

Psychology from the Margins

Volume 2 *Psychology from the Margins:*
Volume 2 (2019)

Article 1

2020

A Historical Analysis of the Vocational Guidance of Women

Nuha Alshabani

The University of Akron, na32@zips.uakron.edu

Alejandra Gonzalez Lopez

The University of Akron, ag195@zips.uakron.edu

Erika L. Graham

The University of Akron, elg5@zips.uakron.edu

Samsara Soto

The University of Akron, sis4@zips.uakron.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/psychologyfromthemargins>



Part of the [Counseling Psychology Commons](#), [History Commons](#), [Multicultural Psychology Commons](#), and the [Social Psychology Commons](#)

Please take a moment to share how this work helps you [through this survey](#). Your feedback will be important as we plan further development of our repository.

Recommended Citation

Alshabani, Nuha; Gonzalez Lopez, Alejandra; Graham, Erika L.; and Soto, Samsara (2020) "A Historical Analysis of the Vocational Guidance of Women," *Psychology from the Margins: Vol. 2* , Article 1.

Available at: <https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/psychologyfromthemargins/vol2/iss1/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by IdeaExchange@UAKron, the institutional repository of The University of Akron in Akron, Ohio, USA. It has been accepted for inclusion in Psychology from the Margins by an authorized administrator of IdeaExchange@UAKron. For more information, please contact mjon@uakron.edu, uapress@uakron.edu.

Beginning in the early 1920s, women in the United States found themselves entering the workforce in larger numbers and within more diverse careers (Pedersen, 1988). As women continued to seek employment opportunities, they encountered constraints related to what jobs they were able to apply for and how much they were compensated for their work (Hollingworth, 1916; Pedersen, 1988). As more women joined the workforce and extended the length of their careers within the workforce, women's rights advocates called for the formal vocational guidance of women (Parsons, 1926; Seward, 1946). This paper follows the trajectory of vocational guidance for women beginning in the early 1920s and ending with the second half of the 20th century, taking into account the context of the time. That is, vocational research, the development of career inventories, and women's expanding career opportunities are discussed in the context of social role expectations for women in the workplace during the corresponding time periods.

Given that most of the literature from the early 1900s focused on White and college-educated women, an exploration of vocational guidance for Black and Latina women is presented separately. This historical analysis provides insight into the cultural context that continues to shape women's vocational guidance in the United States (U.S.). Today, women continue to face barriers in the workplace, such as unequal pay, underrepresentation in STEM fields, and gender-based stereotypes that impact their career development (van Veelen, Derks, & Endedijk, 2019). Understanding the historical roots of current career-related concerns is important as such insight can be used to address current barriers to women's career guidance and development. For example, history shows that women's occupational opportunities have expanded and that women succeeded in their new occupations, yet pre-1900 social attitudes about gender continued to hold women back. These attitudes even impacted those who advocated for women's increased opportunities. Thus, history provides a deeper understanding of gender bias in the workplace and the importance of reducing this bias.

Working Women in the Early 1900s

During the early 1900s, advances in technology and growth in consumerism created a need for increased household income. Simultaneously, developments in childhood education also decreased the length of time that women needed to be at home with their children (Hollingworth, 1916). The need for higher income and reduction in household responsibilities opened the door for more women to join the workforce. Between 1890 and 1920, the percentage of working women increased from 16.5% to 20.2% (Pedersen, 1988). These working women were primarily born in the U.S., White, single, and highly educated (Hill, 1929). Further, the majority were unmarried and without children; only 7.3% of married women were working in the 1920s. Still, this group of predominantly privileged women (i.e., White, affluent, highly educated, and single) experienced sexism with lower pay,

less prominent opportunities, and restriction of occupational fields compared to their male counterparts.

During the early 20th century, working women experienced a restricted range of employment. In 1929, a survey of 14,000 women found that regardless of the participant's level of education, the majority of participants (70%) were employed in either teaching or clerical positions (Manson, 1929). Among college-educated participants, 55.5% worked in education and 11.8% worked in clerical positions. Although college-educated women did earn more than their non-college-educated counterparts, teaching and clerical positions were two of the lowest-paying jobs for college graduates. At the time of this survey, the highest paying jobs for college graduates were health and financial work. In her study, Manson (1929) asked how a majority of college-educated women found themselves in low paying jobs. She suggested that college-educated women were not motivated by financial compensation and college women were more susceptible to traditional careers.

A contemporary perspective reveals that at the time of this survey, women faced difficulties in professionalizing (i.e. raising the occupations status, training standards, qualifications) the female-dominated occupations (e.g., teaching) and faced many barriers in entering male-dominated fields, such as medicine (Pedersen, 1988). These societal barriers, rather than the women's personal decisions, as Manson suggests, likely influenced college-educated women's career opportunities. Although there was an increase in the number of working women, opportunities were often confined to socially accepted roles. Restrictions were more apparent among married working women, who were mainly employed as domestic servants or laundresses (Pedersen, 1988). Despite limited occupational opportunities, the increase in working women started a diverse conversation among vocational counselors, feminists, and individual women regarding the vocational guidance of women (Pedersen, 1988).

Beginnings of Women's Vocational Guidance

In 1916 and again in 1927, Leta Stetter Hollingworth asserted that as women joined the workforce, they should be provided with vocational guidance. In two book chapters, she outlined the history of vocational guidance, stating that the division of labor that assigned women to homemakers and men to breadwinners also created a division in vocational guidance. Hollingworth (1916) explains how the specialization of fields, such as law and banking, led to the need for vocational guidance among men. Men became apprentices in their careers and thus obtained vocational guidance through those experiences. On the other hand, as women were expected to be homemakers, they did not receive similarly specialized training. Moreover, she noted that the division of labor was not based on scientific research demonstrating that women should be constrained to certain career options such as

homemaker, but rather based in historical social order (Hollingworth, 1927). She concluded that changes in society eliminated the need for this gendered division of labor.

A question among proponents of vocational guidance for women was the nature and content of women's vocational guidance. Some scholars believed that the vocational guidance of women should focus on guidance within home economics (Davis, 1914). Thus a mixed message was promoted such that women should receive career guidance, yet this guidance should be limited to less prestigious careers. Supporters of the home economics education for girls posited that it was much more likely for any one girl to follow homemaking as her career than it was for any one boy to follow particular career path (Pedersen, 1988). This logic, as Hollingworth had pointed out, was based on social norms and historical expectations rather than scientific evidence. However, these biases permeated scientific thought and colored the interpretation of vocational research. For example, later developments of vocational interest inventories would limit women's options to socially acceptable careers, potentially failing to capture the accurate interests of women at the time.

However, like Hollingworth, others believed that women should also receive vocational guidance in a wide range of careers. Proponents of this argument were primarily other women, such as Florence Marshall, who oversaw a trade school for girls (Pedersen, 1988). Furthermore, feminist advocates supported the improvement of women's social and economic status (Parsons, 1926). However, women themselves were also bound by the social biases of the time, and a majority of working women continued to endorse some traditional values. As such, in the 1920s and 1930s, working women from diverse educational backgrounds asserted that the solution to improving social standing for women was to pay husbands more and to provide pensions to wives (Wandersee, 1981).

Pedersen (1988) commented that vocational guidance was for the middle class, reporting that guidance was more available to those who had more options, such as the college-educated. For example, college-educated women were granted access to professional organizations, which could provide these women with networking and professional development opportunities. Organized guidance for university women in the U.S. began with the founding of university women's professional academic organizations such as the American Association of University Women (AAUW). Today this organization promotes educational equity for women (AAUW, 2018). However, early membership in this organization was limited to White women who had access to a university education.

Selecting an Occupation

As vocational counseling became institutionalized, counselors moved into high schools, and their primary function was to direct students towards a career choice.

Vocational counseling in the school setting focused on sorting students into appropriate career options (Pedersen, 1988). Initially, these decisions were based primarily on IQ testing and personality assessment (McHale, 1930). However, critics stated that this method likely hurt rather than helped women's career development (Aubrey, 1982). For example, vocational guidance counselors provided young women with occupational advice based on test results, which likely limited or eliminated any information regarding nontraditional careers (Aubrey, 1982). This advice also likely reflected social norms, including the assumption that a woman's primary career should be that of a homemaker, only certain occupations were possible for women, occupations should be happily adjusted around homemaking duties, and that marriage was the ultimate goal (Pedersen, 1988). As the field moved toward developing career interest inventories, these inventories were likely also impacted by these biases.

Developing Interest Inventories for Women

During the 1920s and 1930s, psychologists started to investigate vocational interest inventories as a tool for vocational counselors (McHale, 1930). For example, The Carnegie Interest Inventory was developed as one of the first standardized interest inventories (Harrington & Long, 2013). This inventory was influenced by the assumption that men and women had gender-specific qualities that made each gender disadvantaged in some occupations and qualified in others. Two versions of the inventory were developed to represent gender differences in available careers. Different career options were included in the two versions, with the male version presenting 80 career options and the female version presenting 67 (Harrington & Long, 2013). The Strong Interest Inventory also fostered gender differences, with the original Strong Vocational Interest Blank published in 1927 and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank For Women published in 1933 (Harrington & Long, 2013). The results of these male and female inventories would be used to inform the occupational information provided to the individual. Thus, biases informed both the vocational tests and the interpretation of test results, further constraining women to certain careers. This gender-specific approach, which limited women's vocational options, became commonplace in vocational guidance literature (Pedersen, 1988).

Female psychologists who developed women's interest inventories were not immune to cultural bias. For instance, McHale (1930) reported that among her sample of women most indicated preference for careers in education/social services and homemaking. However, McHale's test interpreted recognition of information provided on the inventories as interest in that occupation. A contemporary perspective might suggest that as women were socialized to be homemakers, they were better able to identify the tasks of a homemaker. Aligned with the social expectations of the time, McHale (1930) instead theorized that maternal instinct

determined vocation choice for women. However, not all female psychologists of the time shared this belief. Hollingworth (1916) reported that gender differences on interest inventories were likely due to nurture, not nature. She argued that differences in experiences, education, exposure, and opportunities were likely causes for the different vocational choices of men and women. Later research reported that compared to women with less education, women who attained higher levels of education were interested, on average, in more professional jobs (Cawley, 1947).. McHale's test did, however, show strong correlations between vocational interest and success in three areas: education/social services, business, and science, suggesting that women who were interested in nontraditional careers could excel in those occupations (McHale, 1930).

Another vocational interest inventory developed for women was Grace Manson's occupational interest inventory. The assessment asked participants to rate on a five-point Likert scale how much they would like to engage in 160 different careers (e.g., architect, baker, business manager, clerk, surgeon, waitress; Manson, 1931). Instructions for the inventory asked participants to ignore social and family expectations, with the hope of encouraging uncensored responses from women who may have felt pressure to respond according to gender stereotypes (Manson, 1931). Although Manson instructed participants to disregard social influences while responding to the questionnaire, this was likely difficult for women as the dominant narrative of the time asserted that sex differences were natural barriers to women having equal career opportunities to men (Howes, 1922). These messages and others likely influenced women's interests towards certain careers, such as education or homemaking (Howard, n.d.).

Another inventory developed during the 1930s and 1940s was the Occupational Interests and Personality Requirements of Women in Business. The inventory tested women for ten occupational groups, including secretary, bookkeeper, clerk, teacher, nurse, retail sales, and others (Manson, 1931). Over the next few decades, more inventories were developed primarily for high school boys and men, with select researchers focusing on girls and women (Harrington & Long, 2013; Cawley, 1947). However, inventories would remain gender-specific until the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory in 1974, which became the first vocational interest inventory to not include separate gender booklets (Harrington & Long, 2013). The development of the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory was a significant development for women's vocational guidance, as gender-neutral booklets indicated that women and men could have the same careers. Such a breakthrough was likely possible due to cultural shifts of the time. For example, feminists were impacting large societal changes during the 1970s, including establishing the first women's studies program, the Supreme Court decision declaring sex discrimination a violation of the 14th amendment, the *Roe v. Wade*

decision, and the amendment to the fair housing act to include sex discrimination (Napikoski, 2019).

Vocational Guidance in College before WWII

Traditional gender roles largely limited vocational guidance before WWII. For example, feminist psychologist, Georgene Seward (1945) found that her female undergraduate students voiced a greater desire for equality and independence and expressed dissatisfaction with the constraints of traditional gender roles on women's behavior. Nevertheless, the same students expected to give up their careers for marriage and motherhood. It appears that as women aged, the expectation to leave the career field become more pronounced. For example, almost half of women who were 20-years-old were working whereas less than one-third of women who were between the ages of 25 to 29 were still working. Reports of the time indicated that the percentage of working women declined with age due to women leaving the workforce for marriage and motherhood (U.S. Census Bureau, 1940). Furthermore, in 1930, a study tracking the career paths of students found that compared to those who graduated in 1908, more of the students who graduated in 1928 were working in careers that aligned with their college major (Hillman, 1933). He found that 21% of the women in 1908 and 38% of women in the 1928 class were working in careers that utilized their college training. He concluded that women from the 1908 class were not in careers aligned with their college major because they had left their careers for homemaking.

In another study, Sarbin and Anderson (1942) found that 80% of the working women expressed dissatisfaction with their current occupation. Overall, there were significant discrepancies between college women's preferred career choice and probable career choice (Stevens, 1940). The author noted that the preferred choices (i.e., lawyer and physician) required extensive training and education that may not have been realistic for women. In contrast, the probable career choices (teaching, social work, and secretarial work) were more accessible through their college curriculums. Additionally, the author highlighted the influence of "social tradition" in encouraging women to pursue vocations such as teaching and secretarial work and discouraging women in pursuing nontraditional careers such as physician and lawyer (Stevens, 1940). Moreover, female psychologist Menger (1932) suggested that women's vocational choice was influenced by the social expectations related to eligible occupations since women had a limited range of occupations from which to choose. For example, interest in science (e.g., dentist and physician) was positively correlated with an endorsement of masculine personality traits among women. In contrast, interest in human relations (e.g., secretary, nurse, and housewife) was positively correlated with feminine personality traits (Menger, 1932). To address the social expectations that discouraged women from pursuing some of these professions, Seward (1946)

advocated for girls to receive more training related to mathematical and mechanical skills.

Women's Roles Shift in War World Two

As a result of WWII, 12 million men left the workforce to join the military between 1940-1944. In addition, 18 million jobs were created to support wartime efforts, and married women were encouraged to re-enter the workforce to fill these positions (Hartmann, 1982). During this time, between six and seven million married women entered the workforce, with college-educated women receiving more opportunities than non-educated women (Hartmann, 1982). Despite the need for women to fill the vacated and new positions created as a result of the war, there was resistance to hire Black women. Moreover, as White women took over jobs in offices, factories, and defense plants, Black women took over domestic and the most dangerous and uncomfortable factory jobs (Anderson, 1982). Black women were the "last hired and the first fired" (Anderson, 1982, p. 82).

The dire need for women to enter the workforce shifted attitudes about gender roles in the workplace. As Schwesinger (1943) commented, "Within our time, however, war has become more than men fighting on the battle lines and women waiting--and weeping at home" and concluded that both men and women needed to support the war efforts (p. 298). The absence of male employees offered many women access to jobs, wages, training, and opportunities that had been previously restricted or denied (Hartmann, 1982). Women now had more vocational opportunities and choices, but vocational assessment still did not adequately assist women during this time (Donahue & Eldersveld, 1947). Wartime demands highlighted the need for vocational and occupational guidance for women.

Changes to Vocational Guidance in College Settings

The demands of war resulted in pressure for students to prepare for a vocation as quickly as possible (Donahue & Eldersveld, 1947). Barnes (1941) found that current and former college students, including women, were concerned that the war would affect their career opportunities. Moreover, vocational counselors were encouraged to direct students to support war efforts (Ogan, 1943). However, universities and colleges were unsure of how to address students' concerns regarding the impact of the war on education and vocation (Ogan, 1943). Students reported that the demands of war impacted their vocational planning (Ogan, 1943). However, with military service being expected of men, vocational planning during college was less pertinent for men than women. Thus, women showed greater interest in vocational choice, job preparation, and job placement (Donahue & Eldersveld, 1947). Moreover, researchers at the time criticized the lack of appropriate vocational counseling for college women (Donahue & Eldersveld, 1947; Kitson, 1927). With the growing pressure on women entering the workforce,

Donahue and Eldersveld (1947) noted that students had little knowledge of available career opportunities, especially nontraditional careers. Furthermore, they reported that over 25% of their sample reported choosing a suitable career choice as their greatest vocational concern.

During WWII, most colleges and technical schools developed accelerated programs to address the need for trained workers supporting the war effort (Flesher & Pressey, 1955). These accelerated programs expedited traditional four-year programs, such as nursing, to be completed in two or three years. These accelerated programs allowed women to enter the workforce or graduate programs sooner than previous cohorts (Flesher & Pessey, 1995). Thus, occupations that were once unrealistic due to extensive training (e.g., lawyer) became more obtainable or women. Furthermore, women who graduated from these accelerated programs were more likely to obtain an advanced degree and were more likely to maintain a career after marriage, compared to women who had completed traditional four-year programs (Flesher & Pessey, 1955).

WWII's Lasting Impact on Vocational Counseling

Undeniably, it appeared that women were receptive to vocational counseling. Anderson (1949) reported that women strongly endorsed the need for early and continuous vocational counseling. The author assessed the perceived benefits of vocational counseling among wartime employees and found that overall, women favored vocational counseling more than men. Yet, among women, less educated and unskilled workers responded less favorably to vocational counseling. The author attributed this finding to the majority of unskilled and less educated women being housewives with little interest in post-war employment. Conversely, women who were more likely to favor vocational counseling were younger, had more education, and higher ability level (Anderson, 1948).

In 1930, 10.5 million women were gainfully employed, whereas 16 million were employed in 1944 (Pidgeon, 1937; 1944). WWII broke down stereotypical gender roles of women in the home and provided evidence that women could balance a career and family. Despite the majority of women being forced to leave their jobs after men returned home at the end of the war, the number of women entering the workforce continued to increase, such that 19 million women were in the workforce by 1953 (Zapoleon, 1953). Furthermore, the expansion of the job market to include jobs that once excluded women had lasting impacts on vocational counseling of women. Specifically, vocational counseling became more vital for women in managing the greater occupational and career opportunities available. As a result of the expansion of opportunities, vocational counselors could now assist women in vocational planning for diverse opportunities based on women's abilities (Zapoleon, 1953).

Zapoleon (1953) developed guidelines for vocational counselors to consider when addressing the unique circumstances of women. The author suggested that vocational counselors consider women as both homemakers and workers, and should assist these women in balancing the responsibilities of home and career. The author also emphasized taking into consideration individual differences rather than sex differences when counseling women. Lastly, Zapoleon (1953) also pressed for counselors to explore their own attitudes and prejudices of women so that the counselor would not "...prepare for a world more like the past than that of the future" (p. 71).. These suggestions written over 50 years ago are still relevant to women today who seek guidance in balancing home and work life.

Black Women in the United States

The long-standing history of women of African descent in the United States includes a significant degree of oppression, restricted opportunities, and traumatizing experiences (Thomas, 2004). Scholars caution researchers that the use of a dominant cultural lens to examine the unique experiences of Black women will lead to a constrained, overgeneralized understanding of the factors that influence vocational guidance for Black women (Degruy, 2005; Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan, 2008; Thomas, 2004). Moreover, according to Thomas (2004) "The psychology of Black women" has been defined as "the systematic study of motivation, cognition, attitudes, and behaviors with the consideration of contextual and interactive effects of history, culture, race, class, gender, and forms of oppression" (p. 290). Therefore this section will include cultural, historical, and social influences on vocational guidance for Black women from an intersectional lens.

In the United States, there is a long history of oppression of people of African descent (for a full review, see Degruy, 2005 and Guthrie, 1976). Simultaneously, discrimination, hegemonic structuralism, and institutional racism negatively affected the physical, psychological, occupational, and economic advancement of people of African descent (Saights & Whitaker, 1995). Through these experiences, women of African descent's vocational journey in the United States began with forced positions as domestic servants. These women were often required to give more nurture and attention to the children of their slave masters than their own (DeGruy, 2005). During the early 1900s, the influence of slavery remained as Black women continued to be limited to domestic positions, as White women worked in more professional careers (Anderson, 1982). Despite systemic barriers, the Black community continued to develop schools and colleges from the once informal and hidden education system they developed during the Civil War (Guthrie, 1998).

Racism and Resistance

As the people of African descent experienced isolation and segregation in the early 1900s, the opportunities for collectivism grew in Black communities across the U.S. (Bell, 2002). According to the National Center for Education Statistics (1985), there were three established “traditional black institutions” among thirty-three black schools to emerge during the era of segregation: Howard University, Meharry Medical College and Fisk University (Hill, 1985, p.xii). Howard University, Meharry Medical College and Fisk University produced graduate-level programs that launched the career paths for many African descents as lawyers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and entrepreneurs (Hill, 1985, p.5).

One of the most referenced Black communities to become self-sufficient by sharing talents and resources is currently referred to as Black Wall Street (Bell, 2002). In the early 1900s in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Black people were segregated from White shopping areas, diners, and schools, and thus built and invested in their own industries (Bell, 2002). In an interview, Dr. Olivia Hooker described the area commonly known as Black Wall Street as an affluent, middle-class community of Black professionals ranging from teachers, librarians, doctors, nurses, and business owners (Gilles, 2018). For example, Madam C.J. Walker, a successful female entrepreneur, conducted business by creating and supplying hair care products specific to Black people (Bell, 2002). Indicating that during the early 1900s, Black women had lucrative career opportunities on Black Wall Street. Bell (2002) discussed the timeframe of the early 1900s as a time of thriving independence for the Black family in that area.

During the early 1900’s there were other small communities of affluent Black families across the United States, but it was common for Black families to migrate to Tulsa to gain home and business ownership (Bell, 2002). However, during the Gilles (2018) interview, Dr. Olivia Hooker recalled witnessing the race riot or destruction of Black Wall Street. She was six years old when she witnessed mobs of White men torch and demolish her family’s business and home.. The result of the race riot in Tulsa left more than 300 Black Americans dead or missing, and approximately 1,000 homes and businesses destroyed (Gilles, 2018). Dr. Hooker’s family escaped and moved on to Topeka, Kansas after the Tulsa race riot. Dr. Hooker’s journey continued, and she became the first Black woman in the Coast Guard, a psychology professor, and activist (Gilles, 2018). However, this success was not shared by everyone impacted by the riot. The destruction of Black Wall Street undoubtedly resulted in limited opportunities for many Black women at the time and is one example of the impact of racism on Black women’s vocational opportunities and guidance.

Thompson and Neville (1999) explained that although there were developments and expansions in education, Black Americans were disproportionately provided with unequal opportunities for formal education,

occupational choices, and access to other public establishments. For example, the AAUW (mentioned above) provided vocational guidance to women. Although the organization never explicitly stated membership exclusions based on race, the 1946 invitation of Mary Terrell, one of the first African American women to earn a college degree, to the Washington D.C. branch of the AAUW caused the organization to re-examine its inclusivity. Though Mary had been an AAUW member in 1906, some current AAUW leaders opposed Terrell's 1946 invitation to leadership. In opposition to this appointment, the Washington D.C. Branch sued the AAUW organization and won. The organization in 1949 rewrote their bylaws to legally affirm that the only requirement of membership was a college degree, indicating that women of all races could join (Gould, 2014). AAUW members who had opposed Terrell's invitation quit the organization following the revision. This story, and many other untold stories, demonstrate that as women were organizing their early vocational guidance, the opportunity was only for the most privileged of women within the U.S.

Another example of education systemically limiting the vocational opportunities of Black women is the disproportionate number of doctorate degrees awarded to Black women. For example, according to the Awkward Report (commonly referred to as the Wispe Report), 9,914 doctorates were granted by 25 of the major universities in psychology from 1920 to 1966, with only 93 doctorates (less than 1% of all doctorates in psychology) were awarded to Black Americans. Further, some universities did not grant any doctorates to Black Americans (Williams, 2008). Within the 1% of Black Americans to obtain a doctorate in psychology, less than ten were awarded to Black Women (Guthrie, 1998). Among the few Black female pioneers in psychology, their interest in the field stemmed from the work of their family members in ministry, education, and the field of psychology (Guthrie, 1998). Though not documented in academic literature, it can thus be assumed that in the early 1900s, Black female psychologists received vocational guidance through informal sources such as family members and ministry.

Occupational Experience for Black Women

Career opportunities for Black women expanded with the workforce changes that occurred during WWII (Anderson, 1982). As a result, Black women were employed in industrial, school, and hospital settings, reducing the number of Black women in farming or domestic service positions (Spaights & Whitaker, 1995; Anderson, 1982). The patterns of discrimination were ever-present in this economic change, Black women were indeed receiving more opportunities to work, but most opportunities were low-level, unskilled positions such as janitorial work (Anderson, 1982). Black women were also employed to shovel leaves floating near docked ships, clean cars, waitress, and package merchandise. Whereas White

women were hired for more clerical positions, Black women usually filled positions that did not include public contact (Anderson, 1982). According to Anderson (1982), White men went on strike if Black men were given management roles, and White women conducted walkouts “demanding separate bathrooms from dirty or diseased Black women” (p. 86).

The career choices of women of African descent were determined more around what the dominant society accepted rather than their own career aspirations (Anderson, 1982). For the larger part in the early 1900s, women of African descent were left to settle for the opportunities permitted to them by White superiors. For example, White employers, managers, and employees often shared racist thoughts and beliefs related to Black employees, increasing the discomfort with and discrimination against Black women (Anderson, 1982). These racist and prejudiced beliefs were validated by the scientific racism that permeated American Psychology and perpetuated White superiority and Black inferiority (Benjamin, 2014). According to Guthrie (1976), psychological testing was a significant contributing factor in categorizing a variety of groups of people by race, which in turn led to conclusions of racial superiority and inferiority. These cultural beliefs and values at the time prevented Black women from receiving formal vocational guidance.

However, at Black colleges and universities, Black women did begin to receive formal vocational guidance. For example, The Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi) emerged in the 1940s in efforts to increase the autonomy of Black Psychologists, combat racism, dismantle discrimination, increase representation, provide support to Black college students, and simultaneously address the paucity of Black Psychologists across the United States (Williams, 2008). Professional organizations such as ABPsi provided mentorship and guidance to Black students, including women. Today, the strong force of Black Psychology and The Association of Black Psychology continuously strives to reconnect people of African descent with Kemetite roots and build a more optimal orientation or framework to examine the journey of people of African descent. This history and the continued journey has opened the gates of opportunity for inspiring Black psychologists.

Latinas in the United States

Early work on the vocational guidance of women through the first half of the 20th century failed to address the vocational guidance of Latina women. Not surprisingly, much of the literature that attends to career and vocational guidance for Latina women is contemporary and dates back to the 1970s. Arbona (1990) conducted a review and critique of the literature on career counseling for Latina/os, published since 1970. She found that these articles focused on occupational aspirations, educational attainment, vocational interests, and on the job behavior..

The research during this time primarily focused on Mexican-American and Puerto Rican samples within the Latina/o population. Research that attended to gender differences within the Latina/o population highlighted that girls endorsed a preference for traditionally female occupations and potential conflicts between future career and marriage aspirations. Additionally, middle-class Latinas reported a belief in workplace equality and perceptions of discrimination occurring at work. They also reported a preference for combining career and homemaker roles. Further, Mexican-American college women were found to be more assertive, bicultural, and self-sufficient compared to Mexican American college men (Arbona, 1990).

Interest Inventory Use with Latinas

Much of the early research on career and vocational guidance with Latinas focused on the use of occupational interest inventories, with a focus on the use of Holland's occupational types (Arbona, 1990). Holland's vocational classification scheme includes six categories, namely, Realistic, Intellectual, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Conventional (Holland, 1966; Holland & Lutz, 1968). As such, the Realistic category represents technical vocations and skilled trades; Intellectual represents scientific vocations; Artistic includes musical, literary, and artistic vocations; Social includes education and religion-related occupations; Enterprising represents occupations requiring persuasion; and Conventional represents business and clerical occupations (Holland & Lutz, 1968).

Turner and Horn (1975) investigated the generalizability of using Holland's six occupational types with Mexican Americans with the use of the Kuder Occupational Interest Survey (KOIS; Kuder, 1968). The authors found some problems with the six Holland occupational types in classifying Mexican American women, as had been the case with using the six occupational types with White women. That is, the KOIS occupational scales for women did not code for the Realistic group, and only one coded for the Artistic group, so Mexican-American women were only classified into three of the occupational types. Thus, the study did not support the generalizability of the Holland codes for Mexican American women (Turner & Horn, 1975). Tomlinson and Evans-Hughes (1991) pointed to the questionable validity of using career assessment instruments with minority racial/ethnic groups, including Latina/os. In their study on the effects of gender and ethnicity on responses to the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory, Tomlinson and Evans-Hughes (1991) found additional support for the influence of gender on Holland occupational code typologies with Latinas being more likely to be categorized as Artistic compared to Latinos.

Issues with Vocational Guidance for Latinas

Much of the early attempts to investigate vocational guidance for Latinas and Latinos took a deficits based approach, seeking to explore the deficits in the individuals that prevented their educational and occupational attainment rather than systemic barriers blocking their attainment. For instance, Bender and Ruiz (1974) explained

There is research indicating that minority and lower SES group members tend to respond in characteristic maladaptive fashion in planning educational goals and vocational careers. One typical response is to terminate education prematurely and to select occupations with minimal probabilities of advancement, and another common pattern is to aspire for high-status positions which seem improbable because of the lengthy preparation required (Bender & Ruiz, 1974, p. 51).

Later, scholars such as Arbona (1990) critiqued this approach to career guidance research, which reinforced negative stereotypes, blamed the lack of social mobility on family and cultural values, and on lack of motivation for attainment. Arbona provided an alternative perspective that viewed lack of social mobility as related to a scarcity of opportunity for social mobility.

In addition to these barriers, researchers found that Latina girls showed a preference for traditionally female careers and may experience conflicts between marriage and career aspirations (Arbona, 1990). Similarly, Arbona and Novy (1991) found that the strength of association for gender and career field was stronger for Mexican American women compared to White women. Further, Reyes and colleagues (1999) noted that Latinas continued to be underrepresented in occupations with higher pay and status. However, they also found that Latinas aspiring to nontraditional careers had high GPAs and understood the steps required to reach their career goals.

For Latinas, an important contributing factor restricting their occupational options was their educational attainment. In contrast to prior suggestions by researchers, Latinas held high career aspirations but also had lower expectations of being able to accomplish their goals, perhaps due to their awareness of educational, economic, and discrimination related barriers (Arbona, 1990). For many Latinas, the role of socialization reinforced the choices available as potential career options, and though they may have shown better academic performance compared to their male counterparts, their persistence to graduate was lower (Vasquez, 1982).. Further, the lower social class of many Latinas' family was a barrier to higher education, due to the oppressive effects of poverty and financial concerns. Concurrently, Latinas were often tracked during their early education into courses that were not aimed at preparing them for college (Vasquez, 1982). Thus,

vocational guidance for Latinas has historically been lacking due to sexism, racism, and classism, which resulted in limited career opportunities for Latinas.

(Lack of) Publications on Women of Color

Perhaps relatedly, it was not until 1968 that the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA), now the American Counseling Association (ACA), adopted a resolution intended to reduce and eradicate racism. One year later, the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA), now the National Career Development Association (NCDA), adopted a policy statement on eradicating both racism and sexism (Hoyt, 1989). However, despite the commitments made by these national organizations to increase the provision of vocational guidance to women and racial/ethnic minorities, limited research focused on the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender for women of color in the years following.

Twenty years after these commitments were adopted, Hoyt (1989) examined the number of articles published in the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, now *Career Development Quarterly*, that focused on the career development of women and racial/ethnic minorities. He noted that while the number of articles on sex stereotyping more than doubled from the period before 1968, and the number of articles on Black individuals tripled, the percentage of articles on other minorities remained close to zero. Additionally, he noted that one article on sex bias was published per journal issue, whereas one article on racism was published per year. More specifically, there were 86 articles on sex stereotyping published in the journal, and 70 of these were focused on non-poor, non-minority women. During the same time period, 24 articles were published on racism (Hoyt, 1989).

Conclusion

This paper highlights that attempts to provide vocational guidance for women were often secondary to providing vocational guidance for men. This review aimed to provide an analysis of the historical context that shaped the vocational guidance for diverse groups of women. Overall, the vocational guidance of women received little attention throughout the 20th century and is underrepresented in the history of vocational psychology. However, some advocates interested in the vocational guidance of women made calls for a greater focus on furthering vocational guidance to women. These early efforts included the development of vocational inventories geared towards women, such as the Occupational Interests and Personality Requirements of Women in Business (Manson, 1931). However, analysis reveals that the gender biases of the time impacted efforts to provide vocational guidance to women. For example, women were either directed toward traditionally female careers, and researchers interpreted women's career choices as inherent desires rather than socially desirable responses.

Furthermore, early developments in providing vocational guidance for women focused on affluent White women who were able to obtain a college education. The Second World War expanded many occupational opportunities with most efforts towards expanding the occupational and vocational guidance that was provided to these affluent White women. Black women also gained more employment opportunities during World War II, however, Black women were more often employed in the least desirable positions (Anderson, 1982). Many of these occupational opportunities and vocational guidance efforts gained during the Second World War were even further limited for women of color.

As late as 1993, Bowman critiqued the scarcity of available research on career intervention strategies for ethnic minorities, and especially for ethnic minority women. At the same time, ethnic minority individuals endorsed a higher need for vocational guidance and information compared to their White counterparts. She expressed some of the particular difficulties in finding research on career development for ethnic minority women, stating "African American women, as is true of all ethnic minority women, typically are categorized as women or as ethnic minorities, but rarely as members of both groups (Bowman, 1993 p. 15). As such, career interventions developed for women do not discuss ethnic minority issues, nor do ethnic minority interventions tend to examine gender issues" (Bowman, 1993, p. 16). Further, researchers have continued to call for an expansion of the roles of career counselors to focus on changing the macrosystems and microsystems that continue to hinder the vocational development of women of color and White women (Cook, Heppner, & O'Brien, 2002). This review concludes with more contemporary literature that expands on the role of vocational guidance for historically oppressed groups of women, including Black women and Latinas. This paper highlights the historical sexism that continues to influence women's experience with career counseling today.

Moreover, this paper highlights that sexism, classism, and racism are embedded in the attempts to provide vocational guidance to women. Many women, especially women of color could not receive formal vocational counseling as they were restricted in their educational and career opportunities. Women of color were especially shut out of these spaces and may continue to experience discrimination in the workplace forcing them to seek career guidance in other spaces. Thus future research should explore the spaces and manner in which women of color seek out and receive career guidance. This analysis further shows that many women and men challenged the sexism of the time and their expanded opportunities for women. Furthermore, this analysis reveals that shifting attitudes about gender is important. Thus, future research should also focus on shifting social attitudes and beliefs that maintain gender biasness.

References

- AAUW (2018). The Story of AAUW's place in women's history. Retrieved from <https://history.aauw.org/>
- Anderson, K. T. (1982). Last hired, first fired: Black women workers during World War II. *The Journal of American History*, *69*, 82-97. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1887753>
- Anderson, R. G. (1948). Preferred ages for vocational counseling. *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Journal*, *27*, 77-81. doi:10.1002/j.2164-5892.1948.tb01463.x
- Anderson, R. G. (1949). Reported and demonstrated values of vocational counseling. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *33*, 460-473. doi:10.1037/h0055262
- Arbona, C. (1990). Career counseling research and Hispanics: A review of the literature. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *18*, 300-323. doi:10.1177/0011000090182012
- Arbona, C., & Novy, D. M. (1991). Career aspirations and expectations of Black, Mexican American, and White students. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *39*, 231-239. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.1991.tb00395.x
- Aubrey, R. F. (1982). A house divided: Guidance and counseling in 20th-century America. *Personnel & Guidance Journal*, *61*, 198-204. doi:10.1002/j.21644918.1982.tb003
- Barnes, R. A. (1941). Discovering Student Needs. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *12*, 469-472. doi:10.1080/00221546.1941.11773223
- Bell, G. S. (2002). *In the Black*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Bender, P. S., & Ruiz, R. A. (1974). Race and class as differential determinants of under achievement and under aspiration among Mexican-Americans and Anglos. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *68*, 51-55. doi:10.1080/00220671.1974.10884705
- Benjamin, L. T. (2014) A brief history of modern psychology (2nd ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Bowman, S. L. (1993). Career intervention strategies for ethnic minorities. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *42*, 14-25. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.1993.tb00241.x
- Cawley, A. M. (1947). A study of the vocational interest trends of secondary school and college women. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, *35*, 185-247.
- Cook, E. P., Heppner, M. J., & O'Brien, K. M. (2002). Career development of women of color and White women: Assumptions, conceptualization, and interventions from an ecological perspective. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *50*, 291-305. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.2002.tb00574.x

- Davis J. B., (1914). *Vocational and moral guidance*. Ginn and Company. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books/about/Vocational_and_moral_guidance.html?id=v9EZnfbnJuwC
- DeGruy, J. (2005). *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*. Joy DeGruy Publications Inc.
- Donahue, W. T., & Eldersveld, W. (1947). Vocational Problems of Undergraduate University Women. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 18, 194-200. doi:10.1080/00221546.1947.11775643
- Flesher, M. A., & Pressey, S. L. (1955). War-time accelerates ten years after. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 46, 228-238. doi:10.1037/h0041914
- Gilles (2018). Meet The Last Surviving Witness To The Tulsa Race Riot Of 1921. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2018/05/31/615546965/meet-the-last-surviving-witness-to-the-tulsa-race-riot-of-1921>
- Gould (2014). Opening membership and minds. Retrieved from <https://www.aauw.org/2014/02/28/opening-membership/>
- Guthrie, R. V. (1976). *Even the rat was white: A historical view of psychology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Guthrie, R. V. (1998). *Even the rat was white: A historical view of psychology*. (2nd ed.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Harrington, T., & Long, J. (2013). The history of interest inventories and career assessments in career counseling. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 61, 83–92. doi:2443/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2013.00039.x
- Hartmann, S. M. (1982). *The home front and beyond: American women in the 1940s*. Twayne Pub.
- Hill J. A. (1929). Women in gainful occupations 1870-1920 (Census Monograph No. 9)
- Hill, S. (1985). *The traditionally Black institutions of higher education, 1860 to 1982*. US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Hillman, L. F. (1933). The University as Preparatory. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 4, 241-244. doi:10.1080/00221546.1933.11775405
- Holland, J. L. (1966). A psychological classification scheme for vocations and major fields. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 13, 278–288. doi:10.1037/h0023725
- Holland, J. L., & Lutz, S. W. (1968). The predictive value of a student's choice of vocation. *Personnel & Guidance Journal*, 46, 428–436. doi:10.1002/j.2164-4918.1968.tb03209.x

- Hollingworth, L. (1927). The new woman in the making. *Current History*, 27, 15-20. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1310921007?pq-origsite=gscholar>
- Hollingworth, L. S. (1916). The Vocational Aptitudes of Women. *Vocational Psychology* 222-244. Retrieved from <https://psycnet.apa.org/fulltext/2005-04158-010.pdf>
- Hollingworth, L. S. (1916). Social devices for impelling women to bear and rear children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 22, 19-29. Retrieved from <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.1086/212572>
- Howes, E. P. (1922). Accepting the universe. *Atlantic Monthly*, 129, 444-453. Retrieved from <https://www.sapili.org/subir-depois/en/ps000095.pdf>
- Howard, A. (n.d.) My place in time. SIOP President 1988-1989. Retrieved from <http://www.siop.org/presidents/Howard.aspx>
- Hoyt, K. B. (1989). The career status of women and minority persons: A 20-year retrospective. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 37, 202–212. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.1989.tb00822.x
- Kitson, H. D. (1927). Educational and vocational aid for women students. [Review of the book *Guidance for college women*. M. B. Blake]. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 18, 358-359. doi:10.1037/h0068159
- Kuder, G. F. (1968). *Occupational Interest Survey: general manual*. Chicago: Science Research Associates.
- Manson, G. (1929). Personality differences in intelligence tests performances. Group individual differences: the significance of “omission.” *University of Michigan Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Business Administration*.
- Manson, G. (1931). Occupational interests and personality requirements of women in business and the professions. *Michigan Business Studies*, 3, 280-409.
- McHale, K. (1930). An Experimental Study of The Vocational Interest of a Liberal Arts College Group. *Study of Vocational Interests*, 8, 246-255. Retrieved from <https://psycnet.apa.org/fulltext/1926-08316-001.pdf>
- Menger, C. (1932). The social status of occupations for women. *Teachers College Record*, 33, 696–704.
- Napikoski (2019). 1970s Feminism Timeline. Retrieved from <https://www.thoughtco.com/1970s-feminism-timeline-3528911>
- Ogan, R. W. (1943). The Wartime Problems of College Students. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 14, 232-236.
- Parsons A. B. (1926). *Women’s Dilema*. New York: Harper
- Pedersen J. S. (1988). Constraining influences on the vocational guidance of girls from 1910 to 1930. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 36, 325-336. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.1988.tb00503.x

- Pidgeon, M. E. (1937). *Women in the economy of the United States of America: A summary report (No. 155)*. US Govt. Printing Office.
- Pidgeon, M. E. (1944). *Changes in women's employment during the war*. US Government Printing Office.
- Reyes, O., Kobus, K., & Gillock, K. (1999). Career aspirations of urban, Mexican American adolescent females. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *21*, 366–382. doi:10.1177/0739986399213010
- Sarbin, T. R., & Anderson, H. C. (1942). A preliminary study of the relation of measured interest patterns and occupational dissatisfaction. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, *2*, 23–36. doi:10.1177/001316444200200103
- Settles, I. H., Pratt-Hyatt, J. S., & Buchanan, N. T. (2008). Through the Lens of Race: Black and White Women's Perceptions of Womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *32*, 454–468. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00458.x
- Seward, G. (1945). Cultural conflict and the feminine role: An experimental study. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *22*, 177-194. doi:10.1080/00224545.1945.9921718
- Seward, G. H. (1946). *Sex and the social order*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Spaights, E. & Whitaker A. (1995). Black Women in the Workforce: A new look at an Old Problem. *Journal of Black Studies*, *25*, 283-296. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/2784638
- Stevens, R. B. (1940). The attitudes of college women toward women's vocations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *24*, 615-627. doi:10.1037/h0056983
- Thomas, V. G. (2004). The psychology of Black women: Studying women's lives in context. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *30*, 286-306. doi:10.1177/0095798404266044
- Tomlinson, S. M., & Evans-Hughes, G. (1991). Gender, ethnicity, and college students' responses to the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *70*, 151–155. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6676.1991.tb01577.x
- Thompson, C. E., & Neville, H. A. (1999). Racism, mental health, and mental health practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *27*, 155–223. doi:10.1177/0011000099272001
- Turner, R. G., & Horn, J. M. (1975). Personality correlates of Holland's occupational types: A cross cultural study. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *6*, 379–389. doi:10.1016/0001-8791(75)90010-X
- van Veelen, R., Derks, B., & Endedijk, M. D. (2019). Double trouble: How being outnumbered and negatively stereotyped threatens career outcomes of women in stem. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*, 1-18. doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00150

- Vasquez, M. J. (1982). Confronting barriers to the participation of Mexican American women in higher education. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 4, 147–165. doi:10.1177/07399863820042002
- Wandersee, W. D. (1981). *Women's work and family values 1920-1940*. Cambridge Harvard University Press.
- Williams, R. L. (2008). History of the Association of Black psychologists: *Profiles of outstanding Black psychologists*. Author House.
- Zapoleon, M. W. (1953). The working girl. *Personnel & Guidance Journal*, 32, 68–71. doi:10.1002/j.2164-4918.1953.tb00814.x