosopher of science, defined a number of bipolar characteristics of theory--such as broad or deep, theoretical or observational, typifying or individualizing, specialistic or universalistic, nomothetic or idiographic, more or less balanced, strong or weak--in terms of two basic dimensions: extensity and strength. But it should be emphasized that these characteristics are descriptive, not evaluative. (Both "strong" and "weak" theories are useful: for illustration in a psychometric context, see Lord, 1965.)

Still, to write of the theoretical foundations of guidance may seem pretentious to those who feel that research in guidance has much to be modest about. Yet critics are perhaps more pretentious when they establish rigid

ground rules to stipulate which sets of ideas may be dubbed "theory." "Scientism" is not science. While hypothesis-testing should not be scorned, neither should the element of play with ideas in theory. A search for symmetry, aesthetic pleasure, and simplicity ("Seek simplicity and distrust it," said Whitehead) has made important contributions to the advancement of theory in the sciences, as well as in the arts.

As Kaplan (1964) said, "Every scientist is first of all a poet, giving to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." But the interventionist is not so much a poet as a dramatist. He is concerned less with nouns than with verbs, and he is particularly concerned with the adverbs, why and how.

Terms, Definitions, and Purposes

As soon as we give something a name, we are expressing or implying some theory about it. Sometimes nomenclature changes with changes in the popularity of a theory (cf. "occupational choice" and "career development"). But sometimes names are the potsherds of theories now deceased or moribund. Self-consciousness of counselors about their professional status may increase the mortality rates of terms. Only a little more than a decade ago, Super (1955) described the transition from "Vocational Guidance" to "Counseling Psychology." More recently, Tiedeman (1967), in his presidential address to the Division of Counseling Psychology, APA, urged that the profession exhume "guidance" and bury "counseling." Counseling psychology, he said, had focused on techniques of counseling, and had not been sufficiently concerned with defining goals "within the framework of education."

In school settings, counseling (a process) may be regarded as a major element in guidance (a program), which in turn may be considered a component of pupil personnel services (an administrative designation, about which no more will be said in this chapter). By synecdoche, however, "counseling" has often stood for "guidance" in the literature. It seems defensible, therefore, in much of this chapter, to treat the terms as overlapping, if not interchangeable. Indeed, practitioners are called "guidance counselors" and "counselors" quite indiscriminately. Yet it must be recognized that "counseling" is sometimes perceived as more extensive than "guidance": it is occasionally found in the company of such modifiers as vocational, educational, academic, developmental, behavioral, adjustment, personal, social, ethical, and financial. These same adjectives are almost as frequently associated with "guidance," however, suggesting the the most pressing business is not to pit "counseling" and "guidance" against each other. Of greater concern is a distinctive definition of the territory that guidance and counseling jointly occupy in education.

Historically, the field of guidance has been inundated by successive floods of educational purposes. Perhaps the high-water mark of non-definition was reached with such statements as "Guidance is education, and education is guidance," and "All counselors are teachers, and all teachers are counselors." In the sediment left by these waters have sprouted "special" activities--all designated counseling or guidance--to improve reading, health, citizenship, morality, manners, study habits, and so on. This state of affairs led Katz (1967) to propound the bull, "If counseling is what a secondary school counselor

does, it includes a host of activities besides counseling." The suggestion was made that "guidance" and "counseling" be reserved for professional intervention in the choices open to a student. Society has predetermined what some decisions should be. It unequivocally favors good reading, good health, and other such "universals" of education. While counselors may sometimes supplement the work of teachers in transmitting these values, their distinctive concern is not with the "universals" but with the "alternatives"--toward which the culture tends to be more permissive. (The terms, "universals" and "alternatives," are borrowed from Smith, Stanley, & Shore, 1957). The "alternatives" represent choices between competing values:

...if the role of education is to transmit the culture, an important role of guidance is to help the individual come to terms with the culture--that is, the choices he makes will indicate how he sees himself in the culture. But first he must see the culture in himself. Thus, his first question should be, where have my values come from? Then he will be better prepared to ask, where are they taking me? (Katz, 1966)

In a similar vein, Tiedeman and Field (1965) delineated distinctive but overlapping roles for teacher and counselor in developing students' "purposeful action," which they have stated to be the purpose of guidance. They listed three prerequisites for the development of goal-seeking behavior: the student must "1) know of goals and their bases as favored by others, 2) experience the expectation that he will learn how to evolve goal-directed activity of his own accord, and 3) continually subject his wishes and expected responsibilities for purposeful action to critical examination." They held

that the teacher should work primarily in the realm of the first two of these conditions, and the counselor in the latter two. Thus, teaching and guidance would complement each other in helping the student to cope with discontinuities in his career.

Fitzgerald (1965) reported that over 90 per cent of the total membership of the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) approved a Statement of Policy that defined counseling as "an accepting, non-evaluative relationship in which [a pupil] is helped to better understand himself, the environment he perceives, and the relationship between these," its purpose being "that most pupils will enhance and enrich their personal development and self-fulfillment by means of making intelligent decisions."

Behavioral Goals

In a series of stimulating and provocative papers, Krumboltz (1965b, 1966a, 1966b) appeared to reject clients' self-understanding (and also self-acceptance) as a satisfactory goal of counseling. Instead, he proposed as goals those specific and observable behavior changes that are desired by each client and are compatible with each counselor's values. He and his associates have given considerable attention to methods for accomplishing behavior changes, and these will be considered later. There has been, perhaps, less clarity in his deemphasis on self-understanding in the formulation, definition, and acceptance of goals. It is difficult to see how the client can adequately designate desirable changes in behavior unless he first perceives his present state and "perceives" the new state to which he aspires.

Granted, answering these questions of self-understanding-- Who am I? What do I want to become? What is the nature of the discrepancy between these two states?--is not the only goal of guidance. There remain the planning and the accomplishment of the change. It may also be granted that, as Krumboltz (1966b) has said, behavioral changes can take place (for example, through reinforcement) without self-understanding. But it is difficult then to demonstrate that these changes were in accordance with the counselee's goals. And does specific behavior change alone suffice? One of the generally accepted aims of guidance is to work itself out of a job--to help students grow increasingly able to solve their own problems, independently and self-sufficiently. Some insight, then, into how the change took place would appear to be desirable for future self-direction. Furthermore, in deprecating self-understanding, does not Krumboltz tend to limit perception of the counselee's goals? The Rogerian would ask, "What keeps the counselee from engaging in appropriate goal-directed behavior? If he wants to get better marks, doesn't he know, as well as the counselor, that he must--let us say--spend more time studying?" What may be overlooked is an implicit value conflict: "I want to get better marks" may leave unsaid "but I don't want to spend more time studying." Krumboltz does not explain how the unspoken clause gets into the counselee's statement of goals, or problem, without some attention to self-understanding. Guidance is not concerned just with the goal that the counselee says he wants at the moment--say, at report card time. It is concerned with examined goals. It tries to stretch the counselee's perceptions, without losing sight of present wants, to include a systematic exploration and

examination of relevant values, resulting in some adjudication between competing or conflicting values. Self-understanding, then, may be not just an instrumental element in changing behavior; it may survive as a higher-order goal of guidance. Here we may note Shoben's (1965) suggestion that problem-solving is less the aim of counseling than its raw material. The chief aim of counseling, in his view, is "developmental experience."

Krumboltz (op. cit.) also seems to have slighted the bases on which the individual counselor determines that a counselee's specific goal is "acceptable." Has he ducked the question by simply delegating the responsibility to each counselor without specifying the social, cultural, ethical, and individual components of the standards to be used by counselors? To what extent does the counselor's stand depend, say, on his affiliations? To what extent on his own values? If each counselor decides for himself and advertises which kinds of goals he considers compatible with his own values, the counselee may simply shop around until he finds a counselor who agrees with him. This is not likely to challenge the counselee to explore and examine his goals systematically. Krumboltz's emphasis on problem-solving and behavior-changing as aims of counseling may be better suited for a model of instruction, in which the goals are given (the "universals" again), than for a model of guidance, in which the goals are to be chosen (the "alternatives"). In the former model, it has been suggested that society (rather than the individual being counseled) is the counselor's "real" client. If so, the theory should indicate how the counselor helps society to define its goals.

Existentialism

Theoretical writing in guidance is like a wind-harp, activated by ideas that are in the air at a given time, such as behaviorism, existentialism, statistical decision theory, McLuhanacy, and so on. This reviewer can not attempt to cover all of these trends, and yet feels obliged to acknowledge the existence, at least, of existentialism. Having done so, he must flunk the question of its distinctive contributions to guidance theory. Buckley's (1966) summary seemed to be more readable than most. Unfortunately, the material that the reviewer was able--after a not inconsiderable struggle--to understand did not seem new, or unique to existentialism. Unlike Molière's character who was delighted to find that he had been speaking prose all his life, the present reviewer was somewhat dismayed to recognize that some of his previous writings might be labeled existentialist. For example, one wonders whether we needed the existentialists to sound what Buckley (ibid.) called this "new note": "...man is not entirely determined... he is never more human..than when he is making a decision..." Among the startling "changes or modifications" such a point of view may have on guidance were listed restoration of "freedom of thought and action" to the counselee, and "openness" and "acceptance" on the part of the counselor. (Confronted with these "new" notions, one is tempted to quote Horace: "There were kings before Agamemnon.") Buckley listed seven objectives of existential counseling, lapsing for the most part into the fuzzy lingo that seems to afflict most "existential" writings on guidance. Three of the aims (which this reader thought he would have understood if they had been

classified together, as one aim) are "to live with problems..without undue.. feelings of frustration, anger or anxiety," "to live with human anxiety... to accept limitations...as an integral part of being human," and "to accept suffering itself, when inescapable...."

These aims make a nice contrast with the behaviorist emphasis on problems to be solved. Social modeling and reinforcement are to the behaviorist like the lever to Archimedes: "Give me a place to stand, and I can raise the world."

Tiedeman (1967) seemed to maintain a foot in each camp in distinguishing between "predicaments to be tolerated" and "problems to be solved." He maintained that the counselor should not only expect but "cultivate" counselees' anxiety about making choices, that he should help them not only understand their predicament but appreciate it. Tiedeman invoked the importance of engaging the counselee in exercising "the full range of his humanness." An interesting counter-argument against this Aristotelean standard for defining purposes can be found in a paper by Diederich (1951), which went on to propose an ethical basis for educational objectives. While Diederich did not consider aims of guidance as such, many of the arguments against various bases for educational objectives will prove challenging to those who try to define goals for guidance.

Career Development Theory,
the Content of Guidance

It has already been suggested that career development theory contributes primarily to the content rather than the purposes or methods of guidance. It

is not surprising, then, that Osipow's (1968) review of career development theories, while much more tolerant than that by Carkhuff, Alexik, and Anderson (1967), found few implications for theory, aside from the Career Pattern Study, which Super has linked conceptually to guidance. It is somewhat surprising that he noted no similar connection between Tiedeman's work in career development and the computer-based action program for guidance that Tiedeman has purportedly derived from it (Information System for Vocational Decisions, 1967). The work of the Minnesota Work Adjustment Project--for a succinct summary of theory, see Davis, Lofquist, and Weiss (1968)--has also begun to forge some direct links to guidance. In general, however, what career development theory can contribute to guidance is identification of stages, dimensions, measures, and norms. These provide bases for classification, prediction, and evaluation that are necessary and useful, despite historical misuses of descriptives as imperatives. (This misuse is analogous to the instructional misconception of mean scores, or average grade equivalents, as standards that all students should be brought up to.)

Especially noteworthy contributions to measurement of vocational maturity have been made by Crites (1965) and Gribbons and Lohnes (1968). Gribbons and Lohnes found that Readiness for Vocational Planning scores obtained in grade 8 predicted criteria of vocational coping and competence when the students were two years out of high school. This finding can be taken to indicate that certain types of intervention in career decision-making at grade 8 may have long-range as well as short-range effects.

In a manifestation of what we may call neo-trait-and-factor theory, Cooley and Lohnes (1966) contributed to measurement for guidance by using test space

involving the large number of Project Talent tests) to classify occupations and predict occupational "choice." These classifications and predictions might serve as part of a comprehensive information system for guidance.

Katz (1968) attempted to derive from trends in career development an understanding of what he took to be the content of vocational guidance-- matters relevant to the choices that society requires or permits. (For example, is the choice between work and non-work now to be classified with the "alternatives" rather than the "universals"?) These choices he translated into the outline of a "curriculum" for guidance. Hansen (1967) described more specific curriculum activities that are in keeping with current vocational development theory. O'Hara (1968) derived from vocational development theory the stages of "vocational learning" that might order the use of occupational information in guidance. Hershenson (1968) indicated some of the implications of his life-stage vocational development system for guidance.

Although these publications might all be termed relevant to the "content" of guidance, and some brushed on guidance purposes, none dealt specifically with counseling methods.

Processes and Methods

Krumboltz (1965a) posed the following question(s):

For clients desiring help on each type of problem of concern to
the counselor

What techniques and procedures, When used by what kind of counselors,

With which type of clients, For how long, And in what sequence,

Will produce which types of behavior change?

Responses to this litany have been forthcoming in profusion from the reports of a series of experiments undertaken by Krumboltz and his associates. Social modeling and operant conditioning have been the common techniques. Krumboltz and Schroeder (1965) found that reinforcement produced significantly more information-seeking behavior outside the interview for female students in their sample, but not for males, while model-reinforcement counseling produced converse results (the models were male). Thoresen and Krumboltz (1967) examined in some detail the relationships between interview responses and external behavior, and called attention to the complex interactions that remained to be studied among such variables as personality characteristics of counselors, histories and expectancies of students, and the like. Krumboltz, Varenhorst, and Thoresen (1967) found that use of female social models did increase the information-seeking behavior of females; but differences in attentiveness and prestige of the model counselor did not affect the criterion behavior. Thoresen, Krumboltz, and Varenhorst (1967) adjusted the dials further in an attempt to tune in more clearly the complex interaction effects of sex of counselors, models, and students. Krumboltz (1968) reviewed specific application of behavioral counseling to groups. These seem to be only the beginning, as many additional experiments are foreshadowed by the questions already raised, such as what characteristics of certain counselors make them potent reinforcers for certain students. Social modeling presumably suggests appropriate behavior so that the counselor will not have to wait so long for it to appear before reinforcing it. At the same time, the modeling itself can reinforce the desired behavior vicariously.

Of course, similar dynamics may be involved in just telling students what to do. How well, one wonders, would the experimental groups have compared in information-seeking behavior with control groups that the same counselors had simply told to go out and get some information? As Carroll (1968) indicated, most human learning is "from being told."

Truax (1966) linked behaviorism to Rogerian principles, finding some evidence that therapists who are high in the qualities espoused by Rogers (genuineness, empathy, warmth) may serve as more potent reinforcers than therapists rated low in these qualities. One would still expect to find differences between what the behaviorists and the Rogerians might purport or tend to reinforce in a given case.

Hummel (1966) described "ego-counseling" as a "complex of preferred counselor attitudes and strategies to be implemented flexibly and with respect for the counselee's ultimate freedom...." In its method, it seems to be Rogerian; its definition of "particular sectors" seems close to the behaviorists' concern with accomplishing specific counselee goals or solving specific problems; its "broad sectors" seem to refer to such matters as defining values in connection with decision-making.

Decisional Processes

In the sections on purposes and contents of guidance, this review has neglected much of the literature on guidance as decision-making, largely because most of the basic statements were made before the period covered here. Some developments in method, however, seem worth noting.

Clarke, Gelatt, and Levine (1965) and Gelatt (1967) emphasized the role of local research in developing the informational and predictive components of decision-making, and described the procedures used in the Palo Alto schools. Gelatt and Clarke (1967) dwelt at some length on the use of subjective probabilities. Thoresen and Mehrens (1967) also considered the question of the influences that different methods of presenting objective probabilities would have on subjective probabilities. Marshall (1967) illustrated the use of the Bayesian approach. Boocock (1967) described role-playing in simulated career decision situations, as embodied in a "life career game." Halpern (1967) devised and tried out the Case Development Questionnaire, a group-administered paper-and-pencil technique for observing students' information-seeking behavior in a simulated situation, which may be modified for instructional use. Katz (1966), who has emphasized the crucial importance of individual values in decision-making, outlined a model that combines a value system, an information system, and a prediction system. The role of guidance in the student's examination of values need not be merely maieutic, but can lead him to "try on for size" values that have previously been unfamiliar. Also emphasizing the psychological importance of value systems, Rokeach (1968) described an approach to changing students' values--through confrontation of the student with his inconsistencies--that this reviewer believes will be useful as well in a student's exploration of values. The Information System for Vocational Decisions (1967) described a computer-based system for instructing students in career decision-making concepts and for helping them to convert facts and data into relevant and useful information. It emphasized also development of the student's "sense of agency."

It is clear that these various decisional approaches have in common a concern with the student's understanding. Cognition--not only about courses of action but about self--seems central in all of them. Whether they contribute to a theory of guidance or not, they seem to require the student's engagement in developing a theory about himself. They imply that theories about self, like theories about guidance, are perhaps most productive when they are both made explicit and kept open. This combination of explicit and open theory seems best to promote learning from experience (which Kaplan, 1964, contrasts with learning by experience). Until youth has been exposed to fairly extensive and intensive experiences (real or simulated), hardening of theories about self may be premature.

Conclusion

Guidance, still struggling through a youthful identity crisis, may also be better off at this time continuing to seek a full-blown theory than finding one.

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