The American School Counselor

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A Case Study in the Sociology of Professions

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To my grandfather
DAVID L. HUFFINE

PREFACE

THE original idea for a study of the counseling profession in secondary schools grew out of a Russell Sage Foundation project on the social consequences of standardized testing under the direction of Orville G. Brim, Jr., and David A. Goslin. They felt that, since standardized testing was more extensive in schools than anywhere else, special attention should be given to the utilization of tests by individuals occupying major positions in the school. While the Foundation carried on national studies of the uses of tests by teachers and counselors, I was asked to conduct a more intensive study of counselors and testing in the Boston area, where I was engaged in graduate studies. The generous support of the Foundation, along with the considerable latitude encouraged by Drs. Brim and Goslin in the design of my study, permitted me to broaden the research into a full-scale study of the counseling profession.

The present report is a substantially revised version of my doctoral dissertation, *The Structure of Institutionalized Influence* (Harvard, 1966). The original version was enhanced by the Foundation's decision to let me use their national sample of counselors and teachers in discussing the issue of counselors and testing. Most of this material is presented in Chapter 5.

The study was further bolstered by my fortunate association with the U.S. Office of Education study of the educational opportunities of minority groups under the direction of James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, and others. As a consultant for that project, I was able to design a brief questionnaire for a national sample of counselors to be surveyed in connection with the assessment of a large number of schools across the country. This resulted in additional national data on selected professional and social characteristics of counselors. The data, presented mainly in Chapter 4, enable us to get at least a preliminary picture of the counseling profession at the national level. Some of the student data from the Coleman study also permitted a preliminary examination of the impact of counseling which we report in Chapter 8.

The third major impetus behind this study was Talcott Parsons, who gave me much guidance in the development of a conceptual framework for the

study of the professions. In addition to his extensive writings on the concept of influence and on the professions, I was most fortunate to be involved with him and with Andrew Effrat in an informal seminar during the spring of 1965, where we hashed out many of the ideas which later found their way into the theoretical discussions in Chapter 2 and Appendix I. My intellectual debt to them is very great indeed.

Special thanks go to Norman Sprinthall, Hugh F. Cline, and Andrew L. Walker, who read the manuscript in its entirety and gave many helpful suggestions, and to Victor Lidz, who provided excellent critical comments on the theoretical portions of the manuscript.

The successful completion of the research depended upon the conscientious work of several research and editorial assistants. Mrs. Leslie Houseman provided accurate typed transcripts for most of the many long interviews with Boston counselors. Patricia Pajonas and Raymond Glazier helped me with the difficult job of coding the interviews. Sarah Dean helped with some of the computer data processing. Frances Ostrum had the arduous jobs of typing the manuscript and tables and editing the entire manuscript, both of which she performed with great dedication and skill. My wife, Marilyn, provided not only the crucial moral support necessary throughout the five years of this study, but also many hours typing transcripts, typing the questionnaires, coding the data, and performing many other important research and administrative tasks.

Additional financial support was provided by the Research and Development program in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard, and also by the Harvard Computing Center fund for subsidized computer expenses.

Finally, the study would not have been possible without the enthusiastic cooperation of the many schools and counselors in the greater Boston area. The principals of some 87 schools completed two questionnaires and granted permission to interview counselors during school time. The counselors consented to undergoing an intensive interview and completing a lengthy questionnaire. Their willingness and ability to discuss their profession and its problems have enabled me to carry out the analysis which we present in this volume.

DAVID J. ARMOR

EAST DENNIS, MASS.
AUGUST, 1968

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1 | Introduction

FOR the sociologist interested in social change in a society, one question that must be dealt with is *what* is changing. Another way of stating this is to ask what exists now in the social organization that did not exist at a previous point in time. As trivial as this question may sound, serious consideration of it will reveal that answering it is a non-trivial matter.

On the one hand, there seems to be much of human behavior and many social processes and institutions that have remained relatively constant throughout man's recorded history. Man has continued to love and hate, and societies have continued to fight wars, much in the way they always have; and as far back as we can peer into the past, societies have always had some kind of family organization and religious structure.

On the other hand, such institutions as the business corporation and the political party have not always existed, even if we allow them a broad definition. We can easily get the impression that the form or structure of human behavior changes but not the basic functions this structure performs. For example, societies have always had procedures for transmitting their existing value systems to their new generations; but the structures which carry out this process in modern western societies are not the same ones that existed in "civilized" societies of two thousand years ago. The school system which exists today and which is a powerful socializing agency cannot be found in those earlier civilizations.

Describing and understanding these changes, however, are elusive tasks, indeed. At present, there exists no comprehensive model or schema within which we can comprehend all of the types of changes that have occurred, even if we restrict ourselves to changes in social structure, ignoring those in such things as social processes and social values. The complexity of social change makes it necessary to study more concrete and restricted

phenomena which can be more accurately mapped out and comprehended. It is hoped that the ones chosen will be indices which reflect more fundamental and basic changes going on in a society.

One possible index of this kind may be found in the growth of the behavioral sciences and, in particular, some of the professions which apply them. The development of these sciences and their associated professions (notably the fields of sociology and psychology and the professions of social work, counseling, and psychiatry) has occurred largely within the last hundred years, with rapid development only within the latter half of this period.

It would be an oversimplification to assert that this area's growth is only the result of increased technical knowledge of human behavior and its application to the solution of human behavior problems. Even the development of the physical sciences presupposed a certain societal "frame of mind," and their impact went far beyond a mere extension of technical knowledge. It is perhaps significant that physics developed in western societies, whose value systems have stressed "worldly" concerns, and not in eastern civilizations, many of whose value systems emphasized humanistic or "other worldly" orientations. Moreover, the impact of Newtonian physics went much beyond the confines of the field itself; the mechanistic model became a popular one for behavioral as well as physical phenomena. This is to say nothing of the Industrial Revolution, much of which depended upon the new conception of the physical universe. Most important, how- of thinking in the Western world, a development greatly aided by the new physics (although it was itself partly aided by rationalism).

It is possible that social scientists several hundred years from now may look back upon the twentieth century as the beginning of a similar kind of development. No doubt a certain social climate is necessary for the growth of the behavioral sciences, and the application of this knowledge through ever, was the institutionalization of a rationalistic and deterministic mode its professional practitioners might have signaled the beginning of the "social" revolution, with consequences that might rival the Industrial Revolution in magnitude. It is not even necessary that the knowledge which these professions apply be immediately correct and relevant; their very existence heralds a change in the society, and the professions themselves can have their own social significance and impact.

This work will present the findings of a case study of one of the professions based on the behavioral sciences—the secondary school counselor. Of the many professions that apply behavioral science knowledge, counseling is one of the newest and most rapidly growing. Although, as we shall see, the counselor performs several functions, his main professional concern is generally seen as aiding students in making decisions regarding their edu-

cational, vocational, and personal development. Unlike the psychiatric and social work professions, school counselors have the potential for almost total contact with the members of American society. Their location in public and private schools means that, eventually, almost every person in the country will have been exposed to the information and advice given by a counselor. These particular features of the school counselor, as well as counselors' expertise being based on the behavioral sciences, make it a social role whose general characteristics and function are of considerable interest for study.

The term "case study" is used here to indicate the scope of the research rather than a methodological style. Since there exists little systematic research on counselors, this must necessarily be an exploratory study. However, this does not mean that both theory and systematic data are irrelevant. A theoretical framework can be developed tentatively, within which counseling and related professions can begin to be understood. Also, data of various sorts, both current and historical, have been collected which can be analyzed formally to help evaluate the theoretical notions which are developed. The most important aspect of this as a case study is that we are not guided by any particular set of hypotheses; the only theme that will be reiterated—and the only solid bridge between various sections of the essay—is the school counselor role itself.

The very fact that the term "profession" has been applied to counseling raises a host of problems. Considerable controversy has arisen in the literature throughout the years concerning the definition of professions. A first task will be to present a discussion of the theoretical problems involved in defining professions and to provide a conceptual framework for their analysis. This conceptualization will lead to a variety of informal hypotheses and ideas about professions in general and counseling in particular.

The remainder of the work will be devoted to an empirical examination of the counseling profession, using the various sets of data we have collected on counselors. An historical investigation into the origin and growth of counseling will be the first step in this empirical focus. It will both provide some naturalistic data to test the previous conceptualizations and set the stage for the analysis of the more systematic data collected on contemporary counselors.

Three different sets of data will be utilized in the chapters which follow the historical analysis. Although the data were collected at different times, the various instruments had overlapping questions, making it possible to tie them together. One set of data was collected by the author during the spring of 1964. It consisted of intensive interviews and a mail questionnaire on a random sample of about a hundred full-time guidance counselors in 90 junior and senior high schools in 53 different cities and towns around

metropolitan Boston. This set of data is the most comprehensive of the three sets; it also is the only set which has "clinically" based data in the form of transcripts from interviews which lasted from one and a half to two and a half hours.

The other two sets of data are national random samples of full- and part-time guidance counselors at the high school level. One set was collected in the spring of 1964 by the Russell Sage Foundation, in cooperation with Project Talent, and consists primarily of data concerning counselors' and teachers' uses of and opinions about ability tests.[1] Questionnaires were received from 143 counselors and 1447 teachers in public high schools. The other set consists of questionnaires collected from counselors in the fall of 1965 by the United States Office of Education in connection with their study of educational opportunities of minority groups.[2] Although this latter set of data contains relatively few items relevant to counseling, it represents our largest sample. Data are available on 2230 full- and part-time counselors in public schools from all parts of the country. Furthermore, in the same study, data were collected concerning contact with these counselors from approximately 98,000 twelfth-grade students.

These various sets of data will be used to discuss the social and professional characteristics of counselors in Chapter 4. One issue in this chapter will be the determination of whether the characteristics of the counselor role qualify it as a profession, given our definition of the term. Aside from this purpose, the chapter will try to present a comprehensive picture of the distribution and characteristics of the contemporary school counselor.

The conclusion we will try to support is that counseling is a developing profession. As such, it will be maintained, it is necessary to locate a knowledge area relevant to the counselors' practices that forms the basis of the counselors' expertise. Although, in general, the behavioral sciences form the substance of this base, some types of knowledge are more relevant to the counselor's job than others. In particular, it will be hypothesized that psychological testing for general ability and achievement is a fundamental component of this knowledge base. A chapter will be devoted to counselors' uses of ability tests. The main issue here will be to test our hypothesis that test utilization is a major base of counselor expertise.

Up to this point counselors as a group have been discussed as the main unit of analysis. There is an important methodological problem in this procedure. At what point do within-group variations on important character-

[1] A preliminary report of this study is found in Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al.*, *The Use of Standardized Ability Tests in American Secondary Schools and Their Impact on Students, Teachers, and Administrators* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965).

[2] This study is described in James S. Coleman *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

istics become sufficiently large so that one can no longer speak of *group* characteristics without obscuring these important differences? Many of these variations for counselors, it will be argued, can be subsumed under the concept of professional ideologies. A chapter will be devoted to a discussion of these differences. It will be maintained that the main ideological differences revolve about the role of the counselor as "therapist" versus that of "educational advisor." The overall goals of counselors, it can be argued, are basically similar. But differences over means used to attain these goals lead to different ideological orientations. Some of the correlates of these differences will also be examined.

One of the major arguments that can be made against considering counseling as a profession is the very location of its practice. Unlike many other professionals, almost all guidance counselors are located in institutional settings controlled by persons who are not in the same profession. This is a potential threat to professional autonomy, and autonomy has traditionally been viewed as one of the most crucial aspects of a profession. A chapter will be devoted to examining the influences of an institutional setting on the practice of counselors. The consequences of our findings on this issue actually extend far beyond the counselor and other educational roles. The growth of institutional settings for many professions (for example, staff lawyers in corporations and state and city agencies; hospital and government settings for doctors; and scientists in industry) presents potential threats to their autonomy. Some of the problems discussed in that chapter should, therefore, be relevant to many other professions.

The final chapter will investigate the impact of counseling. From a practical standpoint, this is one of the most important discussions in the study. While practitioners in many professions, such as medicine and law, may have immediate feedback as to their success, the counselor and related professionals often cannot see, directly, the results of the application of their professional expertise. This certainly has implications for these professions, since their ultimate institutionalization rests on the belief of society that they are successful in attaining their stated goals. The main question here is whether or not counselors have a measurable impact and whether the impact justifies their existence. The evaluation of this impact is certainly a most difficult task; it is possible that counselors influence students in ways too subtle to measure. Nonetheless, some of the more explicit goals of the counseling profession will be operationalized and tested on the sample of students from the Office of Education study. Although the results must be considered as tentative, the approach will be a possible prototype of the way in which we can begin to evaluate the effectiveness of counseling.

CHAPTER 2 | The Sociology of Professions

THERE are several different approaches which have been used to study guidance counseling in secondary schools. One approach is based on impressionistic surveys of the goals of counseling and the way in which it is practiced. The data for these studies consist largely of material already written and literature of the type usually found in journals of the various professional organizations of counselors,[1] combined with the experiences of the author in actual counseling work. This framework is apparent in many of the major works in the area.[2]

Another approach is that taken by some of the literature used in the training of counselors.[3] Such works focus on the techniques of guidance which enable the counselor to be helpful to the client. These approaches are essentially concerned with the counseling process itself and not with counselors or the counseling occupation. The result of this is that we may learn the goals of counseling and how to be a counselor from these works, but we do not learn about the actual characteristics of practicing counselors in the field.

[1] The two journals which probably have the most articles relevant to counseling published since 1952 are the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, official publication of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, and the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, a publication of the American Vocational Guidance Association. Between 1921 and 1952, the latter journal was the major voice of counselors, under the various names of *National Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, *Vocational Guidance Magazine*, and *Occupations*.

[2] Examples are C. Gilbert Wrenn, *The Counselor in a Changing World* (Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1962); Norman A. Sprinthall and David V. Tiedeman, "Guidance and the Pupil," in John I. Goodlad, *Ed.*, *The Changing American School*, 65th yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966); and David C. Lortie, "Administrator, Advocate, or Therapist?" *Harvard Educational Review*, 35 (Winter, 1965), pp. 3–17.

[3] Two works which illustrate this are Carroll H. Miller, *Foundations of Guidance* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1961), and Merle M. Ohlsen, *Guidance Services in the School* (Rev. ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964).

While both of these frameworks are useful for various purposes, neither is uniquely sociological, at least in a formal sense. The first tends toward a journalistic approach; the second tends toward the field of educational psychology; and both lack systematic data and sociological theory relevant to the counselor role itself. We are led to consider the counselor from a different perspective, one that will examine the structure of counseling and its relation to the larger society within which it operates. It is this method which distinguishes the sociological.

That sociological approach which seems to make the most sense is the one embodying the study of professions, and that is the avenue to be taken here. By studying counselors as professionals, we are studying their formal and informal role characteristics.

Although a considerable body of literature has grown up centering on the sociology of professions, very little theoretical consensus has emerged, and relatively few large-scale empirical works have been completed on this subject. In particular, sociologists have not even agreed on what occupations to include in the category of professions. Often the literature takes the form of a free-for-all between those who are campaigning for all types of occupations to be included and those who want to restrict the title to a fairly small and élite group of vocations.

This chapter will provide one alternative to this debate by considering a somewhat more analytic framework for the analysis of professions. Before attempting our definitions, however, it is important to review briefly some of the more important works in the area that can provide material for our discussion of the criteria of a profession. Then, after presenting our theoretical notions, we shall see how they relate to the counseling profession in particular. This last part will be particularly concerned with developing a series of research questions with which we can approach our empirical data.

Defining a Profession

One of the earliest attempts to define a profession actually set the stage for many later works. In this report, Abraham Flexner argued for six criteria as the basis of a profession.[4] These included an intellectual orientation, self-regulation and organization, utilization of institutionalized knowledge (e.g., a science), teachable techniques, practical application of this knowledge and techniques, and a service or altruistic orientation. The point of his article was that social work did not meet most of these criteria and should not, therefore, be considered a profession. Aside from this assertion, it can be noted that the criteria seem to be derived from a consideration

[4] Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession," *School and Society*, 1 (June, 1915), pp. 901–911.

of those vocations which public consensus deemed professions. Thus, the definition flowed from an empirical and not a theoretical orientation.

This empirical approach was continued in perhaps the only true classic in the literature, A. M. Carr-Saunders' and P. A. Wilson's *The Professions*.[5] A major portion of the work is devoted to describing the history and characteristics of a variety of vocations which, again, were generally accepted as fitting the professional category. Although the authors offer no formal criteria for defining a profession, several points in their discussion note some crucial aspects. They were seen as vocations which provided "... all those skilled intellectual services upon which the day-to-day functioning of society depended."[6] They stressed that the growth of science and technology was responsible for the rise of many new professions.

Another characteristic of a profession which Carr-Saunders and Wilson focused on was that of organization and self-regulation, although they seem to have overstated the case: "A profession can only be said to exist when there are bonds between the practitioners, and these bonds can take but one shape—that of formal association."[7] A good part of their work consisted of a discussion of the history of association among professions and of the importance of association in maintaining a profession by setting standards for training and establishing licensing procedures. The perceived importance of association and regulation as defining criteria for a profession has continued into the present-day literature.

The Carr-Saunders–Wilson study is seen more properly as an historical study, stressing the ways in which professions arise and evolve. They made little attempt to interpret much of their material in a theoretical sense, in order to relate professions to other aspects of society. Indeed, in those days sociology did not have much of a theoretical framework upon which to base such a discussion.

The first explicitly theoretical discussion of professional roles was that of Talcott Parsons in the late 1930's.[8] His discussion was aimed at the traditional distinction between regular business and the professions. Although he did not specifically define what occupations should be considered professions, he did mention many of the features which others had pointed to as being unique to the professions. But his main contribution was to argue that, in fact, business and professional roles were regulated by normative patterns which had many things in common. Specifically, he argued that both professional and business roles were characterized by ra-

[5] A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

[8] Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Social Forces*, 17 (1939), pp. 457–467.

tionality, by functionally specific relationships with clients, and by universalistic orientations toward their clients. The main differences, he noted, had mainly to do with a "self-interest" orientation in business, as contrasted to a "disinterested" orientation in the professions. Although this distinction is not original with Parsons, he was the first to point out that the difference may not lie at the motivational level of individual practitioners, but rather at some institutional level. He felt that individuals in either kind of role are motivated by the same goal, notably occupational "success," but that definitions of what success means are different in the two areas.

Parsons extended these ideas in a later discussion of the medical profession.[9] He distinguished occupations that are characterized by a "self-orientation" and those with a "collective-orientation." A role with self-orientation, like many in the business world, gives primacy to a furtherance of the goals of the role (or the immediate collectivity in which it is imbedded), and in the business world these goals often take the form of personal or corporate profit. A collectively-oriented role, on the other hand, places primacy on the goals of the larger social systems in which it operates, at the expense, if necessary, of the goals of the actual role incumbent. The professions, he claimed, follow this latter type. He continued to maintain, however, that this did not *necessarily* mean that the actual motivation of individual role incumbents was a result of altruistic considerations. Since many rules and standards in a profession can be strictly controlled by its professional association, often with severe sanctions, it may well be in the interest of a practitioner to follow them. Because many professions have norms against activities such as advertising, which would maximize self-interest, professionals are often in a position to protect their self-interest by abiding by rules against certain self-interested actions. The important question is why such norms arise in some vocations and not in others.

The criteria which these various investigators proposed and elaborated several decades ago—technical competence in a complex body of knowledge, self-regulation through association, and a "service" orientation to the goals of the larger society—have not been radically modified in much of the work that has followed. There is not a vast literature on the professions, and most of the works take the form of short articles struggling with problems of definition. Works of Morris Cogan and, more recently, Harold Wilensky fall into this category[10]. Cogan's approach has been the extension of

[9] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), Chapter X.

[10] Morris L. Cogan, "The Problem of Defining a Profession," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 297 (1955), pp. 105–111; Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *The American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (September, 1964), pp. 137–158. A more analytic view is found in William J. Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession. . . ," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960), pp. 902–914.

the criteria so that occupations like teaching would qualify as professions. Wilensky, on the other hand, takes the opposite line by arguing against extending the concept, and he formulates the criteria in a relatively stringent way. Neither of these authors, however, gives criteria substantially different from what has already been discussed. They do differ, however, in how liberally they interpret them in cases of particular occupations.

There have been other works in the sociology of professions which are not primarily concerned with the definitional problems. Some of these are instructive for the insights they give us into the structure of professions. The work of William Goode has emphasized the professions as a microcosm of the larger social system.[11] This perspective sees a profession as a subsociety with many of the same properties as the larger one; but, at the same time, sees it as maintaining a special relationship to the larger society in that it has a considerable amount of control over clients because of their helpless position. This relationship, he points out, leads to a particularly strong socializing experience for those entering a profession. Those who become professionals learn to believe in a strict code of ethics and to submit to the control of the national and local professional associations.

Goode's emphasis on the profession as a "community" was perhaps the reason that two other investigators, Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, were led to point out the many diverse orientations that can exist *within* a single profession.[12] Although their explicit framework was for the analysis of change within a profession, one of their main insights was that no profession has a completely unified point of view or orientation, either with regard to its main goals in a society or to the means it uses to gain those goals. This position takes on a particularly historical importance in the field. Before their essay, very little consideration had been given to the empirical question of the extent to which practitioners adhere to the standards of a profession, as set forth either by leaders in the profession or by official documents from the professional association.

Although there exist many other works in the sociology of professions, the works most relevant to our concerns have been treated briefly.[13] Where it is relevant, we shall make reference to works which have not already

[11] William J. Goode, "Community within a Community: the Professions," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (1957), pp. 194–200.

[12] Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professions in Process," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (1961), pp. 325–334.

[13] Other important contributions are an entire issue of *Daedalus*, 92 (Fall, 1963), devoted to the professions; Joseph Ben-David, "Professions in the Class System of Present-day Societies," *Current Sociology*, 12 (1963–1964) pp. 246–330; Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Milles, *Eds., Professionalization* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966); and Sigmund Nosow and William Form, *Eds., Man, Work, and Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1962).

been discussed. Our main task now is to bring these ideas together and make an attempt to define professions.

Professions, as a term, denotes a subgrouping of occupations in general. As such, on the very surface, the term denotes a social role whose major characteristic, from the point of view of the larger social system, involves the production of a good or service for that system. From the point of view of an individual actor, the occupational role serves as his primary economic relationship to the larger system and provides him with the means to support his own needs and those of his immediate primary group responsibilities; that is, usually, his family. This is a very general and oversimplified definition of occupations, but we shall not go beyond it here. The problem is to differentiate the professions from occupations in general.

At the outset, it must be stressed that we do not wish to reify the term of profession; a more fundamental concept is that of occupation. What we will be doing in the following discussion would be more accurately described as defining certain characteristics which any occupation can possess to some degree. Those occupations that have all the characteristics mentioned, in no uncertain terms, with empirical verification, might be called professions. Those occupations that have such characteristics to a lesser degree, or that may have them to a high degree, but without empirical verification, might be called semiprofessions, or marginal professions, or perhaps new professions. The term applied is not too important; what is important are the analytical distinctions that are made.

The traditional method of defining a profession is to start with certain classes of occupations which have been historically defined as such, for example, those of medicine and law. Then the investigator attempts to locate the "essential" features that are common to these roles and, by abstraction, extend them to other occupational roles. While this procedure leads to useful insights, there is no guarantee that the resulting conceptualization will be optimally relevant to more general conceptual frameworks of human behavior.

The starting point of our discussion will be certain concepts derived from the social systems theory of Talcott Parsons.[14] The main concepts are those concerning sanction systems and the notion of influence as a social interaction medium.[15] Our discussion here will not be a technical one, and our use of these concepts will not be a direct application. It would be most

[14] The most recent statement of system theory appears in Talcott Parsons, "An Outline of the Social System," in Parsons *et al., Theories of Society,* Volume I (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 30–79.

[15] Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 27 (Spring, 1963), pp. 37–62. See also Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 107 (June, 1963), pp. 232–262.

accurate to say that the reasoning presented here has been strongly influenced by these ideas. (A more technical and somewhat more extensive discussion can be found in Appendix I.)

One feature of the professions, which has been discussed in the literature, is the special relationship between the professional and the client. Our approach will be to inquire into the general relationship between two persons in an interaction setting, and to attempt to understand what distinguishes the professional-client interaction from others.

First, we can cast the interaction of two persons into a sanctions setting. That is, we can consider that the interaction results in gains for or losses to each of the actors, depending on the outcomes of the interaction. The gains or losses can be expressed in terms of a value system which we can assume at this point is held in common by both actors. For the sake of clarity, we should focus on the orientation of only one of the actors and consider the interaction setting in terms of his orientation. This actor we shall term "Ego" and the other "Alter." We can say, then, that the interaction between Ego and Alter can result in gains or losses for Ego according to the actions of Alter.

Let us consider two basic types of sanctions which are relevant to any interaction situation. First, there are sanctions which are controlled directly by Alter (or by a collectivity which Alter is representing). Thus, Ego may be a child and Alter one of his parents; the setting could concern the child's use of the family car. In this setting, we could say that Alter had direct sanctioning control in relation to Ego. Again, Ego may be an accused criminal standing before the judgment of a court (Alter); Alter would be said to have direct sanctioning control regarding Ego. Finally, Ego might be a store owner and Alter a buyer; direct control can be exerted by Alter through his control of the money which can be used to buy a product. In all of these situations, of course, and particularly in the latter, the roles of Alter and Ego are potentially reversible: the buyer, as Ego, is subject to the direct sanctioning of Alter, the store owner, through the latter's control of ownership of the product desired by Ego.

The direct sanctioning control of the actors in an interaction setting, in terms of their valued needs, is typical of much social interaction. But there is another important class of sanctioning behavior. This would involve the *indirect* control of sanctions by Alter through *knowledge* about direct sanctions. This may be expressed by the following example. Ego complains to Alter about the high price of clothing; Alter says, "You should shop at Sears—it's cheaper." This interaction leads to gains or losses for Ego—but not as directly controlled by Alter. It is Alter's knowledge about the direct sanction process that results in possible gains (or losses) for ego. In this sense, Alter is not the applier of sanctions, but the informer about sanctions.

This type of sanctioning behavior we shall term *influence.*[16] Alter affects Ego's behavior not by promises or threats of direct sanctioning but by *informing* Ego of such possible promises or threats. The information which Alter possesses is based upon his previous experiences. The common sense use of the term influence is similar to our definition; it is often used when we want to convey the idea that Alter is not able to directly affect Ego's behavior by offering or withholding things desired by Ego. However, it must be stressed that we distinguish influence from "power" or "authority" and that one of the latter terms is applied whenever Alter does have direct sanction capabilities.

A good example of these distinctions which will be relevant to our later discussion can be found in the judicial setting. If we assume that Ego is a defendant, then in giving advice to Ego, his lawyer is using influence. The judge, however, is using power when he makes his judgment since he has direct sanctioning control.

We have used the term "sanction"—without specifying the types of sanctions available. In one sense, a list of sanctions is impossible to construct since, theoretically at least, anything valued by Ego can be used as a sanction with respect to him. However, in any society at any given point in time, there are many institutionalized needs of its members. By institutionalized, we mean that various processes (e.g., socialization) and social structures (e.g., family and school) tend to transmit a value system to each individual which specifies certain common needs and the legitimate means to satisfy them. We cannot go into a sanction classification here; it has been done elsewhere.[17] Suffice it to say that needs of social actors are not merely those which maintain the biological organism, such as food, shelter, and physical freedom. Nor are they confined to the more material needs that modern society stresses—transportation, clothing, etc. There are needs which are gratified at a strictly social level; in particular, needs for status in a membership or a sense of "belongingness" and for honors in the sense of competence or "success." Such notions as "social approval" and "shame" convey the idea of sanctions at a strictly noncorporeal level. We will not go into the issue of whether these are intrinsic needs for human beings; it is most certainly true that they have to do with the needs of individuals in American society.

As defined, influence as a kind of interaction process can and does occur between any set of actors. How, then, is this to be related to professions? The key to influence, as defined, is knowledge. We have seen the wide consensus in the literature that one of the unique features of professional

[16] To avoid confusion, we should point out that the process we have called *influence* is similar to what Parsons terms *persuasion.*

[17] See Appendix I.

roles is that they are based on some body of codified knowledge. It is contended that it is useful to see the professional role as an *institutionalized influence role.*[18]

As an institutionalized influence role, members of a profession possess knowledge about *potential* direct sanctions for their clients. The act of giving a client advice about these sanctions, based upon specialized knowledge, constitutes the main activity of the members of a profession. The profession does not generally deal with direct sanctions, although there are exceptions to this. The professional may engage in an influence process with respect to a client, and then be the agent of direct sanctioning. The process of medical consultation, advice, and consequent action (e.g., surgery) involves both aspects. But not all professionals engage in this kind of direct intervention.

There are three conditions which should be identified if we are to apply the term "institutionalized" to professional roles. First, the codified knowledge upon which the profession's influence rests must itself be institutionalized; that is, generally accepted by and integrated into the larger social system in which the profession operates. There are and have been areas of knowledge that have not gained such a status, or have held it for only a relatively short time. The fields of astrology, alchemy, and phrenology are cases in point. To some extent, the institutionalization of the body of knowledge is independent of the profession based upon it, and, in fact, a profession-like role structure may proceed it. Historically, some of the classic professions preceded their knowledge base; medicine was practiced for some time before the institutionalization of the fields of anatomy and physiology. The role may even signal the need for a knowledge base.

The second criterion is involved in the answer to the question of why codified knowledge arises in some areas and not in others. The answer is a complex one, and we do not pretend to supply it completely here. The most complex issue is whether codification is *intrinsically* easier with respect to some phenomena than others, or whether codification proceeds whenever the human investigators are free to operate within the framework of their value systems. There is no doubt that to some extent progress in science depends upon a favorable intellectual and social climate.

A reasonable assertion is that codified knowledge is most likely to develop and its application to be encouraged whenever the knowledge area is crucial to the biological, psychological, and social survival and well-being of individuals and groups. Whether or not a knowledge area satisfies important needs depends largely on empirical considerations. The ability of the physical and natural sciences to help man control his environment and pro-

[18] Parsons' use of the term *influence* more closely corresponds to what we are terming *institutionalized influence.*

long his life is undisputed. The newer behavioral sciences are, in part, outgrowths of more recently recognized psychological and social needs of man, needs brought to light most dramatically in the developing industrial societies.

Likewise, the codified knowledge of law developed as part of the process of the rationalization and centralization of government, in order to provide man with a means of orderly relationships with others and with his central government—relationships definitely crucial to his survival as a citizen. Similar arguments can be made for the development of codified knowledge in the religious area.

The development of a profession to apply these knowledge areas often goes hand in hand with development of the knowledge itself. The profession masters the body of knowledge and provides the link between the knowledge area and those in need of its application. Thus, the second criterion of a profession is that the knowledge applied be an important service to the society as a whole.

The institutionalization of the knowledge area is a precondition of the third important criterion for the institutionalization of influence, which is trust.[19] The fact that a codified body of knowledge exists and is accepted by the members of a social system is not in itself sufficient for the establishment of a profession. In the Ego-Alter interaction schema, Alter's advice is not likely to be taken by Ego, unless Ego has reason to believe that Alter "knows what he's talking about." That is, Ego must trust Alter. If Ego and Alter are friends, the trust might be based in the solidarity relationship itself, and, ordinarily, Ego would not question the advice unless Alter went too far beyond what Ego might reasonably assume to be his realm of experience. Also, part of Ego's motivation in abiding by the advice lies in the fact that Alter can bring to bear direct sanctioning, where the sanction is the threat of disolving the solidarity relationship. Likewise, if Ego and Alter are child and parent, direct sanctions to Ego in the form of physical punishment can be brought to bear.

In the case of a profession, however, such direct sanctioning is generally not available to the practitioner, at least during the influence phase of the interaction and, in fact, if applied would threaten the very structure of the trust basis. The trust must arise out of a belief by members of the social system that the profession is in fact competent to apply the knowledge; that is, the system must give the professional status as an "expert" with respect to applying that knowledge. It is difficult to assess exactly how this trust arises, but it obviously must be connected with the actual success of the profession in attaining its stated goals. The medical doctor is the clear-

[19] The role of trust is discussed in Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," *op. cit.*

est case in point here; the health of the human organism is a reasonably well-defined concept and thus offers a clear standard against which to measure the success of medical practice.

Of course, the clarity of the knowledge base is also an important factor in the growth and maintenance of trust in a profession. No matter how sincere and conscientious the professional, if the knowledge area he is applying contains inconsistencies or ambiguities, then the maintenance of trust becomes problematic. The profession will have a difficult time "convincing" the social system that its expertise is relevant and important.

Thus, there are three distinct facets to the establishment of a profession. First, the knowledge base must be codified and institutionalized and be relevant to the needs of the system. This process does not necessarily (and usually does not) depend directly on the profession itself. The profession also must be trusted as expert by some part of the social system. This process does depend, at least to a considerable extent, upon the profession through the success of its applications.

We have defined a profession in a more formal way than the earlier literature, using primarily the criteria of codified knowledge applications. What of the many other criteria which have been proposed? Some of these are corollaries of what has already been said. For example, in the process of establishing expertise, for the maintenance of trust, who is to judge the competency of the practitioner? If the application of knowledge is to be successful, the practitioner must be qualified. By definition, since the professional is expert in a knowledge area, only those with the same knowledge and experience would be qualified to judge professional competency. The overall goals of a profession and its general success in achieving them may be evaluated by the social system as a whole, but the judgment of a single professional's competence will necessarily involve the specialized knowledge upon which it is based. Thus, the criterion of licensing and self-regulation (with professional associations as the main agents) tends to be a necessary corollary of the knowledge-base criterion.

We can also conclude that, just as a body of knowledge varies as to the extent of its codification, the necessity of self-regulation will also vary. If a body of knowledge contains broad ambiguities, it may be difficult for a profession based on it to convince the society as a whole that it is the only group who can judge competencies. The issue of competency itself becomes complicated since the ambiguities from the knowledge base may not offer clear guidelines for evaluation. It may then occur that judgments of competency can arise from agents *outside* the knowledge area.

Such a situation might arise in those professions based on the behavorial and social sciences. Since these knowledge areas are less institutionalized, as we have said, the expert status of a practitioner in these areas may be

harder to establish. Likewise, judgment of competencies may occur according to ethical or even political ideological standards. The social worker and the psychiatrist often encounter such situations. Their expert judgement is often not accepted by other persons who are in traditional positions of authority (e.g., local governments and families).

The issue of licensing raises another aspect of the role of trust. Although the institutionalization of the profession as a whole requires the trust of society in general, based upon the collective output of the profession, there is the further problem that each practitioner must establish a trust relationship with individual clients. Although part of this trust will arise from specific successes of the professional with respect to given clients, an initial amount of trust must exist before a client will even enter into the relationship. This is a trust that the practitioner is a qualified and certified member of the profession, and this trust is partly established by the licensing procedure. A client may assume that the licensed professional has some minimal level of competence to practice in his field, *before* the client has any way to judge based on his own relationship with that professional. This initial amount of trust at the individual client level, based on the licensing procedure, is another important aspect of the institutionalization of the influence process.

Another defining criterion that has recurred in literature on professions is that of a service orientation or altruistic motivation on the part of the practitioners. It is the contention here, following Parsons, that this criterion often reflects a confusion between the characteristics of the professional *role* and the characteristics of the role *incumbents*. It is possible for a profession to provide a valuable service to society even when the practitioners are pursuing quite selfish personal goals. It is probably not an accident that the professions generally either pay well or offer high status, or both. If a profession as a whole is crucial for society, then the society must provide a reward system that assures a constant supply of practitioners. Although systematic evidence on this point is surprisingly scarce, at least one study of college teachers found that altruistic attitudes were by no means the main factors in their decision to enter teaching.[20] The reasons of making a contribution to society or to the field were mentioned by only a third of the sample. Over 40 per cent said that a desire to work with those of college age and the working conditions were the deciding factors; both of these are more personal considerations, particularly the latter.

Whether or not the professional role incumbents are altruists, it still is worthwhile to consider the issue of the service orientation as a criterion of professions. We have chosen to see a profession as characterized by an

[20] Ruth E. Eckert and John E. Stecklein, *Job Motivation and Satisfactions of College Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 28.

application of knowledge critical to the welfare of the society. In this light, the service orientation might be seen as the contribution made to society by the *practice* of the profession as a whole. For example, the service orientation of the medical profession might be found, not in the sentiments of doctors but rather in the fact that medical practice contributes directly to human welfare. A skilled surgeon can save a life even if his only vocational motive is money. Adherence to long hours and other demands on doctors are not necessarily selfless sacrifices but, on the contrary, may be means of satisfying self-interest.

While we are discussing the criteria of a profession, there is one important point to make about the completeness of the codified knowledge. We have already said that the extent of the codification depends on the area being considered, and thus the possible success of applying that knowledge likewise varies. But there is another limitation of applying knowledge that results in an important feature of professions.

The very term "codification" implies that some abstraction of empirical reality has taken place. No matter how well-established and complete a body of knowledge may be, it can never specify all of the important details for any single, concrete case. This is true even for the highly codified physical sciences. All the laws of physics put together do not completely specify all of the details of building a bridge. All the natural sciences combined cannot tell a doctor precisely how to diagnose and treat any given illness.

Thus, the application of knowledge for specific cases or clients is not an automatic process. Judgments and decisions by the practitioner are required, judgements based on informal knowledge, often noncodified and probably most often based on actual experience. If the knowledge were completely codified, then, in its application, the necessity of human judgment based on experience would disappear; and the process might become automated. It is not impossible that the day might come when this is so, but we have not seen it yet in any field, even in those based on the most "certain" sciences.

Thus, judgment becomes a core characteristic of the professional role. This is probably why, after a period of formal education when much of the codified knowledge is obtained, most professions require that the practitioner spend some time "in the field," under supervision. This experience gives the practitioner time to develop his judgmental skills.

In summary, then, the mastery of a body of knowledge in an area important to human welfare, and the necessity of judgment based on experience in applying that knowledge define the expertise of a professional, and the professionals taken collectively are institutionalized influence role structures. They are influence roles to the extent that they function with respect

to their clients by offering information about important potential sanctions without necessarily applying direct sanctions themselves. They are institutionalized to the extent that the members of society "trust" the professional's ability to fulfill his claims, and this, in turn, tends to occur as a result of both increasing clarity of the knowledge in that area and empirical success in applying it. Other criteria, such as self-regulation through association and a service orientation, are either corollaries to these characteristics or are rewordings of them.

It is important to emphasize here that the extent of codification of any body of knowledge, its significance for human welfare, and its mastery by an occupational collectivity—along with experience in applying it—all vary along a continuum. Those occupations in which each of these is highly developed (such as engineering, medicine, and law) form the prototypes of professions and seem to have given rise to the term itself. Other occupations, where one or more of these dimensions is less developed, are often termed "emergent," "marginal," or "semi-" professions in comparison with the traditional ones. Obviously, it is of less concern to worry about labels than it is to isolate the dimensions themselves; otherwise, the points of essential structural similarities between these kinds of occupations can be lost amid a debate usually dominated by the features of the older and more traditional professions. This is not to say that age distinctions among such occupations do not matter; they are very important for identifying the various stages of development of a profession. But it is equally important to identify those occupations for which the dimensions we discussed are relevant, as opposed to those where they are not.

Some Empirical and Methodological Issues

Up to this point we have been concerned with the general problem of the definition of a profession. The discussion has therefore been quite abstract, with few references to actual professions. Very little of the preceding is operationally ready to give us clues as to the issues to which we should pay attention when we turn to an empirical study of a particular profession. To make matters worse, there have been so few sociological case studies of actual professions that we do not have much historical precedence for the kinds of questions and data we should examine.

There is no doubt that many issues depend on the actual profession or class of professions being studied; each will have its own unique features and functions. For example, the professions based on the behavioral and social sciences are all newer than those based on the natural and physical sciences; they are thus less institutionalized—quite aside from their different subject matter. Thus, some issues will be relevant to the newer ones and not to the others. Likewise, empirical variations *within* the older

set, those between doctors and engineers, for instance, make for important differences in their characteristics.

Since we are going to focus on school counselors, some of the issues we shall raise will be unique to them and others relevant only to a subgroup of professions. We cannot pretend to present an exhaustive examination of a profession. In particular, the case study lacks the advantages of a comparative study. Nevertheless, the following concerns are at least of central interest when studying the counseling profession, and many are relevant to several other professions as well.

Before taking up counselors, however, there is one methodological problem in studying collectivites which does have relevance for all professions. It is the problem of assessing the characteristics of a collectivity. We have already noted one possible confusion, that of identifying the service orientation of professional roles as altruism, a characteristic of individual professional role incumbents. In assessing this and similar issues, we have said that it is important to keep separate the characteristics of role incumbents and the characteristics of the role collectivity as a whole. They cannot be completely independent, of course, but the extent of their overlap is problematic. There is certainly no logical necessity for any degree of overlap. It may be, for example, that only one-third of all doctors enters medicine for altruistic reasons, even though probably close to 100 per cent aid human life daily. There are two possible interpretations which depend on other data. If we found that in all other nonprofessional occupations only a small percentage, say 5 per cent, chose their jobs out of altruism, then we might conclude that the comparative *aggregate* altruism was high for doctors and therefore a significant professional characteristic. But if the other nonprofessional groups had feelings about their work in similar proportions to doctors, then clearly we could not say altruism was unique to professions. It is an empirical question entirely. In the face of the latter outcome, we would still conclude, however, that the medical profession has a service orientation toward society. The mere performance of its professional activities, aside from individual feelings, makes the medical collectivity service oriented.

This leads to the larger methodological issue of the assessment of collective characteristics. Our example illustrates one method of assessment—aggregation of individual characteristics. However, although the aggregate characteristics of collectivity members provide many important collective features, they by no means exhaust them.

Another type of assessment is provided by the views and behavior of those *outside* the profession—not necessarily those of the clients. For example, institutionalization of trust for the profession depends as much on the society as on the profession. No matter what standards, licensing, or or-

ganizations exist, if the public does not trust that the group can do what it claims, then it is not institutionalized—and therefore is not yet a fully developed profession.

The third way to assess a formal collectivity depends on what we may term the output of a collectivity as an entity. This may be in the form of journals, reports, convention results, and other such documents and publications. They are often issued by various meetings of the group or by authorized representatives and leaders. Much of this material may have to do with the collectivity's goals and activities. Some of these records do reflect aggregate behavior, particularly if they reflect votes of a convention, and they are somewhat special cases of aggregate characteristics. But, as is well known, votes are not the same things as polls, and generally the voters at conventions are hardly a random, representative sample of the total membership. Their presence at a convention marks them as more active and articulate than the rank and file; they are, no doubt, the leadership of the collectivity.

These considerations certainly apply to professional collectivities. The data from these sources apply to the collectivitiy as a collectivity and cannot be reduced to aggregation of the total membership. Whatever overlap there is, is an entirely open question. If a professional association has a code of ethics, for example, then the code is descriptive of that profession. But the existence of such a code does not mean automatically that all practitioners abide by it. Obviously, their adherence is likely to vary with the sanctions imposed and the ability of the association to enforce them.

This third kind of data is an excellent source for what we should term the *formal* characteristics of the profession. Statements of pupose, codes of ethics, and other professional activity prescriptions exist only at this level. They form the Gestalt of the profession as a whole and serve to inform the outside society of its ends and means. In addition, these data serve another important purpose. They give us an historical record of the growth and development of a profession. Through them we can get an understanding of the processes of its functioning and its institutionalization.

All three types of data—aggregated individual characteristics, "outsider" attitudes, and records and documents from professional associations—are utilized in later chapters. Thus, our methodological approach is to analyze the profession of counseling at as many levels as possible.

Given our definition of professions, our first empirical problem is to locate the major goals which counselors pursue and the codified knowledge —if any—upon which their practice is based in the pursuance of their goals. This will be started in the next chapter, using the historical and documentary method of collectivity assessment. Our effort should result in a statement of the formal standards and practices of the profession. We con-

tinue this in Chapter 4, shifting to aggregated individual characteristics, using data we have collected on contemporary practicing counselors.

Also following from our earlier discussion, we are interested in the extent to which counselors have mastered their knowledge base and the actual practices in which they engage to meet their goals. This is begun in Chapter 4, but it is further explicated in Chapters 5 and 6, which analyze the two major activities of current counseling.

Another set of issues concerning the study of professions that we wish to take up is relevant specifically to the newer professions whose codified knowledge bases are mainly in the social and behavioral sciences. First, since the knowledge bases are not so highly developed, controversies may be more likely to arise both within and without the profession concerning both the goals and the means of attaining them. Sometimes the internal controversies result in the formulation of ideological factions within the profession. Chapter 6 will take up this issue.

Second, the newer professions are less institutionalized partly because of their incomplete knowledge base. The process of trust formation is hence currently in progress—unlike professions such as medicine and law. As we mentioned earlier, trust in a profession will grow only if its success in attaining its goals can be shown. It is important, then, to study both actual success and the current state of trust in the client population. Such studies have occurred in psychiatry and are equally important for the school counseling profession. This will be explored in Chapter 8.

The final issue we will consider is relevant to all professions, not so much because of their nature but rather because of changes occurring in the society as a whole. Professional practitioners are increasingly finding themselves in institutional settings. This pertains obviously to professions such as teaching and counseling, but it applies as well to law and medicine. Many doctors practice in hospital settings, and many lawyers are on the staff of large corporations and government agencies.

These institutional settings raise a host of problems for professions.[21] As we have seen, self-regulation, based on the profession's unique expertise, has long been cited as a primary defining criterion of a profession. Although we have not chosen to follow this standard, self-regulation is nonetheless an important corollary. The institutional setting may or may not have an authority structure in which professional staff have supervisors who are fellow professionals. If it does not, then the professional staff may be in constant conflict with the nonprofessional authority structure because of their differing status as experts.

But even if professionals are supervised by professionals, there are still

[21] A relevant discussion is found in Richard H. Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," *American Sociological Review*, 33 (February, 1968), pp. 92–104.

potential conflicts. Nonsupervisory across-staff relations between professionals and nonprofessionals can create conflicts. But, aside from interaction problems like these, there is always the possibility that the interests of the institution may conflict with the "objective" interest of professional practice and standards. Whoever is entrusted with the institutional interests, even when a professional, may be faced with the necessity of acting in a manner that is adverse to the professional interests.

The counselor in a school setting is an excellent illustration of the more general problem of institutional setting. Although our data are not fully adquate on this level, we will nonetheless examine the main problems for counseling in Chapter 7.

It is obvious that we have not covered all of the issues that could be focused on in a case study of a profession. There are, for example, the issues involving recruitment to the profession and its training practices which have guided other investigations. Also, there are issues about the structure and functioning of professional associations that we did not raise. However, the ones we have discussed are, we feel, major ones, considering the profession to be studied.

CHAPTER 3

The Origins and Growth of Guidance Counseling

LITTLE has been said, thus far, about guidance counseling per se. Our conceptual framework has been established for professional roles in general. From this point we shall be concerned, for the most part, with the counseling profession and, in particular, with those practitioners in secondary schools.

The main purposes of this chapter are twofold. First, we hope to trace the development of counseling, particularly the evolution of that form now present in contemporary public schools, while providing some relevant sociological interpretations. Aside from learning of some issues internal to the profession, we shall also learn of the significance of counseling for the larger social system. Hopefully, the patterns so traced will have some bearing on the evolution of professions in general.

Second, we want to learn of the current formal goals and standards of the profession as elaborated by its formal associations and leadership. This information will serve as a comparative background for the actual goals and standards of practicing counselors, as derived from systematic data in following chapters.

Social Antecedents of Guidance

A detailed account of the history of guidance would be beyond the scope of the present work. Moreover, a thorough treatment of developments up to 1940 has already appeared,[1] and there have been other histories which

[1] John M. Brewer, *History of Vocational Guidance* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942).

trace guidance up to recent times.[2] All of these works, however, are narrative and hence tend to overlook the broader social antecedents and significance of guidance. We hope to correct this by looking at some general social changes that occurred in this country during the nineteenth century, while at the same time applying sociological concepts that place guidance in the proper social perspective. Our history of developments within guidance will therefore be selective in form, focusing upon several issues which are most relevant to our sociological interpretation.

The Industrial Revolution wrought many changes in the Western world. The social organization of mid-twentieth-century America bears little resemblance to that of feudal Europe. Many of these changes have formed the core of problems investigated by sociologists—changes in economic organization, in family organization, and in social class structure. There are two classes of these changes that are of particular relevance here: the changing occupational structure and the corresponding changes in the family.

Industrialization is characterized, in part, by increasing specialization of occupations, with a transition from an agriculturally-based economy to an industrially-based economy. The most rapid period of this change occurred in this country between 1840 and 1930. In 1840, estimates are that 75 per cent of the labor force was in agriculture.[3] In 1870, 53 per cent of the labor force was engaged in agricultural pursuits, while 20 per cent was engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries.[4] By 1930, these percentages had become 21 and 29, respectively. This period defined the industrial transition for America.

Not all of the new jobs were in manufacturing industries; considerable increases occurred in the middle-level white-collar or "service" occupations. Clerical jobs increased from .6 per cent in 1870 to 8 per cent by 1930 and trade occupations (e.g., salemen, retail dealers) from 7 to 12.5 per cent.

Looking at some actual numbers will make these changes even more dramatic. In the period from 1870 to 1930, the total number of gainful workers increased from roughly 13 to 49 million, virtually a fourfold increase. During this time, the increase in manufacturing and mechanical occupations was from 2.6 to 14 million, a sixfold increase. Certain occupa-

[2] Ernest H. St. Jacques, *A History of the Guidance-Personnel Movement in the United States from 1946 to 1961* (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1963). See also Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolfe, *Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel Work* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1957).

[3] Conrad Tauber and Irene B. Tauber, *The Changing Population of the United States* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), p. 203.

[4] Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 101. All statistics quoted in this and the next paragraph are take from this work, pp. 100–121.

tions within this category showed even larger increases—electricians (from 400 to 285,000), machinists (from 55,000 to 654,000), iron and steel industry occupations (from 107,000 to almost 1.5 million), and miscellaneous manufacturing occupations (from 173,000 to almost 2.5 million). Similar increases took place in other areas. The increase in trade occupations, for example, was from 900,000 to over 6 million: the largest growth was in retail and wholesale dealers, sales, clerical (in stores), and miscellaneous white-collar jobs—from a little over 800,000 to 5.5 million. Another category of clerical jobs (agents, bookkeepers, typists, etc.) increased from almost 82,000 to over 4 million; almost half of the 4 million were women.

It should be stressed that the actual number of different occupations was increasing during this period; it was not merely a case of increasing numbers of persons employed in a constant occupational structure. This can be inferred to a certain extent from the above data; we know that technological innovations led to new industries (electronic, aviation, and automotive, for example) and hence to new types of jobs. Data are not available for the United States, but in Great Britain 431 different occupations were listed in the 1841 census.[5] By 1940, there were 25,000 occupational titles listed for the United States.[6] Ten years later this had increased to almost 40,000.[7]

As part of industrialization, great changes were taking place in the family structure and the location of work. Along with the agricultural base of a society goes a certain type of family pattern with respect to occupational allocation. In 1870, 75 per cent of the United States population lived in rural places; by 1900, this had decreased to 60 per cent and, by 1930, to less than 45 per cent.[8] Although not much is known about family patterns before and during the nineteenth century,[9] we can surmise that the choice of an occupation was largely nonproblematic: the male children traditionally took on the vocational pursuit of their fathers. This was no doubt the case in all agrarian societies; the child, like his father, stayed on the farm to inherit it, or perhaps took an adjacent piece of land and became a farmer. Before the industrial transition there was little problem of choice of an occupation, both because of family structure and because there were not many occupations from which to choose.

Even in the earlier stages of industrialization, jobs were often assigned ascriptively. In England, for example, a father-son apprenticeship system

[5] Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[7] Carroll H. Miller, *Foundations of Guidance* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1961).

[8] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), p. 93.

[9] William J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 3.

worked in early industry settings, indicating perhaps a carry-over from the traditional agrarian family pattern.

> As chief economic agent for the family, the father was responsible for his son's economic training and education. While apprenticeship had decayed in the eighteenth century, the tradition of training one's son into a trade held firm, even in the early factory environment.[10]

This phenomenon no doubt existed in our own society in the early stages of industrialization. The traditional mode of sons following their fathers' careers must inevitably break down, however, given the rapid growth of so many new and different occupations. For example, as noted earlier, there were 400 electricians in 1870.[11] One generation later, in 1900, there were a little over 50,000 electricians. Clearly, it would take an absurdly high reproduction rate to provide enough electricians' sons to meet the demand for electricians.

It would be a mistake, of course, to assume that there was no occupational choice in the nineteenth century and that all sons merely followed their fathers' occupational path. What is important is that, in the later years of that century, thousands of new jobs were being created, and millions of persons, for the first time, had to select these jobs *independently* of those of their fathers.

It seems clear that as long as there are few occupations to choose from, the question of what the "right" job is for a given person is simply not raised. The American value system has always stressed the importance of "success" in personal endeavors, and this has included success in a person's work. With the increasing differentiation and specialization of labor, the question of the "correct" job for each person is raised, and thus the success a person has in his job can depend as much on the choice of that job as on the performance of it after he is in it.

We may assume that the process of choosing an occupation, new to millions of persons, presented somewhat of a problem if only because of its novelty. Although it is difficult to document this point directly, there is some indirect evidence in the appearance of a rash of books dealing with occupational choice. One of the earliest of these was a small volume by Lysander Richards, published in 1881, advocating the creation of a new profession of "vocophy" which would aid individuals in choosing a career.

> All we claim to perform is to bring order out of chance and chaos, and form or establish a system to enable a person to find the most fitting pursuit in which he can reap the greatest success that it is possible for him individually to attain.[12]

[10] Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 268.

[11] Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[12] Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Another title, appearing in 1898, is revealing: *What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?*, by Charles Wingate. The author comments,

> Thousands of fathers and mothers are anxiously considering their sons' careers . . . next to selecting a wife, the choice of a calling is the most important act of a man's life. If he makes a mistake he may change later on, but it is better to start right and avoid getting the square peg in the round hole.[13]

In 1904, we find in the Introduction to *Careers for the Coming Men* the following:

> One of the heaviest responsibilities that parentage entails lies in advising the son . . . in regard to the vocation which he shall follow. . . . Too often . . . it is the case that the predilections of immaturity are inimical to the best interest of the individual, who may elect to adopt a career for which he is naturally unfitted, and in which, if he escapes failure, he can never hope to achieve any great degree of success.[14]

Another statement which covers many of the points raised here is from *Choosing a Career*, by Orison Swett Marden.

> One of the great tragedies of life is the fact that so many people stumble into their vocations by accident. . . . The world is full of misfit tragedies. . . . Everything is drifting into specialties. . . . A young man . . . cannot reach the highest success unless he follows [the] drift of his nature.[15]

These excerpts are only a sample of the occupational literature of that age; there are many other such examples. It is true that we have no idea of the extent to which these writings accurately reflect the extent of the problems pointed out. But since this literature is really the first of its kind in America, and given the data on the growth of occupations, it can reasonably be surmised that dilemmas of job choice were being felt by a substantial segment of the populations and that it was a new experience.

Most of these books had several thing in common. First of all, they were often directed as much toward parents as toward the individual deciding on an occupation. This is an important point, indicating that there was still a carry-over of the traditional dominance of parental occupation in determining that of the child. Another way of stating this is to say that occupational allocation traditionally rested with family (whether or not

[13] Charles F. Wingate, *What Shall Our Boys Do for a Living?* (New York: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898), p. vii.

[14] Whitelaw Reid *et al.*, *Careers for the Coming Men* (Akron, Ohio: Saafield Publishing Co., 1904), p. 7.

[15] Orison Swett Marden, *Choosing a Career* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1905), pp. 10–11.

parents *explicitly* chose the children's occupation) and, because of this, that the early attempts at alleviating the problems of occupational choice often focused upon the parents' role in the selection process.

The second theme common to these early works is that of "success." In these works, success takes on a slightly different meaning from the common one. Success was not seen solely in terms of wealth or high prestige jobs; success, to these authors, meant doing well in one's work, no matter where the occupation fell in the economic and prestige hierarchies. Moreover, they expressed the belief that a person could never achieve success unless he had a job which was "right" for him in the first place. Of course, the right job would not guarantee success; but it would make the probability of success much higher.

The third and final idea in many of these works was that of finding the "best fit" between an individual and an occupation; this defined the "right" job. Each individual, they maintained, is equipped with certain talents, abilities, and inclinations (whether by inheritance or training—different authors placed different emphasis on each). On the other hand, each job has certain requirements with respect to these categories, and the important thing was that each person should be matched with the job for which he was most "suited."

This last idea is by no means original with nineteenth-century America; a similar proposal was made by Plato in the *Republic.* But with increasing occupational differentiation and the breakdown of the traditional allocating mechanisms, this concept takes on a new and vastly more important significance: it is a way out of the occupational choice dilemma and a means of providing, at least ideally, the possibility of occupational success to every person in the society.

Most of these books devoted the bulk of their pages to descriptions of various occupations (with an attempt to cover most of the different types) and the requirements of each in terms of a person's characteristics. Although the information about the nature of different jobs might have been accurate (even if unsystematic), knowledge of individual characteristics and how to measure them was scarce. Such notions as aptitude and ability were at that time very vague, and there were no instruments by which one could assess them reliably. In fact, it is tempting to hypothesize that one of the great impetuses for the development of standardized ability tests was the problem of occupational allocation itself.

It is doubtful whether ideas and information alone, such as those in these works, can solve problems of this magnitude, even if they are widely dispensed. It is impossible to say just how many persons actually read such books. It is probably true, however, that those persons with the greatest

need for what they had to offer—perhaps the first generation American farmer and European immigrants in the city—would be the least likely to read them.

Early Guidance Activities

The industrial changes we have described were structural; it follows that new structures rose to deal with them. One new structure did emerge in embryonic form with the establishment of the Vocation Bureau of Boston in 1908. The founder and first director of the Vocation Bureau was Frank Parsons, who later became known as the founder of vocational guidance.[16] It should be noted that there were other proposals and developments relating to the problem of occupational choice before the Vocation Bureau. Already mentioned was the proposal by Lysander Richards for a profession of "vocophy." Richards, however, took no steps to implement his proposal. Another development occurred in "vocational education" under the efforts of George A. Merrill.[17] Vocational education was conceived as a program of studies in secondary schools whereby students would receive training in specific trades (e.g., business, industrial arts) preparatory to entering the occupational world. But the tradition of vocational education did not encompass the notion of guidance in selecting vocations nor counselors who could carry this out. It sidestepped the basic problem, that of job choice.

Similarly, job placement programs like that initiated by Eli W. Weaver in 1904 and the courses in occupational information started by William A. Wheatly in 1908, both in high schools, did not formalize the concept of guidance in job selection.[18] Finally, there were undoubtedly individuals in schools (teachers and administrators) who informally advised students on occupational choice.

The Vocation Bureau brought many of these ideas and practices together. The formal principle, upon which the operations of the Vocation Bureau were based, can be found in Parsons' first report to the trustees of the Bureau.

> The fundamental principle is adaptation. If a man is doing work for which he has a natural fitness and an adequate preparation—if his abilities and enthusiasms are united with his daily work and find full scope therein—he has the foundation for a useful and happy life.[19]

The Vocation Bureau, then, "intended to aid young people in choosing an occupation, preparing themselves for it, finding an opening in it, and build-

[16] Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 304

ing up a career of efficiency and success."[20] The means by which this could be fulfilled were by helping a boy:

> First. To study and understand himself, his aptitudes, abilities, interests, resources, and limitations and their causes; Second. To get a knowledge of the conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, opportunities, etc., in different lines of industry; and Third. To reason correctly about the relations of these two groups of facts.[21]

Organizationally, the Vocation Bureau was a private agency, headed by an executive committee and a board of trustees and supported by individual contributions. The major staff was Parsons as Director and Vocational Counselor and three associate counselors. Thus began the first formalized guidance program, with formally-designated guidance counselors.

It can be seen that the founding principles of the Vocation Bureau are similar to some of the ideas expressed in the early works mentioned above. There is stress on success which can be obtained by a matching of individuals with occupations for which they are most qualified. The real innovation by the Bureau was to establish a professional role—counseling—whose incumbents could, because of their training in and knowledge of individual assessment and occupational information, aid the process of occupational choice.

To give an idea of the generality of these ideas in early vocational guidance, a quote from another early leader, Jesse Davis, will help.

> [Guidance deals with] the problem of adjusting the individual pupil to the right school, the right course of study, the right aim in life, according to his peculiar qualities and abilities . . . in the interest of the individual child, that he may become a self-supporting, contented worker, successful according to his ability, and useful as a loyal citizen in his community.[22]

Although this author viewed guidance as having a somewhat broader scope than just job choice, it can be seen that his basic ideas were much like those of Parsons and the earlier authors.

With the emphasis on ability and natural talent as major determining characteristics of the individual in making an occupational choice, it is not surprising that the development of standardized ability tests made quite an impact on the guidance movement. As pointed out earlier, some of the concern which had been developing from the problem of occupational choice may have contributed to their creation and growth. The first standardized intelligence test, the scales developed by Alfred Binet in France,

[20] *Loc. cit.*

[21] *Loc. cit.*

[22] Jesse B. Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1914), pp. 4–5.

appeared at just about the same time that guidance was first organized.[23]

Perhaps a more important ability test for vocational guidance was the Army General Classification Test (AGCT), developed in part from original work done by A. S. Otis, which was used extensively in World War I. Unlike the Stanford-Binet, which had to be administered individually, the AGCT was a pencil-and-paper test, which could be administered to large groups and scored easily. Moreover, it was the first standardized intelligence test to be normalized on a large population—practically all of the American servicemen of the first World War.

The Army's reasons for developing and using such a test were much like those behind the growth of guidance, and indicate further how widespread were the occupational allocation problems brought about by industrialization. A "rational" means was desired which could help to allocate military men to different military jobs on the basis of what they were "naturally" fitted for. A clear statement of this was made by the United States Surgeon General to the Army Chief of Staff, reported in a *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* in 1918.

> The purpose of these tests . . . is as follows: (a) To aid in segregating and eliminating the mentally incompetent; (b) to classify men according to their mental capacity; (c) to assist in selecting competent men for responsible positions.[24]

There is some evidence, reviewed by Carroll Miller, that testing was not immediately accepted by the young guidance movement.[25] Testing was discussed very little in the issues of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* from its beginning in 1915 until 1918 (the above citation being the sole exception), even though several standardized ability tests had been developed and made available.[26] This is rather surprising, considering the stress placed on the determination of individual ability and talent in the early guidance literature. Perhaps there was some initial skepticism about a paper-and-pencil test's being superior to individual judgment. But it was not long before the implications of testing for vocational guidance became clear. In 1921, we find in the *Bulletin* a report of an Army study relating IQ to different occupations.[27] The Army had taken a sample of 40,000 servicemen and averaged their AGCT scores across many different occupations. Thus, one could find the average IQ of doctors, engineers, carpenters, laborers, etc. The author of the *Bulletin* article said,

[23] The first scale developed by Binet and his colleagues appeared in 1905. David A. Goslin, *The Search for Ability* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), p. 25.

[24] "Psychological Tests in the Army," *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, IV (February-March, 1918), p. 4.

[25] Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–158.

[26] The 1916 Stanford-Binet was available; see Goslin, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[27] W. M. Proctor, "Mental Tests in Vocational Guidance," *Bulletin of the National Vocational Guidance Association* (August, 1921), pp. 4–5.

> With knowledge of mental ability in his possession the vocational counselor could give much sounder vocational advice . . . . the counselor, however, needs to realize clearly that he is dealing with probabilities and not with certainties; above all, that he is an advisor and not a dictator.[28]

The caution to counselors, of course, certainly would apply whether or not they had test scores; as we shall see below, however, the availability of intelligence tests may have made the issue of "dictation" more salient than it otherwise would be.

In one of the first general textbooks of guidance and counseling, written by Arthur F. Payne in 1925, we find an even stronger statement concerning the use of tests:

> It is now quite generally accepted that intelligence tests are of considerable value . . . particularly in the special fields of vocational, educational, and moral guidance . . . . [in spite of their limitations] it may be said that no guidance system is worthy of the name that does not take into account the results of intelligence tests.[29]

Of course, general ability tests were not the only newly-developing tests which were useful to the counselor. There was the development of standardized interest tests (notably Strong's Vocational Interest Blank in the 1920's) and a wide variety of special aptitude tests (such as music and mechanical). All of these tests were relevant for vocational counseling, given the explicit goals of guidance stated in the guidance literature. In spite of initial (and, to some extent, continuing) skepticism concerning standardized tests, they seem rapidly to have become the major tool for the guidance counselor in advising students on occupational choice. Given the early goals of the profession and the objectivity of the standardized tests, it is not a surprising development. We will present evidence in Chapter 5 that, in spite of increased criticism of "blind" application of standardized tests that has occurred in the last decade or two, tests still remain one of the most important allocating tools of the counselor. As such, testing became one of the first bodies of codified knowledge upon which the young profession was based.

The Growth of Guidance Counseling

Before turning to some of the more important issues in the principles, goals, and techniques of guidance, we should consider some of the structural developments of vocational guidance as a profession and the setting of its practices.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[29] Arthur F. Payne, *Organization of Vocational Guidance* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1925), p. 303.

The same social changes we have described which were shaping the development of guidance counseling were also having an impact upon the American educational system in general. In our eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agrarian society the need for general public education was not felt, and extensive schooling usually was reserved for a relatively small number of persons who were aimed toward the traditional professions or government service. The industrial and technological revolutions changed this status of education. The need for higher levels of skills in industry, the stress on the values of equal opportunity, and the movement against child labor all contributed to educational reform. The two most important changes were the development of the "comprehensive" high school, with the explicit purpose of educating *all* children according to their needs, and low-cost public college and university systems with largely universal standards of admittance based on academic merit. Within a relatively short time, the high school diploma became practically a universal educational standard, college ceased to serve only the aristocracy, and a college degree became the goal of a large proportion of Americans.[30] The change in numbers is dramatic: in 1910, only 35 per cent of seventeen-year-olds were in high school; by 1958, this figure had doubled to 70 per cent; and during the same time, college enrollment jumped from 4 per cent of all youth to 35 per cent.[31]

The school administrations were increasingly faced with the difficulties of helping students make both educational and occupational choices, with the college-noncollege decision becoming an increasingly important preliminary problem before actual occupational choice. With vocational guidance counselors, the schools could be relieved of some of the pressures of the responsibility for the allocation process. One might say that the structural needs of the high school converged with the professional goals of the guidance movement, even though the developments were not totally independent. At any rate, the marriage was a boon to counseling: the school found help for its problems, and counselors found a setting for their practice, where they could ideally come into contact with practically all persons at the time when critical decisions were being made. Guidance counseling would probably never have grown to the extent it has if it had not moved into the school setting.

Being in the school setting encouraged a gradual expansion of types of guidance. The term "educational guidance" became popular for guidance

[30] Educational "upgrading" is discussed in Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society," *Harvard Educational Review*, 29 (Fall, 1959), pp. 297–318.

[31] James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959), p. 6.

concerned with choice of subjects or programs in school and for counseling about the college choice; and it was practiced by vocational counselors. Over the years, increasing emphasis was placed upon educational guidance at the expense of vocational guidance. Hence, a focus on the college-noncollege decision gradually replaced the traditional focus of job choice, at least for the counselor in the secondary school. The fact that school guidance began shifting to educational counseling, particularly that involved in helping the student decide whether he should go to college, did not mean that guidance was leaving the realm of occupational allocation. Occupational choice was still the main concern, but not occupational choice among specific careers. Rather, the occupational decision for the child, especially the boy, was between two large occupational groupings. Whether a person went to college or not was beginning to determine whether or not he would enter the white-collar, or nonmanual, occupational category. In terms of labels, however, the term "vocational counselor" was replaced by "school counselor" for those practicing in secondary schools.

By 1913, a professional organization, the National Vocational Guidance Association, had been formed. It began the publication of a bulletin that grew gradually, under a number of different titles, into a professional journal.[32] The number of full-time equivalent counselors in secondary schools grew rapidly in the years from 1914 to 1963 as shown in Table 1. The greatest burst of growth, occurring in 1959, was most likely due to the establishment of federally-subsidized training centers (called National Defense Education Act Training Institutes) to meet the increasing demands for more counselors. There is no question but that counseling is a rapidly-growing profession. By 1952, the National Vocational Guidance Association was united with several other organizations to form an organizational federation of counseling associations, which was named the American Personnel and Guidance Association. A new subdivision was formed in 1952, called the American School Counselor Association; this has become the main professional organization for school counselors. Although there are now several professional journals for guidance workers, the major one is the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, the official journal of the American Personnel and Guidance Association.

By World War II, a third function of the counselor was being discussed: the handling of social-emotional adjustment. This broader conception of guidance was envisaged by some of the early guidance workers, especially by Jesse Davis (quoted above). There is little doubt that the mental health movement, accelerated by World War II, contributed greatly to this development. By the early 1950's, articles were appearing in the professional

[32] The formation of a professional organization and journal is discussed by Brewer, *op cit.*, Chapters 11 and 13.

TABLE 1 *Estimated Number of Full-time Equivalent Counselors in Secondary Schools for Selected Years*[a]

Year	Number
1916	1,000[b]
1938	2,286[c]
1945	4,000[d]
1951	6,780[d]
1952	9,000[d]
1958	12,000[e]
1959	18,739[e]
1960	21,828[e]
1961	24,492[e]
1962	27,182[e]
1965	29,955[f]

[a] This table represents all those years for which data is available. For 1938 and 1951, we had only the number of half-time (or more) counselors, and for 1945 and 1952, the number of all counselors, regardless of time. Data from Project Talent showed that the number of full-time equivalents is approximately equal to the number of all half-time (or more) counselors, or to one-half the number of all counselors (regardless of time). This is the procedure used for these years. The number for 1916 was estimated by doubling the membership of the National Vocational Guidance Association and probably represents an overestimate.

[b] Report of the Secretary of the NVGA, *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, 11 (April, 1916), p. 4.

[c] John M. Brewer, *History of Vocational Guidance* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942), p. 133.

[d] Arthur J. Jones and Leonard M. Miller, "The National Picture of Pupil Personnel and Guidance Services in 1953," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, XXXVIII (February, 1954), pp. 105–109.

[e] United States Office of Education, *Commitment to Youth: A Report of Progress in Guidance, Counseling, and Testing* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

[f] Computed from data gathered by the U.S. Office of Education; see James S. Coleman *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

guidance journals indicating the importance of dealing with emotional problems; they were seen as logically being prior to and intertwined with educational and vocational choice problems.[33] Much of the emphasis on emotional adjustment centered on the notion of self-concept: a person must be able to accept himself and his abilities before he could make the "right" decisions. This orientation culminated in a philosophy outlined most clearly in a recent statement of principles of the American School Counselor Association. A counselor should:

> Assist each pupil to meet the need of accepting (defined as being able to behave consistently with) his aptitudes, interests, attitudes, abilities, and opportunities for self-fulfillment.[34]

[33] See, for example, Sadie M. Shellow, "The Increasing Use of Clinical Psychology in Vocational Guidance," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Journal*, XXVII (February, 1950), pp. 302–305; Harry Ruja, "Emotional vs. Vocational," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXI (November, 1952), pp. 99–100; G. D. Barahal, "Personality Problems and Vocational Planning," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXI (January, 1953), pp. 224–226.

[34] American School Counselor Association, "Proposed Statement of Policy for Secondary School Counselors," (Washington, 1964).

A student who had an unrealistic self-concept, it was thought, required counseling in order to be able to accept himself for what he is. The problem with self-concept may stem from deeper personality problems (and in fact may be seen as a personality problem itself); thus the counselor must necessarily involve himself in dealing with a client's emotional states.

More evidence that counseling was beginning to leave the narrow base of occupational choice and was entering the phase of counseling on total adjustment appears in a textbook by E. G. Williamson.

> The reader will note that, contrary to current practice, the counselor is not limited to interviewing students about their choices of vocations. The task of counseling extends beyond that. . . . The counselor deals with a great many problems—failure in classwork, social timidity, inadequate finances, conflicts in the home, emotional disturbances, and a host of other problems.[35]

Here we find a concern for personal problems which seems to go far beyond a concern with unrealistic self-concepts.

The Developing Techniques of Guidance Counseling

Up to this point we have been discussing, quite briefly, the origin and development of guidance counseling as a new and formal role. We have not tried to be complete; our purpose was to give enough information about guidance so that the reader gets some idea of the basic structure of counseling as a profession. We have given some of the early general aims of guidance, but we have said nothing of its means of accomplishing them—except by the use of standardized tests. What was the actual technique used by the counselor to provide for the "correct" choice of occupation by the client? The answer to this question involves the role of advice in counseling and raises a major internal issue in guidance.

Most writers (especially in the last two decades) use the phrase *"helping* the student arrive at a decision," but more frequently than not, the term "help" is not spelled out. Consequently, a certain amount of ambiguity can be seen even in Parsons' original work, when he said, "No attempt is made, of course, to decide FOR the applicant what his calling should be; but the Bureau tries to help him arrive at a wise, well-founded conclusion for himself."[36] But what if the client is not making a "wise" choice? It must be assumed that it is the counselor's information and knowledge, particularly about test results, which are criteria for the wise choice. Otherwise, why would the client be coming to the counselor in the first place?

[35] E. G. Williamson and M. E. Hand, *Introduction to High School Counseling* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940), p. 195.

[36] Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

Parsons played down the role of giving direct advice, feeling that it would involve the counselor too deeply in the decision-making process. Instead, he relied upon "self-analysis," a process which "consists largely of the individual making an analysis of himself by filling in answers to a questionnaire. He then takes this blank to the counselor... [who] gives him much encouragement with a little specific advice." It is interesting that a new profession develops, with its own areas of expertise and competence, and then is instructed that it should not give advice based on that expertise to persons who, presumably, do not have the advantage of that knowledge.

Another illustration of this concern occurs in Jesse Davis's book, *Vocational and Moral Guidance.*

> The advice of the counselor should rarely if ever be positive. By this I mean that the process of counseling should be more often in the negative, eliminating the various paths or vocations which are evidently impossible for the applicant or for which he is without doubt unfit .... the counselor must keep himself in the background and skillfully guide his client toward the realization of his own vocational aim.[37]

Davis, like Parsons, advocated the use of "self-analysis"; but he did not seem to oppose advice-giving as long as it was the negative kind. We find another expression of ambiguity in one of the earliest issues of the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin* in 1915.

> Vocational guidance is not a scheme of finding jobs; of forcing vocational decisions upon children; of naively adjusting human 'pegs' to 'holes'; or of narrowing the range of service open to the fit.[38]

However, what guidance was not was clearer than what it was. "Briefly, it is organized common sense used to help each individual make the most of his abilities and opportunities."[39]

Not all of the early leaders in the field of guidance looked unfavorably upon advice giving. In Payne's general text in guidance counseling we find the following statement:

> It is true that within limits there is one best person for every job. Each person is better adapted for work in some one vocational field than in some other. It is the function of guidance to discover and bring together the right person to the right life activities....[40]

Note that this statement is asserting a "pegs in holes" principle. This text advocated the giving of advice on vocational choice and even compared a counselor's advice with that of a doctor, keeping in mind "the reservation

[37] Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–143.

[38] Quotes from a Vocation Bureau pamphlet, *Vocational Guidance Bulletin,* I (May, 1915), p. 1.

[39] *Loc. cit.*

[40] Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

that, just as one does not need to follow the doctor's advice . . . neither need the individual follow the vocational counselor's advice if he is not convinced of its value."[41] The author of this text felt that the self-analysis approach was giving way to a more directive procedure. He was undoubtedly correct, for we find in the 1930 statement of principles of the National Vocational Guidance association that,

> Vocational guidance is the giving of information, *advice,* and experience which will assist the individual in choosing an occupation, preparing for it, and progressing in it . . . . While the individual should thus receive assistance in knowing his own qualifications and the occupational and educational opportunities available, absolute freedom of choice is his inherent right and is as important for his development as equality of opportunity.[42]

What constituted giving advice was, no doubt, telling a student what occupations he should enter if he hoped to avoid failure and achieve success. But even though giving advice is officially sanctioned and encouraged at this point, the final qualification of freedom of choice in the above statement still indicates some concern that advice should not become decision-making by the counselor.

The high point of the development of giving direct advice (which came to be known as the directive technique) is observed at Minnesota in the late 1930's and early 1940's. The major spokesman for this point of view was E. G. Williamson, who was very definite about advocating direct advice and criticized the original concept of "self-analysis" developed by Parsons.[43] It is not a coincidence that Williamson also was a strong advocate of the use of standardized tests; this objective data, he felt, could replace the more subjective "self-analysis" and provide the counselor with the basis for being directive in counseling.

Even Williamson, however, emphasized the importance of a student's freedom of choice in making decisions in any of these areas, although perhaps he emphasized it less than others. This concern with freedom can be found in almost all of the writings on guidance from the earliest days up to the present time, and we feel it is revealing in terms of the counselor's relations with the social structure. We shall turn to some of these issues in the next section.

Whatever the reasons, it was not long before the profession as a whole ceased advocating the giving of direct advice, although the "directive" school at Minnesota continued. In the 1937 statement of principles of the

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[42] "The Principles and Practice of Vocational Guidance," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine,* VII (February, 1930), p. 227. (Emphasis added.)

[43] See, for example, E. G. Williamson, *Students and Occupations* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937), especially Chapter 2.

National Vocational Guidance Association, the concept has already disappeared:

> Vocational guidance is the process of *assisting* the individual to choose an occupation.... It is concerned primarily with *helping* individuals make decisions and choices involved in planning a future and building a career.[44]

We find the word "advise" removed and the more ambiguous terms "assist" and "help" in its place. As long as the counselor could have the student make the "right" choice because the student himself sees the situation correctly, without the counselor's having to *tell* the student what is "right," the counselor perhaps could feel he was not engaging in a process of restricting the student's freedom, or in a direct assumption of authority.

One development that had a considerable influence upon counseling was Carl Rogers' work in the early 1940's on nondirective counseling techniques.[45] He formalized a technique which he later termed client-centered therapy.[46] As he states his fundamental proposition,

> Effective counseling consists of a definitely structured permissive relationship which allows the client to gain an understanding of himself to a degree which enables him to take positive steps in the light of his new orientation.[47]

The means toward this end were, first, to establish a warm, accepting relationship, with the counselor conveying to his client that he is free to say what he wants without being judged. Second, the counselor would reflect statements of the client which the client could then see in their true significance. This constituted the only direct action advocated for the counselor. Rogers is strongly opposed to advice-giving; he feels that it is an intervention which could either be rejected by the client or could promote client dependence on the counselor, when independence is one of the primary goals of counseling. Rogers feels that every person has an "inherent tendency toward growth and self-actualization" and that the major requirements for achieving this are a permissive, nonjudgmental, and nondirective counseling relationship.[48]

It is true, of course, that Rogers developed these concepts from the point of view of psychological counseling. For counselors, Rogerian techniques may have been primarily important for personal problem counseling. He

[44] "The Principles and Practices of Educational and Vocational Guidance," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, XV (May, 1937), p. 772. (Emphasis added.)

[45] Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

[46] Carl R. Rogers, *Client-Centered Therapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951).

[47] Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy, op. cit.*, p. 18.

[48] William G. Perry, Jr. and Stanley G. Estes, "The Collaboration of Client and Counselor," in O. Hobart Mowrer, *Ed., Psychotherapy Theory and Research* (New York: Ronald Press, 1953), p. 96.

did, however, point out that they were relevant for regular school counseling and the kinds of issues dealt with there. In one sense, Rogers' work represented a formalization of some of the attempts described above for dealing with the problem of advice. It gave a formal rationale for avoiding advice and, at the same time, provided ideas relevant to the ever-increasing concern with social-emotional adjustment problems in school counseling. It also represented a view diametrically opposed to that of Williamson. Rogers even went so far as to say that standardized tests were not so important as current practice indicated and advocated their use only in the later stages of counseling, as "further information which will implement [the client's] insight."[49]

It is hard to ascertain just how widely nondirective techniques came to be used. In many textbooks and in a great deal of the professional literature, the influence of Rogers can be seen, especially after 1950.[50] We shall see from our data later that nondirective techniques are by no means used by a majority of counselors and, when used, are invoked primarily for emotional problem counseling. In spite of the uncertainty many counselors have concerning giving advice, nondirective counseling remains a controversial method. To some extent the impact of Rogers has left much of the literature and many school counselors advocating an "eclectic" position, which means using a method judged by the counselor as appropriate for the given client and the given problem. Very few counselors have given up the importance of transmitting information about a student's abilities.

Current Professional Standards

Before discussing some of the sociological implications of our historical material, we shall give a brief picture of contemporary guidance as we can construct it from the literature in the field. The starting point of this discussion should logically be the formal principles and standards of the guidance profession itself. The American School Counselor Association, the formal professional organization for school counselors, has recently adopted a set of standards for counselors.[51] One of the underlying principles for counseling in the schools, according to the statement of standards, is as follows:

> The counselor is dedicated to the idea that most pupils will enhance and enrich their personal development and self-fulfillment by means of making more intelligent decisions if given the opportunity to experience an accept-

[49] Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy, op. cit.*, p. 252.

[50] One of the earliest explicit references to nondirective counseling was Arthur W. Combs, "Non-directive Techniques and Vocational Counseling," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Journal*, XXV (February, 1947), pp. 261–267.

[51] "Proposed Statement of Policy for Secondary School Counselors," *op. cit.*

ing, non-evaluating relationship in which one is helped to better understand himself, the environment he perceives, and the relationship between these.[52]

The last part of this statement is similar to the goals of the Boston Vocation Bureau, but now there is an absence of a specific focus on occupational guidance, and the goals are considerably more general.

This general principle is further specified in terms of a counselor's specific responsibilities. These are, in part, to:

1. Assist each pupil to meet the need to understand himself in relation to the social and psychological world in which he lives. This implies helping each pupil to understand his aptitudes, interests, abilities, and opportunities for self-fulfillment, and the interrelationships among these.
2. Assist each pupil to meet the need of accepting (defined as being able to behave consistent with) his aptitudes, interests, attitudes, abilities, and opportunities for self-fulfillment.
3. Assist each pupil to meet the need to develop personal decision-making competency.[53]

Finally, the statement specifies the familiar qualification regarding a student's freedom of choice. "Each pupil has a right to self-direction as responsibility for making decisions and living with the consequences of these decisions.[54]

It can be seen, again, that the nature of the decisions to be made is not specified. This enables the counselor, professionally, to justify the handling of a wide variety of issues, perhaps any issue brought to the counselor by the student. There is an explicit mandate that the counselor handle certain kinds of personal problems whenever such problems interfere with the student's self-concept. We do find, however, that the major areas to be understood by the student are his abilities and interests. This implies, perhaps, a primacy for decisions relating to educational and occupational choice.

Secondly, we must note that there is some implicit Rogerian emphasis on counseling techniques, although the term nondirective is not used. The phrase "accepting, non-evaluating relationship" is similar to the descriptions of counseling techniques by Rogers.

The final point to be made about this statement is that we find the familiar stress that the decisions shall be made by the student and not the counselor. This indicates that there is even today considerable concern about the counselor becoming too involved in the decision-making process. We note that the word "advise" is not used; the term "assist" is used instead.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

But by the same token, the counselor is not told to avoid advice; we might conclude from this that the profession has not resolved the problem and that it remains a controversial issue in counseling. We will cite data relating to this later.

Many of these ideas are expressed in contemporary counseling literature. In one recent guidance textbook, we find the following statement.

> The young person has particular need of help in understanding himself and his environment. . . . To achieve these goals the school must help the pupil to recognize, accept, develop, and use his various potentialities while he is in school . . . . Improved adjustment is the primary objective of guidance . . . . [Adjustment] is a dynamic process in which an individual gradually becomes better acquainted with himself, discovers what he would like to be, determines how he can achieve his goals, and improves his ways of meeting life's crises.[55]

The author of this text describes both the directive (advice-giving) and nondirective techniques which may be utilized in attaining the above goals through counseling. He also outlines the eclectic technique: "The eclectic counselor chooses from the various schools the techniques that he believes most appropriate for him to use in order to *help each client.*"[56]

The author himself identified with none of these techniques, but rather he varied "the amount of responsibility which he assumes for a client according to the client's maturity and ability to assume responsibility for himself."[57] This does not sound too different from the eclectic position which he defined. We found in our empirical study some evidence that eclectic techniques are indeed popular; perhaps it is because it removes the necessity to "take sides" and enables a counselor to do pretty much what he wants in counseling.

We could go on quoting from the literature to show the generality of the ideas discussed here.[58] But we feel that these statements are representative enough to give an overall understanding of the formal goals of contemporary guidance. All in all, with the exception of considerable broadening of the kinds of decisions a counselor should be concerned with, there seems to be considerable similarity between the original goals of guidance and the goals of modern guidance. Even the original disagreement over the role of advice seems to be in evidence today, with different guidance leaders

[55] Merle M. Ohlsen, *Guidance Services in the School* (Rev. ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), pp. 3–5.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[58] See, for example, Henry B. McDaniel, *Guidance in the Modern School* (New York: Dryden Press, 1956), especially Chapters 1 and 6; and Glenn E. Smith, *Principles and Practices of the Guidance Program* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), especially Chapters 1 and 8.

giving different opinions about it. We shall see, however, that the broadening of counseling to cover a wider decision area reflects an increasing emphasis in counseling on the handling of personal and emotional problems.

The broadening of the goals of guidance counseling, when compared to the early statements, has apparently had another impact which is discernible when one turns from textbook and official literature. This is a great concern in other literature over what the "true" role of the counselor really is.[59] As put by one writer, "And aren't we spending so much time haggling over the rules of our game that the [students] are either laughing at us or going home in disgust?"[60]

Such concerns are not surprising in view of the relatively general statements of purpose we have reviewed. When such terms as "self-fulfillment" are not completely operationalized, it is probably difficult for counselors to understand their job fully.

Sociological Interpretations

The preceding treatment gives some evidence that counseling has been historically involved in the educational–occupational allocation process; and its formal standards continue to stress this role, even if not always explicitly. We can thus identify its function for the socializing sectors of society. It is important to emphasize this point since the location of counseling in the school may cause some observers to see it as functioning primarily for the benefit of the school itself. While the role may help the school specifically, the significance of its function is much broader; counselors have a formal obligation to bring about a "rational" educational-occupational choice. In that sense, then, counselors can be seen as being a potential *formal* structural replacement of the family as the principal agent for seeing that new members of society find proper places in its occupational structure.

The process whereby the counselor developed may be identified as an example of structural differentiation. Before the Industrial Revolution, the function of occupational allocation was centered in the family, as were most socialization functions. The new pressures of occupational choice brought about the need for expertise in understanding the ways in which the choices might be optimized, ideally both for the needs of society and the satisfaction of the individual. The various stages of differentiation, e.g., idea formation, tentative structures, and final implementation, can be seen from the historical data.[61]

[59] For example, see Daniel C. Lortie, "Administrator, Advocate, or Therapist?" *Harvard Educational Review*, 35 (Winter, 1965), pp. 3–17.

[60] David W. Peterson, "The Name of the Game is Guidance, but Who are the Players?" *College Board Review*, 64 (Summer, 1967), p. 12.

[61] The stages referred to are from Smelser, *op. cit.*

The counselor is another example of a professional role's developing before the institutionalization and codification of the knowledge base. The original knowledge base for counseling, given its early goals, would seem to be in two fundamental parts. First, detailed knowledge of the occupational structure and of the special requirements for each vocation is necessary. Second, knowledge is required for the assessment of such individual characteristics as may be required by each vocation (or class of vocations). In the more recent period, of course, for the secondary school counselor familiarity with colleges and their requirements may be as important as knowledge about occupations. For individual assessment, the school counselor would need to assess ability to do college work. At any rate, these knowledge areas were by no means codified in the early part of the century.

The behavioral sciences have been the source of much of the required knowledge, particularly the field of psychology and its codification of assessment techniques in the form of ability testing. Practitioners in the profession itself developed a considerable amount of information about the features and requirements of occupations. But even today the behavioral sciences have not completely codified any of these knowledge areas, and many ambiguities remain. The behavorial sciences themselves are not fully accepted as "sciences" by many segments of society. Thus we can expect that success in counseling may be problematic, trust embryonic, and that the expertise of counselors is called into question by the outside society.

The relative incompleteness of the knowledge base of counseling makes more understandable the early controversy over use of tests and the continuing controversy in the literature over direct advice-giving and its relation to freedom. On the surface, one could say that this conflict merely expresses a major tenet of the American democratic value system—the right of any person to choose whatever activities and paths he wishes within the bounds of law. At least one major leader in the early days of guidance saw American democracy as a critical determinant of the creation of vocational guidance.

> The truth is that democracy cannot exist without the reasoned consent of the governed .... Young people drifting into various kinds of work on the basis of ignorance both of their own abilities and of the characteristics of occupational life present a menace to free government .... the democratic principle implies that each person's life span should be governed by reasoned acceptance of good and not by force of circumstances.[62]

However, there is no reason to suspect that the counselor must reiterate the principle of freedom if it is supposed that his role is critical in sustaining a democracy and flows from it. Is it possible that the profession had to emphasize freedom because its premises were basically undemocratic? Basic

[62] Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

to American democracy is the notion of self-determination, as long as one's actions are within the bounds of law. In conjunction with this was the principle of achievement: a person should be judged on the basis of what he achieves and not by what is ascribed to him. Thus, a man is not or should not be judged on the basis of such things as family, race, age, or sex. The history of the struggle for rights in this country has been a history of removing discrimination with respect to these ascribed characteristics.

But what about intelligence? There is no question that with the inception of standardized tests, the dominant belief was that intelligence was an innate characteristic. We have evidence from our study that even today many counselors believe this (about a third), in spite of the many studies and criticisms that try to show that intelligence is due equally to heredity and environment. The early use of IQ scores revealed attempts to relate them to different occupations. Later, of course, IQ was related as well to success in college. Thus, success was defined in terms of a matching of a single ascribed characteristic, one over which the person has no control, with specific types of occupations and education. Although the counselor could not, perhaps, force the student to make the "right" choice, the student's alternative was likely failure. In terms of freedom, is it any less inhibiting to threaten failure than it is to threaten, say, physical punishment? Sanctions do not have to be physical in order to be effective; this should be clear from a sociological point of view if one examines the effectiveness, for example, of social ostracism. Thus, many of the principles behind the guidance movement might have been in conflict with a number of basic American values. If we combine this value conflict with the fact of the relatively new position of the counselor as an expert on these matters, it is no surprise that counselors themselves are concerned about their role in the student's choice.

There is another possible reason for this concern with freedom, a reason related to their professional influence role within the school setting. We have claimed that the utilization of direct sanctions is in conflict with professional practice, if we see that practice as an influence process. Yet the counselor is practicing in a school setting which may potentially involve him in positions of authority—either real or perceived—with respect to the student. In the early days of guidance, there do not appear to have been many full-time counselors; most combined counseling with teaching or other duties. This situation still occurs today. Many full-time counselors are given responsibilities involving discipline. As a teacher or school administrator, the counselor has an authority relationship with his counselees; and he may use direct sanctions in dealing with students. At least, the potential for direct sanctioning is present in these situations, and it may be the reason that the leadership has been so concerned about advice.

Advice is not equivalent to authority, but those who have been in authority relationships with students may have a difficult time making the transition. For them, and for others in the school, the distinction may become blurred. For the student, the problem may be even more complicated; he may see the counselor as part of the authority structure and see advice as equivalent to orders—regardless of how carefully the counselor handles it. We have some data on the relationship of the counselor to the authority structure, and we shall raise the issue again in a later chapter.

While the issue over direct advice seems clear in its origin, the broadening of the goals of guidance is not so easy to explain. Like the former, it is possible that the latter also springs from the problems in the knowledge base. It is still surprising, though, that the goals of a new profession become more broad and vague as time goes on, presumably when codification of its knowledge base is increasing. Part of the broadening no doubt does reflect actual advances in the knowledge base (e.g., a correct educational decision is not independent of a good overall self-concept, the achievement of which may become the first task of a counselor).

There is one way to interpret the growing concern in counseling for a "realistic" self-concept in students in terms of the counselor as a professional. Although a student may have a personality problem if he refuses to accept the results of tests coupled with the advice of a counselor, there is an additional meaning for the counselor. A client's refusal of advice means also that the client does not trust the expert status of the counselor in this respect. Thus, the counselor's position as a professional is threatened. It may be important to the collective professional self-image of counselors to see themselves as experts and to dismiss a student's failure to grant this status as indicating a poor self-concept. We do not want to imply, however, that all emotional-problem counseling concerns self-concept. Other more serious personality issues are often documented; and the counselor may find himself working with a psychiatrist or community mental health clinic.

It may be also that factions have arisen, dissatisfied with the "slow" progress being made or otherwise disillusioned with counseling goals, and that these factions stress personal-problem counseling at the expense of the more traditional goals. The literature seems to indicate the existence of such an ideological faction. This concern may be motivated, in part, by a desire to emulate the more prestigious profession of psychiatry. Or, the school setting may encourage therapeutic counseling as a result of the lack of any other alternative for some students, given their background and perhaps parental objection to or unawareness of psychiatric treatment.

At any rate, such factions can lead to disagreements at national conventions and to the production of ambiguous statements of purpose. The fac-

tions are thus able to do pretty well as they like. This development seems like a regression, however, and may cause confusion for the "average" practitioner and thereby be dysfunctional for the profession.

We have given some of the features of the collectivity of counselors as a whole, and many of them illustrate issues which may be relevant for many types of new professions. But most of what we have said is based on statements and documents found in the literature. We have described the "formal" role characteristics. We must now go on to examine the feelings and behavior of counselors themselves in order to document and understand more fully our various interpretations.

CHAPTER 4 Characteristics of the Contemporary Counselor

THE previous chapter has dealt with historical and documentary data relevant to the professional collectivity as a whole. From this data we have discerned the main formal standards of the counseling profession and have traced some of the historical antecedents of these standards and the development of the profession as a whole. It is our main task in this chapter to detail the aggregate characteristics of counselors by examining data gathered from actual samples of practitioners. To our knowledge, such data on large samples of contemporary counselors are rare.[1] Hence, aside from giving us a chance to compare actual practices with the formal features of the role already presented, this chapter will be a statement of the current professional status of the secondary school counselor in America.

There are three major foci we want to pursue, which seem relevant for a study of a profession. The first concerns the demographic features of the counselor role, more specifically, such issues as the number and distribution of counselors. Second, we need to examine the duties and activities of counselors as self-reported. With this data we will be able to highlight the contrast, if any, between the formal statements of purpose of counseling with the actual functions of its practitioners. The final focus will be on the professional background of the counselor, with an attempt to trace his

[1] Two exceptions are Rachel Cox, *Counselors and Their Work* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); and John C. Flanagan, *Project Talent: A Survey and Follow-up Study of Educational Plans and Decisions in Relation to Aptitude Patterns,* final report, Cooperative Project No. 226 (Pittsburgh: University Press, 1962), Chapter 3.

training, experience, and reasons for entering counseling. The data presented will help to specify the knowledge base of counseling and to clarify the issue of altruism in professions.

The bulk of the data for examining these questions is from our samples of full-time counselors in the greater Boston area and the national samples from the United States Office of Education and Russell Sage Foundation studies. A complete discussion of the sampling and data collection methods used for the Boston area sample can be found in Appendix II.[2]

Counselor Resources

There are two basic approaches to the amount and distribution of counseling resources. One is in terms of the number of counselor-role incumbents, where the explicit definition of a counselor becomes necessary, and the distinction between full- and part-time counselors becomes important. The other approach is in terms of the total amount of counseling activity, regardless of the person practicing. The common term applied to this counseling resource is "full-time equivalent" counselors. This means, for example, that 10 one-tenth-time counselors would make one full-time equivalent counselor.

The two different approaches have led to some confusion in counselor resource statistics.[3] While the first method seems the most relevant to a study of a professional role, the second method seems the most commonly used. We will endeavor to present both types of tabulation whenever possible. As for the distinction between full- and part-time counselors, we have operationally defined a full-time counselor as one who is officially assigned for 26 hours or more a week in guidance counseling. A part-time counselor (or teacher-counselor) is defined as one spending 6 to 25 hours a week, and a person spending less time than this is not considered a counselor.[4] The median time spent in guidance counseling by part-time counselors in the USOE sample, so defined, is about 13 hours; the label thus seems justified.

Table 2 gives the estimated number of full- and part-time secondary school counselors, and also their number in full-time equivalents, by geographic region, as of fall, 1965. "Secondary school" is defined here as in-

[2] The sampling and research methods used for the USOE sample of counselors can be found in James S. Coleman *et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), Section 9.

[3] See Flanagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–15 to 3–21.

[4] The cutoff at six hours (or approximately 20 per cent) is the operational definition used in Project Talent (Flanagan, *op. cit.*,), in the Russell Sage Foundation study (Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al., The Use of Standardized Ability Tests in American Secondary Schools and Their Impact on Students, Teachers, and Administrators* [New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965]) and the USOE study (Coleman *et al., op. cit.*).

TABLE 2 *Estimated Number and Distribution of Secondary School Guidance Counselors, 1965*[a]

	Metropolitan[b]			Nonmetropolitan		
	Full Time[c]	Part Time[d]	Full Time Equivalents[e]	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time Equivalents
New England	1652	589	1854	—[f]	—[f]	—[f]
Mid-Atlantic	5026	3573	6230	680	258	781
Great Lakes	3406	2180	4352	1010	877	1305
Plains	555	1252	1153	941	339	1042
South	1943	1157	2346	1848	3032	2890
Southwest	1387	148	1433	641	598	823
Pacific	3308	3114	4582	642	1125	1016

Totals for Nation	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time Equivalents
	23,220	18,360	29,955

[a] Data from the U.S. Office of Education; see James S. Coleman *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965). Regions are defined as follows: *New England*—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; *Mid-Atlantic*—Delaware, Washington, D.C., Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; *Great Lakes*—Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin; *Plains*—Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota; *South*—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia; *Southwest*—Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas; *Pacific*—Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Secondary school includes junior and senior highs.

[b] Areas in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

[c] Those spending 26 or more hours per week officially in guidance.

[d] Those spending 6 to 26 hours per week officially in guidance.

[e] Excludes those spending less than 6 hours per week officially in guidance.

[f] Insufficient number of cases for estimate; all other cells are based on at least 11 actual counselors in the sample.

cluding junior and senior high schools. As noted in Table 1, at that time there were almost 30,000 full-time equivalent counselors in the country as a whole. Of these, 23,220 were full-time counselors, and 18,360 were part-time counselors. The fact that there are more full-time than part-time counselors today is no doubt a sign of the increasing institutionalization of the counselor role. As recently as 1960, data from Project Talent indicated a greater number of part-time compared to full-time counselors.[5]

Almost three-fourths of the full-time counselors are located in urban areas, and within this category the largest group is in the mid-Atlantic region. Most areas generally show more full-time than part-time counselors, with the exceptions of the nonmetropolitan South and Pacific and the metropolitan Plains regions.

In general, we can expect there to be more counselors where the population is greater. Therefore, a better idea of counselor concentration might

[5] Flanagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–19. Their data show 11,852 part-time counselors (20–70 per cent of time officially assigned to guidance) and 6,496 full-time counselors (70 per cent or more time assigned to guidance).

TABLE 3 *Average Student-Counselor Ratios in Secondary Schools*[a]

Region	Metropolitan			Nonmetropolitan		
	Senior High Schools	Junior High Schools	All Schools	Senior High Schools	Junior High Schools	All Schools
New England	567	451	528	—[b]	—[b]	—[b]
Mid-Atlantic	695	672	685	599	641	610
Great Lakes	481	737	554	577	—[b]	562
Plains	668	499	630	475	—[b]	476
South	682	658	675	791	568	743
Southwest	640	598	622	645	679	650
Pacific	510	716	606	656	465	640

Total for Nation	Senior High Schools	Junior High Schools	All Schools
	621	654	631

[a] Based on USOE data; secondary schools include both junior and senior highs.

[b] Insufficient number of cases; all other cells had 17 or more cases.

be gained by examining some kind of rate statistic. A useful one in this case is the student-counselor ratio. We derived this from the USOE sample based upon the counselors' own estimates of the number of students officially assigned to them. It is computed for each counselor by dividing the number of students he has by the fraction of his time officially spent in guidance. Table 3 presents the averages of these ratios within each region and for junior and senior high school counselors separately. It should be noted that since these figures are calculated only for schools that have counselors, the ratios do not reflect the total number of students or schools. About 70 per cent of all schools have counselors, but these schools account for over 90 per cent of all students.

The national average of 631 students per counselor reflects a figure much higher than that recommended by various official counselor or other educational spokesmen. Many counselors feel that the figure of 200 to 250 students per counselor is ideal. Nonetheless, the ratio in 1960 was 738, so the ratio has dropped over 100 points within five years.[6]

The ratios vary considerably; the nonmetropolitan South has the highest ratio of all, with 743 for all schools. Metropolitan New England and the nonmetropolitan Plains have the lowest ratios, with the low being 476 for the latter. The remaining areas are close to the national figures.

In the Boston area sample the average ratio was about 400 and, while similar to the New England metropolitan figure of 528, was considerably lower than the nation as a whole. Even so, one of the most common complaints of counselors was that they had too many students. Many coun-

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–24.

selors carried a "case load" of 10 to 20 students whom they saw regularly. These students tended to be "problem" cases of various types. They saw the remaining students on a routine basis once or twice a year, often by scheduling their sessions. The content of the complaint was usually that with so many students to see routinely, they were unable to spend sufficient time with those students who really needed their help.

Counselor Functions

While there is much discussion and controversy in the counseling literature of what counselors *should* do, as we said, very little data has yet been published about what counselors actually do. Data from several of our sources give us some information regarding counselor activities.

Table 4 gives a breakdown of average time spent on several types of activities for the Boston area sample. The types of activities were derived from the interviews, while the time estimates were derived from a followup questionnaire. The table clearly shows that about half the time of fulltime counselors is spent in individual counseling sessions. The second greatest amount of time, over 13 per cent, is devoted to clerical and paper work. There were frequent complaints from the counselors during the interview that there was too much clerical work connected with their job, and it interfered with their effectiveness. In very few schools were there secretarial services to aid the counselor. The clerical work was, however, generally in connection with their guidance duties. It consisted largely of keeping records on students, communicating with colleges, and the like.

Since our Boston area sample was confined to full-time counselors, only a small part of their time, about 8 per cent, is devoted to teaching or administration. About 13 per cent of their time is devoted to parent or administrative conferences, which also usually have to do with student-related problems. The remaining amount of their time is divided about equally between jobs traditionally allocated to guidance counselors—ability testing, job placement, group guidance, and guidance program supervision. Although testing does not occupy much of the counselor's total time, it does not mean he is only peripherally connected with it. In almost all of the schools in which we interviewed, testing was the responsibility of the guidance department. In our sample, then, most of their work is directly related to guidance counseling activities and includes very few general administrative duties.

Since half of the time of the Boston area full-time counselors is devoted to counseling sessions with students, a full examination of counselor activities requires that we discover what kinds of matters are handled during these sessions and how frequently different kinds arise. In our Boston interviews, we learned that counselors distinguished four major types of coun-

TABLE 4 *Counselor Activities for the Boston Area Sample*

Activity	Average Percentage of Time
Individual student counseling sessions	50.4 (89)[a]
Clerical and paper work	13.6 (89)
Parent conferences	8.9 (89)
Teaching and administration	7.8 (89)
Testing	5.2 (89)
Administrative conference	4.2 (89)
Group guidance	4.1 (89)
Supervising guidance program	2.6 (89)
Job placement	2.1 (82)

[a] Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.

seling areas which were similar to those mentioned in the previous chapter. We will be discussing some of these activities in more detail later; here we will give an overview of each major concern and the amount of time spent on each.

The first activity consists of counseling students about educational decisions during junior and senior high school. In this category the selection of courses or programs in school are the primary counseling problems. A particularly critical decision of the student in this area concerns whether or not he enters a college preparatory program. It is in this matter, from the point of view of society, that the counselor potentially has the greatest impact on occupational allocation, as the decision not to enter a college preparatory program is very difficult to reverse. It is typically made in the eighth or ninth grade; thus, the junior high school counselor may be in a more important position than the senior high school counselor.

A second class of counseling problems has to do with college matters, particularly college choice. For the senior high school counselor, the interviews revealed this as one of the counselor's major preoccupations. The counselor is often the main liaison between the student and the college admissions office; he also tries to help the student find the "right" college

and writes letters of recommendation for him. The "right" college usually amounts to the "best" college, given the student's academic and financial background.

The third area is the most traditional one—vocational counseling. By this we mean primarily counseling a student about the kind of job he should find after graduation and helping to place the student in that job. Obviously, this would apply mostly to noncollege-bound students. The category also would include part-time job placement during school. Although this may be the traditional area, in the light of the increasing stress on college and other educational matters we would not expect it to dominate the other counseling problems.

While the third is the oldest counseling problem, the fourth is the newest—counseling students about personal and emotional problems. We shall refer to this as therapeutic counseling. This area also seems to be the most controversial, and we shall be examining issues surrounding this area in a later chapter. It suffices to say here that the amount of debate over its propriety has not seemed to lessen its status as an important area mentioned by counselors. The counseling in this area ranges over a vast number of problems, but the Boston interviews revealed that most had to do with personal adjustment in the school and problems concerning self-concept. Many counselors mentioned that students sought them out just to have someone to talk to on a nonjudgmental, individual, one-to-one basis; many counselors felt that they had the only role in the school which could carry out this function. Other roles, they felt, were one-to-one but judgmental (e.g., seeing the vice-principal for discipline) or nonjudgmental but not individualized (e.g., teachers or coaches). The nature of the problems brought by students appeared to many counselors less important than the fact that anything that might be bothering a student *could* be discussed. In more extreme cases, counselors related experiences where they took a student's side in problems with his teachers, or parents, or the school administration. These counselors often became advocates in their students' behalf.

Some counselors stressed the self-concept problem, which, we saw, has been stressed in the professional literature and is stated in the formal standards as a major counseling concern. Not too many indicated an involvement with the students' deeper personality problems, although they admitted that the line was hard to draw. Most seemed content to refer students with such problems to psychiatric agencies and to confine their involvement to an advisory role with the psychiatrists or social workers.

Fortunately, data are available on counselors' estimates of time devoted to each type of work for both the Boston area and the USOE samples. The data are summarized in Table 5. The average percentage of their counseling time devoted to each area is presented separately for junior and

senior high school counselors, since the former are not so likely to be concerned with college choice. We also have presented data only for full-time counselors. We shall do this frequently throughout the remainder of the report, since we feel that the full-time counselor represents a more professionalized stage and will, no doubt, be the dominant type in the near future. Hence, we feel that their characteristics are the most important to depict and understand.

Both the Boston and National USOE samples show considerable agreement, particularly in the combined junior and senior high column. Overall, the main differences are that the national sample shows more time devoted to vocational counseling than the Boston area sample—averages of 17 per cent and 11 per cent, respectively. The other major difference appears between time devoted to educational counseling in the junior high schools, with the national sample showing 33 per cent and the Boston area sample showing 45 per cent.

The main difference between the senior and junior high schools is the time devoted to college counseling. Whereas in the senior high schools, nationally, an average of one-fourth of counseling time is devoted to the college area, in the junior highs it drops to less than 9 per cent. There is also understandably less time spent in vocational counseling in junior highs than in senior highs, the difference being 11 and 20 per cent, respectively.

It is most interesting that, for the junior high counselor, the "surplus" time left by the lack of college counseling goes as much, if not more, into therapeutic counseling as into educational counseling. Many junior high

TABLE 5 *Time Spent in Counseling Areas for Full-time Counselors*

Area	Average Percentage of Counseling Time					
	Boston Area Sample			USOE Sample[a]		
	Junior High	Senior High	Total	Junior High	Senior High	Total
Educational counseling	45	34	37	33	32	32
(school)	(27)	(63)	(90)	(683)	(1267)	(1950)
College counseling	5	31	23	9	25	20
	(27)	(63)	(90)	(621)	(1210)	(1831)
Therapeutic counseling	39	22	27	42	23	29
	(27)	(63)	(90)	(657)	(1215)	(1872)
Vocational counseling	9	12	11	11	20	17
	(27)	(63)	(90)	(608)	(1212)	(1820)

[a]The percentages are weighted to reflect the population averages, but the number of cases, given in parentheses, is the actual number of counselors in the sample.

counselors noted in the interviews that junior high school was a transition stage for the student and that there were many problems involving his adjustment to a more difficult and rigorous routine. Much of their time was spent on adjustment problems of this type. More will be said of these kinds of counseling problems in Chapter 6.

The results here give some concrete content to the quite general statement of purpose of the American School Counselor Association. We can see from this aggregate data that not only has general educational counseling increased to become the main counseling concern, replacing the original focus on vocational counseling, but that personal-problem counseling seems to have become a very prominent development as well. Nationally, counselors spend an average of almost one-third of their counseling time in this area.

Professional Background

An important feature of a profession is the way in which it receives training in its knowledge base and experience in applying it. In particular, it is important to see what these processes are for a new profession, since establishing that knowledge bases exist is part of the basis for claiming professional status. We have to show, empirically, that there is a knowledge base unique to counseling and that counselors receive training in it.

As we would expect with a new profession, there is not yet a fully institutionalized set of requirements for certification as a guidance counselor. Some states require only a few courses in guidance, which can be picked up in summer school; other states require graduation from certified graduate programs, which result in a Master's degree in guidance.

The existence of loose requirements is probably functional for a new profession, since the demand for practitioners would be hard to meet at first if full training were required. Consequently, during the rapid growth phase in the late 1950's and early 1960's, most counselors were drawn from the ranks of teachers. Many counselors in the Boston area sample revealed that, while they were doing full-time teaching or coaching, their principal asked them to take the required courses and become counselors. The principal's criterion, in the opinion of these counselors, was that they "got along well with students." As professionalization of counseling proceeds, however, we would expect counselors to choose that career originally, perhaps in college, and enter a full training program.

About 62 per cent of full-time counselors in the USOE sample had Master's degrees in guidance. In the Boston area sample the number reaches almost 71 per cent. Undergraduate majors are quite varied for the national sample, but the fields of English and Social Science account for about 40 per cent of the majors, the latter field being predominant with 26 per

cent. The third most frequent major was Physical Education, with 13 per cent. This is in accordance with the Boston area sample, in which many counselors were former or current athletic coaches. Psychology was the undergraduate major of only 5 per cent of the national sample.

Fairly complete information about special educational course background was obtained for the Boston area sample. A summary is presented in Table 6. The courses most central to counselors are those in testing, counseling, and guidance. Courses in counseling deal mostly with the methods of working with students on a face-to-face basis, and some schools teach Rogerian or other nondirective techniques in these courses. Courses in the guidance area include general introductions; history of guidance; use of information materials, especially those concerning occupations and colleges; and organization of guidance programs. The "practicum" is supervised counseling in the field; it would be most nearly analogous to the internship or apprenticeship stages of other professions.

TABLE 6 *Special Training Taken by Counselors, Boston Area Sample*

Course Area[a]	Average Number of Courses Taken	Percentage Taking Courses				No. of Cases
		None	1 or 2	3 or 4	5 or More	
Tests and Measurements	3.4	0	21	57	23	92
Counseling	3.2	0	35	41	24	92
Guidance	3.7	0	19	40	40	92
Psychological Foundations	3.8	3	15	42	40	91
Practicum	1.0	47	42	11	0	92

[a]See Appendix III for the actual wording of the questionnaire.

There are at least two important points to be made about Table 6. First, it is clear that most of the counselors have had not just a few special courses, but many—on the average over ten in the three critical areas of testing, counseling, and guidance. We expect that this would hold for the national sample, since the Boston area and USOE samples are in fairly close agreement on the percentage of those with Master's degrees in guidance. Thus, we can see considerable training in their area of expertise.

Second, the practicum is generally much less common than the other areas, with almost half of the sample having none. It may be that we are seeing again a trait of a new profession; while the course training is substantial, the supervised practical experience is not so widespread. In professions like medicine and law, such experience is generally mandatory.

Data from the Russell Sage Foundation samples allow us to compare

counselors with regular full-time teachers in regard to one course area in Table 6, "Tests and Measurements." Their data show that teachers have had approximately 1.5 courses, on the average, in this area, with 22 per cent having had none.[7] The counselors in their sample, even though their sample combined full-time counselors with part-time counselors, showed results almost identical to the Boston sample. The average was about 3.1 courses, with 4 per cent having had none.[8] This is one bit of evidence that counselors do have a *unique area of expertise* in the school, at least when compared to teachers.

It was mentioned earlier that many counselors have been drawn from the ranks of teachers. The results in Table 7 should therefore not be too surprising. They show, quite clearly, that current full-time counselors have had more experience in full-time teaching than in full-time counseling. This holds true for both the Boston and the USOE samples. We would expect, of course, that as time goes on, the amount of time in teaching will decline relative to that in counseling.

TABLE 7 *Counselor Experience in Teaching and Counseling*

	Average Number of Years		
Sample	Full-time Teaching	Teaching-Counseling	Full-time Counseling
Boston Area	7.2 (90)[a]	1.6 (90)	5.7 (90)
National[b]	9.3 (142)	5.2 (143)	

[a]Figures in parentheses indicate number of cases.
[b]Russell Sage Foundation sample.

There is an issue in the profession concerning whether or not regular teaching should be a part of the counselors' training experience. In Massachusetts, for example, three years of teaching is required before one can be appointed to an official counseling position. The Boston interviews revealed many counselors who supported this requirement, but many other counselors argued that teaching and counseling have incompatible role obligations and that the more time one spends in teaching the more difficult the transition. The main reason, according to these counselors, has to do with the necessary disciplinary role that the teacher plays. In later chapters we shall examine this in terms of counselors' attitudes and practices. An interesting question relevant to this section is whether or not the amount

[7] Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 126. The mean was computed from their figures.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

of experience in teaching affects the professional background—training, preparation, and the like—and professional identity.

Given the data available, there are at least two ways in which to examine the effect of teaching on the professionalization of counselors. First, we can compare full-time counselors with a small amount of teaching background to those with a large amount. However, since the length of time in counseling itself will probably be related to the other professional characteristics, some control has to be made for it. A second method could be to compare full-time with part-time counselors who are also teaching. We would expect the part-time counselor to be the least professionalized according to our measures.

Table 8 presents data from the USOE sample comparing all groups. As our indicators of professionalization, we have taken major in guidance,

TABLE 8 *Professionalization and Teaching Experience*

	Full-time Counselors				
	Less than 10 Years Teaching		10 or More Years Teaching		
Professional Characteristics	5 or More Years as Counselor	Less than 5 Years as Counselor	5 or More Years as Counselor	Less than 5 Years as Counselor	Part-time Counselors
Percentage with major in Guidance[a]	86	76	66	48	34
Average number of professional organization memberships[a]	4.0	2.8	3.2	2.4	1.8
Average number of professional journals read regularly[a]	3.1	2.4	2.7	2.4	1.9
Percentage with undergraduate major in Psychology[a]	12	8[c]	2	1	1
Average number of courses in Testing[b]	3.5		3.1		
Average number of Courses in Counseling[b]	3.4		2.8		
Average number of practicums[b]	1.2		.5		

[a] USOE sample of senior high school counselors only; the number of cases ranged from 1365 to 1372 for these items.

[b] Boston area sample; there are 92 cases for each item.

[c] For those counselors with less than 5 years of teaching, the figure is almost 20 per cent.

professional organization memberships, journal reading, and undergraduate major in psychology. For the Boston area sample only, Table 8 also gives the average number of courses in testing, counseling, and practicum.

The results are striking. In practically every case, increasing teaching experience with decreasing counselor experience is accompanied by a decreasing degree of the professional characteristics. The most professionally prepared and involved are full-time counselors with more than 5 years in counseling and less than 10 years in teaching; the least prepared and involved are the current part-time counselors. For the former group, 86 per cent majored in guidance, compared to 36 per cent of the latter group. Moreover, those full-time counselors with less than 5 years experience in counseling and more than 10 years in teaching are closest to the part-time counselor in terms of professional characteristics.

The data are not shown in the table, but almost 20 per cent of those counselors with less than 5 years in counseling and less than 5 years in teaching, that is, the young counselors, have an undergraduate major in psychology. This is probably an indication of a trend toward increasing undergraduate training in the behavorial sciences for counselors.

The results seem to establish beyond a doubt that neither considerable teaching background nor part-time teaching is conducive to professional preparation and professional involvement in counseling. What this implies in terms of the counselor's attitudes and counseling practices will be examined later.

The final issue to be discussed in this section concerns the motivation for entering counseling. It was asserted earlier that although a profession as a whole may have a service orientation in that its goals will be such as to provide a service to the outside society, there is no reason to assume that the motivation of all or most professional role incumbents is altruistic. The data on this issue for professions in general are difficult to find. Considerable data are available on this from the interviews with Boston area counselors.

The relevant question asked of the Boston area counselors was, "What considerations went into your decision to become a guidance counselor?" It was an open-ended question, and probing was done whenever an answer was vague. The categories, which were coded, are presented below with some typical quotes from the interview to illustrate the nature of each category.

Altruistic or Service Orientation: mentions helping student in some way.

EXAMPLE: I decided to be one in high school. . . . I was appalled by the wasted potential. . . . I went to _____ University, majored in psychology, and I got a teaching degree, and then went right into the Master's program in guidance.

EXAMPLE: Well, I had worked for several years here as a hatchet man—disciplinarian—and I found that the best results I had were when I sat down and listened to the youngster, treated him fairly, and, even though I had to be firm, if you were fair, he came back.

General Career Orientation: no mention of helping students.

EXAMPLE: I was working in the business department and . . . doing graduate work in guidance and became interested in it and worked part-time in the office and in that way became a full-time guidance counselor.

Escape Orientation: mentions avoidance of other jobs.

EXAMPLE: Well, I've been doing this for a long time. I started this back in 1947–48. When counselors were few and far between. At that time I just went into it because it was something different and it sounded like something I might want to tackle. I was a _____ teacher. I was approached and asked whether I would like to go into counseling one period a day . . . . this would be an alternative to supervising a study hall. It didn't take long to decide I'd rather go into counseling than supervise a study hall.

About 57 per cent of the sample was coded in the altruistic category, and 23 per cent in the "escape" category. Even though a majority is coded in the altruistic category, only about half of them, or 22 per cent of the sample as a whole, indicated an original interest in counseling as in the first example. The remaining persons mentioned helping students, but it was fairly clear that the decision to enter counseling was made after a first career of teaching or coaching had begun. It is interesting, then, aside from the fact that only a bare majority can be considered as having altruistic motivations, that as many entered counseling for the ideally worst reasons ("escape") as for the ideally best reasons.

Two points have to be made about this finding. First, since counseling is a new profession, we cannot expect motivations to be clear-cut. When many current counselors were in college, the profession barely existed; many counselors are thus necessarily in second careers. A second—and perhaps more important—point is that we do not know the extent of altruism in other professions or in other types of occupations. The 57 per cent with altruistic motivations in our sample may be higher or lower than in other professions, and higher or lower than in other types of occupations. It is not possible to make any final conclusions about professions and altruism without more data, with the exception that, in counseling, personal service orientations are not totally dominant.

Social Background

To conclude this chapter we shall briefly present some selected social and demographic characteristics of counselors. Aside from their intrinsic contri-

bution toward a full description of counselor characteristics, some of these characteristics will be used in later chapters for explanatory purposes.

The data are summarized in Table 9 for both the Boston and national samples. As can be seen from the table, the Boston sample is reasonably representative of counselors across the nation as a whole. In one respect, not shown in the table, it probably is not, and that is in their religious affiliation. Almost 57 per cent of the Boston sample was Catholic, and this

TABLE 9 *Selected Social Characteristics of Full-time Counselors*

Characteristic	Boston Area Sample	USOE Sample
Sex		
Male	68 %	61 %
Female	32	39
	(92)	(1130)
Race		
White	100	92
Negro	0	7
Other	0	1
	(92)	(1121)
Fathers' occupation		
Professional, technical	21	12
Other white-collar	33	30[b]
Farm owner	0	20
Skilled	20	17
Other blue-collar	18	19[b]
Unknown, no data	8	2
	(84)	(1123)
Fathers' education		
Grammar school	32	41
Some high school	21	20
High school graduate	17	11
Some post-high school	8	12
College graduate or more	17	11
Unknown, no data	5	5
	(86)	(1122)
	IN DOLLARS	
Median salary	8200	8500
	(88)	(1126)
	IN YEARS	
Median age	39	42
	(92)	(1122)

[a] The USOE sample is weighted to the full-time counselor population, but the number of cases, given in parentheses, is the actual number of counselors in the sample.

[b] The USOE study combined clerical and semiskilled; we allotted half to "other white-collar" and half to "other blue-collar," since the 1960 census shows about these proportions in the two categories.

figure, no doubt, reflects a regional variation and is much higher than one would find nationally. The data from the USOE sample did not include religious affiliation.

For the national sample, a large majority of counselors, about 61 per cent, is male; and the median age is 42. Only 7 per cent of the sample is Negro, and of these the majority, or 61 per cent, is in the South and Southwest regions. Almost all of the rest are distributed about equally in the urban Far West and urban Northeast regions. The median annual salary is $8500, a respectable figure considering the nine-month academic term. The Boston median is somewhat lower, $8200, perhaps reflecting the fact that the data for Boston were collected in the spring of 1964, a year and a half before the national sample. Data from the Boston study further revealed a median total family income of $9000. This puts counselors' overall income well above the national median, estimated at $6900 in 1965.[9]

The figures for fathers' occupation and education show, beyond doubt, that the typical counselor is socially upwardly mobile. Only 12 per cent of their fathers were professionals, and over one-third were in the blue-collar occupational category. The same holds for fathers' education. Only 11 per cent received a college degree, while 41 per cent finished grammar school only.

Summary

We have examined the professional and social background of counselors, as well as their distribution and density. Theirs seems to be a widespread and permanent role in secondary schools. They are increasingly full time in their job, marking an end to the part-time teacher-counselor. Our term "new profession" seems descriptive of the counseling occupation in that counselors receive considerable training and experience in special fields based on the behavioral sciences, and that this training is becoming increasingly widespread. The behavioral sciences are not, of course, fully institutionalized; and the counselor will likewise not be so until the knowledge is—no matter how much training the counselor has. This is not to say that the role is not an institutionalized feature of the school; it can be that merely because of other important functions the counselor role may play. But, given the goals of guidance, it will not be completely institutionalized until the client population—the student—gives him the same trust that he gives the medical doctor. We shall see later that such is not yet the case.

[9] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (88th edition; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 334.

CHAPTER 5 | Educational Counseling and Standardized Testing

IN THE previous chapter we discussed the kinds of counseling activities practiced by counselors in the field. One of these was educational counseling, a direct descendant of the traditional counseling focus on vocational choice. In this chapter we will attempt to explicate the process of educational counseling, again using data derived from descriptions of this activity by counselors themselves. We hope thereby to attain some idea of the means the counseling profession uses to attain one of its major goals. We also will want to distinguish between means that rest upon a formal knowledge base and those that derive from professional experience, if such distinctions are possible. We will discover that one of these means is the evaluation of individual ability, and thus this chapter will also be a description of the uses of standardized tests in counseling.

Our description of educational counseling will be in two parts. First, we want to learn more details about the kinds of things that go on in these sessions. Specifically, we want to know the kinds of information about the person which the counselor utilizes, so that we may understand the connection between his professional training and practice. For example, we have seen that the counselor receives training in standardized testing and interpretation. We want to know if he uses this relatively codified knowledge in counseling. As we have said, the use of relevant codified knowledge is crucial for a profession.

A second type of description concerns the relative importance of the various types of information as seen by the counselor. In view of the controversy often surrounding the use of standardized tests, this inquiry has a

significance in its own right. However, the stress placed on various types of information is also an issue in the sociology of a profession. As an influence role, we would expect the typical professional to apply most frequently that information which is derived from the more secure knowledge bases. But this is largely an empirical question; it may be that counselors (or any professionals for that matter) use information and make judgments not based on formal knowledge areas. It may be that particularistic knowledge of the student client (personality traits and social class, for example) is used instead. This practice could potentially prevent or retard institutionalization of the profession, if the knowledge used was not related to the main counseling goals of educational or vocational success. Presumably, such particularistic knowledge is at least less likely to be so related when compared to the information from codified knowledge bases.

The Nature of Educational Counseling

The Boston interviews focused in part on the kinds of information used in educational counseling. The answers to one question in particular seemed to be the most revealing about this process. This question was, "Let's confine ourselves for the moment to a student's career or college plans, or to course or program selection in high school. How do you use a student's test scores when you are counseling on these matters?" Although the question makes reference to test scores, most counselors answered the question by describing the educational advising process. We have selected some answers which seem representative.[1]

> CASE ONE: The student comes in and sits down. . . . I get out my papers and we have a chat. . . . I'll start with, "Well, what do you hope to do after high school?" This is my opening question. And they will say, "Well, I don't know," and I'll say, ". . . Anything, 4 year college, 2 year college, technical college, work? What area are you thinking of?" So I try to break it down by area. So they'll give me something from that group of things if they haven't told me before. So they might say college, and I'll put that down. Then I'll say, "What type of college?" Depending on the type of student, I might say "Ivy League" or if it is a poorer student, I'll say "Technical School, or engineering. . . ?" I'll make suggestions as to Liberal Arts schools, State universities, . . . I'll try to find out if they want to go away or stay around. . . . From there, we go on to their courses. . . . I'll then give him the teacher recommendations that I have, such as "All right, you've been recommended for Geometry, Chemistry, French II," or "you've been recommended for no math," or whatever. . . . For electives, I'll say, "Now what courses have you been thinking about for next year?" . . . This is where testing comes in. They want a 6th course and I feel it might be a little too much

[1] The quotes are taken essentially verbatim from transcripts of the interviews. Minor editing was done for grammar, punctuation, and elimination of speech-pause sounds.

of a load, I would look up the testing. . . . I have SCAT/STEP scores and their IQ all summarized on permanent cards. . . . So, if they're picking up a 6th subject and they've been struggling, say C's and B's, then I'll say, "Do you think it's wise to take 2 languages and all these other courses?" . . .So we get the whole program written up and it goes home to the parents. If they do not agree then they can call us. . . . Before I let the student out, I almost insist they pick up one of our catalogues . . . if they want something in engineering, I would say "All right, over there, on that table are 2 boxes *filled* with engineering material . . . if they don't have any names for engineering schools, then I will say, "Did your father go anywhere?" and then I'll mention the local schools, Northeastern, M.I.T., Rensselaer, and what have you. . . . When they leave they have taken out one catalogue or another or other career material. . . . I don't use testing unless I feel they're choosing something wrong. . . . I never say, "You have a good IQ and so you should be taking this," or "You have a good math score so you should be going into engineering." . . . If, on the other hand, he is struggling and has low math scores and he comes to me and says "I want to go to a 4 year engineering school," then I say "You're going to have problems." [A probe question was asked about family background.] This comes in if they have pretty good grades in college work and they come in and say, "I don't want to go to college. I'm going into the service." Then I start to wonder and I'll ask them if finances would be a problem. If they say yes, I would mention a Co-operative school like Northeastern or the University of Massachusetts, or state schools.

There are many kinds of information discussed by this counselor: teacher recommendations, grades, test scores, career and college information, the student's own interest, and even family financial background. Our interviews revealed that all of these things seemed to be utilized to varying extents by the majority of counselors. This counselor, it might be noted, appears not to use ability test scores as a means of raising a student's aspirations, but rather as a means of lowering them if the aspirations seem too high compared to the test scores and grades. This is common among most of the Boston counselors.

The previous case was a senior high school counselor working with sophomores. The next case is a junior high school counselor with eighth-grade clients.

CASE TWO: Let's say we have a student who comes in and wants to take the college program and you don't feel he should. . . . We first try to establish some rapport. . . . Then I ask them what they want to talk about and they'll say, "Well, I'd like to make out all my program for 9th grade and I'm not sure as to what I can do. . . . I'd like to take the college course." You know, right then, that they've got some doubt and they'll usually say, "But I'm not sure I can do it." Usually I start off with grades because this is the thing he has earned all his own and he's usually ready to take responsibility

for this. After we have talked about the courses in general and explained some of the things he'd have to do, we'll go into "Let's see how you would fit in this sort of program." We'll go over grades, and we can usually find some weakness here in English and Math. He might have a D in English or in Math. And, if there's any doubt in our minds whether he has the ability to do it, I would say "Now, let's look at test scores and see how well you have done on achievement tests." . . . I'll use percentiles and stanines to show where he is. . . . We talk about these things so that he can see what his chances are if he's going to choose a program like this. I'll talk to him about his chances and say that if I had to bet on it I might lose the bet but I think such and such is the case. For example, "You're getting a D in English," or "Your verbal achievement test scores are at the 52nd percentile," or "On the DAT [Differential Aptitude Test] it shows that your verbal ability is not great." Then, "Our experiences have been that anybody with this type of background has not done well in Latin, they've usually failed it." It takes away the subjective aspect of counseling. You're not just saying "I don't think you can do Latin," you're saying, "Here's what you have done." [A probe question was asked whether he could get along without test scores]. . . . I think you'd have more guesswork. You'd have to rely more on "I think," and you'd have nothing to back it up.

Again, testing, grades, family background, and a student's own interests have entered into the counseling session. It is interesting that this counselor implicitly recognizes the role of codified knowledge in counseling—the desire to avoid relying entirely on personal and subjective opinions in giving advice. The objective information, particularly that which is empirically known to relate to probable success or failure, removes some (though not all) of the subjective component—a component which may not relate to future success. It is this process which is the very essence of professional practice as a formalized influence process.

This is not to say, of course, that professional judgment is based on such objective knowledge alone. We have also said that experience in applying knowledge leads to perhaps a less formalized set of practices which may vary from one professional to another. The two cases just presented clearly illustrate this level of expertise. In Case One, it is the recognition of the possible role of financial complications in an above-average student's opinion that he doesn't want to go to college. In Case Two, it is the counselor's recognition (not quoted) that parents may be overencouraging a student who is below the average of those who are usually successful in a college preparatory program. These clearly seem to be issues that counselors learn about from their professional experience. We might add that these two kinds of information—home financial difficulties and parental overaspiration—are brought up by a large majority of the Boston counselors as being important in counseling students.

Another point of interest in these two cases is that both are concerned with their role as an advisor. They do not want to play an authoritarian role and force a student to make any particular decision, nor do they want to advocate a particular solution too strongly. They stress the role of information and the practice of merely pointing out possibilities and problem areas. These practices are sometimes carried to extremes, considering the fact that counselors are often seen as part of the school administration. In a discussion about the role of discipline in counseling, Case One said:

> If I go into a boy's room and there's somebody smoking, I never report it. . . . It might harm the relationship with some of the students. . . . I'd rather be the student's friend, not the administration's friend.

Similarly, Case Two said:

> I don't discipline in any way. . . . you can't establish rapport with a student when he has a problem if you've disciplined him in another matter.

This preference for an advisory rather than an authority relationship with a student is another important feature of professional-client relationships. It brings out the concept of indirect sanctions applied in terms of knowledge about probable future outcomes for the client, rather than direct sanctions by manipulating rewards or punishments which the professional may control. The potential or actual authority which a counselor has in the school beyond his student-advisory functions provides an opportunity for direct sanctions, and the sensitivity of many counselors to the problem can be interpreted as another indication of the professionalization of the counselor role.

Not all counselors share these concerns, however. The next two cases, while demonstrating similar types of information utilization, seem somewhat less committed to the advisory role.

> Case Three: They are coming in now about their programs next year. First of all we use the two marks they already have. Now we say, for instance, "You have a C and a D in English. This means of course, that you can't go into college English. You will have to take non-college." They say, "Well, I have *got* to get into college." I say, "Well, then you have got to get a C. But for the moment I will have to put you down for non-college English." Then I will have looked at their test scores and will have compared them with their achievement. Now, if their test scores are really good, and their achievements are low, I will say, "Have you been sick? How are things at home? Are you working?" I will try to find out what is making them drop . . . . If it is a home problem I will tell them possibly how they may adjust their time or something . . . . But if it's a difficulty from a lack of interest or discipline, then I will say to them, "Well, have you thought about changing your mind about what you do when you graduate?" [Probe about

whether counselor could get along without test scores was used.] I could get along without test scores, but I think testing helps me. I can see what his basic ability and achievement are . . . . I do a much better job with testing.

CASE FOUR: Let's say a client came in to see me and let's say for the moment that I disagree with his choice. Let's say he wanted a business program and I thought that he should, perhaps, take the college program. I would sit down with him, and I would make a notation in my own mind what his IQ is. Using a standard criterion, I say in my mind that this boy has at least a marginal IQ necessary to do college work. Now I move to his achievement test scores and I see that in English and Math, especially, that he is a couple of years above grade level. . . . Then I would talk to him and find out why he wants to do this and so forth. . . . Now, if he had a strong interest and excellent reasons for taking the business program, I would probably say, "O.K., I'll allow it." But if I thought there were any doubts in his mind, I would encourage him, perhaps, to go into the college program. . . . You can always drop from the college program into the business one, where it is much more difficult to make up the subject areas the other way around. . . . If he had a great deal of motivation and drive, even if the test scores were a little low, I'd probably encourage him to *attempt* the college program at this age level, since he'll never have another chance to try it.

Again, we find stress placed on grades, test scores, family background, the student's interests and motivation, and so forth. The main difference seems to be somewhat more reliance on an authority position rather than an advisory one. The phrases, "This means, of course, that you can't go into college English" and "O.K., I'll allow it," seem to convey this notion. We can begin to see, then, a possible illustration of our explanation in Chapter 3 of why counselors are concerned about their advisory role. The line between command and advice is very thin in the school setting, and it seems that the counselor has to go out of his way to avoid falling into an authority relationship.

On the other hand, we note that even the first two counselsors, while trying to avoid giving orders, nevertheless did give advice and information. We found that practically all counselors gave advice and information in educational counseling. Whatever the professional controversy about explicitly advising students, in this area very few of our sample expressed any conflict over it.

If there is any theme in common among these four cases and most of the other counselors interviewed, it is the concern for "realistic" decisions in educational counseling as one of their major goals. This is in accordance with materials we introduced in earlier chapters from historical documents and from statements of purpose of professional associations of counselors. In determining what choices are realistic for a given student, counselors

make use of a variety of information about student characteristics of the type mentioned in our cases. Other counselors mentioned additional information sources. For example, many counselors mentioned national norms for ability tests and "college profiles," records which show the average ability scores for the entering freshman class of particular colleges. These averages are sometimes used to help a student decide on the choice of a college.

Testing is a relatively codified area in the behavioral sciences. The foremost example is the use of standardized testing and related information (e.g., the college profiles). The statistical relationships between test scores, grades, and future success in college are relatively constant—although by no means perfect.[2] Hence, reliance on this kind of information in advising students epitomizes the professional counseling process.

We have already mentioned that there are other kinds of information used by counselors which are probably based more in their professional experience than on institutionalized knowledge areas. The example of family background information is a case in point. It must be stressed, however, that this information can be used in two different ways. If, for example, knowledge of family financial conditions is used by a counselor to help a student choose the best college which he can expect to afford, then this is using the information in a way which may maximize the student's probable success and hence is consonant with professional practice. If, however, family background is used to discourage a student from even trying the college preparatory program in high school, indicating a possible social class bias, then this may be a nonprofessional practice (as we defined it) unless it can be shown that such class characteristics are related to success in college.

There are two other kinds of information mentioned by counselors as being important, which are less codified and more subjective. The two are teacher evaluations and student motivation. The latter characteristic was mentioned by almost all counselors as a crucial determinant of a student's future academic success. They also agreed that there is no objective way to assess it. Likewise, the interpretation of a teacher recommendation by a counselor involves subjective evaluation. For example, a counselor might unconciously stress some recommendations and ignore others because of personal relationships with teachers. The extent to which judgments are made and advice is given which utilize only or primarily this and other subjective information, then, is the extent to which educational counseling departs from the formal influence process we have defined for a profession. This does not mean, of course, that counselors should not use the informa-

[2] The literature which presents these relationships is reviewed in David E. Lavin, *The Prediction of Academic Performance* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965).

tion. Professional experience could justify its value. It just means that the outcome of predictions based upon it alone are more problematic; and hence, to the extent that the predictions are wrong, the profession will have a more difficult time establishing and maintaining trust relationships with its clients.

We have briefly described the process of educational counseling and have established some of the kinds of information used by counselors. It is our anticipation, based on the assumption that counseling is a developing profession, that counselors will be more likely to rely on objective information such as test scores and grades than on subjective information, such as teacher recommendations or parents' desires, when counseling on educational decisions. If this is not the case, empirically, then serious questions would arise concerning the future institutionalization of counseling as a profession.

There is another quite distinct issue involved here relevant to this. It is not sufficient to assess merely whether counselors rely more on codified types of knowledge. It is equally important that the counselor, as a professional, be an expert in that knowledge area. That is, we would expect that he would be more trained and experienced in that area than a layman or other persons in the school who deal with students. Before turning to the issue of the relative importance of the types of information in counseling, then, we shall investigate counselor competency in the testing area.

Counselors' Expertise in Testing

We have seen that counselors have taken courses in testing. Unfortunately, our data do not permit an assessment of absolute competency in the testing area, and we should not assume that the courses in testing have sufficiently trained the counselor. Since competency is partly a relative matter, we decided to compare counselors with regular teachers along a number of dimensions in testing background. Since teachers have traditionally advised students informally, and since many counselors are drawn from the teaching ranks, such a comparison could be an indirect assessment of counselor competency.

Extensive data were collected by the Russell Sage Foundation on teachers' and counselors' experiences with and views toward standardized ability testing. Several publications have already appeared dealing with this material.[3] Our specific concern here is the comparison of teachers and counselors with respect to some of their background and their experience in

[3] Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al.*, *The Use of Standardized Ability Tests in American Secondary Schools and Their Impact on Students, Teachers, and Administrators* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965), and David A. Goslin, *Teachers and Testing* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967).

testing. Since we have been using the Boston area sample for most of our illustrative data, we will also, wherever possible, include it in the comparisons. This might also be a better description of full-time counselor characteristics, since the Russell Sage Foundation counselor sample is made up primarily of part-time counselors.

There are a number of dimensions along which we can compare teacher and counselor expertise in test utilization. We have chosen three which seem to summarize the most important domains. The three are training in testing, familiarity with tests, and experience in administering tests. We are necessarily assuming that those persons who have had more training and experience in testing are thereby more qualified to use them.

The measures which we will use for these dimensions require some explanation. The training measure is merely the number of courses in the field of tests and measurement, as presented in the previous chapter. For measuring familiarity with tests, an index was used. All respondents in the Russell Sage and Boston area samples were asked to rate their familiarity with 16 different standardized tests.[4] They rated their familiarity on a four-point scale, ranging from "Never heard of it" (scored 0) to "have studied it and know what it measures" (scored 3). The responses, so scored, were then summed to provide a "familiarity with tests" index ranging from 0 to 48.

Two indices are used to measure teacher and counselor experience with tests. First, each subject was asked a series of questions about whether or not he had administered a test at least once in six different test categories: group IQ tests, achievement tests, individual IQ tests, vocational interest tests, personality or adjustment inventories, and special aptitude tests. An index of testing experience was obtained by counting the number of "yes" responses for each subject; the range is thus 0 to 6. A similar set of questions was asked about the kinds of tests they are routinely responsible for administering; again, each "yes" was counted, giving us an index of routine test administration. The data for this last index are not available on the Boston area sample.

The comparison between teachers and counselors on all indices are presented in Table 10. The differences between teachers and both counselor samples are substantial. The counselors from the Russell Sage sample have twice as many courses in testing as the teachers do, even though many are teacher-counselors. The same holds true for familiarity with tests. The national sample of counselors scores 14 points higher, on the average, than teachers on the index.

It was mentioned earlier that in most schools the counseling staff is responsible for the testing program. That this is so is reflected in the differ-

[4] See Counselor Questionnaire in Appendix III.

TABLE 10. *Counselor and Teacher Backgrounds in Standardized Testing*

Background	Teachers[a]	National Counselors[a]	Boston Area Counselors
Median number of courses in tests and measurements	1.5 (1440)[b]	3.2 (143)	3.1 (92)
Average familiarity with tests index[c]	21 (1393)	35 (139)	38 (90)
Average number of test types administered at least once[d]	1.5 (1354)	3.8 (135)	4.7 (92)
Average number of test types routinely responsible for administering[d]	.5 (1384)	2.7 (132)	—[e]

[a] Russell Sage Foundation samples.
[b] Number of cases is given in parentheses.
[c] Range = 0 to 48.
[d] Range = 0 to 6.
[e] Data not available.

ence between teachers and counselors on the testing experience indices. Counselors have administered each basic type of test at a rate of more than double that of teachers. Similarly, on the average, counselors are routinely responsible for administering almost three different kinds of tests, while teachers are responsible for the routine administration of less than one kind.

It is interesting that the differences between the Boston full-time counselor sample and the Russell Sage sample are slight. Except for the number of courses, however, they are in a direction indicating slightly more expertise for the Boston sample. Given our earlier finding that full-time counselors were more professionalized than part-time counselors, this finding is not surprising.

Aside from the way tests are used, then, it is clear that counselors are far more experienced in their application and, presumably, interpretation, than are teachers. This establishes at least a comparative expertise in testing for counselors. This finding is in accord with our conception of the counselor as a professional in educational guidance, where testing is an integral part of the evaluation of the individual.

Counselors' Reliance on Testing

Having established that tests, among other kinds of information, are used in educational counseling for evaluating student characteristics, we now turn to an investigation of the relative importance of testing and other

types of information. One of the questions we wish to raise is whether counselors are more likely to rely on codified objective information, which has been systematically and empirically shown to relate to future educational success, than on more subjective and noncodified types of information in the educational counseling process. A further question is whether the relative stress on information types varies from one counseling problem area to another. Our hypothesis is that, on the average, counselors will depend more on objective codified information about the individual student than on more subjective types.

A second focus is a comparison between teachers' and counselors' reliance on information. Given that teachers do informal counseling, they often advise students on matters similar to those that arise in formal counseling. Again, since this advising aspect is part of the counselor's professional concern, and more so than for teachers, we expect counselors to place more stress on the objective and codified types of information than do teachers.

One of the key terms used by counselors to describe a student is "ability." An evaluation of student ability is critical in assessing the "realistic" choices a student should make; in fact, the term "realistic" would have little meaning without the notion of ability. Ability, as used by counselors, tends to mean a student's potential with respect to two different dimensions. One of these has to do with intellectual or academic potential—the ability to understand and utilize academic subject matter. The second major dimension has to do with motivation or desire potential—to want to do the required work. Although these two dimensions are undoubtedly not completely independent, they are seen by counselors as different enough to affect their use of information. The terms "underachiever" and "overachiever" reflect this. Underachievers are seen as those whose motivation is not sufficient for them to perform up to their intellectual potential; overachievers are seen as those whose desire enables them to perform at a level higher than their intellectual potential. Practically all counselors interviewed made these distinctions.

Many standardized tests have been designed by psychologists to measure the first of these ability dimensions—intellectual potential. This is particularly true for those tests known as Intelligence Quotient or aptitude tests. We would expect, given our general hypothesis, that counselors would prefer these tests to other information sources, and that they would prefer them more than teachers would. Table 11 presents data for teachers and both counselor samples on answers to the question:

> Which of the following kinds of information do you feel provides the single most accurate measure of a student's intellectual ability?

TABLE 11 *Counselor and Teacher Views on Most Important Indicator of Intellectual Ability*

Indicator	Percentage Selecting Indicator		
	Teachers	National Counselors	Boston Area Counselors*
Grade average	15	15	18
Parents' opinions	0	0	0
Achievement test scores	27	16	2
IQ and aptitude test scores	38	55	69
Teacher recommendations	18	12	8
Student's own opinion	1	1	2
Peers' opinions	1	1	0
Number of cases	1425	143	85

*For the Boston area sample, the categories "Group IQ test scores," "Individual IQ test scores," and "Aptitude test scores" were combined to make the category "IQ and aptitude test scores" shown in table.

The data reveal quite clearly that counselors prefer IQ or aptitude tests to other measures. Further, even though teachers also prefer them to other measures, they do not prefer them in so high a proportion as do counselors. Of the national counselor sample, 55 per cent chose IQ or aptitude tests as compared to 38 per cent of the teachers. Even more of the Boston counselors did so—almost 70 per cent. This increasing percentage again is consonant with the increasing professionalization of each group (with respect to student counseling).

The teachers who did not choose IQ or aptitude tests seem to be divided largely between the choices of "teacher recommendations" and "achievement test scores." The first is not surprising; we would expect them to value their own opinions more than other persons might. The second, achievement tests, is interesting because the Russell Sage data show that of all the standardized tests, teachers are more likely to have experience with administering achievement tests than with any other kind of test.[5] Thus, we find them choosing the kind of test they are more likely to understand.

It is very clear that teachers and counselors on the whole rely on standardized tests for measures of intellectual potential. This is not to say that such tests are indeed meaningful measures of potential; that question enters the realm of another profession—that of psychology. Whatever tests "really" measure, counselors rely on them as part of their professional practice since they have been shown to relate empirically to academic performance.

There was no direct question about the measure of motivation, the sec-

[5] About 50 per cent of the teachers had administered an achievement test at least once; all other types of tests had been administered by 27 per cent or fewer of the teachers. Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

TABLE 12 *Stress on Information Sources, National Counselors*[a]

Counseling Problem	Mean weights assigned to[b]				
	Ability Test Scores[c]	Grades	Interest Test Scores	Teacher Recommendations	Family Background
Assigning students to advanced classes	3.7[d]	4.0	2.2	3.7	0.9
Assigning students to slow classes	3.6	3.7	1.9	3.6	1.0
Recommendations for college admission	3.3	4.1	2.2	3.4	3.1
Allowing students to take extra courses	3.3	4.0	2.0	2.4	0.9
Counseling on occupational plans	3.2	3.5	3.6	2.8	2.5
Counseling on college choice	3.5	3.9	3.1	2.7	3.2

[a] Russell Sage Foundation sample.

[b] Range = 0 to 5.

[c] These means are averages of two separate categories, achievement test scores and intelligence test scores.

[d] The number of cases varies from 141 to 142 for these items.

ond dimension of ability. This is due mainly to the fact that no generally accepted instruments have been designed to tap it. How do counselors measure motivation? Data presented in Table 12 may reveal the answer.

The counselors were asked to rate, on a 0 to 5 scale, the importance of ability test scores, grades, interest test scores, teacher recommendation, and family background in these six areas: assigning students to advanced or slow courses, writing recommendations for college admission, permitting students to take extra courses, counseling on occupational plans, and helping in college choice. Table 12 gives the mean weights for the Russell Sage Foundation national counselor sample.[6]

On the whole, grade average seemed to be the most favored indicator; it received the highest weight in six out of the seven areas. Our interviews with counselors revealed a possible explanation for this. They felt that grades, even though they were not standardized, reflected performance and therefore were combined measures of both motivation and intellectual ability.

Grade averages are relatively objective and codified types of information and have also been shown to predict future academic performance. Thus, relying on them more than on standardized tests does not contradict our

[6] The mean weights for similar questions asked of the Boston area sample are given in the Counselor Questionnaire in Appendix III.

hypothesis. But the table also reveals that teacher recommendations are relied upon somewhat more than standardized tests, and this does run contrary to our hypothesis. Only in three areas—counseling on occupational plans, extra courses, and college choice—were tests given a higher weight than teacher recommendations. It is true, of course that the differences are slight. Nonetheless, we expected tests to have more weight.

Interest test scores received heavy weights only in two areas—again occupational choice and college choice. The first is understandable, since vocational interest tests are designed to help differentiate interest in different kinds of jobs. Likewise, family background received important weight in two areas—college choice and college admission recommendations. Our interviews—and the examples given earlier—explain the way this information is apparently used to judge financial ability to pay tuition at certain colleges and the existence of scholarship need.

In order to get summary measures of the reliance on the various kinds of information, we formed an index for each information source by averaging the weights across the six different problem areas. We thus obtained such measures as a test weight index and a grade weight index. The means on these indices are presented for teachers and both counselor samples in

TABLE 13 *Information Source Weight Indices for Teachers and Counselors*

Index	Means on Indices for: Teachers	National Counselors[a]	Boston Area Counselors
Ability test score weight[b]	3.3 (1415)[c]	3.4 (141)	3.5 (79)
Grade average weight[b]	3.7 (1425)	3.9 (141)	4.1 (81)
Interest test score weight[b]	3.0 (1415)	2.5 (141)	—[e]
Teacher recommendation weight[b]	3.2 (1418)	3.3 (141)	3.5 (79)
Family background weight[b]	1.8 (1415)	1.9 (141)	—[e]
Card sort[d]	45 (1398)	58 (141)	—[e]

[a] Russell Sage Foundation sample.
[b] Range = 0 to 5.
[c] The figures in parentheses indicate the number of cases.
[d] Range = 24 to 88.
[e] Data not available.

Table 13. In addition, means on another index called the "card sort" are presented for the two national samples. This test consisted of 24 hypothetical student cases which the teacher and counselor were given. They were asked, on the basis of information provided, whether each case should be recommended to take a special advanced science class. The information was both subjective—recommendations of former teachers and counselors—and objective—scores on various standardized tests. The information was manipulated in such a way that in some cases the test scores were in conflict with the recommendations. Thus, a score could be derived for each respondent indicating reliance on objective over subjective information. The scores ranged from 24 to 88, where the higher the score the more the reliance on the objective test information.[7]

The summary indices show quite clearly that teachers and counselors rate grades as the most important source of information in advising students on various academic matters. Interest tests and family background information are least relied upon, and ability tests and teacher recommendations are in between in terms of their importance. Our hypothesis about the reliance on objective information seems to fail when we consider the comparison between reliance on tests and reliance on teacher recommendations. Not only do the counselors say they rely on tests and recommendations about equally, but for the weight indices counselors do not appear to rely on tests more than do teachers.

A somewhat different conclusion emerges from the card-sort results. A score of 56 would indicate that the respondent chose about equally between objective test information and the subjective recommendation. A score lower than this would indicate greater reliance on the subjective information, and a higher score would indicate greater reliance on the objective test results. We can see that by this measure, the national counselor sample did give greater weight to tests than to teacher recommendations. The fact that the card sort is a more "disguised" test may mean that it is a better indicator of the true reliance situation than explicit self-rating scales. This would be so particularly if counselors were unaware of their actual reliance on test scores and wanted to see themselves as not depending on them excessively.

There are other objective data which contribute to a picture of the great importance of test scores in counseling. We have already seen how much greater a proportion of the national and Boston area counselors rated IQ and aptitude test scores as the most important indicator of intellectual ability when compared to teachers (Table 11). In addition, about 73 per cent of the Boston area counselors believed in a cut-off point in IQ scores

[7] A more complete description of the card sort test is given in Goslin, *Teachers and Testing, op. cit.*, pp. 98–106, 171–184.

(at about 110), below which a student would not be successful in college. Finally, only 8 per cent felt that they could counsel as well if they did not have standardized testing results.[8]

All of these indicators, especially the slight inconsistency in Table 13, led us to pursue further the question of reliance on test scores. Some of the information derived in the Boston interviews revealed what might be a relatively unconscious stereotyping process regarding student ability.

Testing and Student Stereotyping

There has been much controversy over the years about use of tests, usually to the point that school personnel overuse them.[9] Counselors themselves criticize the way teachers use test scores; about 47 per cent of the Boston area sample accuses teachers of misusing test results.[10] Most of the examples of misuse cited were cases of teachers relying too much on a student's IQ score.

One cannot help feeling that the counselors' accusations are, in part, projections on the teachers of what counselors themselves feel they are doing wrong. This is bolstered by the fact that we saw in Table 11 that many fewer teachers (38 per cent) than counselors (57 per cent) will choose IQ or aptitude test scores as the best measures of intellectual ability. Counselors are, undoubtedly, aware of the many criticisms of standardized tests; it is possible that many are somewhat defensive about it and want to see themselves as *not* relying on them too strongly. They may prefer to see themselves as using a student's performance as the main indicator, when in reality they rely mainly on test scores. Meanwhile, they shift the blame for overuse onto teachers.

A good example of the inconsistency of counselors with respect to test scores can be seen in excerpts from one of the Boston interviews.

Q. What are the contributions of test scores—what do they contribute to the counseling situation. . . ?

A. I don't really think we need the tests to help us in counseling. As I said, the day-by-day performances in subject matter areas are more valid criteria of ability for a subject, instead of a standardized test. Because we want to find out: What have you accomplished with us.

In another part of the same interview, in discussing how much information should be given to students about their IQ:

Q. Do you find it easier to verbalize a score [IQ] at the high end than at the low end [of the continuum]?

[8] See Counselor Questionnaire in Appendix III.

[9] A good example of an attack on the use of tests is Banesh Hoffman, *The Tyranny of Testing* (New York: Crowell Collier, 1962).

[10] See Item #17, Coding Key for Interview Schedule, Appendix III.

A. No, I'd just as soon let them know that they're slow. 'Cause I usually work with the slow. I have infinite patience with them, tell them about their weakness. "You will be this way, always, so accept what you have." You know it doesn't matter to them.

The condescending attitude of the answer to the second question implies a belief in IQ scores that is not consistent with the first answer; it appears that a low IQ, to this counselor, permanently fixes a student's performance at a low level—it defines him as a "slow" student.

In situations such as this, it may be that traditional methods of assessment of attitudes, such as those used in the previous section, do not give entirely valid results. We must turn, then, to a closer look at the interview results from the Boston sample. In the interviews, it was noticed that many counselors wanted to dismiss test scores as being of small importance. But like the case above, many of these same counselors, when they were asked a series of questions about giving information on IQ scores, answered in such a way that considerable doubt was thrown on their previous reservations. Originally these questions were designed to uncover the reasons for secrecy on IQ scores. But they revealed much more than just that; they seemed to indicate a rather unconscious stereotyping process on the part of counselors, particularly with regard to those students with low IQ scores.

In view of the importance of the point being made here, and because of the difficulty in coding some of the subtleties of their answers, it will be necessary to quote at length some of the typical responses to these questions. In making the selection of quotations, we first chose those counselors who had a reliance on grade-average weight index score of at least two points higher than their score on the test-score weight index (described in the last section and shown in Table 13). In this way we can be sure that we are dealing with counselors who have indicated, on the questionnaire, that grades are more important than standardized tests in making decisions about students.

CASE ONE

Q. How much information do you give students about their IQ scores?

A. With the students I'm not too definite. I'll say, "You have good learning abilities,"or "You can really learn," and "You're way up there in the top 10 per cent," or something. Or else I'll say, "Well, you're not as good as Susy," but I'll never give it to them in numbers.

Q. Do you feel it could be dangerous to give too much information about IQ to a student?

A. Oh, yes. They would come right out and say, "Susy, I've got 123. What have you got?" and girls are terrible about it. They're little monsters with each other about these things. And they'd probably also go home and announce to Mother, "Well, I've got 123 IQ or 99 per cent on reading. So there!"

Q. What about the other end—the low?
A. They will use this to say, "I don't have to do it because I'm stupid," or something like this. Well, this is no good either.
Q. How would you verbalize an IQ score of 120 or 130?
A. I found, because of the present tendency to say that those who are going to college are so much better than others, that those top students have become "swell-headed" in the 9th and 10th grades, and I will tend to say "Well, you're in the top 10 per cent," but I'll be likely to pick out something and say, "What did you do that for?" Nothing too great, but just to say there's no perfection without striving.
Q. How would you verbalize a score of 80 or 90?
A. It's surprising about these children. *They know* that they can't do it and here we look for the things they can do well and we try to say "Oh, you do wonderfully well in cooking," or, "Isn't it wonderful that you made such a beautiful dress," or, "Your typing is excellent."
Q. You say you would tell the student with a high score that he is in the top 10 per cent. You wouldn't tell the student with a low score he's in the bottom 10 per cent?
A. No, we do say "you're having some difficulty, I know, in doing your work, aren't you?" and they say, "Oh, yes, . . . Well, you know, Mrs. ———, I'm not too bright, anyhow." Some of them will say that and they are more honest. Because they have to struggle more than the ones on the other end.

We find a condescending attitude here similar to the previous example above. In particular, the counselor attempts to stress the manual skills for a student with a low IQ. The comment made about students with low IQ's —"they know"—is similar to that made in the previous quotation. It occurs quite frequently in the interviews. It is not surprising that the student knows he is "slow," if most of the persons in the school who know his IQ engage in the same kind of stereotyping process as this counselor seems to be doing. A child is likely to believe he is slow if everyone around him believes he is.

Case Two

Q. How much information do you give students about their IQ scores?
A. We never tell a youngster his IQ. We'll give them an idea, roughly—you're average, or low average, or a little below average, or high average. But we never tell them what their IQ is.
Q. Could it be dangerous to give too much information about IQ scores?
A. I think so. They'd either get a swelled head or be crushed.
Q. Be crushed if they were too low?
A. Sure. Be very unkind, I think.
Q. How would you verbalize an IQ of about 130?
A. A fine IQ. Let it go at that—above average.
Q. What about an IQ of 80?

A. A little slow, you're a little slow and wouldn't do so well in this course. They know it. They know it better than me, any time. "You're a little slow, you know that, don't you?" and "I don't think you'd want this, do you?" and he'd say, "No." And you do it kindly.
Q. Do you find it harder to discuss something like that at the low end rather than at the high end?
A. Oh, yes. I mean, kids know more about themselves than you think they do. They're almost grateful that you sense it.

The parallels between this and the previous cases hardly need pointing out; again the condescending attitude, and the stress that the low IQ students "know it."

CASE THREE

Q. How much information do you give students about their IQ scores?
A. I feel they should know whether they're average, above average, below average. A verbal interpretation.
Q. They shouldn't be given actual scores?
A. I wouldn't give them scores because I think they vary with every test.
Q. What about even if they didn't vary?
A. I wouldn't give them, anyway.
Q. Could it be dangerous to give too much information?
A. I think they would go around telling everybody their scores, and I think it gives the wrong impression sometimes. With a high IQ, I think it could make the fellow decide to take it easy, thought he was too smart and not work for things. With the low one I think they would give up.
Q. How would you verbalize a score of 130?
A. I think I would just say, "You are well above average in ability. You should be able to succeed on the college level without any difficulty."
Q. How would you verbalize a score of 110?
A: That's tougher. I think I'd say, "You have a good average IQ."
Q. What about an 80 IQ?
A. Those kids never ask what their IQ is, for one thing. I've never heard them.
Q. You've never had to verbalize a score that low?
A. No. And those kids . . . .
Q. Well, if someone did ask, what would you say?
A. Well, I'd say, "You're—you have limited ability."
Q. Do you find it difficult?
A. It's harder to tell the parents because they, in some cases, are not willing to accept it.
Q. It's harder at the low end?
A. It's easier to tell something good.

We could go on quoting from more interviews, but these excerpts convey the point that is being made here. Of the 21 counselors (22 per cent) who

emphasized grades more than test scores in the questionnaire (with an index score difference of two or more points), nine, or almost half, gave responses similar to those above. There were also others in the sample who gave similar responses; altogether, about 40 per cent of the sample did so.

There are many interesting things to be pointed out about these quotes and others like them. One of the most striking aspects is the extremely frequent reason they give for not giving out actual IQ scores. "If he has a high score, he will feel he does not have to work; if he has a low score, he will give up." There is certainly no evidence that students will do this; in fact, the same thing could be said about any ability or aptitude tests (such as the College Boards and the Differential Aptitude Test), and yet the scores of many of these are made available to the students. Why does the condition apply only to intelligence tests? The answer to this question is undoubtedly very complex. But it is possible that part of the reason is that there is a strong underlying belief in the IQ on the part of the counselor. Therefore, the act of telling a student his IQ score acquires a new meaning. It is not saying that his score is 95 on this particular test, at this particular time; but, rather, that he is "stupid" and will "never make it."

This seems particularly true in the frequently observed difficulty a counselor has when discussing a low score with a student. Many counselors, like the ones above, try to avoid discussing it at all, even in verbal terms. These comments do not seem to reveal a counselor's concern that the *student* is the one with the strong belief and is the one who would misuse it: they seem to indicate, rather, that the counselor himself believes it and would feel he is signing the student's "death warrant."

We can even show, with data from the Russell Sage studies, that students in general do not rely on IQ or aptitude tests for estimates of their intelligence. In answer to the question, "Which source of information has been most important to you in deciding how much intelligence you really have," only 17 per cent of a national random sample of over 5,000 public high school students indicated intelligence or college entrance tests.[11] The modal category was marks in school, chosen by about 30 per cent of the sample. If the students themselves do not rely on IQ scores to any great extent, then the counselors' concerns may be exaggerated and may indicate the strength of their own belief.

The main thing to be inferred from these responses is that a student's IQ score is very important to a counselor, and that it may be used to "type" a student and hence may be much more important in evaluating students and recommending courses of action than the counselor is willing to admit. We do not think this is actually conscious action; counselors seemed un-

[11] Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

aware of the inconsistency. This is not an unusual situation in human behavior; in many cases there are things which people do and believe in but which are too threatening to admit openly. This is the whole rationale behind projective test techniques. We are doing something similar here; the issue of reliance on tests is a very sensitive one for the counselor. It might be too threatening for him to say he believed strongly in the IQ, even if he did. But the questions mentioned above were not directly about his belief in or reliance on IQ; instead, they focused on how much information should be given to persons about their IQ. They were semiprojective in nature.

In concluding this section, we want to stress that the results here should not be seen as necessarily contradicting the earlier findings. Our semiprojective method here is not necessarily more valid than the methods used in the last section. It is possible that the stereotyping process noted only occurs with respect to releasing information about IQ scores and does not directly affect the utilization of test scores in ordinary educational counseling. We feel, however, that our findings point up some inconsistencies and that a final answer to the problem awaits studies utilizing more direct kinds of experimental control.

Summary and Implications

The goals of educational counseling are described by actual practicing counselors in terms similar to statements we have found in our historical materials. The problem is one of finding "realistic" educational decisions in terms of students' academic characteristics. In accomplishing this goal, the counselor gives the student information and advice regarding future courses of action which make sense in terms of his abilities and interests. Actually, it seemed that most counselors were more willing to give advice in this area than would be indicated by a consideration of the standards endorsed by the profession; we saw in Chapter 3 that the term "advice" is not used in the formal statement of purpose of the American School Counselor Association.

While the counselor uses many sources of information, grades and possibly standardized ability tests may be the most important in the area of educational counseling. This seems to be consistent with professional practice as we have defined it. The possible unwillingness of counselors to assert so strong a role for ability tests as may exist may not be consistent with such practice. The attacks on testing by the larger society may have caused this hesitation, and this may be the problem of a new profession with goals and techniques that appear to conflict with fundamental values of the larger social system. However, if the reliance on tests is driven underground and

does not actually diminish, then the overall effect of testing may be worse than if results were dealt with openly. The stereotyping process we observed may be a consequence, and secrecy about IQ test results may only contribute to this. The positive effect of stereotyping students as high-IQ has been recently documented; effects of low-IQ stereotyping may be equally negative.[12]

12 Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

CHAPTER 6 | Therapeutic Counseling and Professional Ideologies

MOST of the preceding discussions have focused on the counseling profession at the collectivity level. That is, the collectivity has been the unit of analysis; we have presented its characteristics as a whole, and most of our comparisons have been *among* different collectivities. In this chapter, our major concern will be differences with respect to professional behavior and attitudes *within* the counselor collectivity. For example, whereas in the previous chapter we spoke of counselors as a whole relying on standardized test scores (or some other kinds of information about students), here we can raise questions about variations in such reliance among counselors and seek out their determinants.

While we could discuss intraprofessional differences with respect to any of the counselor characteristics which we have already mentioned, there is one counseling activity in particular which tends to highlight internal variances. This is the apparently growing trend for counselors to concern themselves formally with students' general emotional or personal problems. This counseling focus, while being both implicitly endorsed by the professional standards of the main counselor association as well as widely practiced by contemporary counselors, is nonetheless still a matter of some controversy in counseling. Many counselors seem to have strong opinions about it, some claiming that it is none of the counselor's professional business and others advocating it as the only really important activity. There are even differences within these two camps, especially the latter: some counselors see their therapeutic role as having no less scope than that of regular psychiatrists, while others see themselves merely as a "crying towel" —a shoulder for students to lean on when they have minor difficulties in school.

Another interesting aspect of the therapeutic counseling trend is that it seems to be related to a number of other internal issues which reflect conflict or ambiguity, most of which have already come up in earlier discussions. The main ones are the problem of advice-giving and the related directive-nondirective controversy; the apparent inconsistencies in reliance on test scores; and the issue of counselor preparation in teaching with its effect on professionalization. We shall investigate all of these within-profession variations and try to uncover some of their interrelationships.

In terms of the sociology of professions, the main reference here is the phenomenon of professional ideology. Some professions develop sets of ideas and behaviors which bear considerable similarity to what we usually think of as ideologies in the political sector of social behavior. This happens when two or more factions develop within a profession, each with its own views on the primary professional goals and/or the means of attaining them. This has been discussed in other literature in the sociology of professions, particularly for the profession of psychiatry.[1] There is other literature in the sociology of professions which, while not discussing ideology specifically, makes reference to related problems.[2]

We shall, first of all, spell out in more detail what we mean by therapeutic counseling, using examples from the Boston interviews. We shall then illustrate the problem of professional ideologies by examining the empirical relations among the important intraprofessional issues.

Therapeutic Counseling

Therapeutic counseling, being a more recent activity for school counselors, cannot be so clearly defined as the more traditional vocational or educational counseling. As we have noted, the current professional standards are somewhat vague; they do not explicitly define therapeutic counseling, but what comes closest to a definition is the stress on self-understanding. The concerns of student self-understanding are not merely his abilities and educational or vocational goals, but also the "need to understand himself in

[1] Myron R. Sharaf and Daniel J. Levinson, "Patterns of Ideology and Role Definition among Psychiatric Residents," in M. Greenblatt *et al., Eds., The Patient and the Mental Hospital* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957); Doris L. Gilbert and Daniel J. Levinson, "Ideology, Personality, and Institutional Policy in the Mental Hospital," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 53 (1953), pp. 263–271; Anselm Strauss *et al., Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions* (New York: The Free Press, 1964); David J. Armor and Gerald L. Klerman, "Psychiatric Treatment Orientations and Professional Ideology," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 9 (September, 1968).

[2] Harold L. Wilensky, in "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *The American Journal of Sociology,* 70 (September, 1964), lists commitment to a normative structure as an important feature of professionals; the discussion of Bucher and Strauss (Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professions in Process," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 66 [1961]) is also relevant.

relation to the social and *psychological* world in which he lives."[3] This could be interpreted to mean that a counselor should deal with the student's psychological problems. Classical psychotherapy probably does not have a very different goal, although the problems of a psychotherapist's clients may be more severe than those of the average secondary school student. Actually, counselors themselves do not use the word therapeutic, possibly because many of them do not feel qualified to act as therapists (in the psychiatric sense). Such terms as "personal" or "emotional problem counseling" and "adjustment counseling" are preferred. We have used the term because it seems to cover a broad range of similar concerns, and because the way the counseling process is conducted in these areas often seems very similar to the process of psychotherapy.

The best way to proceed is to present some examples from the Boston interviews. A series of questions was asked concerning therapeutic counseling, including the kinds of problems that come up and the role the counselor plays in solving them. We shall quote from the interviews at length in order to illustrate fully the processes at work. The two questions asked were as follows:

> Now let's consider a student with a personal or adjustment problem. What do you, as a counselor, try to accomplish when counseling a student on such matters?
>
> Could you give an example of a student you counseled on these matters and how you went about it?

Occasionally, probe questions were used; if so, we include them in brackets.

> CASE ONE: I am trained in counseling psychology, and my approach is not strictly Rogerian or strictly psychoanalytic. But I act as a counselor, as a therapist if you like that term. . . . I take it very slow and easy in establishing a relationship. I think a relationship is the most important thing of all and permits, really, deeply relevant material to come out, that's deeply fraught with emotion.
>
> There isn't any typical example, because it varies from person to person. I'm thinking of a boy who moved here from_____. He did quite well there, got honors . . . but pretty soon it turned out he was getting all D's and F's here. So rather early in the fall—it was a matter of getting acquainted with him, finding out a little bit about him. Each time it was, "Yes, I think I've gotten ahold of it now, I think I know what was troubling me, and if I go up to my room and shut the door and just don't go downstairs when the rest of the family is there, I think it will work out all right." Another time it was, "Well, I think I reacted quite a bit to my mother being there." By this time I realized that the step-father (who was the fourth

[3] See Chapter 3, p. 42 (emphasis added).

man in his life) had died, which had caused the move from_____. This went on through Christmas; he went on telling a little bit about himself. "I like to be by myself; I've always been a loner. I like other people and they seem to like me but I just don't mix with them too much, cause I'm not used to such large classes and I think these are the things that make it hard for me." And I would say things like, "Well you do find times when you sit down to work, and you just can't do it?" "Yes." "Do you have any idea why .... what's in your mind, at that point, that sort of stops you?" "No, I just can't do it." I said, "Well, then, what do you do?" and he said, "Sometimes I go to sleep, sometimes I put on TV, sometimes I just think." And you could see that, under this rather clear rationalization, there might be some real depression. I have no clue as to what broke the log jam, but very shortly thereafter he started really talking about his mother and himself and their relationship... and about all the things he had been through. And he brought out his reactions to them and how he had had to isolate himself and find a kind of self-sufficiency.... It was easy after the thing broke; up to then I was trying to establish a permissive, understanding relationship....

This counselor was in a very small minority of counselors who used the term "therapy." Even though many counselors described similar counseling concerns, most would not think of themeselves as conducting therapy. At any rate it seems clear, in this example, that a psychological problem is being handled. We will not try to evaluate whether the problem is being handled "correctly"; our main concern is in documenting the activity of therapeutic counseling.

An interesting point in this answer was the fact that the "clue" to the existence of an emotional problem was in the student's sudden change in academic performance. Most counselors keep track of student records, and they are therefore in a position to spot this kind of "discrepancy." In addition to performance changes, discrepancies between performance and ability tests (under- or overachievers) are also cited as possible clues to underlying personal problems. Another indicator mentioned is disciplinary cases; underlying school misbehavior, according to some counselors, might be serious emotional problems. In the school setting, therefore, the counselor is in a position to uncover cases of emotional disturbance which might otherwise go unnoticed and untreated.

The technique which this counselor utilized was one stressing an understanding, supportive relationship. The student is encouraged to do most of the talking. This is similar to the client-centered technique of Rogers described in Chapter 3. Many counselors who engaged in therapeutic counseling with reasonably serious personal problems expressed preferences for these kinds of techniques, although there was considerable variation in the amount of interpretation they gave students. This relatively nondirective

approach contrasts particularly with the advising and information-giving relationship generally observed in educational counseling.

These points are illustrated further in the next case:

> CASE TWO: You should try to listen to the problem and you try to listen to the undertone of the problem. Sometimes the expressed problem is not the real problem. If at all possible, get him to express himself; the more he expresses himself, the more he's going to reveal about whether it's just a superficial problem or a real problem. Usually there's a deeper problem underneath. Sometimes you can get to it. And if it seems to me that this boy is having a problem that's really hindering his adjustment to school, then we set up a series of counseling sessions, more or less on a weekly basis. . . . Let's say it's an inability to get along with other kids. Let's say he's the one being picked on in a particular class, and you don't think the problem is that deep-seated or emotional enough to warrant further psychiatric evaluation—here, you've got to be very careful because you're not trained in this particular field. You should, as a counselor, be able to recognize deep-seated problems.
>
> But in your evaluation if you see it as just a minor emotional adjustment, you try to work with the boy. Let him express himself, his fears, his conflicts; you try to show him, more or less, how to stand up for his own rights. Once you feel you've let the client express himself, his problem—then I think you can swing to being a little more directive or, at least, to a relationship where you're talking things over and he's helping make the decision along with you.
>
> There's a boy I have now, who's a hypochondriac and it took us a long time to find this out . . . you just can't say to this boy, he will not accept, "You are perfectly all right." You don't go along with him in his illness, but you sympathize, you create some empathy . . . . You bolster his confidence. You don't know what the underlying factor is, but you try to make him feel he's a respectable person and is all right. This boy seems to be helped by bolstering his general feeling that he's a worthy person. This seems to have helped him more than anything else.

As in the first case, therapeutic or personal problem counseling is clearly being practiced by this counselor, although he points out that he is not trained to engage in "deeper" emotional problem counseling. Again, we find the stress on a supportive, understanding role, with the counselor doing less direct advising. This counselor does note, however, as do many counselors who engage in therapeutic counseling, that advising is not completely out of the picture.

Like both of the cases presented, most therapeutic counselors express an inclination to avoid indentifying with any particular school of thought such as Rogerian or psychoanalytic. As put by one counselor who estimated that 95 per cent of his counseling sessions concerned personal problems:

The word "technique" loses meaning for me because, I think, in the counseling relationship I *am* technique. In other words, its *me*, rather than a set procedure, and if a kid can feel he's communicating with me, [he] is encouraged not only to discuss issues but to come back and make further appointments . . . .

Not all counselors who expressed a concern for handling a student's personal problems were as willing to become involved in what appeared to be more serious ones. They confined their therapeutic counseling to what might be termed "school adjustment" or other similar problems rather than personality disorders, to the extent that they could determine the difference. The following interview excerpts illustrate this:

CASE THREE: First of all, I'd like to get an idea of what the problem is. If it's something that's not a deep-set problem—for example, you get a girl who is upset because her boyfriend just broke up with her, or something of that nature, then we try to get this out and talk about it, and get the girl to see there's nothing really heartbreaking about this thing and give her someone to talk to. Maybe she can't talk at home because they don't want her to have a boyfriend anyway. They have someone to talk to and someone they feel has an understanding with them and is not going to condemn them for whatever they are thinking. This is what I try to do . . . .If it's a personal problem with more emotional overtones, I just try to figure out what the problem is and, if it's beyond my scope . . . we would try some other method . . . .

We did take a certain boy that we had in class. He had seen me a few times, had been referred to me by his teacher as showing some signs of emotional instability. So I had talked to him a couple of times . . . I try to use the nondirective method . . . and, little by little, he began to come out with things more and more. It became a little more apparent that there was something there . . . .

He really began to show overt signs of hostility and emotional instability. And after this I began to say, "There's no doubt in my mind that this boy needs help that I couldn't give him." I don't think I had the background or the time . . . . So I recommended [to his mother] that she go to _____ [a psychiatric clinic] and that she'd have to make the appointment.

CASE FOUR: We find, a great many times, that the student in talking with us will tell us things which will not be revealed to anyone else in the system, and we are able to gain knowledge which we can [use to help him] . . . . Our major problem is to get the student to be very frank and honest with us, realistic in facing his problems, and developing an attitude where he is willing to accept help and not try to be entirely self-sufficient.

I can give a specific case of where a girl came into the system with better than average ability, good intellect, but was extremely unhappy. The parents would get her up in the morning, and she would cry, didn't want

to come to school . . . . I got her in here and talked with her. I think it took three or four sessions before I got to the underlying cause. She had come from another place; she had the feeling she didn't belong here, that she was not being accepted. She was a girl who needed a great deal of recognition . . . . She wanted to be *in* different groups, in organizations . . . . So I went to several different members of the faculty . . . and she was invited to become a member of the Library Club, which is very active . . . . She was very excited over it, her work began to change from failure to high grades . . . . She was enthusiastic about coming to school in the morning. It was just a case of, you might say, social adjustment.

We note that in Case Three, what is judged a serious problem is referred to an outside agency, and in Case Four the problem being handled is seen by the counselor to be a nonserious adjustment problem. In both cases, of course, it is not important for our purpose here whether or not the cases were correctly diagnosed. The main thing is that the counselors represented by these examples see themselves as qualified to handle relatively minor problems, and they make referrals if the problems appear serious. We would, however, still include this under therapeutic counseling, to be distinguished from educational counseling as defined earlier. No matter how minor, the counselors here are still dealing with psychological states of the student.

An interesting aspect in the Case Four quotation is the counselor's observation that students could and often do bring up matters in counseling sessions that they do not discuss with other persons in the school. A majority of the counselors in our sample made similar observations, and many felt that this "sounding board" function, whether it concerned serious emotional problems or merely minor school adjustment issues, was their most important contribution as a counselor. The following brief quotes, all from different counselors, give further illustration.

I think that basically one of the most important things that has come out of counseling (in my honest opinion) is that a kid can come into this office, sit down, and talk. He can talk on anything and he has the confidence of an adult to confide in. This is, I think, probably one of the major things . . . .

In one sense, I think it's been tremendous where a child (of course, we don't let all children do this), where a child can come in and discuss things. In other words, if there is name-calling which we feel—they can come in and sit down and discuss this. They never had this in the 5th or 6th grades, where they could sit down and say "hello" and talk things over about anything, about their parents, about their friends, or how to make friends, how to study better. This has been our contribution in the sense that we feel that we've helped an individual where they can come in and sit down and talk things over.

> One prime contribution, I feel, it has given the youngster an opportunity to sit down with one individual in a face-to-face relationship and discuss whatever is on that youngster's mind . . . . A feeling that a youngster can come in and sit down with *one* person and take as much time as needed to discuss whatever is on this youngster's mind.

> Well, I think that the teachers don't have time to—especially in education planning—to point out and help the children at all. Especially in the junior high. They might have 200 children going through their classes in a week. At least they feel they can come down individually and get some attention and some information about themselves . . . [they come] back and they say "at the high school, nobody cares, really." So they feel that they have sort of a personal relationship down here, which they need at this age level. . . .

According to our formal coding of the interviews, 49 per cent of our sample gave similar responses and felt that this aspect was their main contribution. Not all of these could be classed as strictly therapeutic counseling concerns, since in some cases the individualized, one-to-one relationship they stressed was not for the purpose of handling serious or minor personal problems, but for conducting a straight educational counseling matter or for handling a communication problem between school, student, and family.

There are two important inferences we can make from this finding. First, in Chapter 3, we raised the issue of why therapeutic counseling has become a more major feature of counseling, and we speculated that the mere presence of the counselor role in the school may give rise to awareness of student problems beyond educational and vocational choice. The data presented here seem to be consistent with this. Although counselors were probably originally brought into a school to handle educational counseling, the one-to-one relationship brought unanticipated results; in a counseling structure the students were more free to talk about problems that concerned them. Some of these problems arose from noneducational matters, and the profession responded to this and became concerned with it as part of its formal role.

The second inference concerns the counselor as a professional. The stress on the one-to-one relationship is an example of what is referred to as the special status of professional-client relationship for professions in general. Most professions practice on a one-to-one basis with their clients because in applying codified knowledge to concrete problem cases, the professional judgment, based on experience, must be applied to each individual case. Moreover, the trust relationship which must develop cannot occur if the client does not view the professional as handling *his* unique problem; successful application is ultimately judged by the social system

as a whole, and if clients from that system do not perceive the professional as truly concerned about them personally, then trust will not develop no matter how successful, potentially, the professional's application of knowledge might be. In fact, if clients will not come to the professional in the first place because of an apparent lack of concern, then professional success is academic: it fails by default. The one-to-one relationship of counselor to student seems to be an expression of this and, therefore, can be seen as further evidence of the professionalization of the counselor role.

The first four cases presented here, unlike the four cases in the last chapter, are not representative of the profession as a whole. They were selected from those counselors who see therapeutic counseling as an important part of their role. There are quite a few counselors who do not feel they should get involved with students' personal problems. And there are quite a few counselors who, although they may not ignore student adjustment problems, handle them quite differently from the preceding cases. Some more examples will make this clear.

CASE FIVE: I just work, mainly, on change of attitude. The student has to be made aware that their attitude is not very desirable. I try to get them to realize it and admit it verbally or in writing. If they're reluctant to admit it at a session, I say, "Why don't you write on the subject?" or "Why don't you draw pictures for me to get it out of your system?" So the first step is they have to be aware of it. If I don't get beyond the first step, then I just dismiss him and say, "I'll see you another time" and then start the same procedure again. For some, it will be the fourth or fifth time. I don't press the issue.

I had one today, a sophomore. He's doing very poorly and I asked him if he is going to continue the college choice, because, in view of his grades in the 9th and 10th grades, the college would just simply write him a letter and say, "You certainly won't . . . ." Most people should know you'd never get into college with D's and E's. And "Why don't you look at that card? It doesn't look too good to me. What are you going to do about it? I think you better tell your parents to come in to discuss the situation."

[The question about an example of a personal problem counseling is repeated.]

I'm kind of leary of that. I'm not going to get involved too much because, the way I feel about it, I'm not here to psychoanalyze, I'm here as an educational, vocational counselor, and I tell the parents to go to this clinic or that clinic.

In response to the question about personal problem counseling, this counselor responded with an example of an educational counseling problem. When the question was repeated, it seems fairly clear that the coun-

selor did not have an interest in therapeutic counseling and, moreover, seemed to be opposed to it. Aside from an unwillingness to carry out this kind of counseling, however, it seems that this counselor's technique in educational counseling is quite different from many other counselors' cited. The approach is a quite direct one, with the counselor not merely giving advice, but in fact quite clearly indicating commitment to changing the client's attitudes by whatever means are available. The manipulation of overt approval and disapproval is a sanctioning level which we have claimed is not consistent with the influence aspect of professions. It is important to emphasize that the counselor is not merely being "directive" in the psychotherapeutic sense; giving advice is directive by that standard. Advice, however, still leaves the sanctioning up to other persons or agencies. In this case, the counselor seems to be actually applying sanctions, actually "punishing" the students by overt disapproval and threats to "tell on him" by bringing in his parents.

A second example of opposition to therapeutic counseling will give further illustration.

> CASE SIX: We don't have too many [students with personal problems]. But occasionally you'll have a boy come in and, maybe when you're talking with them, break down. This is something that throws me for a loop because I don't know, always, what to do. The only thing I've done on emotional problem is—we are now involved with the_____mental health center and I involve my nonachievers in a program tied together with a psychiatrist . . . who comes out and talks to them about not achieving in school. If you get involved in a lot of home situations, sometimes it isn't healthy because parents will tell you to mind your own business. But, in a lot of cases, we'll contact the parents if I *know* the parents. I can tell the parents the boy needs therapy or should be evaluated . . . . You can't become involved too much.
>
> I found myself once in very dire straits because I saw a boy too many times and got involved almost as a therapist. And it got to the point where he was telling me all about his sexual problems. I stopped right then and there. I feel that if you see them too much they come to think of you as a substitute parent and this has many reactions at home . . . . I don't want to see them more than once a week and then . . . . I see them two or three times and break off. I found if you don't . . . you'll just be like a psychologist, and this isn't your purpose.

This counselor does not express a tendency to manipulate direct sanctions but, like Case Three, there is a definite opposition to therapeutic counseling. The counselor sees his main counseling area in the educational and vocational spheres. Any involvement in the personality aspects of the clients is avoided. In fact, this counselor seems to be almost repelled by

any intimate contact with students, to the point where the student is discouraged from having too many counseling sessions, even on educational matters.

These two examples indicate that there is some opposition within the profession to personal problem counseling. When taken with the earlier cases, they give some support to the notion that factions have developed within counseling which have different ideas about the goals of counseling and the means of attaining them. The framework of professional ideology seems appropriate here to help us understand the processes that are occurring. Before turning to a more systematic examination of our data on these differences and their correlates, then, we shall present a brief conceptual discussion of professional ideologies.

Professional Ideology

To qualify as an ideology, a set of ideas within a profession should have characteristics similar to those of ideologies in general. Although there does not exist much definitional work in the area of political ideology, we have been influenced to a considerable extent by the formulations of Talcott Parsons and Clifford Geertz.[4]

First a professional ideology should be a coherent system consisting of both existential and evaluative ideas. By *coherent system* of ideas, we mean that it should contain more than a single idea, or a set of unrelated ideas, with respect to some content area. It should be a series of ideas which are related functionally, in which each separate idea gains its support primarily by virtue of the existence of the other ideas in the system. To use examples from nonprofessional spheres, neither the single idea that the earth is round, nor the series of ideas that a particular war should be stopped, that ice cream tastes good, and that the taking of psychedelic drugs is harmful can constitute ideologies. The first example is not a system because it is one idea, the second because there is no apparent structure that relates the several ideas. On the other hand, the set of ideas known as communism, as set down by Marx, is such a system. It is important to stress that it is not necessary that the functional relationships among the ideas be true in some absolute empirical sense, but that the interrelationships be explicitly stated.

For a profession, the system could be the set of ideas expressing the goals of the profession and the means of attaining them. The goals might make reference to some goals of the larger social system in which it is imbedded, but it would ordinarily also contain some more specific ideas relevant mainly to its professional consensus. The profession of law may

[4] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), Chapter VIII; Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in David Apter, *Ideology and Discontent* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 47–76.

subscribe to the general goals of legal justice, to which the social sytem as a whole subscribes, but some segments within the legal profession may have goals regarding changing the laws themselves. The means of attaining the given goals would include ideas about the kinds of practices required of the professional if he is to contribute to the professional goals. These ideas can also be specific to the profession—such as the way to cure a specific disease in the medical profession, or they may extend across several professions—such as the idea of the inviolate confidentiality of the professional-client relationship.

The second major criterion has to do with the *kinds* of ideas that make up the system, and we maintain that there are two: existential and evaluative. By existential we mean ideas which, for the ideological system in question, describe what *is*. For a profession, the main type of existential ideas are those embodied in its codified knowledge base. Of course, these existential ideas are on a continuum of "empirical verification," since, as we have said, there are only degrees of institutionalization of a knowledge base. The main point is that they make reference to the current state of reality, or to what a state of reality will be. They contain the judgment of what *is* or what *is not* and what *can* and *cannot* be done.

An idea system, if consisting only of existential notions, would correspond to a scientific idea system. The unique aspect of an ideological system is that it also contains statements of what *ought* to be, regardless of what actually exists. These we can term evaluative ideas. For a profession these most clearly correspond to the general goals of the profession and, to some extent, to sets of ideas such as "codes of ethics" which are based on normative principles outside the formal knowledge base. Again, there is a fading off of evaluative ideas into existential ones; there is no clear dichotomy. A doctor's "bedside manner" may be an "ought" behavior, justified in terms of principles external to the profession. But it is also possible that a good bedside manner is critical for a patient's recovery, even though the empirical verification of this is not established. If the justification of the practice has to be external, then, it will be an *ought* justification and therefore an evaluative idea.

There is another kind of evaluative idea which is possible in a profession, although we cannot refer to it as an explicit "ought" statement. Wherever the codified knowledge base is sufficiently incomplete or ambiguous about the means to be used to attain a professional goal, then the means actually chosen by the practitioners can have an evaluative basis. A good example is psychiatry, in which discipline a noncontested goal—curing mental illness—is pursued by quite different means. There are ideas about both psychotherapeutic, somatic, and sociotherapeutic treatments. It has been claimed elsewhere that the strong belief in one of these methods, in the

light of incomplete evidence that it does in fact cure illness, can make it an ideological belief.[5] The main reason is that the basis of choosing it is evaluative, since the relation between treatment and health is not an existential idea.

This points up the final main criterion for an ideology. The set of ideas, so described, must be subscribed to by some subgroup of the profession as a whole. The belief in the ideas must be strong enough to form a part of the identity of the practitioner. This means that the idea system is cathected, and the ability to change from one system to another becomes problematic. It is this aspect of ideologies which gives rise to conflicts and to action programs for reform, revolution, and the like.

In one sense the idea system of a profession as a whole satisfies our criteria for an ideology, even if there are no internal factions pursuing different goals and/or using different means. The evaluative ideas concerning professional goals, the existential ideals concerning the means to gain the goals, and a group of persons believing in them and acting in pursuit of them describe ideological behavior as well as professional practice. But unless two or more factions arise within a profession, conflict is absent, and the significance of the evaluative ideals and the cathected aspects of the idea system are not apparent.

Moreover, ideological factions are more likely to occur when a profession and its associated knowledge base are in the process of institutionalization. This is partly because the codified knowledge base is not complete, and the choice of means, to say nothing of the choice of goals, gains the evaluative aspect described above. Since counseling and related professions based on the behavioral sciences are precisely in this state, our data will focus on the case where ideological factions exist within a single profession.

There is a final note concerning the extensity of ideological factions in a profession. As in the case of political ideology, we do not expect to be able to classify every single professional into one faction or another. What seems to happen, empirically, is that only a small number of individuals identify strongly with the idea system in question, advocating its adoption and pursuing its goals, while the remainder—perhaps a majority—stays on the sidelines in an "eclectic" position.

Counseling Practices as Professional Ideologies

It is our main contention that there are two main ideological factions within counseling as defined above. One centers around the activity of traditional educational guidance, and the other focuses on the newer ac-

[5] David J. Armor and Gerald L. Klerman, *op. cit.*

tivity of therapeutic counseling. The two main factions tend to highlight many ideas and behaviors which may, on the surface, appear to be separate issues. In this section, we will broadly outline the main features of each ideal type, and we will then examine data from the Boston area sample to test the empirical validity of our claims.

The educational counselor sees the main goal of counseling as helping students make "realistic" educational and vocational decisions. Realistic decisions are those consonant with the student's academic performance and ability as shown by standardized testing. We would expect the educational counselor, therefore, to use and rely on such objective indicators to a greater extent than other counselors. Although the educational counselor is subjected to some of the pressures mentioned in Chapter 3, which tend to make him want to avoid direct advice-giving, we nonetheless expect him to do it to a greater extent than others. Since educational counseling is a more traditional role, and since many counselors are drawn from the teaching ranks, we would expect those counselors who have spent more time in teaching to be more inclined to practice educational counseling and to oppose therapeutic counseling.

We describe educational counseling as an ideological faction more because of its goals than the means to attain them. In fact, the use of objective information such as tests and grades to evaluate realistic decisions of students does definitely have considerable, if not complete, empirical verification. In the light of other developments in therapeutic counseling, however, the maintenance of strictly educational counseling goals becomes partly an ideological matter.

Aside from the type of counseling practiced, the long experience in teaching ought to make it more difficult to make the transition to advising or less directive techniques. Therefore, we expect the educational counselor is more likely to engage in more direct sanction manipulation— rather than mere advising (as in Case Five in the first section), since he is likely to have spent more time in teaching.

In contrast to the educational counselor, the therapeutic counselor sees his main goal in the total integration of the client's personality. The concern with good self-concept leads to a more willing involvement with the client's personal problems, even relatively serious ones. We expect the therapeutic counselor to endorse more frequently the nondirective or client-centered technique, since this has been an important ideological belief in the growth of psychotherapy and Rogerian methods. We would expect that this concern with personal problems would lead the counselor to see standardized tests as less important, in general, in counseling—even in the educational sphere. The nondirective emphasis shades over into the traditional educational guidance activity, and the therapeutic coun-

selor has more ambivalence about mere advice-giving, not to speak of actual direct sanction manipulation. Since this activity is newer, we expect it to be more predominant among those counselors who have spent less time in teaching. Also, we expect that the therapeutic counselor could be shown to have prior interest in counseling as a career, rather than having changed later, perhaps for "escapist" reasons (as described in Chapter 4).

The therapeutic counselor, unlike the educational counselor, probably does not have equally as well-developed means to pursue his goals. There is not yet a complete institutionalized knowledge base for personal problem treatment, probably even less so compared to the knowledge base dealing with academic assessment of students. What knowledge base exists, however, is drawn from the psychotherapeutic practice. The stress is on the relationship between the counselor and the student, on the counselor's understanding and supporting the student, rather than on an authoritarian relationship. Also, we would expect these counselors would be more likely to try to avoid discipline problems than other counselors.

The two types shown represent the polar extremes in counseling. In the middle are found many counselors who do not subscribe strongly to either idea system. They tend to be "eclectic" in that they enthusiastically handle any kind of problem presented to them, whether it be personal or educational. In their techniques, they are neither always directive nor nondirective, but choose the approach which seems to suit the situation. In general, this is often advisory when dealing with educational problems, and more client-centered when dealing with therapeutic cases.

Since this latter group is not ideologically committed to either ideal type, we shall not refer to it as an ideological faction. We shall term its members "eclectics."

To examine whether our description of the three types of counselors is valid, we shall consider data from our Boston sample. Our first problem was to find a measure which could exhaustively classify our sample into the three types. We felt that a behavioral criterion would be more reliably measured than an attitudinal one. We chose to use the counselors' own estimates of the amount of time spent on personal or emotional counseling. Since it is self-rated in the questionnaire, it may be no more reliable than attitude measures. But we will assume that the counselors have at least an approximate idea of how much time they spend on each activity, and that this estimate is the closest we can come to a direct behavioral assessment with our data.

Since we saw that junior high counselors do much more therapeutic counseling than senior high counselors, probably due to extensive college counseling for the latter, we decided to use different cut-off points for each group. To define the therapeutic group, the amount of time spent in

therapeutic counseling had to be at least 30 per cent for senior high and 45 per cent for junior high counselors. This resulted in a grouping of 26 counselors (or 29 per cent) of those returning questionnaires. We will label these the "therapeutic" group.

The "educational" group was taken to be senior high counselors spending 85 per cent or more, and junior high school counselors spending 70 per cent or more of their time in educational or vocational counseling. This accounts for 36 (or 40 per cent) of the sample.

Finally, the "eclectic" group consists of the remaining counselors. The eclectic senior high counselor spends from 15 to 30 per cent in therapeutic and 70 to 85 per cent of his time in educational and vocational counseling. For the junior high counselor, the ranges are 30 to 45 per cent and 55 to 75 per cent, respectively. This is the remaining 31 per cent of the sample.

It is not necessary that the time counselors spend on various counseling problems be related to their attitudes about it. If these are ideological groups, however, we would expect some consistency between behavior and attitudes. In order to test this, we related counselor type to two attitudinal measures. One was an antitherapy scale based on Likert-type attitude items from the questionnaire (see Appendix II). The following are two typical items.

> Too much emphasis is being placed on a student's psychological problems.
>
> Counselors would be better off today if they concentrated more on the educational problems of students, rather than on emotional problems.

The scale consisted of 9 items, each scored on a 1 to 7 agree-disagree range. The mean of these items was computed and recoded to a 7-point scale, where 1 indicates low and 7 strong antitherapy feelings.

The second measure was a rating (from the interview) of the counselor's own assessment of his most important contribution in counseling. We made five classifications, most of which have been illustrated above in our quotations from the interviews. Only four counselors could not be classified. Two levels of therapeutic counseling were distinguished: one more clearly dealing with definite emotional problems, the other stressing the one-to-one relationship and less serious adjustment problems. Also, there were two levels of educational counseling coded: one stressing an advisory role and one stressing direct sanction manipulation. We shall term the latter an "authority" attitude in educational counseling. A fifth category consisted of counselors who stressed their liaison function among the school administration, faculty, students, and parents. A fuller description of this type is given in Chapter 7; we see them identifying more with the school administration and fulfilling less of a counseling function.

TABLE 14 *Counselor Type by Antitherapy Scale and Main Contribution*

	Counselor Type		
	Educational	Eclectic	Therapeutic
Antitherapy scale			
Percentage below median	32	66	81
Percentage above median	68	34	19
Mean[a]	4.1	3.2	2.6
Number of cases	35	29	21
Perceived main contribution, in percentages			
Liaison role	19	14	9
Therapeutic: Serious problems	16	31	47
Therapeutic: Minor problems	13	14	26
Educational: Advisory role	44	23	18
Educational: Authority role	7	18	0
Therapeutic (combined)	29	45	73
Educational (combined)	51	41	18
Number of cases	31	22	23

[a]Range = 1 to 7.

The relations between antitherapy attitudes, main contribution, and counselor type are presented in Table 14. Overall, the results are consistent in the direction expected, particularly when we compare the educational with the therapeutic group. We see that 81 per cent of the therapists are below the median on the antitherapy attitude scale, compared to 68 per cent of the educational group *above* the median. The eclectic group is not antitherapeutic; they are only slightly more so than the therapists.

With one exception, the counselors' perceived main contribution is also in the proper relationship with counselor-type. Whereas 47 per cent of the therapeutic group sees their main contribution in the more serious personal problem area, 44 per cent of the educational group sees educational advising as their main function. Although the educational group has more persons stressing an authority relationship in educational counseling than the therapists, 7 as opposed to 0 per cent, the eclectic group has even more, 18 per cent. This is not in accord with our description. But, at least they are fairly well distributed among the various contributions; the group seems to be quite eclectic.

We seem to have largely validated our grouping, at least in the internal consistency sense. But the relationships did not achieve overwhelming

strength. Ideally, we should proceed from here using only those counselors who are consistent on both attitudes and behavior as "pure" ideological types. Unfortunately, our numbers are already too small. In the analysis which follows we shall have to be content with examining ideological trends, rather than examining the characteristics of actual pure types.

We hypothesized that the educational group would rely more on objective information in educational counseling than others, and the therapeutic counselor would be more nondirective, less authoritarian, and more likely to take an understanding, supportive role with students in personal problem counseling situations. These predictions are borne out by the data in Table 15. Also, in each case, the eclectic group is in the middle.

TABLE 15 *Professional Attitudes and Counselor Types*

	Counselor Type		
Attitude (means)	**Educational**	**Eclectic**	**Therapeutic**
Ability test score weight[a]	3.7	3.4	3.4
	(36)[b]	(29)	(24)
Grade average weight[a]	4.4	4.1	3.9
	(36)	(29)	(24)
Stress on tests rating[c]	6.4	5.8	5.5
	(31)	(25)	(24)
Nondirective rating[c]	2.9	4.2	4.8
	(32)	(25)	(24)
Authoritarianism scale[d]	4.5	3.8	3.3
	(35)	(24)	(21)
Understanding and supportive rating[c]	4.1	5.4	6.1
	(32)	(25)	(24)

[a] Range = 0 to 5.
[b] Number of cases is shown in parentheses.
[c] Range = 1 to 9.
[d] Range = 1 to 7.

The test and grade weight indices are described in Chapter 5; the stress on tests rating is an overall rating from the interviews of counselors' utilization of standardized tests in educational counseling. Although the direction is as predicted, the differences are slight. The reliance on tests by counselors in educational counseling is uniformly high.

A considerably stronger relationship emerges from the interviews between the rating for stressing nondirective techniques and counselor type. The therapeutic group is more than a standard deviation higher on the nondirective rating than the educational group. Strong relationships also occur for the authoritarianism scale and the understanding rating from the interviews.

The authoritarianism scale was based on Likert-type items in the questionnaire and is described in Appendix II. Typical items were:

> Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
>
> A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents or else he will lose respect for them.

The mean of fourteen items, recoded to a 1 to 7 score range, was used. A score of 7 would indicate a person in strong agreement with all of the items and, hence, high on the authoritarianism scale. The understanding rating was coded from the interview and ranges from 1 to 9. A score of 9 indicates a person who seemed to show true concern for understanding and empathy when counseling his students on all problems.

The relationships are in the direction predicted. It seems quite clear that counselors who are engaging more in personal problem counseling stress a different kind of relationship with the student.

To complete an empirical description of our types, we will examine some possible determinants of counseling type. We have earlier stressed the possible effect of long experience in teaching before counseling, that it might be difficult for such counselors to make the transition to the requirements of counseling, especially to the client-centered techniques which are stressed in therapeutic counseling.

We also wished to examine the effect of having a practicum experience, in which (in most cases) counselors are trained in client-centered relationships, and the motivation for entering counseling. Our impressions were that the therapeutic counselor would have had more practicum experience and more altruistic motivation for entering counseling. In addition, in the light of the nature of the Boston sample, we wanted to examine the effect of religion. It was our idea that Catholic counselors might be more inclined to oppose therapeutic counseling, insofar as some of its premises go against the tenets of that religion.

The relationships are presented in Table 16, and the directions are as anticipated, although the trends are not strong ones. The strongest relationship occurs for religion. The implication is that social background can have an effect on professional practice. Our data showed that counselors from an upper-class background were also more likely to be in the therapeutic category, but the relationship is not very strong and may be a result of religious differences in the social classes.

In conclusion, our ideological types seem to be validated, although the relations are not so strong as we expected. Therapeutic and educational

TABLE 16 *Counselor Type, by Professional and Social Background Features, in Percentages*

Counselor Type	Teaching Experience: Less than 10 Years	Teaching Experience: 10 or More Years	Motivation for Entering Counseling[a]: Altruistic	Motivation for Entering Counseling[a]: General	Motivation for Entering Counseling[a]: Escape	Number of Practicums: None	Number of Practicums: One or More	Religion: Catholic	Religion: Other[b]
Educational	37	43	26	67	50	49	33	50	22
Eclectic	32	37	36	27	22	32	33	30	39
Therapeutic	31	20	38	6	28	20	35	20	39
Number of cases	59	30	47	15	18	41	49	36	50

[a] See Chapter 4.
[b] Predominantly Protestant.

counseling stress a whole range of different attitudes toward various aspects of counseling practice and seem to be related to the professional and social background of the counselor.

Summary

Although the existence of therapeutic counseling has been documented, and it appears to be widespread, its practice raises more controversy within the profession than does the more traditional activity of educational counseling. It is not fully institutionalized *within* the profession, aside from not being fully institutionalized for the society as a whole. Although techniques may exist for ameliorating students' psychological problems, these techniques do not seem to be fully transmitted to counselors as part of their training. The relatively less-frequent training in a practicum, compared to other kinds of courses, is a direct indication of this. Hence, the expertise of a counselor as a therapist may be more in question than his expertise as an educational advisor.

The fact that these trends exist, however, is a signal that changes are taking place within the profession even before full institutionalization of the traditional activity of educational counseling. Our data do not tell us directly why this is happening; it does appear that it is occurring with the younger, better trained counselors who have entered counseling more specifically for this explicit activity. As such, we may be witnessing an example of the development of professional activities prior to the existence of explicit goals and knowledge bases to attain them. Presumably, if such activities are filling an as-yet unarticulated need of the society, such explicit goals and codified knowledge will someday be a part of the profession.

CHAPTER 7

Counseling and the Institutional Setting

LITTLE has been said thus far about the school setting within which counseling operates. For many researchers, the school as an institution might have been the logical starting point for an analysis of the counseling profession. In one recent study of counselors by Aaron Cicourel and John Kitsuse, for example, this approach was chosen.[1] In this work the counselor was portrayed as one of the roles in the bureaucratic structure of the school system, pursuing the goals of the school in differentiating students into college and noncollege career paths.

This "sorting out" function of the school has recently received considerable attention. It has been described by David Goslin:

> With the rise of mass education the school functions as an integral part of the process of status allocation in four ways: (1) by providing a context in which the individual can demonstrate his abilities, (2) by channeling individuals into paths that lead in the direction of different occupations or classes of occupations, (3) by providing the particular skills needed to fulfill the requirements of various positions, and finally (4) by transferring to the individual the differential prestige of the school itself.[2]

Although Goslin does not say so explicitly, it is clear that we could correctly identify the counselor with this school function.

We have chosen to stress the educational and vocational decisions of stu-

[1] Aaron V. Cicourel and John I. Kitsuse, *The Educational Decision-Makers* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963).

[2] David A. Goslin, *The School in Contemporary Society* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1965), p. 9.

dents as one of the major professional concerns of counselors as a whole rather than the school system per se, although there is no contradiction here. Historically, at least, the school as an entity has the explicit goal of providing persons with knowledge which can enable them to function in an increasingly complex society—whether or not they go on to college. The school never overtly claimed to be primarily concerned with helping students make the decisions; in fact, in the early days and to some extent today, these were most likely seen by the school as the undeniable rights of parents. Of course, the problem of making the choice was shifting from the parents to the child, as we have said. And, as the choices became more complicated and as the notion of "realistic" choices gained favor, counseling developed in order to help the child make the decisions. This shift was no doubt first noticed by educators in school systems, but in Chapter 3 we tried carefully to document the development of counseling to show that it was not just a school-inspired development. This is not to say that the school is not involved in the differentiating process. From the point of view of the society, the school is the place where much of this process starts. But explicit goals and implicit functions are not identical; they are two different conceptual levels. On closer inspection, one sees the emergence of a profession more specifically concerned with the differentiating process and which could, theoretically at least, operate independently of the school system. Since the setting of the practice is in the schools, we can also speak of the school as having an allocation function.

Nonetheless, the emergence of a profession which operates within—and receives impetus from—an institutional setting is bound to bring about some problems for professional practice. We indicated earlier that the authority structure of an organization could come into conflict with the influence nature of a profession if the organization's goals come into conflict with the professional's. This conflict can occur whether the professional is in a line or a staff relationship with respect to the main authority structure.

The term "authority" may be a key to the potential conflict. A professional must act or advise in the best interests of his client, according to his expert understanding of those interests. It is entirely possible that in the process of pursuing the goals of the organization, assuming they are not identical with those of the profession, a conflict may arise between the best interest of the client and the best interest of the organization. For example, a psychiatrist in a hospital setting may feel pressure from the hospital staff to prescribe tranquilizing drugs to keep his patient more manageable, even though he may disapprove of such drugs.

Pressure from fellow workers and supervisors can be withstood, however. A more serious problem might occur if the professional were actually in a bureaucratic line position, with authority at his disposal. If the au-

thority could be applied to his clients, then there is the danger that direct sanctions would be utilized in order to get the client to follow the advice. This clearly conflicts with the influence basis of a profession.

There is the additional problem that, quite aside from the professional's actual position and responsibilities in an organization, the client may perceive him as a member of the authority structure. This may further undermine the necessary trust relationship by making a client feel that his own best interests may be compromised in favor of the organization's.

A final potential problem which can occur involves the relation between the professional and nonsupervisory co-workers. If, for any reason, conflict occurs among the various roles in the organization, the professional's work can be affected.

The counselor, being a part of the school structure, gives us an excellent opportunity to examine some of these issues. Being a new profession, we would expect counselors to have more problems of this type than other professions. But some of our findings might be relevant to other professions based on the behavioral sciences which operate in school, hospital, and prison settings.

There are two kinds of information we have from our Boston interviews with which we can investigate the relations between the counselor and the school. First, we want to raise the question of the counselor's relationship to the administrative structure of the school as a whole. Our interviews revealed that the issue of discipline by counselors illustrated this relationship and provides us with an index of counselors' authority-involvement. Second, we wish to raise the issue of counselor relations with teachers. As a relatively new role taking over activities which many teachers traditionally handled informally, we expected that counselors might have difficulties with teachers which affect their counseling activities.

Counselors and the School Authority Structure

It is probably a popular notion among educators that counseling is a job created by school administrators to handle many of the "messy" problems of the administration, such as dealing with parents, discipline, paper work, and the general allocation problem. In fact, some of the counselors interviewed felt that way themselves. Unfortunately, with our data, we are not able to examine administrators' views of counseling; we can only consider what counselors themselves indicate about their relation with the rest of the school administration. Further research is needed in this area to document how educators as a whole view counseling.

What administrative functions do counselors perform in the school? We reported in Chapter 4 that clerical and paper work accounted for the second largest segment of counselors' time (13 per cent). But much of this

work is related to their counseling function, such as testing records and the like. Moreover, relatively few counselors (16 per cent) felt, in response to an open-ended question about what they would like to see changed, that clerical duties should be reduced or eliminated. Almost a majority (45 per cent) wanted a smaller number of students assigned to them, and another 18 per cent felt that nothing needed changing.

A number of counselors, in discussing their main contribution in the school, did indicate a primary concern for activities which would not come under the two major headings already described—educational and therapeutic counseling. The term which seemed to fit their description best is "liaison" role. The counselors we placed in this category stressed their importance in coordinating affairs between the administration, students, teachers, and parents by smoothing out any problems that arose. A quote from a counselor who sees himself as filling this role will make our definition clearer.

> I think it's the one place the child that has difficulty in school, or parents who have difficulty in understanding the program, can go. We find we have no difficulty in getting parents to come and see us here. And many times something that could become an administrative problem is just nipped in the bud completely if the parent comes to the counselor. We feel it's a liaison between home, the child, and the administration of the school.

This type of counselor probably comes closest to the conception of the counselor as an adjunct to the administration. But a very small minority of the Boston area sample fell in this category—a little less than 16 per cent. The rest of the sample listed counseling activities which were clearly educational or therapeutic in nature.

The fact that very few counselors identify primarily with the administrative authority structure does not mean that they do not become involved in it, either formally or informally, as part of their normal practices. An activity which we feel is especially salient here is that of discipline. It is the one activity which is ordinarily a responsibility of everyone in the school (although a particular role, such as vice-principal, may be assigned to administer it), which at the same time is most in conflict with the techniques of counseling in both the educational and therapeutic spheres. If the counselor, as a professional, is to engage in an influence process, he should not manipulate direct sanctions. As a disciplinarian, the use of direct sanctions can essentially undermine the trust upon which the influence relationship rests. On the other hand, the counselor is in a position to know a lot about the student and to relate to him on an individual basis. The extent, then, to which counselors are assigned duties necessitating discipline, or to which they informally and voluntarily engage in it, can be seen as an index of their involvement with the administrative authority structure.

In the interview, a question was asked which attempted to get at the counselors' discipline role. "Do the counselors here ever take responsibility for discipline of students in any way?" Occasionally probes were used. "Do you ever get involved indirectly? Are you obliged to enforce the rules of the school?"

We were able to code the responses reliably to these questions into four main categories: (1) no formal or informal involvement in discipline; (2) no formal responsibilities, but informally enforces rules of the school; (3) no formal responsibilities for discipline per se, but assignment of duties which make some disciplinary action necessary (e.g., cafeteria or corridor patrol duties); and (4) formal responsibility for discipline cases. Before discussing the results, we will present some illustrative quotes.

No formal or informal involvement in discipline

CASE ONE: No, I've had several battles over the years in relation to this. One of the things that resulted was . . . an administrative council, where the guidance counselors, administration, and health [personnel] came together and coordinated their efforts in relation to discipline. The reason was that we were becoming involved . . . . they'd say, "If you don't behave, we're going to send you down to the guidance counselor." Of course, at this point, we shipped them back up. And, after enough shipping up and meetings with the principal, this was squared away.

[What is your role when you come across some infraction of a rule . . .?]

I try to look the other way. If I feel that something is really flagrant—if someone were standing there hitting the fire bell, I'd yank his arm. In a lot of cases, I try to overlook things . . . because, really, you can't sit down and say to a boy, "I'm your friend, I'm going to help you," and then turn around and, say, have him suspended from school.

CASE TWO: No. Not for the counselor; [discipline] is done by_____[an administrator].

[Do you ever get in it indirectly?]

The [administrator] might sometimes contact me if a student got into trouble. I'm not involved in the disciplinary aspect at all. If the student wants to talk about what happens and air their grievances, that's between the student and myself. It does not get back to the [administrator].

[What about rules of the school?]

I don't see my role as disciplinary in that sense. I mean, I have seen students come in through doors that they're not supposed to, things of that sort . . . . I'm not sure what I'd do if I saw anything very serious going on. I probably would react much as any human being if I saw a student doing something serious. I would never turn a student in. I suppose I would tend to close my eyes if I saw a student smoking. First of all, I don't care if they smoke or not . . . .

In both of these cases, there is no official responsibility for handling discipline, and there are no duties they have which might necessarily involve

them in discipline as a secondary consequence (such as patrolling or teaching). Although this is important for professional practice, a more significant point they make is that they avoid even informal involvement in discipline by avoiding enforcement of the school rules unless something serious is about to occur. There is probably no other school role which would have such a viewpoint. It is especially interesting to note that these counselors seem to be aware of the problems that disciplining might have for their role as a counselor.

There are other counselors who, likewise, are not formally involved in discipline but who take a more active role informally.

No formal responsibilities but informal involvement

CASE THREE: No, none whatsoever. But, let me point out . . . as a counselor, you just can't ignore discipline . . . . It's your responsibility to make corrections if there's problems of discipline which . . . not only your counselees, but if you see something in the building, it's your responsibility like any teacher's—and you correct it on the spot . . . . I don't see how you can be an educator, whether you're a counselor, or a principal, or a teacher, unless you do.

CASE FOUR: No, none.

[What about enforcing the rules of the school?]

I feel I'm as responsible for enforcing the rules as anyone else in the building, no matter who it is. If someone were doing something against the school rule, I would feel as though I should . . . and I'd further feel that students should see that the following of rules is important enough so that they should think of their guidance counselor as one who thinks that's important, as well as their English teacher or their principal.

Both cases are not assigned duties involving them in discipline, but they do get involved by their own decision to enforce the rules of the school. It is especially significant that both of these cases stress that they should not be seen as being any different from other school roles. This contrasts sharply with the first two cases.

Responsibilities involving discipline

CASE FIVE: We have none whatsoever except that, naturally, most teachers are inclined to accept guidance as being close to administration and, consequently, will come down sometimes and tell us of a boy's conduct that leaves a lot to be desired . . . and I will call the boy or girl in and tell them I've had this complaint from the teacher and that it's not in their best interest, academically, to continue on this way . . . . We *have* to take one study period a day, and you are, I have to admit, put in a somewhat awkward position disciplinewise . . . . that's when you have to leave the role of counselor and become teacher again, and you have to maintain discipline. Of course, I've been coaching also, so I have that . . . .

CASE SIX: No, not actually. Of course, in our class work, where we have group guidance classes, we are bound to have some. We have group guidance classes ten periods a week.

[To what extent do you get involved in discipline?]

Only in a minor way. The Assistant Principal handles discipline in general . . . . But he'd be swamped with three grades, so he takes the 8th and 9th grades and the 7th graders come here to the guidance office and one of us will stamp their [detention] slip [from teachers] and send them to where they're supposed to go. So we're sending them for an hour in the detention room after school, and they may think we are the ones who are responsible for it. But I think most of them are familiar with the fact that we're just doing it to help out.

In both Cases Five and Six, the counselors have been assigned duties which necessarily involve them in discipline. For most counselors in this category, the duties are study period, cafeteria and corridor duty, and group guidance. Also in these cases, as in Cases Three and Four, there is no particular opposition to the discipline role. But this is not typical of the category; our data indicated that most counselors who were assigned such duties were opposed to them and to the discipline role in which it placed them.

We coded each counselor into one of the four discipline levels, and the results are presented in Table 17. The table also gives, for each group, its mean on a disciplinary attitude rating scale, judged from the interview transcripts. A rating of 1 would indicate a counselor who was strongly opposed to discipline as part of the counselor role, while a score of 9 would indicate a counselor quite strongly in favor of discipline as a part of counseling.

TABLE 17 *Counselor Involvement in Student Discipline*

Type of Involvement	Percentage in Type	Mean on Discipline Attitude Scale[a]
No formal or informal involvement in discipline	35 (29)[b]	1.6
No formal responsibilities but informally enforces school rules	41 (37)	4.4
No formal responsibility for discipline per se, but duties make some discipline necessary	18 (17)	3.4
Formal responsibility for discipline cases	6 (5)	5.4

[a] Range = 1 to 9.

[b] The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of cases.

We see that the modal type is a counselor without formal discipline duties but who nonetheless becomes involved in informal enforcement of the rules. This accounted for 41 per cent of the sample. The next-largest group, however, consisting of 35 per cent of the sample, engaged in neither formal nor informal discipline. Correspondingly, they had the lowest mean on the disciplinary attitude scale, 1.6, compared to 4.4 for the informal rule enforcers. A relatively small number, 18 per cent, had formal duties which involved discipline, and a smaller number, 6 per cent, were assigned official responsibility for discipline. Not surprisingly, this latter group has the highest mean, 5.4, on the disciplinary attitude scale compared to the other three groups. It would be difficult for counselors to be strongly opposed to an activity which is institutionalized as part of their job. It may be that schools whose guidance programs involve major discipline duties may attract counselors who do not mind that activity.

We said that most counselors in the third category, those with official duties which necessitate discipline, were dissatisfied. That this is so is indicated by their mean on the attitude scale. It is 3.4, second only to the nondiscipline group and lower than the informal enforcers. The explanation for this difference may be that the persons assigned official duties are in those positions unwillingly, whereas those who informally enforce school rules are doing so of their own volition. Apparently, according to counselors in the first category, such informal enforcement can be avoided.

It seems quite clear that counselors with such school duties illustrate the problem of role conflict. The demands of the school duties, especially when they involve discipline, are not consonant with their expectations of their counseling obligations. We note, of course, that this is a relatively small group. We would not apply the concept of role conflict to those who engage in discipline voluntarily. Thus, for the vast majority of counselors in our Boston area sample, there is no such role conflict insofar as discipline is concerned. These results may indicate, however, that part-time teacher-counselors, who are numerous nationally, may have a considerable amount of role conflict if they are oriented to the counseling activities and philosophies outlined here. Our data do not allow us to test this notion.

Without comparative data from other professions in similar circumstances, we are not sure what to make of these findings. For some researchers, the fact that 65 per cent of the sample is involved in the administration or maintenance of school authority will be an indication of the harm of the institutional setting or an indication that counseling has a long way to go before becoming a fully-fledged profession. But, since we must realize that many of these counselors seem to get involved in discipline voluntarily, others might stress that fact that 76 per cent have not been given duties by the school which *necessarily* imply discipline. What-

ever the the interpretation, it is certainly apparent that there exists a considerable variety of adaptations of the counselor role to school conditions.

We might get an idea of what the trends might be in these respects if we inquire briefly into the determinants and correlates of discipline handling. There are two main sources of information relevant here. First, the characteristics of the counselor's professional background may influence his involvement in discipline, especially the distinction between the first two types. For this relationship, we shall use variables shown to be important in the last chapter: major counseling activity, time spent in teaching, and authoritarianism. Second, the characteristics of the school are likely to have an impact. Although our Boston area data are scant on this last point, we will be able to examine one important variable: the institutionalization of the guidance counseling function in the school system as measured by the existence of a school-wide director of counseling.

Table 18 summarizes the relationships. The strongest appears to be between counseling focus and discipline type. While 48 per cent of the therapy group practices no discipline at all, 47 per cent of the educational group engages in informal discipline. Counselors engaging in therapeutic counseling seem to be more aware of the problems that disciplining brings about for the counselor-client trust relationship. As we saw in the last chapter, the educational group was more inclined toward directive methods in counseling, and this seems consistent with the present finding.

TABLE 18 *Disciplinary Involvement and Selected Counselor and School Features*

Type	Counseling Focus (percent)			Time in Teaching (percent)		Mean on Authoritarianism	System-wide Director of Guidance (percent)	
	Educational	Eclectic	Therapeutic	Under 10 Years	10 Years or More		Yes	No
No formal or informal involvement in discipline	25	40	48	39	28	3.5 (28)	39	30
No formal responsibilities but informally enforces school rules	47	32	30	38	40	4.4 (28)	37	45
No formal responsibility for discipline per se, but duties make some discipline necessary	19	28	13	20	24	4.1 (17)	22	15
Formal responsibility for discipline cases	9	0	9	4	8	3.8 (4)	2	10
Number of cases	32	25	23	56	25		51	40

We see that the informal enforcer group has the highest authoritarianism score, while the nondiscipline group has the lowest. This is not surprising, given our finding about disciplinary attitudes, although the two attitude measures were derived from different sources. Finally, more time spent in teaching seems to contribute to disciplinary involvement. This seems to confirm our earlier observation that being in teaching for a long time may make it harder to make the transition to an advisory, nonauthority relationship with students.

Some counselors said in the interviews that one of the factors which contributed to involving them in discipline was that the school principal was their immediate boss. The counselor would have to follow the policies of the principal, and if he was not "guidance-minded," as they put it, they might well be given regular school duties. Other counselors noted that their immediate supervisor was a city- or town-wide director of guidance, who in turn answered to the school superintendent. Under this arrangement, a counselor would be in a staff relation to the particular school and therefore not responsible to the principal. These counselors often appeared less involved in discipline.

Table 18 tends to confirm this, although the relationship is not too strong. The main difference seems to be that those counselors in schools without a system-wide director were more likely to engage in informal discipline, or be assigned formal responsibility for discipline, than those with a director. Correspondingly, 39 per cent of those with directors had no formal or informal involvement, compared to 30 per cent without a director. It was our impression that the presence of a system-wide directorship reflected a more sophisticated approach to guidance and, generally, a more progressive school. Our data on schools are not sufficient, however, to test this impression more thoroughly.

In summary, we can see that the counselor is involved in the school authority structure to a considerable extent, although many do have no involvement and many others oppose it. The trend would seem to be in the direction of less involvement. For the sake of their professional status, particularly in the area of therapeutic counseling, this is probably an important trend.

Counselors' Role Relations with Teachers

A second major way in which an institutional setting is likely to affect professional activity is the relationship between the practitioner and other roles within the institution. For the counselor in schools, one of the most salient roles in this respect is that of the teacher. Cooperation and understanding between teachers and counselors are essential for the counseling operation to be performed effectively. On one hand, teachers are one of the

counselors' sources of information about students with educational or personal problems or needs with which the counselor might be able to help. On the other hand, teachers are often the recipient of advice about students from the counselor whenever the counselor's conclusions affect something in which the teacher is involved. Any friction between the two roles, therefore, is bound to affect the success of counseling practice.

As was the case with the school administration, we do not have any data from the Boston area study about teachers' views of counseling. In order to make a complete study of the role relationship, we would need the teacher viewpoint as well as that of the counselor. This will have to await further research. For the present, we must confine ourselves to the counselors' half of the story. Even so, our results were quite revealing and give us some understanding of the problems involved.

We asked the counselors in our sample this question:

> What would you say were the most common problems here between the teachers and the counselors, if any?

The answers revealed that there were several problems with teachers, sometimes of great intensity. Although we coded the responses into several categories, we were not satisfied with our classification. Many counselors mentioned two or three different problems. We shall proceed by citing several typical examples from the interviews.

> CASE ONE: Well, I'm not very good at public relations, I don't think, in that I think any misunderstandings would be my fault. One example . . . I had a child sitting there and I didn't have the door closed as I should have and one of his teachers came by and looks in and said, "Mrs._____, if you can get *anything* out of him, I wish you would tell me what it is!" and really gave him the old blast! So [later on] I told her . . . that I wasn't responsible for their discipline or their marking and that anything I might accomplish would be through letting them talk about the things that were bothering them and that, when she came by and said that, it really ruined it. She didn't take to that kindly at all.

> CASE TWO: I have a feeling that teachers think counselors are spying on them all the time because many of the problems the kids come in with on a counseling basis pertain to the personality of the teacher and, in a sense, sometimes it's quite [necessary] to be frank about it. You just relate to the student instead of the teacher. And I think teachers are aware of this and therefore they have a psychological feeling that the counselors are working against them . . . .

> CASE THREE: Well, I think there's a sort of basic feeling among the teachers that the counselor just sits in that office and doesn't have to face [students] five hours a day and cope with all the discipline . . . . I think they resent us

a little bit. I think they resent the counselor as sort of putting himself or herself in a position of greater knowledge about the student than they have. In other words, the teacher says, "I think you should [change programs]." You happen to know some other things about the family which she doesn't . . . . you say, "I think he should stay. It's important at this time." They say, "Who do they think they are." There can be some bitterness with this program changing. You know, "I've got 32 kids in this class and that counselor sends me another one." . . . they get *mad!*

CASE FOUR: Well, I wonder sometimes if guidance within this school is that well accepted. Counselors have offices of their own . . . . [Their attitude] is they sit there and do nothing all day long but take long coffee breaks and lunch hours. I think a lot of teachers resent the fact that we do have a guidance department, now, because they, themselves, used to do this, they used to talk to the students about the problems, about the courses. And, now someone has come in and stepped on their toes.

The two major themes of these quotes are that many teachers either do not understand the nature and requirements of counseling (e.g., expecting them to handle discipline) or they do not accept the need for it. As Cases Three and Four bring out, the counselor handles many things that teachers once did, and the teacher harbors some resentment of it. In the counselors' opinion, these teachers are not accepting the counselors' expertise in matters that they themselves have handled. Another interesting issue brought up in Case Two is that, in the realm of therapeutic counseling, difficulties with teachers may arise when they are the center of the student's problem. The teacher may be understandably angered if the counselor "sides" with the student because of his own prejudices. Actually, this would probably not be an example of professional behavior, since the counselor might be becoming "involved" in manipulating the external environment.

This kind of conflict is probably a natural consequence of the growth of a new profession in the school. Taking over functions originally handled by teachers, counselors have been trained in techniques unfamiliar to many teachers (e.g., the differences in testing experience documented in Chapter 5) and have different professional goals. It is doubtful that many teachers would say that their main contribution to the school lies in helping students solve adjustment problems on an individual basis. Small wonder, then, that teachers do not always understand counseling and are somewhat suspicious of counselors' methods.

There is an important methodological problem which can arise here. The counselor may be projecting his own role-identity anxieties, to some extent. It is true in many cases that counselors, for example, are in

better physical surroundings or have higher salaries than many teachers. Thus, some counselors, particularly those who have left teaching for counseling because they got tired of the burden of the classroom—and this is not rare, as we showed in Chapter 4—may be expressing their own guilt feeling about their new-found luxuries or easier jobs.

We were not able to categorize successfully the answers of the counselors into the various kinds of problems we have mentioned. As we said, many counselors cited two or more of these issues as causal agents in their conflict with teachers. We can report, however, that only 10 per cent of our Boston area sample said that there were no problems with teachers in their schools. So it seems that these problems are widespread in the profession.

Of some interest might be our rating of the intensity of conflict with teachers. On a 9-point scale, where 1 would indicate no conflict at all and 9 indicates very intense conflict, the mean rating for the sample was 4.4. This indicates that, for the sample as a whole, there is a considerable amount of conflict.

As in the last section, we wanted to inquire whether certain characteristics of schools or counselors made important differences in relations between counselors and teachers. We would expect, for example, that schools with a system-wide director, indicating institutional acceptance of the counseling function, to have less intense conflict with teachers. We found, however, that there was no such relationship. This may indicate that the problem is between two professional roles and that the school structure alone is not going to solve the problem.

We also examined the relationship between counseling focus and length of time in teaching. Again, we found no relationship. It is possible that there is an interaction which is confounding it, but the size of our sample would not permit further controls.

We might tentatively conclude, then, that there are no systematic variations in conflict intensity with some of the role features we have discussed. The interrole conflict may be endemic to the situation and encountered by all counselors; and individual personality differences determine the degree of its intensity.

We stress again that no final conclusions can be gained about teacher-counselor relations until the teachers' views are independently assessed. We can say, however, that if the observations of the counselors in our sample are correct assessments, then we have a classical case of interrole conflict within an institutional setting. The kinds of problems found here may have parallels in the relation between the new behavioral-science-based professions and more traditional roles in such institutional settings as hospitals, prisons, and government agencies.

CHAPTER 8 | The Impact of Counseling

NO CASE STUDY of a profession would be complete without an examination of the impact of the professional on his clientele. So far, we have viewed the counseling profession through the eyes of the counselor or through his own writings. We have gained some insights regarding his origins, the goals he is now pursuing, the means he chooses to gain them, and some of the problems and conflicts which he faces. But regardless of the counselors' professional background, experiences, and orientations, the institutionalization of any profession depends ultimately on acceptance by the society or subgroup which it serves.

In this chapter, we shall consider the behavior and attitudes of the main group to receive the services of guidance counselors: the secondary school student. Our data are not extensive in this regard, so we do not intend this to be a definitive statement of counselor effectiveness.

We discern three main levels of student reaction to counseling. First, we can consider the attitudes of students towards counselors. Do students see the counselor as an important source of advice and information regarding their future educational and vocational plans? Second, regardless of student attitudes toward the counselor, we can inquire about the extent to which they use the service. Finally, we can raise the question of whether there is any way to assess objectively whether counselors actually affect students in the direction desired by counselors' professional goals.

Student Attitudes Toward Counseling Resources

What do students think of counselors? To answer this question, we shall refer to data taken from students in some of the schools in our Boston area sample. In the spring of 1967, in connection with a different study, we selected three senior high schools from the fifty-two in our Boston area

counselor sample. The selection of the schools was not random, but they were chosen to give a fairly representative sample of schools. One was in a predominantly working-class urban area, another in a professional and middle-class suburban community, and the third was in a more mixed community judged to be slightly more rural due to its distance from the center of Boston (about 25 miles).

A group-administered questionnaire was given to probability samples of about twenty-five to thirty-five seniors in each school. Among other things, the questionnaire asked the following:

> How many times, if any, have you talked to a guidance counselor on an individual basis this year?
>
> Throughout your years in junior and senior high school, whose advice has been *most* important in making plans about your future?
> [A second choice was also asked for.]

The students' responses to each question are tabulated in Tables 19 and 20, respectively, separately for each school.

Table 19 also gives the percentage of students definitely planning to go to college and the per pupil expenditure to give an idea of the general characteristics of the school and its environment. The figures seem to confirm the description we have given. Overall, the students see counselors an average of 1.7 times during the school year. About 62 per cent of the students see counselors from one to three times during the year; hardly any (2 per cent) see the counselor six or more times.

There is considerable variation, however, from school to school. In the working- and middle-class schools, the students are counseled about two

TABLE 19 *Utilization of Counselor Resources by Seniors in Three Boston Area High Schools*

Number of Times Counselor Seen	Type of Community			
	Urban Working Class	Suburban Middle Class	Semi-rural Mixed	Total Sample
Never	7%	8%	38%	19%
Once	25	27	21	24
2 or 3 times	43	46	26	38
4 or 5 times	21	19	12	17
6 or more times	4	0	3	2
Average number of times counseled	2.1	1.8	1.4	1.7
Number of cases	28	26	34	88
Percentage definitely planning on college	32	81	21	42
1962–1963 per pupil expenditure	$330	$440	$290	

times, on the average, compared to 1½ times for the semi-rural school. Very few students, 7 and 8 per cent, respectively, have never seen a guidance counselor in the first two schools, while almost 38 per cent have never been counseled in the semi-rural school. Moreover, this difference does not seem to be a result of the type of students in the school, at least from college orientation and social class aspects. In these respects the working-class and the semi-rural schools are more alike.

Can these differences be attributed to the differences in the guidance programs in the school, since they do not seem to be a result of student or other school characteristics? This raises the question of measures of the overall quality of the guidance counseling program. From our interviews, it was our impression that the aspect of the program which most indicated the overall institutionalization of the program and its professional commitment to students was the average percentage of time counselors devoted to counseling students on an individual basis. In addition, from a common sense point of view, the less time counselors can spend with students, the less overall impact the program should have.

The average percentage of counselors' time devoted to individual student sessions is 70 and 82 per cent for the working-class and middle-class schools, respectively. For the semi-rural school, it is 30 per cent. This may well be what accounts for students' frequency of seeing counselors.

The frequency of use of counselor facilities is not the only criterion of counselor impact. What about the students' views of the effect of counseling? Table 20 provides a partial answer to this question. The table gives the percentage of students in each school who rate family, counselors,

TABLE 20 *Most Important Sources of Advice on Future Plans for High School Seniors*

	Type of Community					
	Urban Working Class		Suburban Middle Class		Semi-rural Mixed	
Source	Most Important	Second Choice	Most Important	Second Choice	Most Important	Second Choice
Family[a]	68%	35%	75%	33%	61%	28%
Counselors	11	19	0	0	3	19
Teachers	14	15	4	25	6	9
Friends	0	11	4	4	13	31
Other	7	19	17	38	17	12
Number of cases	28	26	24	24	31	32

[a] This category was combined from "parents" and "other relatives" categories, so that both first and second choices could be family; for this reason, first and second choice can exceed 100 per cent.

teachers, friends, or others as the most important sources of information and advice about their future plans. Also tabulated are the percentages for the second most important source. One thing is clear from the table; the family is still the most important source of advice in the opinion of students. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the students in each school felt this way. In two schools, counselors were the last source chosen, with no students in the middle-class school selecting counselors. In the third, the working-class school, counselors were selected third, after parents and teachers.

The most interesting variation in the table is between the working-class and middle-class school. Combining first and second choices, counelors come out second highest behind family as sources of advice in the working-class school. In the middle-class school, no one selected the counselor for first *or* second choice. We have already indicated that these two schools had comparable guidance programs in terms of time spent in counseling individual students. Not shown in the table is the fact that 100 per cent of students in the middle-class school named parents as the first or second most important choice, compared to 72 per cent in the working-class school. These data point to the hypothesis that children of middle-class families receive considerable impetus from their parents to go on to college, and that, therefore, the student does not seek out help regardless of the quality of the guidance program. He knows where he is heading. On the other hand, in a working-class school with a good guidance program, able but nonaspiring students may be sought out by (or perhaps seek) the counselor, and his impact may be in encouraging these students to go on to college. Unfortunately, the number of cases is too small to test this supposition more precisely.

We see, then, that even though they receive guidance services, the students in these schools, on the whole, do not see the counselor as an important source of help in making their future plans. The main bright note for counseling was that the school judged to have a better counseling program *and* which was composed of predominantly working-class students seemed to have the greatest impact.

We can supplement this information with data on use of counseling services from a national sample. In the USOE study of "Equality of Educational Opportunity," data were gathered on a sample of about 98,000 high school seniors. Among other things, the following question was asked:

> How many times did you talk to a guidance counselor last year?

Table 21 presents the responses to this question, within seven regions of the United States.

TABLE 21 *Times Counselor Seen in One Year by High School Seniors, by Region*[a]

Region	No. of Cases	Never	Once	2 or 3 Times	4 or 5 Times	6 or More Times	No Counselor
New England	3,889	9%	19%	40%	17%	13%	1%
Mid-Atlantic	15,560	8	15	46	19	11	1
Great Lakes	9,922	15	17	41	15	11	1
Plains	4,035	15	14	44	15	8	5
South	13,121	24	19	36	10	7	4
Southwest	3,889	31	18	30	8	6	7
Pacific	9,997	13	14	41	18	12	1
Whole nation	60,419	14	17	41	15	10	2

[a] White students in predominantly white schools. Regions are defined in Table 2.

The table shows that 41 per cent of high school seniors, nationally, sees the counselors two or three times during the year. A great majority, 74 per cent, sees the counselor from one to five times. About as many never see the counselor, 14 per cent, as see one six or more times, 10 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the USOE sample is in schools with no counselor.

There are important regional variations, however. We see that in the South and Southwest, about 24 and 31 per cent, respectively, never see a counselor, while the same figures are less than 10 per cent for the New England and mid-Atlantic regions. The rest of the country falls in between. These proportions are somewhat consistent with our findings in Chapter 4 about student-counselor ratios. They tended to be lowest in the Northeast and highest in the South. The data are also not too different than those on the Boston area schools (Table 19).

Our general conclusion to this point must be that, while most students do see their counselors for from one to three sessions, but some for many sessions, their attitudes may not reflect a great need for the advice of counselors, at least when compared to that of their parents, friends, and other roles in the school.

We cannot necessarily conclude from this, however, that counseling has no impact. It is possible that, as in the case of most newly-emerging professions, its importance is not perceived even though counseling is having a significant effect on students. It might even be the case that students do not see counselors as important because counselors often have unpleasant, but possibly correct, advice to give concerning college aspirations. This is why it is important to try to find more objective means of evaluating counselor effectiveness.

The Effectiveness of Educational Counseling

There has been a considerable amount of research on the effect of counseling.[1] The research has utilized a wide variety of criterion measures, but they usually involve measures of students' academic performance and ratings by clients themselves as to their educational, vocational, and general personal satisfactions.

From a methodological standpoint many of these studies leave much to be desired. They are usually carried out by practitioners using as subjects their own clients—or at least clients in their school system. Their criterion measures are often subjective, and there are often inadequate controls. There has been at least one careful study, however.[2] Students in four high schools in a Wisconsin area were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups, and the former group received counseling. Two follow-up studies, two and a half and five years after high school graduation, showed the experimental group to have slightly a better academic performance in both high school and college and a greater feeling of satisfaction. The differences were not large, but they were in a direction indicating a positive effect of counseling.

One criterion suggested by these studies which seems central, given the goals of the counseling profession in the educational realm, is the extent to which a student is realistic in his educational aspirations and self-concept. An objective way of measuring this would be to assess the ability of students using, say, standardized ability tests, and aspirations using their plans to attend college. Then, using a correlation between aspiration and ability as the criterion, we would expect that for those who were counseled the correlation would be higher than for noncounseled students. That is, students who are counseled should have a better fit between their ability and aspiration than uncounseled students.

A second criterion of counselor impact might be the relationship between a student's subjective academic self-concept and his objective ability according to standardized tests. One of the counselors' jobs is to help the student understand his abilities, by using standardized tests. We would, therefore, expect counseled students to have a better fit between perceived and actual ability than uncounseled students, as measured by a correlation coefficient. Both of these ideas can be tested using the USOE data discused in the last section.

We must stress that these objective criteria are *not the only ones* for evaluating the effectiveness of counseling in general. We are raising here only the question of the objective effect of *educational* counseling, given

[1] An extensive review of the literature can be found in David P. Campbell, *The Results of Counseling* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1965).

[2] J. W. M. Rothney, *Guidance Practices and Results* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958).

what seems to be the educational counseling goals of most of the counselors we interviewed.

Ideally, to evaluate any counseling effect one should randomly assign students to experimental and control groups and counsel only the experimental group. If pre- and post-measures are taken of the criterion, one would consider changes in the experimental group which did not occur for the control group as indications of an effect. In the USOE data, we must *ex post facto* classify students into counseled and uncounseled groups. Thus, students who seek out counseling more may have a better aspiration-ability fit already, and the differences we observe may not be due to counseling. Moreover, it is theoretically possible that students have a *better* aspiration-ability fit *before* counseling, and thus counseling may have a negative effect.

The measures we used were verbal ability, in quartiles, as assessed by the Educational Testing Service's School and College Ability Test (SCAT); plans for college in the coming year, coded as "definitely yes," "probably yes," "probably no," and "definitely no"; and academic self-concept. The latter measure are answers to the question:

> How bright do you think you are in comparision with other students in your grade?

The categories used are "among the brightest," "above average," "average," and "below average" (which also includes "among the lowest").

We shall consider, first, the criterion of the fit between verbal ability and plans for college, as measured by the product-moment correlation. Each variable is scored 1 to 4 before correlating. A correlation of 1 would represent perfect fit; a correlation of −1 would indicate perfect inverse fit (those with the lowest verbal ability having the strongest desire to go to college).

We did not use the entire USOE twelfth-grade sample for our analysis. We selected white students in predominantly white schools. Elsewhere, we have reported on the effect of counseling for Negro students.[3] In addition, we took only students in schools with counselors, although this included about 98 per cent of the sample (see Table 21).

We shall carry out all of the analysis separately within seven regions (defined in Chapter 4), as well as both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. Our data on the Boston area schools indicated that there might be important differences in urban and rural settings, and the data in Chapter 4 on student-counselor ratios indicated some regional variations in counseling programs. We have also controlled for sex of student, in the event that there are sex-differential effects of counseling. An additional

[3] James S. Coleman *et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), Section 8.3.

feature of these controls is that they give us 28 strata in which to test the effect of counseling, and the 14 geographic strata contain statistically independent comparisons.

Table 22 gives the aspiration-ability correlations for all strata and separately for uncounseled and counseled students. A counseled student is one who has seen a counselor two or more times. Uncounseled means that the student saw the counselor only once or not at all. The comparison of interest is that between uncounseled and counseled students in each category. If the counseled group shows a higher correlation than the uncounseled group, the difference might be a result of the effect of counseling.

TABLE 22 *Counselor Effect on Aspiration-Ability Fit of High School Seniors, by Sex, Size of Place, and Region*[a]

	Metropolitan				Nonmetropolitan			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Uncounseled[b]	Counseled[b]	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled
New England	.32 (442)	.41 (1140)	.37 (434)	.39 (1256)	.29 (149)	.25 (183)	.27 (81)	.37 (152)
Mid-Atlantic	.47 (1442)	.41 (5223)	.41 (1617)	.46 (5064)	.39 (305)	.42 (684)	.25 (303)	.43 (773)
Great Lakes	.33 (1166)	.38 (2952)	.35 (1133)	.38 (2703)	.39 (388)	.40 (504)	.34 (398)	.44 (495)
Plains	.48 (272)	.37 (949)	.35 (276)	.45 (909)	.37 (295)	.42 (421)	.35 (316)	.30 (392)
South	.33 (687)	.30 (1175)	.36 (822)	.39 (1095)	.36 (1964)	.37 (2363)	.32 (2092)	.35 (2283)
Southwest	.25 (357)	.31 (301)	.35 (357)	.29 (294)	.30 (613)	.37 (572)	.35 (611)	.30 (519)
Pacific	.24 (774)	.30 (2253)	.31 (788)	.35 (2299)	.25 (561)	.34 (1304)	.17 (589)	.29 (1266)

[a] Entries are product-moment correlations between verbal ability in quartiles and plans for college rated as "definitely yes," "probably yes," "probably no," or "definitely no." In parentheses are the numbers of cases on which the correlations are based.

[b] Uncounceled means seeing a counselor once or not at all; counseled means seeing a counselor two more times.

We see that for males, 10 of the 14 strata show increases of our criterion for counseled students. This has a binomial probability of .02 of happening by chance. Three of the four reversals occurred in the metropolitan areas, for the mid-Atlantic, Plains, and Southern regions. For females, 11 out of the 14 strata show a positive effect, for a binomial probability of less than .01. There seems to be no particular pattern for those cases where the counseled group shows less aspiration-ability fit.

We have raised the possibility that the counseled students may have had

a better aspiration-ability fit before they were counseled. Of particular concern here is social class. Children from the upper and middle classes may have a more realistic self-concept than those from the working classes. In addition, we saw some results in the previous section which hinted that the social class of the child may partly determine whether counselor advice has an effect on him. Tables 23 and 24 give the correlations within all strata and separately for upper and lower classes, as defined by fathers' occupation. Upper-class students are defined as those whose fathers have white-collar or higher-status jobs (excluding clerical jobs); lower-class students are all others.

TABLE 23 *Counselor Effect on Aspiration-Ability Fit of High School Seniors in Metropolitan Areas, by Social Class, Sex, and Region*[a]

	Males				Females			
	Upper Class[b]		Lower Class[b]		Upper Class		Lower Class	
	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled
New England	.42 (131)	.43 (521)	.26 (276)	.36 (550)	.42 (116)	.37 (576)	.35 (269)	.30 (607)
Mid-Atlantic	.51 (528)	.37 (2509)	.37 (780)	.36 (2447)	.44 (572)	.34 (2375)	.35 (938)	.38 (2448)
Great Lakes	.36 (301)	.32 (1132)	.27 (782)	.36 (1664)	.33 (302)	.37 (1055)	.33 (782)	.34 (1529)
Plains	.36 (108)	.31 (459)	.42 (148)	.33 (442)	.40 (118)	.47 (428)	.24 (144)	.34 (448)
South	.20 (283)	.31 (569)	.35 (356)	.24 (535)	.34 (355)	.41 (494)	.29 (429)	.32 (546)
Southwest	.28 (128)	.37 (132)	.17 (203)	.23 (150)	.40 (124)	.25 (99)	.20 (189)	.29 (179)
Pacific	.22 (349)	.30 (1160)	.26 (340)	.24 (931)	.36 (326)	.33 (1146)	.18 (386)	.29 (991)

[a] Entries are product-moment correlations between verbal ability in quartiles and plans for college rated as "definitely yes," "probably yes," "probably no," or "definitely no." In parentheses are the numbers of cases on which the correlations are based.

[b] Upper-class students are those with fathers in white-collar occupations, excluding clerical jobs. Lower-class students are all others.

The tables clearly show a class effect on aspiration-ability fit. Although they are not all independent, about 70 per cent of all possible class comparisons show that the upper-class students have higher correlations than lower-class students. Moreover, some of the differences are quite large. If, then, we have controlled for an important precounseling source of realistic self-concept, can we still show a counseling effect?

TABLE 24 *Counselor Effect on Aspiration-Ability Fit of High School Seniors in Nonmetropolitan Areas, by Social Class, Sex, and Region*[a]

	Males				Females			
	Upper Class		Lower Class		Upper Class		Lower Class	
	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled
New England	.30	.49	.29	.14	.33	.33	.30	.37
	(30)	(51)	(109)	(115)	(22)	(48)	(55)	(91)
Mid-Atlantic	.38	.39	.37	.38	.29	.40	.23	.40
	(63)	(254)	(21)	(395)	(66)	(282)	(220)	(455)
Great Lakes	.34	.41	.37	.38	.44	.43	.21	.39
	(96)	(155)	(271)	(328)	(104)	(146)	(272)	(330)
Plains	.37	.34	.35	.41	.40	.19	.28	.31
	(70)	(138)	(209)	(266)	(79)	(141)	(224)	(232)
South	.41	.31	.30	.34	.45	.30	.23	.32
	(483)	(866)	(1330)	(1377)	(475)	(759)	(1469)	(1414)
Southwest	.33	.21	.25	.41	.31	.26	.27	.19
	(192)	(240)	(367)	(295)	(202)	(204)	(367)	(280)
Pacific	.37	.24	.17	.34	.23	.12	.27	.25
	(177)	(504)	(344)	(728)	(172)	(462)	(381)	(753)

[a] Entries are product-moment correlations between verbal ability in quartiles and plans for college rated as "definitely yes," "probably yes," "probably no," or "definitely no." In parentheses are the numbers of cases on which the correlations are based.

For upper-class males and upper-class females, only seven, or exactly one-half, of the fourteen comparisons show increases for the counseled group. This is what we would expect to find by chance if there was no counseling effect. But for the lower classes, males and females showed 9 and 11 of 14 increases, for binomial probabilities of .12 and less than .01, respectively. There may be, then, an effect of counseling which tends to operate mainly for the lower classes. This is in line with our findings for the three Boston area high schools.

The effect which counselors have in the aspiration-ability fit may be too severe a test. Our test criterion assumes that the counselor, in a few meetings with the student, can have an effect on his behavior with respect to college plans. Perhaps the effect of a counselor can be measured using a less stringent criterion.

The professional goals and actual activities of counselors have stressed a student's understanding of his academic potential as well as behavior consistent with that potential. Is it possible that counselors have a greater direct effect on self-concept than on actual behavior? We can construct another criterion of counselor effect by correlating verbal ability (in quar-

tiles) with students' self-rating of their ability in comparison with other students in their class. Presumably, students who receive more counseling should have a better fit between their conception of their ability and their actual ability as measured by a product-moment correlation.

Table 25 gives these correlations for the same strata as in Table 22. Again, for both males and females there are 14 statisically independent strata within which we can test whether the correlation between ability and academic self-concept is higher for counseled than for uncounseled students. We can thus use binomial probabilities for evaluating the likelihood of a chance difference.

TABLE 25 *Counselor Effect on Self-Concept–Ability Fit of High School Seniors by Sex, Size of Place, and Region*[a]

	Metropolitan				Nonmetropolitan			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled
New England	.30 (442)	.49 (1133)	.38 (429)	.49 (1252)	.28 (150)	.44 (183)	.59 (77)	.50 (153)
Mid-Atlantic	.33 (1427)	.44 (5182)	.44 (1604)	.48 (5047)	.34 (305)	.43 (682)	.43 (303)	.47 (768)
Great Lakes	.37 (1169)	.44 (2928)	.46 (1127)	.49 (2695)	.45 (387)	.50 (502)	.39 (396)	.54 (492)
Plains	.40 (271)	.46 (947)	.37 (276)	.54 (908)	.43 (291)	.43 (414)	.43 (316)	.58 (393)
South	.34 (679)	.41 (1161)	.39 (817)	.48 (1094)	.33 (1936)	.44 (2357)	.40 (2086)	.46 (2275)
Southwest	.40 (359)	.36 (296)	.46 (334)	.46 (292)	.36 (611)	.47 (563)	.43 (607)	.46 (512)
Pacific	.29 (761)	.42 (2243)	.42 (778)	.48 (2287)	.38 (555)	.46 (1291)	.41 (586)	.50 (1262)

[a] Entries are product-moment correlations between verbal ability in quartiles and academic self-concept rated as "among the brightest," "above average," "average," and "below average." In parentheses are the numbers of cases on which the correlations are based.

For females, we see that in 12 of the 14 strata the counseled have higher correlations than the uncounseled. The only exceptions are in the nonmetropolitan New England region and the metropolitan Southwest region (which show no difference). The binomial probability of this occurring by chance is less than .001. For males, 13 of the 14 strata show increases, also for a probability of less than .001. Not only are the chance probabilities lower than for the college-aspiration fit, but we can see by inspection that the magnitudes of change are generally higher.

Again, as a way of partially controlling for a bias due to self-selection for counseling, Tables 26 and 27 show the same measures separately for upper and lower classes. The same thing occurs as occurred in the aspiration-ability fit case: for upper-class males and females, the effect seems to drop off. The numbers are nine and seven, for probabilities of .12 and .50, respectively. But for the lower classes, we actually get *more* positive effects than we had before controlling for social class. For males, 14 out of 14 strata showed increases in the criterion, and 12 of 14 for the females. By inspection, we can see that the differences are still large. Thus, our control for class seems to indicate that the counselor effect, if that is what the difference indicates, operates for the lower classes rather than for the upper. This makes some sense in that we might expect that the upper-class student, on the average, would have a better self-concept.

We must state three strong qualifications of the data presented here. First of all, we have said that the counseled group is a self-selected one. We cannot be *sure* that the differences we observed are actually the effect of counseling or the effect of differences between the uncounseled and counseled group before counseling. It would take a longitudinal study to resolve this issue. We might add, of course, that if the differences are a result of prior

TABLE 26 *Counselor Effect on Self-Concept–Ability Fit of High School Seniors in Metropolitan Areas, by Social Class, Sex, and Region*[a]

	Males				Females			
	Upper Class		Lower Class		Upper Class		Lower Class	
	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled
New England	.35 (132)	.51 (516)	.25 (278)	.47 (548)	.48 (116)	.48 (576)	.36 (267)	.44 (604)
Mid-Atlantic	.40 (520)	.43 (2490)	.26 (777)	.40 (2429)	.52 (567)	.48 (2365)	.38 (933)	.43 (2445)
Great Lakes	.42 (302)	.45 (1118)	.35 (784)	.42 (1656)	.50 (301)	.48 (1045)	.45 (775)	.47 (1525)
Plains	.45 (108)	.42 (457)	.32 (147)	.47 (442)	.42 (118)	.59 (426)	.33 (144)	.45 (449)
South	.36 (279)	.42 (563)	.29 (352)	.37 (529)	.42 (352)	.50 (496)	.33 (427)	.45 (542)
Southwest	.39 (128)	.27 (131)	.39 (203)	.43 (147)	.50 (124)	.49 (99)	.39 (186)	.44 (178)
Pacific	.27 (342)	.43 (1153)	.30 (335)	.36 (928)	.47 (321)	.48 (1139)	.33 (380)	.47 (985)

[a] Entries are product-moment correlations between verbal ability in quartiles and academic self-concept rated as "among the brightest," "above average," "average," and "below average." In parentheses are the numbers of cases on which the correlations are based.

TABLE 27 *Counselor Effect on Self-Concept–Ability Fit of High School Seniors in Nonmetropolitan Areas, by Social Class, Sex, and Region*[a]

	Males				Females			
	Upper Class		Lower Class		Upper Class		Lower Class	
	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled	Uncounseled	Counseled
New England	.33	.56	.27	.37	.48	.54	.63	.45
	(29)	(51)	(111)	(115)	(20)	(48)	(54)	(91)
Mid-Atlantic	.44	.40	.32	.40	.49	.46	.42	.44
	(64)	(253)	(217)	(394)	(66)	(279)	(220)	(453)
Great Lakes	.49	.47	.44	.49	.44	.51	.31	.53
	(96)	(155)	(270)	(326)	(105)	(145)	(269)	(327)
Plains	.58	.44	.37	.41	.55	.49	.36	.62
	(68)	(136)	(207)	(261)	(79)	(141)	(224)	(232)
South	.37	.40	.31	.44	.45	.44	.36	.44
	(480)	(862)	(1311)	(1375)	(473)	(756)	(1463)	(1411)
Southwest	.36	.43	.35	.46	.37	.46	.41	.41
	(192)	(273)	(367)	(291)	(201)	(202)	(364)	(276)
Pacific	.37	.44	.35	.45	.41	.51	.41	.48
	(178)	(498)	(339)	(722)	(173)	(458)	(377)	(752)

[a] Entries are product-moment correlations between verbal ability in quartiles and academic self-concept rated as "among the brightest," "above average," "average," and "below average." In parentheses are the numbers of cases on which the correlations are based.

student characterisics, the finding is still of some interest to the counseling profession. It means that counselors are seeing, generally, the students who need help less. For counseling programs established on a self-referral basis, the students who may require assistance most may be using the facilities least.

The second major qualification is that we did not have any adequate measures of assessing the quality of the guidance program in the USOE data. We cannot, therefore, relate counseling effectiveness to the quality of guidance; this might have led to even stronger effects than we found. It is probably true, however, that given the small amount of good research on counseling impact, the problem should be turned around: the quality of the guidance program might be assessed in terms of its effectiveness with respect to such criteria as we have formulated.

Finally, and most important, we have not assessed all of the possible effects that counselors might have. We had no measure of social or personal adjustment with which to assess the effect of therapeutic counseling, nor did we have any way to assess counseling effects on vocational outcomes. Moreover, there may be subtle but important effects that counselors have

which are even more difficult to assess. We have confined our test to what seem to be the more explicit and traditional goals and more widespread practices in counseling. Clearly, much research is needed in this area. Ideally, a criterion should be formulated and then tested with experimental (counseled) and control (uncounseled) groups over a period of time, with pre- and post-measures of the criterion. Only in this way can we discern whether the differences we observed were due to counseling, and, given the goals of educational counseling, whether the effects are positive or negative.

APPENDIX I | On Influence and the Sociology of Professions

IN CHAPTER 2 we presented a definition of professions based on a conception of influence processes. Although an attempt was made to be precise, we did not go into some of the more technical notions in which the concept of influence is grounded. Some of these notions involve theoretical links between influence, professions, and social systems theory. In this appendix we would like to develop these concepts further, thereby providing some idea of their origins and connections.

Social Systems Theory and Sanction Processes

Our point of departure is Talcott Parsons' work on influence.[1] It will be best to start with a brief review of general systems theory.[2] From this it is possible to deduce a sanctions paradigm similar to that developed by Parsons. At the same time, it will suggest modifications in the paradigm which make it more internally consistent and tied more closely with the rest of the social system theory.

According to general systems theory, any goal-directed system of action must meet four functional requisites in order to maintain itself as a viable, on-going system. The term "system" is defined as a plurality of interacting units, as opposed to an act of one unit or actions of isolated units. A unit itself may be a system at a different level of analysis. The functional requi-

[1] Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXVII (Spring, 1963), pp. 37–62.

[2] A good recent statement of system theory appears in Talcott Parsons, "An Outline of the Social System," in Parsons *et al.*, *Theories of Society*, Volume I (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 30–79.

sites have primarily a logical rather than an empirical base. It is useful to consider them as forming an analytic (exhaustive and mutually exclusive) typology of the functioning of a system. Exhibit I presents a classification of the four function problems.

EXHIBIT I *The Four Function Problems of a System*

		Action Direction			
		Instrumental		Consummatory	
Boundary Reference	External	Adaptation	(A)	Goal attainment	(G)
	Internal	Latent pattern maintenance	(L)	Integration	(I)

The function problems can be generated from a two-way classification of the direction of the action, as to whether it has primarily instrumental or consummatory significance for the system, and of the boundary reference of the action, as to whether it is oriented to the environment external to the system or oriented to the internal operation of the system. The first function, adaptation, refers to the control and utilization of the environment of the system for the realization of system goals. This can be thought of as utilization of resources, both human and physical. In the case of the biological organism, it could refer to the utilization of food and protective facilities.

The second function is the organization of the system with respect to the attainment of system goals. Every human system, it is maintained, is goal-directed, i.e., action is oriented to desired states in the relationship between the system and the environment external to it. Those actions which gratify the goals would be seen as having goal attainment functional primacy. In the case of a single male human actor, the goal attainment function might be satisfied by actions which fulfill the "breadwinner" role. In the case of a whole society, goal attainment processes could be seen in political action leading to peaceful relations with other nations. (These examples, of course, by no means exhaust the goals of the systems in question.)

Both of these functions have reference to the environment of the system. The other two functions refer to processes of the system directed internally, i.e., processes which maintain the internal viability of the system. The first of these is the integrative function, the control mechanisms within the system which provide for its "smooth" operation. It is this function which provides for the equilibration of the system. An example of an integrative process in a society would be the welfare system, which provides for assisting disadvantaged parties and thus "handles" potentially disruptive situations. Integration is seen as consummatory primarily be-

cause it is assumed that any system has an internal goal of preventing its own collapse.

The final function is termed pattern maintenance and provides for the inculcation of and commitment to the values and goals of the system. These processes, for a society, are often referred to as socialization. Before any system can operate, it is postulated that it must first orient the units of the system to what exists (which includes such things as goals, values, and organization) and extract a "commitment" from the unit to act within the specified framework. This is the case with systems other than collective ones, although the process is sometimes difficult to discern. For example, for the biological organism, the "acting" unit could be the single cell, and the pattern maintenance function is seen through the reproductive process, whereby a new cell receives the "information" of existing arrangements through genetic specification. The fact that a new cell does not seem to have the same degree of freedom to "choose" whether or not to accept the arrangements, that a human seems to have, does not negate the necessity for nor the existence of the pattern maintenance function.

It has been stressed that these functional requisites can be applied to any system. For the sociologist and for our concern with the professions, the relevant one is the social system. This should not be confused with a human society as a whole; in fact, the social system, structurally, is only the integrative subsystem of what is called the total action scheme (Exhibit II). The function problems are handled by some kind of actual structure. What is specified in Exhibit II are these structures for a human society as a whole. Again, it should be stressed that these are analytic structural categories and, in fact, are all embodied empirically in human beings, either individually or collectively. We will not discuss the total action system in detail here, for our primary concern is a sanctions paradigm for the social system. It is presented primarily for clarification purposes; later we will make distinctions between sanctions at the social system level and at the other levels.

EXHIBIT II[a] *The Total Action Scheme*

A—Behavioral Organism	G—Personality system
L—Cultural system	I—Social system

[a] Talcott Parsons "An Outline of the Social Systems" in Parsons *et al., Theories of Society,* Volume I (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), p. 38.

Functional differentiation is seen as nested; that is to say, any subsystem at a given level of analysis *itself* can be analyzed in terms of the four functional requisites. Exhibit III presents the social system, along with the appropriate structural components through which the function problems are

EXHIBIT III[a] *The Social System with Structural Components*

A—Economy	G—Polity
L—Socializing structures (family, school, church)	I—Stratification, welfare system, social control processes

[a] Adapted from Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 53.

handled in modern society. The unit of analysis is the human actor (in interaction with others) as an aggregate of roles. Structural differentiation of a society is problematic, in that at any given time one structure can perform more than one function. This is certainly the case with many primitive peoples; often a clan or tribe will perform all the necessary functions with little or no differentiation.

But it should be clear that the notable characteristic of modern societies is increasing structural differentiation, with specific structures tied closely to one or another function. The observations of Ferdinand Toennies, Robert Redfield, Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim concerning the transition from simple, undifferentiated societies to complex and highly differentiated ones can be comprehended within the above framework.

The economic sector of a social system is concerned with utilization of resources for production of goods and services for the rest of the system. Empirically, it includes (but does not exactly coincide with) what we know as "business." The product of the economy is termed utility. The polity is differentiated from the economy by its primacy on the implementation of the goals of the system; empirically, it includes the government and political party structures. It likewise has a product, which has been termed effectiveness in the "implementation of binding decisions."[3]

The two internal function problems also have products, but existing systems theory has not always been clear as to what they might be. The most likely product of the integrative sector might be termed "solidarity," in the sense which Durkheim implied.[4] A society possesses solidarity to the extent that its members are able to act in harmony and, hence, to the extent that each person is an accepted member of and "has a place" in the society.

The product of the pattern maintenance sector we will term "integrity"; i.e., a system has integrity to the extent that each unit maintains commitment to and has incorporated the system's values and goals.

[3] Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVII (June, 1963), p. 237.

[4] Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1933).

It should be pointed out that the various "products" which follow from a social system's fulfillment of the four function problems do not necessarily come from separate structures; again, it depends on the extent to which a society is structurally differentiated. It is postulated, however, that structural differentiation brings increasing need for the development of more symbolic means of representing the concrete examples of each of these products.

Structural differentiation occurs both within and between each of the functional sectors of the social system. But if differentiation is to proceed without losses of products for the society, some means have to be found to permit exchange between the various specialized "producers." In the case of the economy, specialized labor implies the need for a symbolic medium to "stand for" value and to facilitate the now-necessary exchange process. One of Parsons' main contributions was the recognition that development of symbolic media could occur in all sectors of the social system, and he argued that power was a symbolic exchange medium analogous to money. He cast his analysis into an interaction setting, in which various symbolic media (or concrete forms of them) could be brought to bear by the actors as sanctions. This brings us to the sanctions paradigm.

Rather than present the paradigm developed by Parsons,[5] a somewhat modified form of the paradigm will be presented schematically in Exhibit IV. Those things referred to as "products" of the various functional sectors are here termed "value principles," in accordance with Parsons' usage.[6] The value principles express the extent to which a social system is meeting the relevant functional imperatives. Thus, a society is "adapting" to the extent that it provides utility; it is "goal-attaining" to the extent that it provides effectiveness. The intrinsic satisfiers are the class of concrete examples of the appropriate product which, by their concreteness, are sure to satisfy the relevant need of the system.

The security base, although never spelled out specifically by Parsons, is the "institution" upon which the symbolic medium rests; that is, the structure which "backs up" the more symbolic forms and is "exchangeable" with it. In one sense, the security base itself stands in a more symbolic relationship to the intrinsic satisfier in that it is not "consumable." This can be seen clearly with gold as the security base of money. It is important to note that the security base is a specialized structure only to the degree of structural differentiation in the social system and, depending on which historical period one is focusing on, can be an entirely different form from that specified in the paradigm. In the case of money, for example, there was a time in certain regions of America when animal pelts formed the

[5] Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 45.
[6] Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262.

EXHIBIT IV[a] *Paradigm of Social Interaction*

Adaptation	Goal Attainment
(a) Utility	(a) Effectiveness
(b) Goods and services	(b) Implementation of binding decisions
(c) Monetary metal (gold)	(c) Penal institutions, force
(d) Money	(d) Power
Pattern Maintenance	**Integration**
(a) Integrity	(a) Solidarity
(b) Respect	(b) Acceptance
(c) Church, family	(c) *Gemeinschaft* solidarity groups (peers, family)
(d) Honors	(d) Status

Key: (a) Value principle (product)
(b) Intrinsic satisfier
(c) Security base
(d) Symbolic medium

[a] This paradigm does not appear as such in Parsons' work but is a combination of ideas presented in both the Power and Influence papers, in addition to some original ideas, especially in the Pattern and Maintenance and Integration sectors.

security base of money. They could be exchanged by traders for any particular goods or service. But, unlike gold, they were concrete goods which could be used as resources for making clothing or blankets.

The primary reason for attempting to locate the security base is to tie the more symbolic forms into appropriate existing social structures. The symbolic medium of the intrinsic satisfier is an institutionalized form of the satisfier which has, through its distance from the satisfier, many more "degrees of freedom" in the satisfaction of needs. Thus, a person does not have to carry around actual goods to exchange for others; the exchange can take place with money (including credit), which can in turn be exchanged for the concrete satisfiers when the need arises. The symbolic media, like the security base, must be institutionalized in order to operate effectively; members of the social system must "trust" its convertibility before they will accept it in place of the intrinsic satisfier. Again, the problematic aspect arises: the extent to which a medium is symbolic depends upon time and place. If our reference is to the world community, the problematic nature of money as a symbolic medium can be seen by France's recent demands for gold in exchange for American dollars spent there.

The existence of symbolic media in the integrative and pattern maintenance sectors is by no means as clear as in the case of money; however, it is felt that enough conditions exist so that at least elementary forms of symbolic media have arisen there. These conditions relate to the extent of structural differentiation both among the four functional sectors and

within them. For example, the great variety of concrete products from the economy almost precludes a bartering situation; and the specialization within industries precludes payment to employees of the produced items (what would a worker for Frigidaire do with one refrigerator a week?).

There are several points which should be made concerning our particular application of the paradigm. We wish to use it as a paradigm of sanctions which can be applied in a dyadic interaction setting. This is the application which Parsons first saw; in fact, he termed his original paradigm "mechanisms of social interaction."[7] Later, however, he used it to describe a more analytic process of interchange between structural sectors of the social system. For present purposes, however, the former is more relevant.

The justification for using the paradigm at this level rests upon a fundamental proposition: the needs of a social system and the satisfaction of the functional imperatives of action are articulated through individual actors. The outcome of a given interaction, of course, feeds back to the system as a whole; but a set of interactions would be required before we could say the system itself is satisfying the function problems. This proposition means that the orientation of the actor is in terms of the system needs, and that, through motivation from the actor's commitments to the system values, a gain or loss for the system in the fulfilling of functions is seen, for the majority, as a gain or loss by the individual actor himself. This proposition does not have to hold for all actors within the system; such complete integration is rarely observed. But it is likewise true that it must be the case for *most* actions and actors; otherwise, the system could not continue its operations.

The analytic setting of the interaction consists of two acting units (either collectivities or individuals). One of the actors (Ego) desires that the other actor (Alter) comply with his wishes. Ego offers Alter gains or losses of the intrinsic satisfier (or the symbolic representations) in return for compliance. This offer we term a "sanction" and the interaction a sanctioning process. The sanctioning process is contingent, in that Alter must first comply (or refuse to comply) with Ego's desire before the sanction is applied by Ego. There are limiting cases in which sanctions are applied without a request for compliance as a condition (as in the case of gifts), but in most cases Ego maximizes his chances for success when the sanctioning is contingent (in fact, it even makes sense to define sanctioning processes as *requiring* contingency).

As a sanctioning process, it is important to note that intrinsic satisfiers (or symbolic forms) can either be withheld or given; this denotes the familiar positive-negative dichotomy of sanctions. Hence, one can offer

[7] Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," *op. cit.*, p. 38.

gains *or losses* of money, respect, etc. Parsons used this dimension as a classificatory axis in the original paradigm, but it is felt that this covers up possible uses of the satisfiers (or symbolic representations of them). It is true, however, that each of the sanction sectors in the paradigm may have a primacy in the positive or negative direction; thus, money is usually used as a positive sanction while power is usually used as a negative sanction (which is the reason for the penal institution as a security base of power).

Finally, something should be said about the relationship between Ego and the sanction. Must Ego have actual control over the sanctioning process? There are many cases where persons try to get others to comply with *information* about potentially advantageous (or disadvantageous) sanctions which would be applied if Alter complied (or refused to comply), but not by the individual with whom Alter is interacting. A clear example occurs when the individual is a representative of a collectivity (say, a business concern); he offers Alter a gain in utility if he buys their product. This presents no real problem for the paradigm, however, for we can merely say that Ego here is the collectivity and not the individual.

But what if the individual is not a formal spokesman for the collectivity which will apply the sanction? At this point, the role of *expertise* becomes relevant. No doubt Ego maximizes his chances for success in gaining compliance when he has control over the actual sanction. But there is an alternative: he can be as successful if he has expert knowledge of sanction processes that will ensue if Alter complies. A clear example would be an investment broker with "inside" information on a stock growth: he could offer Alter a gain in utility in return for some compliant act, and there would be a high likelihood of Ego's success even though he would not actually control the sanction. In other words, control over *information* about sanction processes can be as valuable as controlling the sanction per se. This formulation differs from Parsons'; he saw information as an intrinsic satisfier in the integrative sector. We have chosen to see information (or knowledge) at the cultural system level and to consider it as operating throughout the entire social system sanctions paradigm. We shall develop this idea later when we discuss influence.

We shall now turn to a more detailed discussion of each sector of the sanctions paradigm, giving examples of the processes whenever possible.

Adaptation

This cell does not need as much description, since it is the one most fully developed by Parsons. In fact, it served as the prototype for the other cells. Also, we have given many examples from this sector already. There is little doubt that money is a highly symbolic and institutionalized

medium of economic exchange. The concern of the economy, as the specialized structure which fulfills the adaptive function, is the production of objects of utility (which are socially defined). From the point of view of an actor, the product is a good or service; from the point of view of society, the product is utility.

In the sanctions paradigm, the intrinsic satisfier (for an acting unit) is goods and services; it is presupposed that, if the interaction is to be successful, Alter has a need for goods and services. Historically, gold is the security base for the symbolic level; it also can be exchanged, but, while more generalized than the objects of utility, does not represent the same degree of generality as money and credit systems. The important aspect of paper money is that it has absolutely no intrinsic worth (gold has some intrinsic value as a decorative resource).

Examples abound of this type of sanctioning process; everyone engages in it almost daily. When we call a plumber to fix our sink, we engage in it: we make a contingent offer of money if he will comply by making the repairs. It seems clear that money (and more concrete forms of utility) is most frequently used as a positive sanction, in the nature of a reward. There are, however, important cases of negative sanctions in this sector. Ego might threaten to withhold goods or money already needed by Alter; he might also take away goods or money, as occurs in the fining process in court. This latter example is somewhat fused with power, but we maintain that it has *primacy* as a loss of utility, not of effectiveness, for the system as a whole.

Goal-Attainment

Our description of this sector also parallels that of Parsons, with very little change. A system, in attaining goals, can be measured in terms of effectiveness.

> Power then is the generalized capacity to secure the performance of binding obligation by units in a system of collective organization . . . . and where in case of recalcitrance there is a presumption of enforcement by negative situational sanctions . . . .[8]

The intrinsic satisfier here, is the implementation of (binding) decisions. It is assumed that Alter has a need for the implementation of decisions, just like his need for goods and services. The implementation is in the form of actions by either Ego or Alter. The common sanction process is a contingent threat by Ego to withhold such implementation unless he complies with Ego's wishes.

In an attempt to find a security base analogous to gold, it seems to us

[8] Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," *op. cit.*, p. 237.

that the penal institution serves as good an example as physical force. Power rests upon the ability to remove completely a person's effectiveness, and this is precisely what happens when a person is sent to jail. The symbolic level of power is a little bit harder to see than money because of the absence of a clear-cut "code" level. That is, in the case of money the code can be seen as a dollar bill; there is nothing quite like this for power. There is, however, the "vote"; this is a means whereby power can be vested in an official, and that power is not necessarily a set of concrete implemented decisions. The official gains in "degrees of freedom" by not having to produce such concrete implementations and the voter gains by having someone else implement decisions.

There is an important sense in which power and implementation of decisions can be used as a positive sanction. If Ego is a politician soliciting votes, he is offering Alter (a voter) implemented decisions in return for a complinant act—namely, voting for him. Of course, there is not the same degree of certainty in the sanction—the politician may lose the election. But information as to his likelihood of winning can make it an important sanctioning process.

Integration

This and the next sector represent the greatest departure from the original paradigm. Originally, the integration sector medium was termed persuasion, where the symbolic level was influence and the intrinsic satisfier was information. As discussed earlier, however, it did not seem possible that the transmission of information could be a contingent process; we chose to see information as operating throughout all cells of the paradigm.

The elements of this sector are derived from the value principle of solidarity. As stated earlier, in the course of fulfilling the integrative function, a social system must "produce" solidarity. For the level of a single actor, it seems to us that the gain which can best represent solidarity at the system level is "acceptance"; we have therefore postulated it as the intrinsic satisfier in this sector. Every actor has a need to be "accepted" (in the sense of belonging) in the society; when this occurs for the majority of actors in the system, we can speak of the system as having solidarity. The most concrete example of this as a sanctioning process in interaction situations is social approval (positive) or disapproval (or ostracism—negative). Ego can gain compliance from Alter by contingent offers of social approval or acceptance (or by contingent threats of disapproval or ostracism). Gains or losses for individuals of acceptance or rejection lead to gains or losses of solidarity for the system.

The symbolic level of acceptance seems to us to be status, used in the sense of a person's position and membership in collectivities. There are con-

crete examples of status symbols that are analogous to paper money—membership cards, titles, licenses, etc., which represent increased capacity to give acceptance or social approval (or take it away). We do not feel that status enjoys the same institutionalization that money does; there is a variety of types of status, but there is only one kind of money. In a sense, status has many continuums, while money is a unidimensional continuum. Nonetheless, status is certainly more generalized than concrete acts of social approval or acceptance.

The security base of status, likewise, is not specialized within one structure. The best generic term would be *gemeinschaft* groups; these are the places where one is sure to get acceptance, by virtue of his membership alone. Historically, this would be the clan or family; today, it may be found as well within the peer group. This follows Durkheim's view that in industrial society, solidarity is maintained through occupational groups.[9]

Pattern Maintenance

The pattern-maintenance sector is almost wholly original; it was not developed in any detail in the original paradigm. Pattern maintenance is concerned with committing the units of the system to the system's values and existing institutional arrangements. The product (or value principle) of this sector is termed *integrity,* as a "measure" of the extent to which the system units maintain commitment to the values.

How is this manifested at the actor level? It is our contention that the intrinsic satisfier relevant to the social system level is "respect." It might be argued that the need would be for commitment itself; however, we feel that this is more relevant for the personality system level than for the social system. It is important for an individual to be respected, for it tells him that he has adhered to his commitments. Whether the person is in fact living up to his commitments is not important here; socially, he needs respect. A gain (or loss) in respect at the actor level means a gain (or loss) in integrity at the system level.

There are many concrete examples of sanctioning at the concrete satisfier level. If Ego is the armed forces (as a collectivity), respect is offered Alter in return for compliance by joining the service. Respect can be used negatively, as well, by threatening to withdraw it for non-compliance. A conscientious objector may be threatened with loss of respect (as well as social acceptance) for his noncompliance with society's standards.

There seems to be a symbolic level of respect, which we will term "honors." Concrete examples of honors would be scholarships, service medals, and honorary titles, for example. These are given in return for compliance with the relevant values of the system. Like money, honors

[9] Émile Durkheim, *op. cit.*, Preface to the second edition.

represent respect accorded and a generalized capacity to both offer and withdraw respect. In many societies the highest honor, at least at one time, was religious salvation; this was the highest form of respect and indicated a life of commitment to the society's values.

Like status, honors are not a completely institutionalized symbolic medium. There are many kinds of honors, and they do not form a continuum as money does. Still, there is no doubt that honors represent a more symbolic level than do actual concrete examples of respect.

Before leaving this theoretical discussion, some mention should be made of the processes of influence as put forth by Herbert Kelman.[10] There is some similarity between his typology and our paradigm. To some extent, there is a correspondence between Kelman's "compliance" and our adaptive and goal-attainment sanctions; between "identification" and integrative sanctions. However, it is felt that the above paradigm is an improvement in that it is tied in closely with existing systems theory, while Kelman's is derived from no general theoretical considerations. This leads to some ambiguities, primarily in the "compliance" process. He has focused on whether Alter engages in behavior because he *wants to,* or because he is *forced* to. Thus, he does not make distinction between the social approval sanctions, binding decision sanctions, and goods and services sanctions. It is also not clear how he would differentiate social approval from identification. Identification involves being influenced through desiring to identify with the influencer; it is hard to see social approval not involved here. Identification seems to us to imply a need for acceptance and approval from that person.

The main difference of our paradigm is the focus upon the directions open to Ego for sanctioning rather than on the *results* of Ego's offer or threat. Kelman classifies those results, but not with as much analytic precision. It is our belief that the results of the interaction are a matter for empirical study. Moreover, the paradigm does not distinguish between *behavior* compliance and *attitude* compliance. It may be that the adaptive and goal attainment sectors are more successful for behavioral compliance, while the integrative and pattern-maintenance sectors are relevant for attitudinal compliance. Again, however, this is a matter for empirical study.

Influence Processes and Professions

We have side-stepped the problem of giving a precise definition of the term "influence," only noting that influence was seen originally by Parsons as the symbolic medium in the integrative sector. Kelman, on the other

[10] Herbert C. Kelman, "Processes of Opinion Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* XXV (1961), pp. 57–78.

hand, uses influence to describe both attitudinal and behavioral change regardless of the type of sanction used. For Parsons, a person holds influence to the extent that he can "legitimately" give opinions and advice and have them accepted without reference to empirical verfication. The aspect of expertise, then, was an integral part of the influence process.

Both Kelman's and Parsons' definitions have some usefulness, and it seems both useful and analytically sound to combine the two definitions. By an influence process we mean a sanctioning process in any of the four sectors of the paradigm where Ego does not control the actual satisfiers but, instead, controls knowledge and information concerning the sanctioning process. This is to say that an influence process requires that Ego be an "expert" with respect to one or more of the sectors. Ego is operating with influence by offering contingent gains or losses in utility, effectiveness, solidarity, or integrity to Alter in return for compliance based on Ego's expert knowledge of the gains or losses; Ego himself will not actually apply the sanctions in the event of compliance (or noncompliance). Thus, the example of the stockbroker given earlier would be an example of influence. He offers Alter a gain or loss of goods or services (or utility), but is not he who will actually give Alter the gain or loss; it is his expertise about the gains or losses which is instrumental in gaining compliance from Alter.

It is possible to see influence as a process operating in the cultural sector at the total action level (see Exhibit II). The cultural system is composed, in part, of the knowledge of a society. The possession of knowledge, we could say, means the possession of potential influence. If the knowledge is codified and if the knowledge is possessed by an institutionalized role, say a profession, then this professional expertise could be seen as a symbolic form of knowledge itself. By using influence, a professional (Ego) does not have to give the actual knowledge to the client (Alter); Alter accepts the influence on the basis of the professionals' institutionalized expert status.

It is important to stress that influence can be a symbolic media at a social system level with respect to each of the satisfiers. Knowledge about the satisfiers (and their symbolic forms), whether in the economy, polity, integrative, or pattern-maintenance sectors, can be held by a person and be the base of the influence he uses.

It is clear that the social system sanctions do not exhaust all the possible sanctions available for gaining compliance from people. There are several important classes of sanctions that fall outside of the social system which have to do with the needs at other levels of the total action schema. Physical pleasure and pain can be classed in the behavorial organism subsystem. The emotional sanctions—love, hate, fear, etc., can be placed at the person-

ality subsystem level. There is also the case of knowledge itself—in some situations, this can be viewed as a potential sanction per se and, as we have said, this belongs in the cultural subsystem. Thus, influence can also occur with respect to knowledge about these satisfiers. All of these levels will be important when we come to our classification of professions.

As structural differentiation has occured in the social system, and as symbolic satisfiers have developed, knowledge about their functioning has also expanded. It seems reasonable, therefore, to see professions as roles developing which specialize in the knowledge relevant to various sectors. Although all professions are using influence as a medium, the content of their expertise is relevant to the satisfiers in one of the sectors of the social system (or the total action level).

It is possible to classify professions tentatively with respect to the type of satisfiers they "deal" with; this can help establish a link between professions and the most relevant structural categories in terms of system theory. First, some professions specialize in making satisfiers (or their symbolic forms) available, and others specialize in preventing their loss. We do not find this of such importance, however, as to cause a major analytic distinction to be made. Each of the professionals to be considered can be assumed an expert on how to obtain (or prevent the loss of) an intrinsic satisfier. Generally, they operate at the level of the symbolic media; that is, offers or threats are made in terms of the symbolic media rather than the intrinsic satisfier itself. With these general considerations in mind, we shall give examples of professions in each sector.

In the adaptive sector, with goods and services as satisfiers and money as the symbolic medium, we can class such professions as investment brokers, market specialists, and applied economists. These professions claim expertise in the matter of gaining advantages of goods and services through gains in money. Their clients (individuals or collectivities) accept their influence not because the professional economist is in control of the medium and will cause it to be given or withheld, but because he is established as an expert in the functioning of that medium. It is important to stress, as well, that it is not the *information* received by the client which is valued, but rather the *consequences* of that information or advice. In these cases, as in the other professions specializing in social system sanctions, information is not, itself, the sanction.

In the goal-attainment sector, we can consider the lawyer as a professional specializing in the implementation satisfier. Although the lawyer is used generally to *prevent* losses of the power medium, there are cases where the legal professional is engaged to enhance a collectivity's power position. We can interpret cases, in America, where lawyers are hired by minority group collectivities to challenge existing laws contradictory to the

United States Constitution as examples of enhancing that group's power, or capacity to implement decisions. The more usual case, however, is the engagement of the lawyer to *prevent* the loss in the ability to implement decisions. This is the situation for the majority of trial lawyers, where the point is to keep the client from going to prison, and implementation is at a minimum.

Again, as in the case of the adaptive sector, the lawyer's influence is important *not* because it is valued per se, but because of the consequences of following his advice or using his information. The lawyer's expert status comes from a knowledge of the law and of legal procedures; in general, he knows the likelihood of the occurrence of sanctions in his sector. Like the counselor and the stockbroker, he does not apply the sanctions himself.

In the integrative sector of the social system, the satisfier used as a sanction is membership, with the symbolic medium of status. Social work is the profession most closely associated with knowledge about this area. In particular, many social workers often work with groups in a society who are striving for increases of status; that is, they often have not been accepted as members of the society in which they reside and, consequently, occupy a lower status. Again, as with the rest of the professions, it is expert knowledge about how to obtain status that makes the information given by the social worker important to his clients. The social worker does not apply the sanctions himself. We do not mean to imply that *all* social workers focus on this area, but that a good number of them do.

In the pattern-maintenance sector we would place the counselor and other similiar professions. The main reason for this is that one of the counselor's functions is to aid persons in attaining occupational success. Occupational success, definded as "doing a good job," can guarantee concrete expressions of respect and affirmation of individual integrity. Loss of a job, or bankrupty, means the loss of respect for the individual. This is the sense in which depressions, with high unemployment rates, have far greater consequences for the social system than mere economic ones. There is also a great loss in system integrity, since men cannot discharge their obligation as breadwinners. They lose the respect of others.

We showed that the increasing variety of jobs resulting from industrialization brought about a crisis in the means of finding this occupational success. In traditional agrarian society, one's occupation was more or less determined—there was really only one for the vast majority of persons, and that was farming. Moreover, with little structural differentiation, occupational success was bound up with success as a family head, as a husband. For the first time, industrialization brought on the necessity of *choosing* an occupation. This, in turn, brought up the possibility of a person's doing better in one type of job than another, given his individual characteristics.

If the correct job (or class of jobs) was not chosen, the possibility of failure was real. In addition, with role differentiation one could not transfer success in other spheres to occupational success.

This situation led, eventually, to the development of a profession of vocational counseling, the forerunner of modern guidance counselors. The counselor analyzed an individual's characteristics and attempted to match them with those required by available vocations. Much the same occurs today with the secondary school guidance counselor, although we saw from our data that the original vocational or job counseling is replaced largely by counseling on the decision of whether or not to go on to college (as measured by the amount of time counselors spent on vocational counseling compared to educational counseling). We have also pointed out that educational choice is really a basic vocational choice between the white-collar and blue-collar occupational groups.

It should be clear that the counselor is dealing in an exchange process with a more generalized medium. The counselor is offering his clients the chance of occupational success, a class of honors, which, if obtained, will guarantee the recipient concrete shows of respect—the intrinsic need. But the counselor does not, himself, apply the sanction of success or failure; future employers will control that. How, then, does the counselor gain compliance on the part of his clients? It is the counselor's status as an *expert* about occupational (or educational) success which makes it likely that his clients will follow his advice. This expertise lies, on the one hand, in the area of knowledge of individual characteristics which make for educational success. On the other hand, there is expertise involved in knowledge about the job or college markets—which jobs are expanding, which are declining, colleges appropriate to a student's interests and characteristics, etc. The counselor also requires knowledge of means of conveying this information to his clients in a way which aids acceptance.

The counselor does not, however, exhaust the pattern-maintenance sector; it would make sense to place the clergy in this sector. They have expert knowledge about the value system and how to gain honors (thus respect). They advise their "clients" about the "correct" values to hold if they are to maintain their respect. In the same sense as with other professions, the clergyman does not control the sanction process himself. In most religions, a supreme being, or supreme beings, controls these processes.

The examples do not, by any means, exhaust all the professions at the social system level, nor would a specification of all of them exhaust professions as a whole. There are intrinsic satisfiers, as mentioned above, outside of the social system. Except for influence itself, we have not developed the notion of a symbolic medium for the three other levels of action scheme. Nor can we specify the way in which differentiation *within* those sectors

accounts for the development of professions specializing there. Perhaps the differentiation of knowledge itself led to these professions, but this cannot be seen as a definitive statement. This will remain a problem for further study.

The first example of a profession with expert knowledge of a satisfier outside the social system is the medical doctor. This has, for some time, been the prototype for all professions. It is also, perhaps, the oldest profession of all. The sphere is the behavorial organism system. Perhaps because the specialization is outside the social system, there are certain differences between the doctor and those mentioned above. Although in many cases the doctor gives advice, in most cases he is the executor of the sanction as well. We do not have an analytic classification of all the satisfiers at the behavioral organism level, but they revolve around the notions of pleasure and pain, bodily mobility, and survival itself. The doctor specializes in knowledge about preserving health and repairing disease and damage to the organism.

The second example is the psychiatrist, in the area of the personality system. He controls knowledge about the psychological satisfiers—love, hate, and other emotions. He derives his expert status from this knowledge. The psychiatrist is involved in aiding persons who have been incorrectly socialized, and who, as a result, are suffering from conflicts and loss of the important satisfiers at this level. Like the medical doctor, it appears often that the psychiatrist is directly involved in the sanctioning process. But this is not definite; research on psychotherapy has yet to establish any cause and effect relationship between particular techniques and cures of the mentally ill. It should be pointed out, as well, that we can also identify the psychiatrist with some sanctions at the social system level, in the pattern-maintenance sector. Since socialization is located here, it seems reasonable to posit that defects in socialization can lead to loss of respect for individuals and hence loss of integrity for the system as a whole. Thus, there is an important sense in which the psychiatrist can be seen as having expert knowledge about the intrinsic satisfier of respect (and the symbolic forms associated with it).

The final example is the teaching profession, which we can tentatively identify with sanctions or satisfiers in the cultural system. It represents somewhat of a special case in that there is no contingency involved in the sanction offered. That sanction is, in this case, information *as* information—as opposed to information *about* some other sanction process. Thus, in their performance as professionals, the information which they transmit is valued as knowledge and information per se and not necessarily for consequences to the "client." In this sector, sanctioning can be seen only as a limiting case. (We can also place, here, the scientist and others engaged in

acquiring new knowledge. But, unlike the other professions just mentioned, there is no client for the scientist in the same sense as above; we should see the scientist as a special case in our classification.) Again, as in the case of the social worker, not all teachers engage merely in the imparting of information. The elementary teacher, in particular, engages in an important socializing process beyond information giving. Nonetheless, by the time high school is reached, most of the gains for the student have to do with information.

Although, on the one hand, there are clear differences among the professions listed above, there are, on the other hand, clear parallels to which we can give analytic theoretical prominence. First of all, we have seen that the professions have in common an expert status; they control knowledge about sanctioning processes which are based upon intrinsic satisfiers. Second, with the exception of the doctor and the teacher, they are also similar in that they do not control the rewarding or withholding of the satisfier or its symbolic forms. Thus, their own success is determined by their "predictions" about their clients and not by the result of the sanction itself. This is the sense in which the sanctioning gains degrees of freedom.

These two criteria form the definition of influence. An influence role is one which, during interaction with others, relies on control of *knowledge about* satisfiers or the symbolic media, as opposed to control of the satisfiers directly. The interaction itself we term an influence process. Thus, compliance does not occur because the professional manipulates sanctions directly, but because of perceived future rewards or punishments. We do not, of course, have to place prominence upon the professional-client interaction as a sanctioning process, since the true sanctions will occur later. We can view the professional as a role to which one comes for advice and for information when in need of satisfiers, or when one is about to lose them.

APPENDIX II | Sampling and Research Methodology

THIS APPENDIX will discuss three basic aspects of the research design used in the collection of data on the Boston counselors. The research procedures for the USOE study which collected the national counselor data can be found in the James S. Coleman work.[1] The Russell Sage Foundation study is also described elsewhere.[2]

First, we shall discuss the sampling techniques used and the population from which the sample was drawn, including the procedures used in defining the sample. Second, we will describe the two basic instruments—an interview and a questionnaire—used to collect the data as well as several other sources of data used in the study. Third, we shall discuss several issues involved in the data analysis techniques utilized in the study, including a presentation of the coding reliability of the open-end interview questions.

Sampling Methods

One of the basic goals of the study was to collect data from a diverse sample of practicing school counselors in order to describe fully their characteristics and ideas and to complement the historical and professional literature material. Resources and time available prevented obtaining a nation-wide sample of counselors for the main interview study. The universe

[1] James S. Coleman *et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 549–575.

[2] Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al., The Use of Standardized Ability Tests in American Secondary Schools and Their Impact on Students, Teachers, and Administrators* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965), pp. 3–27.

was confined to the metropolitan Boston area. It was decided to confine the universe further to persons employed as full-time counselors in public secondary schools in this area. By restricting the universe to full-time counselors it was hoped to be able to observe guidance as it will ultimately be practiced, even though today in guidance there are quite a few teacher-counselors. In addition, this restriction prevents possible "contamination" of the counselor role with aspects of the teacher role.

Although there were lists of all counselors in the region published by Massachusetts' Department of Education, the actual time spent as a guidance counselor was not listed for each counselor. Thus our first step was to gather information from the schools in the area on the number and names of counselors and how much time each spent as a guidance counselor. Again, because of time and resources, we wished to draw a sample of approximately one hundred counselors. Since we were not sure of how many schools it would require to meet this minimum number of full-time counselors, it was decided to get this information from all schools within a radius of approximately 20 miles from the central city. Unfortunately, the central city area itself had to be excluded due to certain problems of gaining entry into its schools. We did not feel that this would seriously affect our sample since there were still many other large urban cities within the region.

A further decision was required, whether to include counselors in junior as well as senior high schools as part of the universe. It was known that there were fewer counselors, proportionately, in junior high schools, since guidance programs in junior highs began later than in senior highs. It was further assumed that junior high school counselors faced a different set of problems than did the high school counselor. Nonetheless, it did seem important to include them because of the critical decisions that might be made by the junior high student regarding his choice of studies in high school (in particular, the decision of whether to enter the college preparatory program).

In the area defined there were 57 senior high schools and 82 junior high schools in 53 different cities and towns. All the full-time counselors in the schools in this area defined the sampling universe. In the fall of 1963 a short questionnaire was sent to the principals of each of the 139 schools, requesting their potential participation in the study by filling in the needed information (see Appendix III). The principals were asked to list the names of all guidance counselors in their school and the time each was officially assigned as a guidance counselor. In addition, some information was collected as to the type of school, number of students, etc. A total of 135, or approximately 97 per cent, completed and returned the questionnaire. The four not returned were from junior high schools. In one of these, the De-

partment of Education did not list any counselors at all, and another did finally return the questionnaire, but too late for inclusion in the study.

The principals' questionnaire returns indicated that there were 195 full-time counselors in high schools and 108 in junior high schools for a total of 303 counselors in the defined universe. One of the high schools was a vocational school, while all the rest were general or comprehensive schools, so it was decided to eliminate the vocational school from the universe. The number of full-time counselors was rather surprising even given the rapid growth of guidance in the last decade. More surprising was the relative scarcity of part-time counselors, especially in the high schools—there were only 28 part-time counselors in all of the high schools (not counting Directors of Guidance, some of whom counseled part-time in their school systems). This is a quite different picture from the national one; we saw from the USOE data in Chapter 4 that of all persons employed nationally in guidance, only slightly more than half are full-time guidance counselors. In addition, the student-counselor ratio, as computed from our sample, averaged about 389 to 1, while the national average is estimated (for the school year 1964–1965) to be about 631 to 1.

In drawing the sample there were three conditions which we wished to fulfill. First, we wanted to have at least one senior high school counselor and one junior high school counselor from each city or town which had counselors in both schools in order to provide a wide diversity in types of schools and communities. Second, we wanted our sample to match the proportion of junior and senior high school counselors in our universe; i.e., we wanted approximately one-third junior high and two-third senior high counselors. This would enable us to infer from our whole universe of counselors without going through an elaborate weighting procedure. Related to this, we wanted to sample the number of counselors *within* a school to match the proportion of all counselors who were in that school. Some schools had many counselors, while others had only one. Finally, we wanted a random sample so that statistical inferences could be made. It was decided to draw a two-way stratified random sample, where the strata were junior and senior high schools and, within this, each school individually.

For the pretesting of our data collection instruments, it was decided to select randomly five high schools for elimination from our universe. This left us with 51 high schools from which to draw approximately 66 senior counselors. By weighting the number of counselors to be drawn from a high school with the proportion of the total number of its counselors in the universe, we found that one counselor had to be drawn from schools which had up to three counselors, two from schools with four to six counselors, and three from schools with seven to nine counselors. There were no schools with more than nine full-time counselors.

For the junior high schools, we had to draw approximately 34 counselors from a total of 57 schools with at least one full-time counselor. There were fortunately only 32 different communities among which these 57 schools were distributed, and only two communities had more than three junior high schools (and these two had five). All of the schools had three or fewer counselors. Thus it was decided to draw one counselor from each of the 30 communities with three or fewer junior highs and two counselors each from the two communities having more than three junior highs. The only departure from our sampling design was a decision not to pool all the junior high counselors into one group for a given community; instead, we chose the largest school (by enrollment) or largest two schools. Since some of the junior highs were quite small within a community while others were much larger, we felt it would be wiser to guarantee that the counselor would be from the larger school. This would mean that he would be more likely to come into contact with a wider sample of students from the community.

Having defined the nature and size of our strata, we sampled within each school, using a table of random numbers. This resulted in a sample of 63 senior high counselors and 34 junior high counselors, roughly matching the universe proportions of junior and senior high counselors for a sample total of 99. As a check on the randomness of our sample, we were able to get, by a first-name analysis of the counselors listed in the principal questionnaire, the proportion of female counselors in the universe. When we compare this with the proportion in our sample, we find 48 per cent of the universe is female, while 40 per cent of the sample was female. This sample proportion is within the 95 per cent confidence interval for a sample of size 100 and a universe proportion of 48 per cent.

Data Collection Procedures

The first stage of our research plan called for face-to-face interviews with each of the counselors in our sample. Interviews, relying largely on open-ended questions, were felt to be necessary because of the exploratory nature of our research. Very few empirical studies could be located on school counselors; it seems to be a role in the school largely ignored by sociological and educational researchers, unlike the role of the teacher and the principal. Because of this it was thought that a reliable and meaningful self-administering questionnaire would be nearly impossible to design.

The first step of the interview schedule design was to carry out some relatively unstructured interviews to get some initial ideas of the guidance counselor's role. From the five high schools we had randomly sampled for pretest purposes, we chose two counselors each, randomly, giving us a pretest sample of ten counselors. The counselors were contacted by telephone

(after receiving a letter requesting their participation) in February, 1964, and interviews were arranged. All counselors in the pretest sample agreed to be interviewed. The interviews were tape recorded and lasted from one and a half to two hours. The questions covered the organization of the school, programs offered, their duties, their views of their main contributions and difficulties, their attitudes toward and uses of standardized tests, and their relations with students, teachers, and parents.

On the basis of the pretest results, a final interview schedule was designed (see Appendix III). All of the questions were open ended. The reason for this was our concern that we not structure their answers by our preconceptions. Many issues in the principles and practices of guidance counseling are controversial, and there is (we felt) a wide range of philosophies. All questions that required systematic, close-ended responses were saved for a follow-up questionnaire. In fact, some questions were asked in the interview only to get an idea of the ranges of the answers, so that these questions could be formulated in the questionnaire with close-ended response categories.

There were seven major divisions in the interview. The first division was a series of questions concerning when and how students made the decision to enter the college preparatory course and the counselor's role in this process. The second section focused on their view of their main contribution, their main difficulty, and their views on the determinants of academic success and failure. Sections Three and Five were mainly concerned with the standardized testing program in the school, their role in, their uses of tests, and their attitudes toward tests. A central focus of Section Five was an attempt to pin down their views of IQ tests and the issues involved in the reporting of IQ test information. Section Four was primarily designed to probe the techniques of counseling, specifically the extent to which they gave advice to students. Finally, Sections Six and Seven attempted to uncover their perceived problems with parents and teachers and their views of students.

Before contacting the counselors, the principals were told that a counselor (or counselors) in their schools had been selected as part of the sample, and were given the names. We wanted to make sure of their cooperation with the study, so that counselors could know that their school administration had approved of the research program. These telephone calls revealed that resampling would have to be done for seven counselors in the original sample of 99. Two of the counselors were directors of guidance who did no counseling with students and were primarily administrators. In another four cases, the counselor selected was no longer in the school for a variety of reasons (illness, leave of absence, etc.). And in one case the principal disagreed with the selection and insisted that he be allowed to name the

counselor. In all but the last case, a replacement was obtained by random sampling of the remaining counselors in each school. Thus, our original sample size was preserved at 99 counselors.

As in the pretesting, the counselor was contacted first by letter and then by telephone to arrange for the interview date. All interviews were done in the counselor's school. Also, all interviews were tape recorded and lasted from one and a half to two and a half hours. The interviews were conducted during the spring of 1964.

From the sample of 99 counselors, interviews were completed on 97 or 98 per cent. Of the two whom we did not interview, one had become ill and did not recover in time for inclusion in the study.The other was a refusal, although not by the counselor himself; the superintendent of schools would not allow the interview.

Not all of the interviews were usable, however. In four cases the counselor would not permit the use of a tape recorder. Although the answers to the questions were hand recorded, it was felt that such notes were not complete enough to make these interviews comparable with the rest. In another case the interview was not recorded because of a mechanical failure of the tape recorder, unknown at the time of the interview. This meant codable interviews on 92, or 93 per cent, of the original sample.

The second stage of the research design was a questionnaire mailed to the counselors after the interviews were completed. It was felt that a questionnaire was necessary for several reasons. First, the interviews were already very long, and it would have been difficult to lengthen them. Second, the type of questions on the questionnaire called for closed-end responses, and it would have been unnecessarily costly to transcribe them from tapes. Finally, there were a variety of personal and social background and attitude data desired, and it was felt that the anonymity of a questionnaire would be both more appropriate and more likely to guarantee reliable results.

An initial questionnaire was designed and sent out to the same sample used for the interview pretesting. Unfortunately, none of these was returned in time for use in constructing the final form. We did not feel that this was a serious problem, however, since many of the questions most subject to difficulties had been designed on the basis of answers to questions in the interview.

The questions asked in the questionnaire can be divided into several areas. First, the counselors were asked to give percentage breakdowns of time spent on various duties, of time spent in counseling on different areas, of average length of counseling sessions, etc. There were a series of questions relating to professional involvement (organizations, journals, and the like) and training. They were asked many questions relating to standard-

ized tests, with a focus on getting at their reliance on test scores as compared with other indicators of student ability. We also focused on their beliefs regarding the nature of intelligence and their frequency of reporting actual IQ scores. A large section of the questionnaire was devoted to getting personal and social background information, including such factors as religion, social class or origin, and education and college attended. Another section contained one hundred likert-type attitude questions covering a range of both personality and professional attitude areas. Finally, three hypothetical counseling situations were described, and they were asked how they would go about counseling the student in each case. These were designed to uncover possible class-biases and also to get more information on advice-giving. For the readers' convenience, the questionnaire is presented in Appendix III.

The questionnaires were mailed in May, 1964. The return rate was quite satisfactory, at least after several follow-ups were made. Of the 97 questionnaires sent out (none was sent to the two not interviewed), 85 or 88 per cent were completed and returned. This is an unusually high return-rate for a lengthy mail questionnaire; no doubt the fact that the counselors were interviewed personally beforehand was a contributing factor.

There are occasions in the main text when questionnaire results are analyzed by themselves. Since the pretest questionnaire was almost identical with the final form, and since the pretest counselors were randomly sampled, we will, on these occasions, include the seven pretest questionnaires which were eventually returned. This gives us an effective questionnaire sample size of 92. What we lose in tampering with the sample, we feel will be compensated for by the advantage of having a larger number of cases for the data analysis.

There are two other sources of data used in the study. First, another questionnaire was sent to the principals in order to gather information we had not thought to include in their first one (see Appendix III). The major items needed were the proportion of students going on to college and the year the guidance program was begun for each school. The second source of data was the 1960 Census of the United States. From this we obtained socio-economic data on each of the cities and towns in the sample.

Data Analysis Issues

There are several issues raised concerning methods utilized in the analysis of the data collected from the interview and questionnaire, and it seems more appropriate to discuss them here, independently, rather than in the substantive chapters. These issues are, in the order in which they will be taken up, the coding and reliability of the open-end questions from the interviews and the development of attitude scales from the questionnaire.

Interview Coding and Reliability

As mentioned earlier, every interview was tape recorded. Each of these tapes was transcribed, providing a verbatim record of the interview, which could be used in the coding of variables of interest. Not all of the interview questions were coded; in some cases the question was asked again in the questionnaire, and there was no need for coding it from the interview. In other cases, either the interview questions did not elicit clear and codable responses, or it was felt the question was not important for the subsequent analyses. Altogether, out of 55 questions, 23 were not coded.

Each of the questions which was coded is presented in Appendix III along with the code and code description for each question. In some cases more than one item was coded from a single interview question. For example, the counselors were asked their opinion concerning the factors which were important for academic success. A content code was designed for this question, but, in addition, two scales were designed—stress on motivation factors and stress on ability factors.

There was a conscious attempt to make naturalistic codes for almost all of the questions. By this we mean that we tried to let the counselors' answers provide the response categories for each code, rather than trying to fit their answers into a preconceived set of categories. This meant taking a sample of answers and organizing them into slightly more general categories. For example, the counselors were asked what they perceived as the major difficulty of their job. Some of the answers involved not having enough time for all their duties; this formed a category. A category was chosen if it appeared to be widespread in a sample of answers.

There are two major exceptions to this procedure. Many of the content codes are supplemented by intensity scales. In certain cases, when one or two content categories were extremely common, we attempted to code the stress which a counselor placed on the category in question. An example has already been cited—the motivation and ability content categories of the question on academic success—on which intensity ratings were made. In other cases, the whole question would be rated for intensity; for example, the counselors were asked what kinds of problems they had relating with teachers. An intensity of conflict with teachers scale was designed, considering their entire answer to the question. Most of these intensity variables were rated on a 5-point scale, where 1 meant no stress or intensity and 5 meant very high stress or intensity. In a few cases, a similar 3-point scale was used.

The second exception concerned five coded variables concerning several issues on which it was very hard to ask questions directly—development of a philosophy of counseling, willingness to handle personal problems, warmth and empathy, psychological-mindedness, and willingness to give

advice or directive emphasis. These scales are necessarily more subjective than the others but are nonetheless important. They were rated on the basis of several sections of the interview. These variables are also rated on a 5-point scale.

It is critical when doing coding of this kind that there be some kind of reliability figure which can be computed as a check against completely arbitrary coding. To meet this requirement, the interviews were coded by two different coders, both of whom were graduate students in sociology. This enabled us to compute reliability figures for the coding. Since many of the variables are nominal (i.e., have no intrinsic order or scale), we decided to compute the percentage of coder agreement for each variable across the entire sample. These figures are also presented in the code key in Appendix III for each item. For the variables with an intrinsic order (the intensity scales), we felt that absolute agreement was too stringent a condition; we decided to include differences of one scale point as agreement. Thus, if one coder rated 2 and another rated 3, it is assumed that the true code lies in between, or at 2.5 and it is not considered a disagreement. A similar argument could not be made if the difference is 2 or more scale points, since there are intermediate points available to the coders.

This assumption is reflected in our scoring procedures for the scaled variables. To obtain the final score, the scores from each coder were added together and reduced by one. This gave a score range from 1 to 9 for a 5-point scale, 1 to 5 for a 3-point scale, etc. This way we get a combined score and avoid possible bias, which would be introduced if we used the scores of one coder only.

This procedure obviously could not be followed for the nominal scale variables. Although, as we shall see, the agreement was quite high, our already-small sample size would be further reduced if we eliminated cases when a disagreement occurred for a given variable. It was decided, instead, to recode the cases of disagreement on nominal variables in the event that some mistake had been made in interpretation. If one recoding agreed with one of the original codes while the other did not, the former was taken as the right code. Only in the cases where the recoding was also in disagreement did the two coders discuss the disagreement and decide on what it should be. The reliability figures in Appendix III, of course, reflect the agreement in the original coding.

We decided in advance that we would require an agreement of at least 70 per cent before concluding that the variable was reliable. There are no fixed rules here; it depends upon the purposes of investigation. Since this is largely an exploratory study, we felt that this figure was adequately high. As it turned out, however, one-half (23) of the 46 items which were double-coded had coding agreements ranging from 90 to 100 per

cent. Another 15 items were in the 80 to 89 per cent range, and only six fell in the 70 to 79 per cent range. There are two items, numbers 30 and 32, which fell below 70 per cent, and both had agreement of 67 per cent. One of these items, Item 30, can be brought up to 76 per cent agreement by combining two categories which caused the most disagreement. The variable concerns changes the counselor would like to see in his job. We tried to distinguish between changes involving reducing his counseling load and changes in reducing his duties in general.

With Item 32, a similar situation occurred; the disagreement centered on distinguishing between two similar categories. The question was about the counselor's reasons for becoming a guidance counselor, and we tried to distinguish between interest in helping students and what we might call deeper psychological interests. Since we do not wish to combine categories here and since we feel this is an important variable, it will be used as it is with the caution that it falls below our criteria for reliability.

There are five items, numbers 47 to 51, for which reliability figures are not available. These were coded very late, and there was no time for double coding and reliability checking. But it should be mentioned that the codes for these items are literally natural. For each item, all 92 of the subjects' answers were used in constructing the code, and practically every answer appears in the code category definitions. We would expect the coding reliability, if it were done, to be necessarily very close to 100 per cent agreement.

Development of Attitude Scales

As mentioned in the discussion of the questionnaire, one hundred Likert-type attitude questions were asked. These questions are scored on a 1 to 7 scale, where 1 means strongly agree and 7 means strongly disagree (4 is a neutral point, usually reserved for no answer). There were questions on the authoritarianism scale, the traditional family ideology scale, and the trust-distrust scale.[3] There were also a variety of questions of original design, covering class bias, nondirective techniques, and handling emotional problems in counseling. Finally, a number of questions were included from the Russell Sage study of attitudes toward ability tests—intellectual élitism, male superiority, aristocratic orientation, etc.[4]

It was possible that some of these areas overlapped in content, and it was felt that traditional scaling techniques might result in scales that were too highly intercorrelated. In addition, although the three personality-type

[3] The Authoritarianism and Traditional Family Ideology scale-items were taken from Robert F. Bales and Arthur S. Couch, "The Value Profile: A Factor Analytic Study of Value Statements" (Unpublished manuscript, Harvard University).

[4] All items in Section X of the Russell Sage Foundation student questionnaire were included. Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al., op. cit.*, Appendix A.

scales—F, TFI, and trust—had already been developed, the other scales had not. Thus, there would be no grounds for assuming unidimensionality of the scales. It was decided to factor analyze the attitude items. This method has several advantages over other scaling methods. First of all, it guarantees that the resulting scales are homogeneous. Secondly, it is a multivariate technique, and thus, many scales can be developed simultaneously (providing that there is more than one dimension present, and we had reason to believe that there was). Furthermore, if orthogonal rotations are done, the resulting scales may be uncorrelated (or else only slightly correlated, depending upon the scoring techniques used). This means that each of the scales can be treated as a statistically independent variable and that there will be no problems with overlapping scales. We were predicting, of course, that our *a priori* scales would emerge from the factor analysis.

Before doing the factor analysis, all items with a mean below 1.5 or above 6.5 (highly skewed) or a standard deviation of 1.0 or less were excluded. This resulted in a loss of 14 of the original 100 items.

The remaining 86 items were factor analyzed using a principal axis solution, with the highest row correlations for a given variable being used for communality estimates. Ten factors were extracted, accounting for a little over 96 per cent of the common variance and 40 per cent of the total variance. All but the last two factors had a latent root of at least 2. The ten factors were then rotated according to varimax criteria.

Only the first two factors had high enough roots for interpretation. The first factor appeared to be an authoritarian dimension. All items with loadings over .5 were taken to form an authoritarianism scale; the items are given in Exhibit V.

The second factor appeared to indicate a dimension of feelings against personal or emotional problem counseling. All items with factor loadings of .4 or higher were taken to form what we call the "antitherapy" scale; they are given in Exhibit VI. As can be seen in the table, only Item 42 does not explicitly deal with the therapeutic counseling issue.

Although an orthogonal rotation was computed, by using the highest-loading items to form scales instead of using true factor scores, one has reduced the chance of scale independence. The advantage is that the resulting scale is probably closer to our actual interpretation of the factor, since the highest-loading items are usually most influential in the interpretation process. Our two scales were correlated .49, indicating considerable dependence. Since they lack any obvious item-content overlap, we assume this to be a substantive relationship.

EXHIBIT V *Authoritarianism Scale Items*

Item No.[a]	Description
9	Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
20[b]	I would not myself consider patriotism and loyalty to be the first requirements of a good citizen.
31	America is truly a land of opportunity, and people get pretty much what's coming to them here.
35[b]	People tend to place too much emphasis on respect for authority.
46	Disobeying an order is one thing you can't excuse—if one can get away with disobedience, why can't everybody?
53	A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents or else he will lose respect for them.
58	There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
67	If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
79	What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
82	Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
84	Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young men to admire and imitate.
85	A well-raised child is one who doesn't have to be told twice to do something.
92	Familiarity breeds contempt.
95[b]	It may well be that children who talk back to their parents actually respect them more in the long run.

[a] See counselor questionnaire in Appendix III.
[b] Indicates reverse-scored item.

EXHIBIT VI *Antitherapy Scale Items*

Item No.[a]	Description
36[b]	Counselors should receive more training in psychology and psychological counseling.
40	Too much emphasis is being placed on handling students' psychological problems.
42	When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
54	Counselors would be better off today if they concentrated more on the educational problems of students, rather than on emotional problems.
83[b]	Counselors should be allowed to spend more time counseling students on emotional or personal problems.
90[b]	One of the counselor's most important responsibilities is to help students come to grips with emotional or personal problems.
96	A counselor's primary responsibility is to the academic problems of a student, not to personal or emotional problems.
99	Psychological counseling is best left to qualified personnel in a community clinic.
16	Counselors are generally not qualified to handle a student's psychological problems.

[a] See counselor questionnaire in Appendix III.
[b] Indicates reverse-scored item.

APPENDIX III | Data Collection Instruments

THIS APPENDIX contains only those instruments used in collecting data on the Boston counselor sample and their schools. For the United States Office of Education counselor sample, the questionnaire can be found in James S. Coleman *et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 673–687. For the counselor and teacher samples of the Russell Sage Foundation study, the questionnaire can be found in Orville G. Brim, Jr., *et al., The Use of Standardized Ability Tests in American Secondary Schools and Their Impact on Students, Teachers, and Administrators* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965), Appendices B and C.

For the counselor questionnaire we have inserted either means, medians, or percentages in most of the answer spaces for general information purposes. They will be denoted by $\bar{X}$, $\tilde{X}$, or %, respectively. There were 92 counselors who returned usable questionnaires, and the nonresponse rate to individual questions was generally low. We have omitted the summary measure in those cases when more than 10 per cent did not answer the question.

Following the counselor interview schedule is a coding key for the Boston interviews. The "coding reliability" figures represent the percentage of exact coder agreement for items with nominal catgories and the percentage within one scale point for the items with ordered (or "intensity") categories. As in the case of the counselor questionnaire, the percentages of our sample falling into each category are given. In the case of the intensity variables, with ordinal scale points, the final scales had a greater range than that given in the code key due to combining scores from two raters. For these items we give a mean transformed back to the original scale. There were 92 successful interviews, although they were not all the same counselors that returned questionnaires. In no case did nonresponses for a given item exceed 10 per cent.

Principal Questionnaire #1

GUIDANCE PROGRAM

1. Name of school (please indicate whether junior or senior high school):

   _____

2. Address _____ City _____

3. Name of Principal _____

4. Grades in school (circle the grades your school has):
   7 8 9 10 11 12

5. Approximate enrollment _____

6. About how many teachers are there in your school?

   Full time _____ Part time _____

7. Is this a special school (e.g., technical)?

   Yes _____ No _____

   If so, what kind?

8. Does your school have a guidance program in which one or more persons is officially assigned to counseling individual students?

   Yes _____ No _____ (If "No," you may ignore the remaining questions.)

9. Does your school have a Director of Guidance?

   Yes _____ No _____

   If yes, please give his or her name _____

   If yes, does the Director also serve as a Counselor?

   Yes _____ No _____

10. Please list the names of all guidance counselors in your school (including the Director, if any, if he or she also has counseling duties) and indicate the approximate amount of time they are assigned officially as a counselor (full time, 50 per cent, 20 per cent, etc.)

NAME	TIME	NAME	TIME

11. If you feel that any of your answers needs clarification, please do so below.

Principal Questionnaire #2

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Name of school.

_____

Note: Junior High School Principals should skip Questions 2-6 and start with Question 7.

2. Write in the approximate number of students in each type of program listed below, for grades 10 and 12.

	Grade 10	Grade 12
1. College preparatory programs.	_____	_____
2. Commercial or business programs.	_____	_____
3. Vocational or technical programs.	_____	_____
4. General programs.	_____	_____
5. Other programs.	_____	_____

3. What is the approximate number of students in Grades 10, 11, and 12 in your school?

_____students in grades 10, 11, and 12.

4. What is the approximate per cent of students in your graduating class of June, 1963 who went on to some kind of post-high school education or training?

_____ per cent

5. What is the approximate per cent of students in your graduating class of June, 1963 who entered a regular four-year college or university?

_____per cent

6. Write in the approximate number of students who dropped out of your school during *this year* without graduating, separately for boys and girls (do not include transfers to other schools).

_____boys _____girls

7. In what year did your school organize a guidance program with *at least one part-time* guidance counselor?

_____

8. In what year did your school first have *at least one full-time* guidance counselor?

_____

9. What is the average annual starting salary of teachers in your school?

_____dollars. This is for (9) (12) months.

10. How do the salaries of teachers and counselors (with equivalent training and experience) compare in your school?
    ( ) 1. Counselors' salary higher than teachers'.
    ( ) 2. Counselors' salary the same as teachers'.
    ( ) 3. Counselors' salary lower than teachers'.

11. Are provisions made in your school for homogeneous grouping of students?
    ( ) 1. Yes, for all or most subjects.
    ( ) 2. Yes, for some subjects.
    ( ) 3. No.

12. IF YOU CHECKED CHOICES 1 OR 2 IN QUESTION 11: Place an "X" next to any of the following criteria used for the homogeneous grouping (more than one can be checked).
    ( ) 1. Intelligence test scores.
    ( ) 2. Standardized achievement test scores.
    ( ) 3. Scholastic aptitude test scores.
    ( ) 4. Teacher recommendation.
    ( ) 5. Counselor recommendation.
    ( ) 6. Student's grades.
    ( ) 7. Other (specify:_____).

Counselor Questionnaire

PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND TRAINING

1. Indicate that title which best describes your official position.

   Percent
   (16) 1. Counselor.
   (66) 2. Guidance Counselor.
   (9) 3. Director of Guidance.
   ( ) 4. School Adjustment Counselor.
   (9) 5. Other (specify: _____).

   Note: If you do not have any counseling duties, skip Questions 2–6.

2. How many students are officially assigned to you?

   $\bar{X} = 389$ students

3. How many *different* students, on the average, do you see in a week?

   $\bar{X} = 38$ students

4. How long do your counseling sessions with students usually last? Please estimate the per cent of all your sessions lasting for the indicated times.

   Percent
   $\bar{X} = 36$ 1. less than 20 minutes

   $\bar{X} = 27$ 2. 20–30 minutes

   $\bar{X} = 23$ 3. 31–45 minutes

   $\bar{X} = 12$ 4. 46–60 minutes

   $\bar{X} = 2$ 5. more than 1 hour

5. For each of the ways by which a session with a student may be brought about, indicate the approximate percentage of all your sessions initiated in each way.

   Percent
   $\bar{X} = 30$ 1. Student self-referral.

   $\bar{X} = 11$ 2. Teacher referral.

$\overline{X} = 6$ 3. Administrative referral (e.g., principal or vice-principal).

$\overline{X} = 6$ 4. Parental referral.

$\overline{X} = 30$ 5. Routine scheduling.

$\overline{X} = 15$ 6. Your own initiative.

_____ 7. Other (specify:_____).

6. For each of the counseling areas listed below, indicate the *approximate* percentage of total *counseling* time devoted to each this past year. (Put in a "O" if you do no counseling in a particular area).

Percent

$\overline{X} = 37$ 1. Educational: course selection, programming, etc.

$\overline{X} = 23$ 2. Educational: college choice, college major, etc.

$\overline{X} = 27$ 3. Personal and/or emotional, adjustment, etc.

$\overline{X} = 11$ 4. Vocational.

_____ 5. Other (specify:_____).

7. For each of the responsibilities listed below, indicate those which you do by listing the *approximate* percentage of your time, over the whole school year, devoted to each.

Percent

$\overline{X} = 14$ 1. Clerical and paper work.

$\overline{X} = 50$ 2. Individual conferences with students.

$\overline{X} = 9$ 3. Conferences with parents.

$\overline{X} = 8$ 4. Conferences with teachers or administration.

$\overline{X} = 4$ 5. Administrative (e.g., curriculum planning and school duties).

$\overline{X} = 1$ 6. Teaching or homeroom duties.

$\overline{X} = 5$ 7. Testing.

$\overline{X} = 2$ 8. Job placement.

$\overline{X} = 3$ 9. Supervising or coordinating guidance program.

$\overline{X} = 4$ 10. Group guidance.

_____ 11. Other (specify: _____).

8. What professional organizations are you a member of and how often do you attend their meetings?

	Organization	Attendance (circle one)
1.	$\overline{X} = 1.7$ organizations	Regular Occasional Seldom Never
2.	_____	Regular Occasional Seldom Never
3.	_____	Regular Occasional Seldom Never
4.	_____	Regular Occasional Seldom Never

9. To which professional journals do you subscribe, if any?

1. $\overline{X} = 3.9$ journals ( ) None

2. _____

3. _____

10. What professional journals do you read, but do not subscribe to?

1. $\overline{X} = 1.9$ ( ) None

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

11. How many years have you been in your *present* school (including this year)?

$\overline{X} = 10$ years

12. How many years have you been in your *present* position (including this year)?

$\overline{X} = 5.7$ years

13. Approximately how many graduate or undergraduate courses have you had in the general area of *Test and Measurements* (sample course titles: Individual Testing; Psychological Measurements; Diagnostic Testing; Group Tests and Techniques; and Mental Measurements)?

Percent
(0) 1. None.
(7) 2. One.
(14) 3. Two.
(34) 4. Three.
(23) 5. Four.
(23) 6. Five or more.

14. Approximately how many graduate or undergraduate courses have you had in the general area of *Methods of Research* (sample course titles: Research in Education; Statistical Methods in Education and Psychology; Statistics; Educational Statistics; Methods in Educational Research; and Research Design)?

Percent
(8) 1. None.
(24) 2. One.
(35) 3. Two.
(17) 4. Three.
(9) 5. Four.
(8) 6. Five or more.

15. Approximately how many graduate or undergraduate courses have you had in the general area of *Counseling* (sample course titles: Techniques of Counseling; Case Studies in Counseling; Introduction to Counseling and Guidance; and Theory and Techniques of Counseling)?

Percent
(0) 1. None.
(12) 2. One.
(23) 3. Two.
(23) 4. Three.
(18) 5. Four.
(24) 6. Five or more.

16. Approximately how many graduate or undergraduate courses have you had in the general area of *Guidance* (sample course titles: Occupational Information; Principals of Guidance; Philosophy of Guidance; Basic Procedures in Student Personal Work; and Vocational Guidance)?

Percent
(0) 1. None.
(4) 2. One.
(15) 3. Two.
(24) 4. Three.
(16) 5. Four.
(40) 6. Five or more.

17. Approximately how many graduate or undergraduate courses have you had in the general area of *Psychological Foundations* (sample course titles: Child Development; Psychology of Adolescence; Psychology of Learning; Theories of Personality; Abnormal Psychology; and Clinical Practices)?

Percent
(3) 1. None.
(1) 2. One.
(14) 3. Two.
(16) 4. Three.
(25) 5. Four.
(40) 6. Five or more.

18. How many courses have you had in Supervised Training (e.g., Practicum; Internship; and Laboratory in Counseling)?

Percent
(47) 1. None.
(24) 2. One.
(18) 3. Two.
(11) 4. Three or more.

19. Have you ever been to one or more NDEA Training Institutes?

Percent
(22) 1. Yes
(78) 2. No

20. IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO QUESTION 19: Please indicate the college where the training institute was held, and the dates attended (specifying whether it was a summer institute or a full year).

College	Dates Attended
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES CONCERNING TESTS

21. For each of the following kinds of decisions which might be made concerning students, indicate how much weight *should* be given to standardized test scores, overall grades, teacher recommendations, and your own judgment, according to this scale.

0 = No weight at all
1 = Very slight weight
2 = Fairly slight weight
3 = Moderate weight
4 = Fairly great weight
5 = Very great weight

	Test Scores $\overline{X}$	Overall Grades $\overline{X}$	Teacher Recomm. $\overline{X}$	Your own Judgment $\overline{X}$
a. Assigning students to accelerated tracks or honors courses	(3.4)	(4.1)	(4.0)	(2.9)
b. Assigning students to special classes for slow students	(3.6)	(3.7)	(3.9)	(3.1)
c. Writing recommendations for college admissions or scholarship aid	(3.4)	(4.4)	(3.9)	(3.7)
d. Allowing students to take extra courses	(3.2)	(4.4)	(3.8)	(3.5)
e. Helping students on occupational plans	(3.2)	(3.6)	(2.6)	(3.3)
f. Helping students to decide on a particular college	(3.9)	(4.4)	(2.8)	(3.4)
g. Helping students to decide on courses to take in school	(3.4)	(4.2)	(3.7)	(3.4)

22. For each of the following situations where standardized test scores might be used, assign a "1" to the *most important* use of test scores in your school, a "2" to the *second most important* use, a "3" to the *third most important* use, and so on until all are rank-ordered.

$\overline{X}$

(2.6) 1. To place students in ability groupings.
(3.0) 2. To help a student select courses.
(2.6) 3. To help students in self-evaluation.
(4.1) 4. To help parents in evaluation of their children.
(6.2) 5. To evaluate school curricula.
(4.1) 6. To help college-bound students in college choice.
(7.6) 7. To evaluate teacher effectiveness.
(5.4) 8. To help noncollege students in vocational choice.

23. For each of the following standardized tests, use the following code:
1 If you have never heard of the test
2 If you recognize the test but have no other knowledge about it
3 If you know what the test measures in a general way
4 If you have examined or studied the test and are familiar with it

$\overline{X}$

(3.8) 1. Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test
(3.8) 2. Wechsler Intelligence Scales
(2.7) 3. Bell Adjustment Inventory
(3.3) 4. Strong Vocational Interest Blanks
(3.6) 5. Differential Aptitude Tests (DAT)
(2.8) 6. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory
(3.9) 7. Kuder Preference Record, Vocational Form C
(3.7) 8. California Test of Mental Maturity
(2.6) 9. California Test of Personality
(3.9) 10. Otis Quick-Scoring Test of Mental Ability
(2.8) 11. Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests
(3.2) 12. Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Tests
(3.1) 13. Iowa Test of Educational Development
(3.5) 14. Stanford Achievement Tests
(3.6) 15. School and College Ability Test (SCAT)
(3.3) 16. Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (STEP)
(3.8) 17. College Board Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)
(3.6) 18. Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT)
(2.6) 19. Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

24. For each of the following kinds of tests, indicate whether or not you have personally administered that *type* of test (not necessarily the examples used) *at least once* since you began counseling.

Yes Percent	No Percent	
(92)	( )	1. Group intelligence test (e.g., Otis)
(77)	( )	2. Standardized achievement test (e.g., Iowa Test of Educational Development)
(73)	( )	3. Individual intelligence test (e.g., Stanford-Binet or Wechsler)
(48)	( )	5. Personality or adjustment inventory
(88)	( )	6. Standardized aptitude test (e.g., DAT, SCAT)

25. For each of the kinds of information below, use the following code:
    1 If it is *very important* in assessing a student's intellectual ability
    2 If it is *fairly important* in assessing a student's intellectual ability
    3 If it is *slightly important* in assessing a student's intellectual ability
    4 If it is *not important* in assessing a student's intellectual ability

$\bar{X}$	
(1.8)	1. Grade average
(3.3)	2. Parents' opinion
(1.9)	3. Standardized achievement test scores
(1.8)	4. Group IQ test scores (Otis, CTMM, etc.)
(1.9)	5. Teacher recommendation
(1.7)	6. Scholastic aptitude test scores (SCAT, SAT, etc.)
(2.7)	7. Student's own opinion
(1.4)	8. Individual IQ test (Binet, WAIS, WISC)
(3.1)	9. Peers' opinion

26. For each of the kinds of information below assign the number "1" to the one which, in your opinion, provides the *best* measure of a student's intellectual ability; assign "2" to the one which provides the *second best* measure, and so on until all the choices are rank-ordered.

$\bar{X}$	
(3.7)	1. Grade average
(8.0)	2. Parents' opinions
(4.5)	3. Standardized achievement-test scores
(3.5)	4. Group IQ test scores (Otis, CTMM, etc.)
(4.7)	5. Teacher recommendations
(3.6)	6. Scholastic aptitude test scores (SCAT, SAT, etc.)
(7.1)	7. Student's own opinion
(1.8)	8. Individual IQ test (Binet, WAIS, WISC, etc.)
(8.0)	9. Peers' opinions

27. How are most standardized test scores reported to teachers in your school?

Percent

(1) 1. Most scores are not given to teachers.
(73) 2. Teachers have access to the files where test scores are kept.
(15) 3. Teachers may receive test scores *only* through interpretation by a counselor.
(11) 4. Most test scores are sent routinely to the teachers.

28. Do you feel you could do your job in counseling students about academic matters (e.g., college choice, course selection) if you did not have standardized test scores?

Percent

(8) 1. Yes, I could do as good a job.
(67) 2. Yes, but I could *not* do as good a job.
(25) 3. No, I could not.

29. Would you say that you used standardized test scores to help parents have more realistic aspirations for their children?

Percent

(54) 1. Yes, frequently.
(38) 2. Yes, occasionally.
(7) 3. Yes, but only a few times.
(1) 4. No, never.

30. Do you ever give an actual IQ score to a parent in order to help lower the aims he has for his child, when those aims are beyond the child's ability?

Percent

(3) 1. Yes, frequently.
(7) 2. Yes, occasionally.
(18) 3. Yes, but only a few times.
(72) 4. No, never.

31. Do you ever give an actual IQ score to a parent in order to help raise the aims he has for his child, when those aims are below the child's ability?

Percent

(7) 1. Yes, frequently.
(8) 2. Yes, occasionally.
(16) 3. Yes, but only a few times.
(68) 4. No, never.

32. Do you think standardized intelligence tests (IQ tests) measure primarily the intelligence people are born with, or what they have learned?

Percent

(1) 1. IQ tests measure *only inborn* intelligence.
(37) 2. IQ tests measure *mostly inborn* intelligence, but learned knowledge makes some difference.
(29) 3. IQ tests measure inborn intelligence and learned knowledge about equally.
(30) 4. IQ tests measure *mostly learned* knowledge, but inborn intelligence makes some difference.
(3) 5. IQ tests measure *only learned* knowledge.

33. Do you feel that intellectual ability is something people are born with, or does intellectual ability come from one's environment and learning?

Percent

(24) 1. Ability is primarily something one is born with.
(55) 2. Ability comes about equally from environment and innate characteristics.
(21) 3. Ability comes from one's environment and learning.

34. Have you personally ever administered any psychological test(s) (e.g., MMPI, Bell Adjustment, sentence completion) to students on an individual basis?

Percent

(31) 1. Yes
(69) 2. No

35. IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO QUESTION 14: Please specify the test(s) used.

1._____

2._____

YOUR BACKGROUND

36. How long have you lived in Massachusetts?

$\bar{X} = 36$ years

37. In what town or city and state did you live most of your life?

town or city_____ state (89 per cent Massachusetts)

38. In what town or city do you now live?

_____

39. How many years have you lived in this town or city?

X = 19__ years

40. Sex

Percent
(68) 1. Male
(32) 2. Female

41. Age

Percent
(3) 1. 25 or under
(12) 2. 26–30
(20) 3. 31–35
(21) 4. 36–40
(9) 5. 41–45
(9) 6. 46–50
(13) 7. 51–55
(9) 8. 56–60
(5) 9. 60–over

42. College(s) attended, with dates, degrees received (if any), and major area of study. (Note: *If major was education, indicate field of emphasis, if any.*)

	College	*Dates Attended*	*Degrees Received*	*Major area of Study*
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

43. Greatest amount of education completed

Percent
(1) 1. Bachelor's Degree
(2) 2. Bachelors' Degree, credit towards Master's
(48) 3. Master's Degree
(44) 4. Master's Degree, credit towards EdD or PhD
(4) 5. PhD or EdD

44. If you have taught, how many years were you a full-time teacher and what course did you teach:

$\bar{X} = 7.2$ years major course_____

45. If you have taught part-time while you were also in guidance counseling, how many years were you a teacher-counselor and what course did you teach:

$\bar{X} = 1.6$ years major course_____

46. How many years have you been a full-time guidance counselor?

$\bar{X} = 5.7$ years

47. What is your approximate total annual income, before taxes, (including, if married, earnings of spouse)?

$\bar{X} = 9{,}000$ dollars

48. What is your marital status?

	Percent
(29)	1. Single
(68)	2. Married
(2)	3. Widowed
(8)	4. Separated
(2)	5. Divorced

49. If you are or have been married, how many children do you have?

	Percent
(15)	1. None
(17)	2. One
(26)	3. Two
(20)	4. Three
(11)	5. Four
(6)	6. Five
(6)	7. Six or more

50. What is your approximate annual salary as a guidance counselor?

$\bar{X} = \$8{,}200$ dollars This is for 9 12 months

51. What is your religious affiliation?

Percent
(33) 1. Protestant
(57) 2. Catholic
(8) 3. Jewish
(0) 4. Other (specify:_____)
(2) 5. None

52. How often, on the average, do you attend church or religious services?

Percent
(64) 1. Once a week or more often
(10) 2. About twice a month
(3) 3. About once a month
(11) 4. About twice a year or on major holidays
(11) 5. Once a year or less

53. Where were you born?

town or city_____ state (80 per cent in Massachusetts)

country (if not U.S.A.)_____

54. Where were your parents born?

Mother
town or city_____ state_____

country (if not U.S.A.)_____

Father
town or city_____ state_____

country (if not U.S.A.)_____

55. Religious affiliation of your parents

Mother	*Father*
Percent	Percent
(34) 1. Protestant	(40) 1. Protestant
(58) 2. Catholic	(52) 2. Catholic
(8) 3. Jewish	(8) 3. Jewish
(0) 4. Other (specify: _____)	(0) 4. Other (specify: _____)
(0) 5. None	(0) 5. None

56. What kind of work does (or did) your father do for a living? Give the name of the job and the kind of business or industry he works (or worked) in. (For example: sales clerk, waits on customers in department store; owner and operator of grocery store; junior high school English teacher; etc.)

_____

_____

57. What was the greatest amount of education completed by your father?

Percent

(34) 1. Grammar school or less
(22) 2. Some high school
(19) 3. Graduated from high school
(8) 4. Some college
(9) 5. Bachelor's degree
(2) 6. Some post-graduate education
(1) 7. Master's degree
(5) 8. PhD, MD, EdD, LLB, etc.

The next three questions consist of hypothetical students whom you are counseling at the end of their 9th grade. A brief description of the student's scores, performance, and interests is given for each. For each case, the problem is whether or not the student should take the college preparatory courses in high school. You are to indicate what you would do with the student in each case.

1. John Kelly has three Otis IQ scores ranging from 106 to 110, the last of which was administered in the 9th grade. Achievement test scores average around the 70th percentile, while his grades are mostly B's with a few C's and A's. John had not thought seriously about college earlier in junior high, but now he is wondering if he ought to take the college preparatory course and go to college to study engineering. His hobbies have usually been with making things or working on cars. His teachers have indicated that he is a very conscientious student, well-behaved and takes school seriously. His father is an auto mechanic, but, due to there being five children in the family, he will not be able to support John in college, although he is not opposed to John's going. He comes to you for advice on whether he should start the college preparatory program. How would you counsel him?

Percent

(45) 1. I would encourage him to take the college preparatory course.

Percent

(45) 2. I would encourage him to take a few college preparatory subjects to start with.

(4) 3. I would encourage him to take a technical or vocational course (or discuss possibility of vocational high school).

(6) 4. I would not encourage any plan of action.

2. Bob Jones is a boy with high ability. His Otis scores average at 132, and his achievement test scores are always in the upper 90th percentile. His teachers have said he has high ability and is usually outstanding in class. His grades have been mostly A's. His ambitions have always aimed toward carpentry, where he can work with his hands in building. He spends much of his spare time building various things with his father. His father could afford to send him to college, but Bob is not interested and wants to enter a vocational high school. How would you counsel him?

Percent

(22) 1. I would do my utmost to convince him to take the college preparatory course.

(75) 2. I would point out the advantages of college for a boy of his ability, but would not oppose his choice of vocational school.

(1) 3. I would support his choice of vocational high school and not raise the issue of college.

(2) 4. I would not encourage any plan of action.

3. Tom Smith has always been a steady worker in school. His last Otis score was 108, and he usually scores in the 75th percentile on achievement tests. He has just barely below a B average on the courses he has taken up through the ninth grade. He has thought off and on of going to college and becoming a doctor. His teachers always speak highly of his classroom performance. His father is a pharmacist and has sufficient funds to send Tom to college. He supports his boy's aspirations for college, although he is not sure he should be a doctor. Tom comes to you for advice on college. How would you counsel him?

Percent

(64) 1. I would encourage him to take the college preparatory course.

(30) 2. I would encourage him to take a few college preparatory subjects to start with.

(0) 3. I would encourage him to take technical or vocational courses (or discuss the possibility of vocational high school).

(6) 4. I would not encourage any plan of action.

ATTITUDES CONCERNING INTELLIGENCE, COUNSELING, AND PEOPLE IN GENERAL

The questions in this next section were, for the most part, formulated from issues that were raised in the interviews with counselors. They concern primarily attitudes towards intelligence, counseling techniques, education, economic considerations, and some more general attitudes toward people. They should be answered fairly quickly, without spending too much time on any one question. If you have *absolutely no opinion* on a certain question, leave it blank.

For all the questions in this section, use the following scale:

1 if you *strongly agree* with the statement
2 if you *moderately agree* with the statement
3 if you *slightly agree* with the statement
4 if you *slightly disagree* with the statement
5 if you *moderately disagree* with the statement
6 if you *strongly disagree* with the statement

$\overline{X}$

(3.8) 1. The most intelligent girls are not usually the most popular.

(3.5) 2. People of wealth and position should marry people like themselves.

(3.3) 3. Nondirective counseling is not realistic in the secondary school situation.

(5.1) 4. It would be ideal if everyone today could get a college education.

(4.7) 5. It would be preferable if there were less enthusiasm about strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

(4.9) 6. Nice as it may be to have faith in the majority of your fellowmen, it does not pay off.

(3.6) 7. Everyone should have the chance to go to college if he wants to.

(4.5) 8. It is more important for men to be intelligent than women.

(3.4) 9. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

(5.0) 10. It is all right if a counselor is more directive when counseling on personal or emotional problems.

$\bar{X}$

(5.5) 11. The child from the lower socio-economic levels is better off learning a trade rather than trying to struggle through college.

(3.4) 12. People will be honest with you as long as you are honest with them.

(3.7) 13. Something should be done to keep feebleminded people from having children.

(4.4) 14. A child who is less intelligent should get more attention from his teachers than a child who is very bright.

(3.2) 15. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.

(2.5) 16. Counselors are generally not qualified to handle a student's psychological problems.

(1.7) 17. It is important that counselors try to help the more deprived children get a fair shake in educational opportunities.

(5.8) 18. Very few people can be trusted.

(2.1) 19. At birth, there is no difference in intelligence between boys and girls.

(4.3) 20. I would not myself consider patriotism and loyalty to be the first requirement of a good citizen.

(5.8) 21. If all of us were given an equal chance, we would be equally intelligent.

(4.3) 22. A counselor should never come right out with specific advice when counseling a student.

(1.8) 23. Given a certain amount of motivation, the youngster from a poor family can be as successful in getting a college degree as anyone else.

(1.9) 24. People are basically and innately good.

(5.1) 25. It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.

(4.8) 26. A man can never have the same intuition as a woman.

(3.2) 27. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.

$\bar{X}$

(3.1) 28. A counselor should not get too involved in a student's emotional problems.

(3.7) 29. Given the same ability, a youngster from a poor family has as much chance for a college education as someone from a well-to-do family.

(4.5) 30. Experience in the ways of the world teaches us to be suspicious of the underlying motives of the general run of men.

(3.5) 31. America is truly a land of opportunity and people get pretty much what's coming to them here.

(2.7) 32. The government should be run by the most intelligent.

(2.5) 33. Most people are generous in their judgments of your actions and inclined to give you the benefit of a doubt.

(2.9) 34. No matter how you look at it, the child from a culturally deprived family has a difficult time getting a college education.

(4.3) 35. People tend to place too much emphasis on respect for authority.

(2.3) 36. Counselors should receive more training in psychology and psychological counseling.

(3.2) 37. Women may be as intelligent as men, but they shouldn't be as aggressive.

(5.7) 38. I feel that other people have not counted much in my life.

(3.6) 39. Everyone should be able to take any high school course that he wants to even though his score on an intelligence test indicates that he may not succeed in it.

(4.4) 40. Too much emphasis is being placed on handling student's psychological problems.

(2.6) 41. Children from the lower socio-economic levels have as much natural ability as those from higher levels.

(4.6) 42. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.

(4.8) 43. If girls were given their choice, as many would sign up for a shop course as for a course in home economics.

$\bar{X}$

(5.3) 44. The ideal society would be made up entirely of very intelligent people.

(2.3) 45. The vast majority of men are truthful and dependable.

(3.7) 46. Disobeying an order is one thing you can't excuse—if one can get away with disobedience, why can't everyone?

(3.4) 47. A student can be helped more effectively if the counselor uses nondirective techniques.

(1.9) 48. Let's face it: no matter how much we talk about equality, we cannot expect *every* person to be as successful as he might wish.

(5.1) 49. You will certainly be left behind if you stop too often or too long to give a helping hand to other people.

(4.8) 50. The leader of a group is usually its most intelligent member.

(4.2) 51. A person who isn't very intelligent should not attempt things beyond his ability.

(2.5) 52. If you have faith in your friends, they will seldom disappoint you.

(3.0) 53. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents or else he will lose respect for them.

(4.0) 54. Counselors would be better off today if they concentrated more on the educational problems of students, rather than on emotional problems.

(4.9) 55. Since most ability is learned, put *anyone* in the right environment and he could do well in school.

(3.2) 56. Parents should be allowed to pass on their wealth and prestige to their children regardless of their abilities.

(2.2) 57. There is no difference in intelligence between racial, religious, or nationality groups.

(4.1) 58. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

(5.1) 59. A counselor should never be directive when counseling students.

$\bar{X}$

(4.4) 60. Youngsters from lower socio-economic levels tend to lack the intellectual ability to perform well in academic pursuits.

(4.4) 61. In a new tax program, it is essential not to reduce the income taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals.

(3.1) 62. You have to respect authority and when you stop respecting authority, your situation isn't worth much.

(4.0) 63. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need money for eating and living.

(4.3) 64. There's nothing wrong with nondirective counseling, but it just won't work in the school setting.

(5.5) 65. Girls are more intelligent than boys.

(5.0) 66. It is only fair that the people with the most intelligence should have the most opportunities.

(3.5) 67. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.

(2.7) 68. Counseling students can be done most effectively when client-centered techniques are used.

(5.5) 69. There should be some limit on how much income an individual may keep after taxes.

(3.9) 70. Most of the present attempts to curb and limit labor unions would in the long run do more harm than good.

(4.6) 71. The most important qualities of a real man are determination and driving ambition.

(2.6) 72. There is just not enough time to do real nondirective counseling.

(2.6) 73. The real need of students today is to have counselors whom they can talk to about personal problems.

(5.1) 74. The businessman and the maunfacturer are probably more important to society than the artist and the professor.

(5.1) 75. If women were given an equal chance, they would achieve much more than men.

(3.9) 76. It is somehow unnatural to place women in positions of authority over men.

$\bar{X}$

(3.6) 77. The child of low intelligence needs more help from his parents than the child of high intelligence.

(4.5) 78. Most students will not respond to client-centered counseling in the secondary school setting.

(3.9) 79. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

(4.8) 80. The great things accomplished by man are really the works of just a few geniuses.

(4.6) 81. No man can do his best under a woman boss.

(3.1) 82. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

(2.9) 83. Counselors should be allowed to spend more time counseling students on emotional or personal problems.

(4.3) 84. Men like Henry Ford and J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young men to admire and imitate.

(4.2) 85. A well-raised child is one who doesn't have to be told twice to do something.

(5.4) 86. It is wrong for a counselor to counsel students concerning personal and emotional problems.

(5.4) 87. Women are more intelligent than men.

(5.7) 88. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.

(4.9) 89. A woman whose children are at all messy or rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother.

(2.4) 90. One of the counselors' most important responsibilities is to help students come to grips with emotional or personal problems.

(4.4) 91. The job of housewife doesn't demand any exceptional intellectual gifts.

(4.2) 92. Familiarity breeds contempt.

(4.1) 93. Most students can be helped more effectively by giving specific advice.

$\overline{X}$

(3.9) 94. No amount of education or special training can make up for a lack of natural ability.

(4.0) 95. It may well be that children who talk back to their parents actually respect them more in the long run.

(4.1) 96. A counselor's primary responsibility is to the academic problems of a student, not to personal or emotional problems.

(3.5) 97. Children who are intelligent should get better schooling and not have to stick with the average child.

(3.7) 98. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

(2.5) 99. Psychological counseling is best left to qualified personnel in a community clinic.

(5.4) 100. I seldom have any enthusiasm for respect and obedience for authority.

Counselor Interview Schedule

I. SCHOOL PROGRAM

1. Could you describe the different programs your school offers (e.g., college prep., general, etc.)? Any others?
2. When does a student actually begin in one of these programs?
3. What are the various procedures a student goes through to enroll in a specific program such as college preparatory?
4. What is the counselor's role in this process, if any? (Probe: Does the counselor usually advise the student about this decision?)
5. Are there any changes you would like to see regarding this process?
6. Are there many students who enter the college program who, in your opinion, won't be successful in it?

   IF YES:

   a) What specific indications are there that they won't be successful?

   b) What can you, as a counselor, try to do about it?

   c) Are you usually successful?
7. Are there many students who don't enter the college program who, in your opinion, would be successful in it?

   IF YES:

   a) What specific indications are there that they would be successful?

   b) What can you, as a counselor, try to do about it?

   c) Are you usually successful?

II. GENERAL ATTITUDES

8. In your experience, what are the major difficulties encountered by the school guidance counselor?
9. In your opinion, what have been the major contributions of the guidance counselor to the educational system?
   (Probe: Are there any others?)
10. Based on your experience as a counselor, what are the most important factors which lead to academic success on the part of a student in high school?
11. Based on your experience, again, what are the most important factors which lead to failure?

12. What can you, as a counselor, do about this problem?

13. What, in your own opinion, is the value of standardized test scores in the guidance counseling process?

14. Do you feel counselors use test scores too much, not enough, or about right? IF TOO MUCH OR NOT ENOUGH: In what way?

III. TESTING PROGRAM

15. What standardized test scores do you, as a counselor, have access to? (Probe: Any others?)

16. Which of these scores do you find are the most useful in your work as a guidance counselor?

17. What is your role in the testing program, here, if any?

18. In your opinion, are there any changes that should be made in the testing program here? (Is there too much or not enough?)

19. How do you feel about the way teachers make use of test scores here?

IV. GUIDANCE PROGRAM

20. How many counselors are there in your school?

21. IF MORE THAN ONE: How are the various responsibilities of the guidance program divided up between the counselors?

22. What are your responsibilities as a guidance counselor? (Probe: for clerical, administrative, routine guidance, and individual counseling.)

23. Do the counselors here ever take responsibility for discipline of students in any way? (Do you enforce the rules of the school?)

24. Approximately how much of your time is spent counseling individual students?

25. What are the most common reasons that come up for having an individual session with a student?
(Probe: for information, career or college plans, program choice, academic problems, personal adjustment problems.)

26. Let's confine ourselves for the moment to a student's career or college plans, or to course or program selection in high school.
    a) How do you use a student's test scores when you are counseling on these matters? Do you feel you can do your job in counseling on these matters without reference to test scores?

b) How important is it to know about a student's family background (e.g., financial status) when counseling on these matters? How would you use such information?

27. Now let's consider a student with personal (or adjustment) problems.
    a) What do you, as a counselor, try to accomplish when counseling a student on such matters?
    b) How important is it for you to know a student's test scores when you are counseling on matters such as these? Do you feel you can do your job in counseling on these matters without reference to test scores?
    c) How important is it for you to know about a student's family background when counseling on such matters?
    d) Could you give me an example of a student you counseled on these matters and how you went about it?
28. Would you say that you have a counseling philosophy or technique which you utilize when counseling students?
    a) What is your philosophy or technique?
    b) Would you consider yourself directive or nondirective in counseling?
29. Do you ever see students on a regular basis over several or many sessions? IF YES: About how many might you see like that? Under what conditions would you see a student for many repeated sessions? Could you give an example of such a student and what you did or are doing with him?
30. How effective, in general, do you think you are in helping students?
31. Do you feel you would like to see changes in the way your job is now defined? IF YES: What kinds of changes would you like to see?
32. What kinds of characteristics should counselors have in order to be effective in counseling?
33. What considerations went into your decision to become a guidance counselor?
34. If you had it to do all over again, would you still become a counselor? IF NO: What would you have done?

V. ATTITUDES TOWARD STANDARDIZED TESTS

35. What test do you feel is most reliable for measuring a student's overall potential?

36. Which standardized test results do you feel are least useful in counseling students? Why?

37. Often counselors come across students with grades much higher than intelligence test scores would indicate (an overachiever). What, in your opinion, are the factors which cause this?

38. Often counselors come across students with grades much lower than intelligence test scores would indicate (an underachiever). What, in your opinion, are the factors which cause this?

39. How much information should students be given about their scores on standardized intelligence tests?
(Probe: for high and low IQ.)

40. Could it be dangerous to give a student too much information (say, actual IQ scores)? IF YES: In what way?

41. Often counselors verbalize IQ test scores to students or other persons concerned. How would you verbalize a score of 130? How would you verbalize a score of 80?

42. Is there a rough cut-off point in IQ scores above which a student can probably get through college and below which he probably can't make it? What is it?

VI. ROLE RELATIONSHIPS

43. What would you say were the most common problems here between the teachers and the counselors, if any? (Keep probing if important problems are raised.) Do they understand the role of the counselor?

44. Do you personally have any policy about how much information you will give a teacher about a student you are counseling? IF YES: What kind of policy? Do teachers ever get bothered by this?

45. Do you often have to help teachers understand test scores? IF YES: In what way? Do they seek you out?

46. What are the most common problems between parents and counselors?

47. How much information do you give parents about their children's IQ scores? Under what conditions will you give the actual score? (Probe for *harm.*)

VII. STUDENT PERCEPTION

48. There are probably many different kinds of students that you come across.

a) What kind of student gives you the most personal satisfaction and pleasure in working with?

b) What kind gives you the least personal satisfaction and pleasure?

49. How concerned are most students about their test scores? IF CONCERNED: Why? (Probe for college admissions.)

50. Do you think that all persons should be given the chance to go to college? Why?

51. It is often said that children from culturally deprived homes (such as Negroes, or extremely poor families) don't do as well on standardized ability tests.

    a) Do you find this generally true? What are the reasons?

    b) What can you as a counselor do about this?

52. It is often asserted that many children from poorer families often lack the motivation for college. In your experience, do you find this generally true? IF YES: What can be done about this, or is it as it should be? IF NO: Why this belief?

53. In your experience, in most cases is there any point in encouraging students from poor families to take a college preparatory program and encourage them to go on to college? (Probe for optimism.)

IF NO SEX DISTINCTION IN ASSIGNING STUDENTS TO COUNSELORS:

54. Do you find that boys and girls have different kinds of problems which bring them to you? IF YES: What are some of the differences?

55. Do you find it easier to counsel (boys) (girls)? IF YES: In what ways?

Coding Key for Interview Schedule

Item #1
Source: Question 8
Name: Main Difficulty of Job
Coding Reliability = 79 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	No difficulties mentioned.	1
2	*Time—duties:* not enough time for duties, too many functions and responsibilities; too much clerical work; etc.	20
3	*Time—students:* too many students to be effective; not enough time to help those who need it most; duties interfere with helping students; cannot help the real problem cases because of time; etc.	15
4	*Understanding:* people don't understand role of counselor (teachers, administration, or people in general); people are prejudiced about role; expect too much of us communication problems; etc.	21
5	*Unrealistic parents:* dealing with parents with unrealistic goals for child; over-ambitious parents; having to tell parents their child won't make it; etc.	13
6	*Reaching student:* trying to reach student; getting him to work harder, or motivating him; getting him to understand counseling; etc.	15
7	*Unrealistic students:* unrealistic aspirations or ambitions of student (same as Code 5, but as applying to students rather than parents).	2
8	*Other*	13

Item #2
Source: Question 8
Name: Intensity of Main Difficulty
Coding Reliability = 92 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.0
1	No difficulties mentioned; no real difficulty.	
2	Somewhat difficult.	
3	Moderate intensity of difficulty.	
4	Considerably difficult.	
5	Very high intensity of difficulty; incapacitating.	

Item #3
Source: Question 9
Name: Main Contribution of Counselor
Coding Reliability = 80 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Liaison:* Go-between for teacher and student; teacher and administration; administration and student, parent, etc., helping teachers or administration understand student.	14
2	*Therapeutic— personal problem counseling:* handling personal or emotional problems; place where student can bring all of his problems, etc.	26
3	*Therapeutic—school adjustment:* stress individual student relationship; can see whole student in relation to school problems; stress on personal relationship, but not on personal and emotional problems per se.	22
4	*Educational—advisory:* realistic evaluation, counselor can get students to see themselves realistically; help them make intelligent decisions re their future; help the student in self-assessment; helping him find the right program; etc.	25
5	*Educational—direct sanctions:* get student to study harder; "fit round pegs into round holes"; stimulate motivation; get most out of the student; put him in right program (similar to Code 4, but with emphasis on telling student what to do, or making decisions for students).	7
6	*Other*	5

Item #4
Source: Question 10
Name: Factors in Academic Success
Coding Reliability = 83 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Training:* good study habits; ability to organize work, use time effectively; good reading skills; preparation in the fundamentals (reading, writing, etc.).	12
2	*Motivation:* motivation to succeed; desire to learn; right attitude towards work; proper orientation to school; etc.	32
3	*Ability:* a good IQ; good intelligence; scholastic ability; ability to learn, etc.	22
4	*Home:* good family background; educated who appreciate education; proper cultural background—parents have books around, etc.; home atmosphere congenial to learning; parents warm, interested in children, etc.	14
5	*Self-concept:* wholesome self-concept; proper and realistic goals; well-adjusted and healthy personality; mature, and know where they are going.	2
6	*Relations:* good peer group, good relations with peer group; good relations with teachers, school, etc.	0
7	*Codes 2 & 4:* motivation, which comes from good home environment. (Must say both, one causing other.)	12
8	*Codes 4 & 5:* good self-concept; comes from home. (Must say both, one causing other.)	4
9	*Other*	1

Item #5
Source: Question 10
Name: Stress on Ability in Academic Success
Coding Reliability = 98 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 1.8
1	Does not mention ability at all as important for success.	

2	Mentions ability only as a *minimum;* other factors more important (e.g., "has to have a *certain* amount, but motivation then is most important").
3	Ability stressed equally as important as other factors.
4	Ability more important than other factors; stressed more than others.
5	Mentions ability as only factor; gives no other factors as important in success.

Item #6
Source: Question 10
Name: Stress on Motivation in Academic Success
Coding Reliability = 97 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.7
1	Does not mention motivation or desire.	
2	Motivation seen as important, but secondary to ability, or other factors.	
3	Motivation stressed moderately; equally important as other factors.	
4	Motivation stressed as *main* factors; others secondary.	
5	Motivation exclusively mentioned; no others given (or, if given, clearly not seen as important).	

Item #7
Source: Question 11
Name: Factors in Academic Failure
Coding Reliability = 90 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Training:* lack of adequate preparation in fundamentals—reading, study habits, etc.	4
2	*Motivation:* lack of interest in school, bad attitude towards school; school not important, etc. (home *not* mentioned as cause).	11

3	*Ability:* lack of proper ability, low IQ intelligence, etc.	11
4	*Home, culturally deprived:* no interest in education on part of parents; no encouragement (include student lack of interest and motivation caused by this kind of home—don't code "2").	23
5	*Home:* bad atmosphere due to problems in home; divorce, alcoholism, emotional disturbance; status-conscious and overachieveing parents (include emotional disturbance of child or lack of good self-concept or motivation caused by such a home; do not code "2" or "6").	28
6	*Self-concept:* unrealistic goals, bad self-assessment, no confidence; low self-esteem; emotionally disturbed child; repeated failures; emotional immaturity; etc. (home not mentioned).	7
7	*School:* the school provides no challenge; school can't meet the needs of some students; etc.	13
8	*Relations:* bad teachers or bad relations with teachers; in bad peer group influence; etc. (include lack of interest or self-concept if peers named as cause).	2
9	*Other.*	1

Item # 8
Source: Question 11
Name: Emphasis on Family Condition in Academic Failure
Coding Reliability = 88 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.0
1	Family not mentioned as important to academic failure.	
2	Some mention of family factors (bad atmosphere, culturally deprived) as important in failure; other factors more important.	
3	Family moderately important in determining failure; equally important with other factors; mentioned as causing lack of interest and emotional problems along with other causes.	

4	Family *main* factor in failure; others mentioned as somewhat important.
5	Family condition stressed very strongly; other factors not mentioned (or, at best, only briefly).

Item #9
Source: Question 12
Name: Role of Counselor in Preventing Failure and Drop-outs
Coding Reliability = 71 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Nothing can be done:* gives little or no indication of how counselor can help.	14
2	*Supportive Counseling:* spend time with students; build their self-esteem; emphasize their strong points; help them work out their problems; find right programs for them.	38
3	*Information and general:* general "talking over," tell them their abilities; financial advantages, value of education.	21
4	*Other agency:* recommend some other agency—community clinic, psychiatrist, etc.—for counseling; need remedial programs; vocational program; any agency or role besides themselves; etc.	17
5	(When discussing drop-out); let student drop out; probably be better off out of school.	7
6	*Other.*	4

Item #10
Source: Question 12
Name: Optimism for Preventing Failure or Drop-out
Coding Reliability = 92 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.5
1	Situation is hopeless; see student too late to really do any good; student better off out of school; general pessimism.	

2	Some hope for helping student, although not very good chance; more pessimistic than optimistic.
3	Moderate hope to help student stay in school or be more successful; still somewhat pessimistic. (Evenly optimistic and pessimistic.)
4	Considerable hope for helping out student; more optimistic than pessimistic.
5	Very high optimism on helping student; all failure can be helped or prevented. No pessimistic overtones.

Item #11
Source: Question 13
Name: Main Value of Standardized Tests
Coding Reliability = 70 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*No value:* don't use them at all; does not give any use or value for tests.	0
2	*Helps students:* general self-evaluation; helps counselor evaluate student's potential; helps identify under- and overachievers; helps parent evaluate child; helps student make decisions; etc.	40
3	*Helps counselor or school:* (special classes, slow or bright students); helps in programming, course selection; helps counselor make decisions, etc.	36
4	*General*: one factor in seeing the *whole* picture of student; no specific use mentioned.	22
5	*Other.*	1

Item #12
Source: Question 13
Name: Stress on Tests
Coding Reliability = 90 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.3
1	Place *no emphasis* or importance on test scores; other measures (grades, teachers) better. Do not use test scores.	
2	*Some importance* attached to the scores; some reliance on them (might mention some use of them); other measures seen as more useful and reliable.	
3	*Moderate importance* of test scores; use them equally with other indicators of ability; mentions various uses.	
4	*Considerable stress* on test scores; seen as *better* indicators than grades, teacher evaluation, etc. Grades also mentioned as somewhat important.	
5	*Total reliance* on scores; extremely valuable and indispensable in counseling. Superior to all other indicators.	

Item #13
Source: Question 14
Name: Other Counselors' Use of Test Scores
Coding Reliability = 87 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*No evaluation* given; refuse to say how they feel other counselors use test scores	12
2	*Counselors do not use tests enough:* improper use of tests by under-use. (Code this even if they say *on the whole* they use them correctly but given this of an example of *some* counselors.)	5
3	*Counselors use tests properly* (no exceptions given).	29
4	*Counselors rely on test too much:* improper use through overreliance; (whether only a few, some or all counselors). (Include things like misinterpretation, no knowledge, etc.).	54

Item #14
Source: Question 14
Name: Stress on Misuse of Test Scores
Coding Reliability = 90 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.5
1	No evaluation given; counselors use test scores correctly (*no exceptions*).	
2	Only a few counselors misuse test scores; on the whole most use them properly.	
3	Moderate misuse of test scores by other counselors; many use them correctly.	
4	Considerable misuse; most counselors misuse test scores; only a few or some use them correctly.	
5	Practically all counselors misuse test scores; widespread misunderstanding on part of everyone as to proper use of test scores. Misuse stressed strongly.	

Item #15
Source: Question 16
Name: Most Useful Test
Coding Reliability = 85 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*No test* mentioned as being more important than others; like all of them together, or like none of them (do not use code "1" if they do give preference for one test, even if they like to see all tests together).	12
2	*Individual IQ test* (Wechsler, WISC, WAIS, Stanford-Binet).	8
3	*Group IQ test* (Otis, Lorge-Thorndike, California Test of Mental Maturity [CTMM], Kuhlmann-Anderson).	39
4	*Achievement test* (Cooperative, Iowa, Stanford; STEP; etc.); reading test.	17
5	*Scholastic Aptitude test* (SCAT; College Boards (SAT or PSAT); National Merit; Differential Aptitude (DAT); etc. Also code here for STEP-SCAT).	22
6	*Other* type of test.	1

Item #16
Source: Question 18
Name: Changes Desired in Testing Program
Coding Reliability = 74 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	Testing program seen as adequate; no changes needed.	34
2	Changes seen as needed by adding new test(s).	24
3	Changes seen as needed by dropping some test(s).	14
4	Other changes: change in norms; replacement; updating; etc.	28

Item #17
Source: Question 19
Name: Teachers' Uses of Tests
Coding Reliability = 82 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Proper use* is made by teachers in school.	23
2	*Under-use:* teachers don't make enough use of them; don't care enough about tests, etc.	27
3	*Over-use:* teachers place too much emphasis on one test score (especially the IQ score); don't look at whole picture; misuses scores by telling student he should work harder; etc.	33
4	*Other misuses.*	3
5	*Both* Code 2 and Code 3.	14

Item #18
Source: Question 23
Name: Discipline in Counseling
Coding Reliability = 78 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	Absolutely no formal responsibility; no informal involvement; no school duties that would bring it about; tries to avoid supporting rules of school—"turn their heads."	35

2	No formal responsibility or school duties, but indirectly involved—supports rules of school, when broken—talk to student, send him to office; admonish him; etc.	41
3	Formal school duties (teaching, lunchroom, corridor) which indirectly involve counselor in discipline. No formal responsibility for discipline, per se.	18
4	Formal responsibility for discipline of some or all students.	6

Item #19
Source: Question 23
Name: Attitude towards Discipline in Counseling
Coding Reliability = 92 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.1
1	No acceptance of a disciplinary role—vehement opposition to any discipline, direct or indirect.	
2	Some acceptance of discipline role; willing to go along with necessary informal discipline, but more dislike than like of discipline.	
3	Moderate acceptance of discipline role; stress importance of obeying rules; ambivalent.	
4	Considerable stress on discipline as important in counseling; perhaps only lip-service given to ideal of no discipline in counseling.	
5	Strong disciplinary attitude; sees it as major obligation to "prevent kids from going wild."	

Item #20
Source: Question 26(a)
Name: Use of Tests in Educational Counseling
Coding Reliability = 97 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.5
1	Make *no or little use* of tests in this kind of counseling.	

2 Makes *some use* of test scores, but only if student brings them up. Stress importance of not using tests to make decision for student, or prevent him from taking any course of action.

3 *Moderate use* of test scores; used reasonably, with other factors, to help student select the right college and for right courses in high school. Other factors also equally important (grades, etc).

4 *Considerable use* of test scores; always looking at them as basis for decisions on part of student; will use them to prevent an "unwise" choice. Other factors somewhat important.

5 *High commitment* to test scores as crucial for student placement, college choice. Stress scores as *indispensable.*

Item #21
Source: Question 26(b)
Name: Importance of Family Information in Educational Counseling
Coding Reliability = 100 per cent

CODE DESCRIPTION MEAN = 2.3

1 Knowledge of family not important at all; seldom have information or make no attempt to seek it.

2 Some knowledge of family important, helps understanding student, especially financial condition as relating to college choice. Not greatly stressed nor minimized, a "neutral" state.

3 Considerable stress put on knowing family; its finances and social condition. Helps immeasurably when counseling on academic matters. Make attempts to seek it out, if information not available.

Item #22
Source: Question 27(b)
Name: Use of Tests in Personal Counseling
Coding Reliability = 92 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 1.9
1	*No or little use* of test scores in personal counseling.	
2	*Some use* of test scores to help understand student's problems, if relevant to problem.	
3	*Moderate use* of test scores; usually important in helping student; usually give valuable information.	
4	*Considerable use* of test scores in personal counseling; always used.	
5	*Total commitment* to scores; crucial if one is to do personal counseling successfully.	

Item #23
Source: Question 28(c)
Name: Importance of Family Information in Personal Counseling
Coding Reliability = 97 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.5
1	No importance in knowing.	
2	Some importance in knowing.	
3	Considerable importance in knowing. (Note: Same code as Item #21.)	

Item #24
Source: Questions 27(a) and (d), 28
Name: Stress on Philosophy of Counseling
Coding Reliability = 86 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.6
1	No discernible philosophy and/or techniques in counseling; total common-sense approach (just get student to talk, etc.). No *concern* about philosophy or techniques.	
2	No definite philosophy, but some indications of *implied* philosophy, revolving around the counselor as a listener, and general helper of students in trouble; getting students to talk over things that bother them.	

3 A conscious philosophy of counseling, although still common-sense; stress dignity of individual, importance of helping young people. Stress uniqueness of each individual case, hard to set guidelines that would cover all.

4 Definite philosophy, highly worked out common sense philosophy of commitment to individual happiness and fulfillment. Implicit *professional* philosophy perhaps revolving around Rogerian techniques.

5 The professional counselor: total awareness of individual at all socio-psychological levels; counselor as catalyst, without *direct* involvement in decision-making processes. Uses most of the right phrases used in formal definitions of professional philosophy.

Item #25
Source: Questions 27(a) and (d), 28
Name: Psychological Mindedness
Coding Reliability = 94 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.5
1	Antipsychological; no awareness of psychological processes; disparagement of need to know psychological dynamics; moralistic approach.	
2	No understanding of psychological problems, but not *anti*-psychological. Awareness of psychological levels not indicated; strict common-sense, tendency to moralistic approach.	
3	Some awareness of psychological processes; interpretation of problem given in psychological terms, but with considerable glibness and naïveté; use of *lay* psychology.	
4	Moderate or considerable psychological awareness; use terms and interprets properly, but not exclusively. Psychological awareness level at the one or two undergraduate-course-level.	
5	Highly sophisticated psychological mindedness; almost everything interpreted at psychological level, with considerable understanding of psychological processes.	

Item #26
Source: Questions 27(a) and (d)
Name: Willingness to Handle Personal Problems
Coding Reliability = 94 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.4
1	Positive feeling that counselors should never get involved in personal/emotional problems of students; counselor not the person to handle such matters; not qualified, etc. Never discusss personal/emotional problems.	
2	No direct opposition to handling personal/emotional problems, but matters like that just don't come up; no examples mentioned that indicated handling personal/emotional problem. (Social problems—"not getting along with peers" not considered personal/emotional problem.)	
3	Some concern with personal/emotional problems, but stress they are not frequent; if they are handled, counselor concerned with his qualifications. Ambivalence indicated as to counselor role in handling personal/emotional problems.	
4	Definite willingness to handle personal problems; one of the functions of the counselor; perhaps still some reservations as to counselor qualifications to handle personal/emotional problems.	
5	Complete commitment to handling personal/emotional problems; seen as major role of counselor.	

Item #27
Source: Questions 27(a) and (d); 28
Name: Understanding, Empathy
Coding Reliability = 88 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.0
1	No discernible ability to understand student (or young people); strict moralistic approach, traditional *adult-child* relationship; with the adult knowing best; no attempt to be empathetic.	

2	Some attempt to understand student, to be empathetic, but generally fails; moralistic evaluation tends to prevail; they "try," but seem to fail.
3	Moderately sympathetic and understanding of student and his problems; in between the low and high end of empathy continuum.
4	Considerable understanding of student shown; considerable empathy; adult-child relationship appears only slightly ("creeps in," so to speak).
5	High empathy and compassion for student; accept full equality between counselor and student; committed to understanding student's point of view, no matter how different from counselor's.

Item #28
Source: Question 27(a) and (d), 28
Name: Stress on Nondirective Techniques
Coding Reliability = 95 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.4
1	Totally directive in counseling; sees advice-giving (on any problem) as major responsibility; tendency to demand or require student obedience to his desires; explicitly hostile to nondirective approach.	
2	Tendency to give advice especially when they feel strongly about an issue; give only lip-service to the nondirective ideal; only occasionally play the "listening" role.	
3	The true "eclectic" (not merely because they *say* they are); nondirective or directive depending on the problem, person, and situation; definite approval of nondirective ideal.	
4	Tendency to be nondirective whenever possible, especially when dealing with personal (as opposed to educational) problems; directive only seldom, when situation really demands it (information-giving, educational decisions, etc.).	

5	Totally nondirective, in Rogerian sense; *every* question is seen as potentially *problem-laden;* strict avoidance of giving personal opinion, even when asked for.

Item #29
Source: Question 30
Name: Perceived Effectiveness in Counseling
Coding Reliability = 83 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 1.9
1	Slightly effective, although on the whole not effective. Occasional success, but problems seen as largely beyond the counselor to solve.	
2	Moderately effective; phrases like, "we do pretty well, although not perfect."	
3	Considerably effective; most of the time can help students, make them better off, still some doubt about *total* effectiveness.	
4	Very effective; little if any doubt about their role in helping students come to grip with problems or making decisions; little doubt that they are effective.	

Item #30
Source: Question 31
Name: Changes Desired in Job
Coding Reliability = 67 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*No changes* seen as necessary or pressing; satisfied with job as it is.	18
2	*Eliminate clerical and administrative duties,* because of time and the complexity of being "Jack of all trades"; need for secretarial help to alleviate problem; eliminate programming duties.	16
3	*Smaller case load* desired; need more time to work with (in eliminating certain duties) students individually; handling too many students presently to be effective.	43

4	*Eliminate handling of personal/emotional problems;* not the place for it.	2
5	*Straighten out authority relations,* "who's boss," other administrative changes not under Code "2."	6
6	*Improve communications* with students, teachers, parents, or administration, to eliminate prejudice towards counseling.	4
7	*General improvement of role definition;* "so we know what we're supposed to do."	6
8	*Other.*	5

(Note: Combining Codes 2 and 3 gives coding reliability of 76 per cent.)

Item #31
Source: Question 32
Name: Ideal Counselor Characteristics
Coding Reliability = 80 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	Nothing specific mentioned; very general—good person, etc.	2
2	Mention *training aspects:* must have teaching experience; mention various kinds of courses, or subjects where competence is necessary, etc.	13
3	*Public relations aspects:* ability to get along with people; tactful, good relations with teachers and administration; liking people (students not mentioned); sense of humor; common sense; etc.	11
4	*Devotion* aspects: desire to serve; devotion to job and people; desire to help people; feeling of service.	8
5	*Student orientation:* real interest in students; warm, friendly with students; real respect for students; desire to see fulfillment; understanding; empathy; insight; patience; etc.	48

6	*Psychological adjustment:* any psychological factors; well-adjusted personality; stable; emotionally flexible; no personality problems; unbiased; resiliant; self-confidence; etc.	13
7	*Other.*	5

Item #32
Source: Question 33
Name: Motivation for Entering Counseling
Coding Reliability = 67 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Altruistic—first career choice:* indicates an interest in working with disturbed people; desires *before* teaching to do counseling; interest in psychology; some indication of interest in counseling per se, as a long-time ambition.	22
2	*Altruistic—general "helping" orientation:* stresses helping people and students, but not psychological interests; nor just general "liking students" (Code 3); stress the *individual* approach; no indication of interests to enter counseling as first career.	35
3	*General career orientation:* working with people; like people; no specific psychological interests, or no sense of job being a promotion for good service.	18
4	*"Escape" orientation:* see counseling as means of escaping teaching; see it as a general change; step up the ladder, perceived as a promotion; more money, better kind of job; "principal asked me to."	23
5	*Other.*	1

Item #33
Source: Question 34
Name: Job Satisfaction
Coding Reliability = 83 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Complete satisfaction with job:* no interest in doing something else, different major in college, etc.; a real enjoyment of work.	42

2	*Reservations:* mostly satisfied, but some reservations concerning job difficulties; perhaps give ambiguous answer to question; implied interest in some other kind of work.	26
3	*Other adjustment professions:* desire to be something else, but in area of psychology, counseling, or social work.	15
4	*Other careers* specifically cite desire to have gone into other kind of work—business, teaching, law, medicine, etc.	15

Item #34
Source: Question 35
Name: Most Reliable Test
Coding Reliability = 89 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	Will not name one test as being more reliable; many reliable tests; no test is reliable, etc.	6
2	*Individual IQ.*	45
3	*Group IQ.*	25
4	*Achievement tests.*	6
5	*Scholastic aptitude.*	18
6	*Other.*	0

(Note: Code definitions 2 to 5 same as for Item #15.)

Item #35
Source: Question 36
Name: Least Useful Test
Coding Reliability = 74 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	All tests useful; mentions no test or kind of test.	24
2	*Individual IQ.*	3
3	*Group IQ.*	7
4	*Achievement tests.*	28

5	*Scholastic aptitude.*	13
6	*Vocational interest tests* (Kuder, Strong, etc.).	18
7	*Personality or adjustment tests* (Bell, Guilford sentence-completion, etc.).	3
8	*Other.*	3

(Note: Code definitions 2 to 5 same as for Item 15.)

Item #36
Source: Question 37
Name: Belief in Overachieving
Coding Reliability = 91 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	Counselor believes in the IQ; good grades through hard work, slaving at studies; no hints of bad test scores; home situation demands it; need to achieve.	48
2	Some indication that test score might be faulty; although do believe in possibility of overachieving.	38
3	No such thing as overachieving; when grades higher than test scores, test scores wrong and would retest.	13

Item #37
Source: Question 38
Name: Factors behind Underachieving
Coding Reliability = 88 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Do not believe in underachieving:* if grades lower than IQ, don't trust IQ score.	0
2	*Personal/emotional problems:* usually stemming from home; school adjustment problems; low motivation stemming from personal/emotional problems.	22
3	*Motivation:* lack of interest, desire, no goals, plans; home problems or lack of powerful interest leading to low student interest.	33

4	*Low self-esteem:* bad self-concept, stemming from home (although not necessarily); including emotional immaturity.	11
5	*Pejorative:* lazy, no parental control or discipline; too interested in dating, cars, social side; don't do homework; etc. *Student's* fault (not necessarily a home problem in psychological sense).	17
6	*Rebellion* against parents, society, school.	11
7	*No challenge* from school, teachers; too creative to fit into pattern; fault lies with *school* more than individual.	2
8	*Other.*	3

Item #38
Source: Question 39
Name: Information Given to Student about his IQ
Coding Reliability = 83 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.6
1	*None:* no information, verbal or otherwise, given to student as to IQ.	
2	*Some:* information given, but only in general verbal terms, like "you're doing just fine," "your ability is all right, or good," etc. (or use below terms but still quite generally).	
3	*Considerable:* information given in fairly specific verbal terms; high average, superior, low average, etc.	
4	*Total:* information given in actual scores or percentiles or numerical range (even if only for certain categories of students).	

Item #39
Source: Question 40
Name: Danger of Knowing IQ
Coding Reliability = 97 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.9
1	*None:* absolutely no harm in knowing IQ (whether or not they give IQ).	

2 *Some:* some reservations about harm; generally all right, but there are some who should not know.

3 *Considerable:* considerable harm, in that students don't really understand the scores, tend to see them as too important. Don't give scores because *student* might misunderstand or put too much weight on them, not because counselor believes them.

4 *Unquestionable harm:* if child has low IQ he will give up; if he has high IQ will get swelled head and feel he doesn't have to work anymore. Implication that *counselor* believes this, not just matter of misunderstanding on part of students.

Item #40
Source: Question 42
Name: Difficulty in Discussing Low IQ
Coding Reliability = 90 per cent

CODE DESCRIPTION MEAN = 2.5

1 *None:* no difference in giving scores, or verbalizing scores to either high or low IQ students; what information is given should be given to all regardless of whether high or low.

2 *Some:* some difficulty expressed in dealing with the child with low IQ; tendency to say "low average" instead of "low" when dealing with low IQ's. However, will make effort to indicate approximate level.

3 *Considerable:* considerable difficulty; gives verbal interpretation of ability in *general* terms, or by *implication.*

4 *Unquestionable difficulty* in giving information when IQ is low; feel it could do real harm if child finds out; tendency to avoid discussing IQ at all with child when IQ is low.

Item #41
Source: Question 42
Name: Minimum IQ for College
Coding Reliability = 90 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	No cut-off point mentioned; don't believe there is one.	16
2	Cut-off at 90; those above, can; those below cannot expect to succeed (in general).	2
3	Cut-off at 95.	0
4	Cut-off at 100.	5
5	Cut-off at 105.	4
6	Cut-off at 110.	38
7	Cut-off at 115.	25
8	Cut-off at 120 or above.	10
9	Different type of scores used; not Otis.	0

(Note: Applies to an *average* liberal arts college and mostly to group IQ tests such as Otis.)

Item #42
Source: Questions 39 to 42
Name: Overall Belief in IQ
Coding Reliability = 96 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 3.5
1	Little or no belief in IQ; other tests better; truly ignored in counseling.	
2	Some belief in IQ as true measure of potential, but still many reservations; the skeptic.	
3	Moderate belief in IQ as true measure; takes "reasonable" approach.	
4	Considerable belief in IQ scores; very few reservations—those given tend to be lip service to ideal of "grain of salt" with what looks like an *underlying* (or unaware) belief in IQ.	
5	Unquestioned and explicit belief in IQ scores; used very frequently; no reservations. Seen as best and most accurate measure with no reservations.	

Item #43
Source: Question 43
Name: Main Problems with Teachers
Coding Reliability = 92 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*No problems* mentioned; everything fine.	10
2	*Teachers don't take advantage of guidance services*—testing, counseling; don't make use of it enough (no hostility).	3
3	*Conflict over student:* teachers too strict; or teachers feel counselors too soft and easy. Misunderstanding of counselor with relation to discipline—expect him to "straighten kid out"; accuse them of taking student's side, etc.	25
4	*General misunderstanding:* related to counselor; fear of counselor; suspicious; professional jealousy; don't like counselors' techniques.	36
5	*Feel counselor unnecessary:* has soft life, easy job; sees no important contribution; "waste of time."	21
6	*Other.*	4

Item #44
Source: Question 43
Name: Intensity of Conflict with Teachers
Coding Reliability = 99 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.7
1	No conflict at all with teachers; no prejudice toward them; everything fine.	
2	On the whole relations good; only occasional problems with a few teachers. Not a common problem.	
3	Moderately good relations; conflict does arise frequently, but not on part of most teachers.	
4	Considerable conflict; talk about problems with "most teachers don't understand," etc.	

5	Total incompatibility between teachers and counselors; bitter relations; counselor expresses great vehemence about teachers and problems with them.	

Item #45
Source: Question 46
Name: Main Problem with Parents
Coding Reliability = 89 per cent

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*No problems:* relations fine; no specific problems mentioned.	10
2	*Unrealistic:* parents unrealistic about child's ability; too much emphasis on "college, no matter what"; parents expect too much from child.	36
3	*Confidentiality:* parents afraid child will tell too much to counselor; afraid of counselor handling emotional problems.	8
4	*Expect too much:* parents expect too much from counselor; expect him to "straighten Johnny out"; want counselor to have all the answers.	23
5	*Unawareness:* parent unaware of his role in child's problem; parent not objective about personal problems; unwilling to face personal problems of child.	5
6	*Confidence:* lack confidence in counselors' ability; feel they know more than counselor; see counselor as obstacle, giving wrong advice or making wrong decisions about college or course selection; feel child is not getting enough help.	12
7	*Other.*	7

Item #46
Source: Question 46
Name: Intensity of Conflict with Parents
Coding Reliability = 94 per cent

Code	Description	Mean = 2.9
1	No conflict or problems seen.	
2	Relations good on the whole; some problems; only a few cases, etc.	
3	Moderate conflict and problems; "quite a few parents," etc.	
4	Considerable problems and conflict; "most parents," etc.	
5	Total conflict between parent and counselor; complete breakdown in relations; "almost all," etc.	

Item #47
Source: Question 48(a)
Name: Most Satisfying Type of Student
Coding Reliability: Unknown

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Stress "ideal" characteristics:* motivated; ambitious; know where they are going; all-around; personable; adjusted; intelligent; verbal; talkative; warm and friendly; no problems; perceptive; can help themselves; easy to gain rapport with; etc.	38
2	*Stress progress:* those with whom you can make progress; success in solving problems; takes advice, suggestions; shows growth; develops; those you can help; or those you feel you are helping; etc.	41
3	*Stress average:* average student, or slightly below or above average, the noncollege; the humble and appreciative types; try hard, work to their average abilities.	6
4	*Stress problem-type:* the behavior problem type, the acting-out; the limited or poorer student; withdrawn, shy, fearful; those that need most help (don't stress progress as condition to satisfaction or pleasure).	15

Item #48
Source: Question 48(b)
Name: Least Satisfying Type of Student
Coding Reliability: Unknown

Code	Description	Per cent
1	*Stress "egocentricism" and overt hostility:* belligerent; cocky; "chippy"; arrogant; self-satisfied; self-centered; loudmouth; show-off; irresponsible; won't listen; antagonistic; etc.	30
2	*Stress passive and aloof characteristics:* unreactive; unresponsive; won't talk; nonverbal; withdrawn; hard to reach; no rapport; etc.	21
3	*Stress lack of progress:* those you get nowhere with; can't help; etc.	15
4	*Stress "good" characteristics:* need no help; no problems; bright; intelligent, college types; etc.	8
5	*Stress underachievement and unmotivated:* no interest in school; unmotivated; high talent but failing; etc.	11
6	*Stress "problem" type:* emotionally disturbed; deep problems; the slow or limited type; behavior or discipline problems.	8
7	*Unrealistic:* those who have aspirations above their ability; overachieving; no realistic goals; etc.	6

Item #49
Source: Question 6
Name: Number of Students Misplaced in College Preparatory
Coding Reliability: Unknown

Code	Description	Per cent
1	No, none.	5
2	A few; small number; hardly ever; not many; etc.	15
3	Some; not a large number; yes (unqualified); certain number; fair number; a number; etc.	44
4	Many; very many; quite a few; yes; yes, many; all the time; yes, often; yes, big problem; yes, growing; definitely; good number; yes, too many; etc.	36

Item #50
Source: Question 6(a)
Name: Tests as Indicators for Predicting Failure in College Preparatory
Coding Reliability: Unknown

Code	Description	Per cent
1	Tests not mentioned as indicators; if mentioned, stressed as less important than others (grades, etc.).	23
2	Tests mentioned but stressed equally with other indicators; no differentiation made between tests and other indicators.	45
3	Tests mentioned exclusively; if others mentioned, tests stressed as more important and discussed more.	31

Item #51
Source: Question 7
Name: Number of Students Misplaced *out* of College Preparatory
Coding Reliability: Unknown

Code	Description	Per cent (not computed)
1	None.	
2	Some.	
3	Quite a few.	
4	Many.	

(Note: Code for this question same as that for Item #49.)

INDEX