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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to explore the attitude of black manpower trainees towards counselors who differed in race and to determine the effects of counselor race on goal persisting behaviors as perceived by manpower trainees. Subjects were 191 unemployed black males (N=75) and females (N=116) who were enrolled in three programs in Detroit, Michigan. A total of 19 counselors were included, 6 black and 13 white. Data were collected by means of questionnaire and two instruments, administered during personal interviews. There were six principal findings of this study. The interpretation of these findings was that those trainees with black counselors expected less and perceived that they got more than anticipated, while those with white counselors expected more and perceived that they got less than expected from the counseling relationship, suggesting that trainees become pro-black. The findings are discussed in terms of the different expectations trainees had for white and black counselors. (Author/BW)

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*Similarity-Dissimilarity in
Counselor-Counselee Ethnic Match
and its Relevance to Goal Behaviors
of Job Trainees*

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A B S T R A C T

SIMILARITY-DISSIMILARITY IN COUNSELOR-COUNSELEE ETHNIC MATCH AND ITS RELEVANCE TO GOAL BEHAVIORS OF JOB TRAINEES

by

Don Kirkland Harrison

Chairman: Carry R. Walz

This study was designed (1) to explore the attitude of black manpower trainees toward counselors who differed in race and (2) to determine the effects of counselor race on goal persisting behaviors as perceived by manpower trainees. Subjects were 191 unemployed black males (N = 75) and females (N = 116) who were enrolled in three programs in Detroit, Michigan: (1) Work Incentive Program (WIN), (2) Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), and (3) McNamara Skills Center (Skills Center). A total of 19 counselors were included, 6 black and 13 white counseling 53 and 139 trainees respectively.

Data were collected by means of questionnaire and two instruments, administered during personal interviews. The instruments were: (1) the Consequences Model Questionnaire (CMQ) developed by Rosen, a two-factor model based upon decision theory that elicits positive and negative consequences toward an attitude object, the subjective probability of occurrence and the utility if implemented--subjective expected utility (SEU) and (2) the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (I-E Scale) as modified by Gurin.

Data were analyzed on 106 trainees who had both pre and post

interviews (28 trainees were assigned to 6 black counselors; 78 trainees were assigned to 13 white counselors). Statistical analyses used were F ratios, t-tests and analysis of variance.

Null hypotheses were as follows: (a) Trainees' attitudes toward assignment to a counselor of different race is independent of age, sex, and level of education prior to entry into training. (b) There would be no differences in trainees' attitude toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race six to eight months later by age, sex, and educational level. (c) There would be no differences between initial and post-attitude measures of trainees about assignment to a counselor of a different race. (d) Trainees' attitude toward assignment to a counselor of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into training is independent of the program. (e) Internal-external locus of control would be independent of age, sex, educational level and initial and post-attitude measures toward assignment to counselor of different race. (f) Trainee ratings of progress on behavioral indices six to eight months after program acceptance would be independent of age, sex, educational level and race of counselor.

The principal findings from this study are summarized. (a) No differences in trainees' attitude toward a white counselor were found based on age, sex, educational level and program factors. (b) All trainees initially held positive attitudes toward counseling by a white counselor. (c) Post-assessment of attitudes, however, reveal that trainees had shifted to a negative attitude position toward white counselors. A main effect of race was found to be associated with the attitude change. (d) Trainees assigned to black counselors became more

negative and less positive toward white counselors while trainees assigned to white counselors shifted from their initially positive position to an attitude closer to neutral. (e) On the I-E Scale trainees who were more militant on the militancy scale and those more blaming of the system were less favorable to a white counselor. (f) Trainee perceptions of movement in terms of goal behaviors was not associated with counselor race.

Interpretation of findings was that those trainees with black counselors expected less and perceived that they got more than anticipated, while those with white counselors expected more and perceived that they got less than expected from the counseling relationship, suggesting that trainees became pro-black. Findings were discussed in terms of the different expectations trainees had for white and black counselors based on differences in perceived power and knowledge of the system. Implications were: (a) more black counselors, particularly males are needed in manpower training programs; (b) counselor preparation programs should place less emphasis on relationship therapy and more on counselor behaviors that deal with black counselees' needs that are immediate and relevant; and (c) that future research include white subjects and controls.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Final Report

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Don K. Harrison

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This study was designed to explore the significance of the ethnic match between counselors and manpower trainees, and the implications upon goal-persisting behaviors as perceived by black trainees enrolled in federally funded/supported manpower training programs. Counseling, both group and individual counseling, is a commonly included component in most manpower training programs. Where interpersonal relationships are involved, social scientists have been quite concerned about isolating those factors that may influence the outcomes in these relationships, e.g., type of counseling (Anliot, 1961), counselor-client personality similarity (Jones, 1968; Mendelsohn and Geller, 1968). The increased involvement by the Federal government in antipoverty and manpower training has brought increasing interest and specialization to the subject of whether a middle class white counselor can be effective with black trainees from inner city ghettos.

Importance of Study

An effective counseling relationship has its basis in conditions of mutual trust between counselor and counselee, counselor accurate empathy and unconditional positive regard (Milliken, 1965; Truax, 1971).

Since the advent of "black power," "black is beautiful," and the intensified black struggle for self identity, mainstream economic participation, self determination and political and social viability, a number of questions are raised relative to the oppressed engaging in a relationship that requires establishing rapport with the oppressor. A legitimate question is whether blacks (the oppressed) are able to establish meaningful counseling relationships with whites (the oppressors) in a situation that requires mutuality of respect and trust. Thus observed black behavior can not necessarily be taken at face value for as Grier and Cobbs (1968) state:

. . . out of fear and out of the brutal necessity of dealing with a white oppressor, the black American must from time to time convey to the white person that he is aware that he is perceived as inferior--and is at least nominally willing to agree that he is inferior [p. 105].

With the shifting of racial attitudes in American society where white and black hostility toward each other is at a height, maintenance of rapport, which is necessary for the counseling relationship, is likely to be difficult for counselors, especially white counselors (Vontress, 1967, 1970, 1971).

Black students have expressed dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of counseling centers which have typically been geared to white students from middle class backgrounds. Black students express a preference that the counselor be:

(a) of the same race, (b) as black in thinking and feeling as they, (c) no younger in age than they, (d) able to understand and use street language, (e) able to listen and to help find the best solution to the problem and (f) able to understand social-psychological issues through training or experience [Thomas, 1970, p. 425].

It has been assumed in antipoverty and manpower programs that trainees will relate better to an individual who is more similar, not only in race, but in other socio-economic characteristics. Grosser (1967) states:

The nonprofessional worker indigenous to the population served is seen as a bridge between the institution and the lower-class community. . . . The use of local persons is perhaps the least threatening way of developing rapport with a new client. The indigenous nonprofessional is seen as having mutual interests and common cause with program participants, able to communicate freely with them, and because like them, he is poor, resides in the neighborhood and shares minority group status, common background and language [Grosser cited by Gurin, 1968, p. 27].

Grosser in the quotation above has reference to indigenous workers. On the other hand, the effectiveness of black counselors from middle class backgrounds counseling individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds has been questioned. Vontress (1968) states that the black counselor as a member of the black bourgeois may not wish to identify with the black lower class due to the desire to forget his past and not be reminded of "the other side of the track" from whence he came. While the black counselor's color may be viewed as an asset in counseling blacks, Vontress indicates "this, however, may not be true, for if the Negro counselee sees the white counselor as the 'enemy,' he may see the Negro authoritarian figure as something far worse--the collaborator with the enemy . . . although the black counselor may think that he is 'in' because of the color of his skin, he may be 'out' more so than the white counselor" (p. 7).

The notions of the black experience and black culture gives rise to conceptions of a black personality. Vontress (1971) seems to believe that there are important intergroup differences--black, Negro, and

colored--which suggest different considerations in the development of rapport since each of these groups perceives itself differently. Black has reference to a self attitude, an

. . . individual who designates himself black suggests that he is no longer ashamed of his skin color, his kinky hair, or his slave heritage. . . . Blacks are intolerant of, and hostile toward, whites who approach them with the usual racist stance, in terms of language, attitudes, and behavior [Vontress, 1971, p. 11].

Negroes constitute the large silent majority of Americans of African descent. They are "still on the fence" about the way they feel about themselves, about white people in general, and about their plight in this country. . . . In this group are the integrationists, most of whom are middle class people, who have found a comfortable niche for themselves in a predominantly segregated society. . . . Black frequently refers to members of this group as "Uncle Toms" [p. 11].

Among people of African descent in this country is a large segment of individuals who continue to perceive themselves as whites perceive them, who continue to evaluate themselves as whites evaluate them, and who still call themselves "colored," the designation used by many whites who refuse to acknowledge the dignity of the race by referring to it as black. . . . Their white employers often use them to validate their own feelings and attitudes about "all those trouble makers. . . . A religious group, colored people sometimes quickly assume a "God will provide" attitude toward life [pp. 11-12].

The need for increased research efforts into race and social factors in the client-counselor relationship has been commented on by Banks (1971) who indicates that the problems of blacks have been ignored in the literature. Banks states "in fact, attention seems to be focused away from the protest, through complete socio-cultural determinants of client and counselor behavior. The absence of serious research in this area reflects an astonishing naivete or benign neglect of the findings accumulated in the literature of social psychology and race relations . . . counseling researchers rarely explore or even reflect on the interaction between counselor and client of different racial groups [1971a, p. 1]."

Significance of Study

This investigation has relevance for both theory and practice. From a theoretical standpoint, it provides a field test for an attitude instrument based on decision theory. From a practical standpoint this study should have implications for patterns of staffing, staff training and overall cost benefit considerations. The theoretical framework guiding this research suggests that white presence causes anxiety in blacks and generates certain role prescriptions for black behavior. Because of the generalization of previously learned anxiety, black responses to white counselors, who are now going to help, are likely to generate a variety of reactions in both white counselor and black counselee which are counter-productive to accurate empathy, unconditional positive regard, genuineness, mutual trust--all conditions assumed to be important to the development of a sound counseling relationship. Black responses to whites are different from black responses to blacks. It is hypothesized that in the presence of a black counselor, the anxiety and prescriptions on role behaviors generated by the white man's presence is absent. In this situation, feelings of trust and mutuality should develop and predominate, thereby setting the stage for a sound counseling relationship that produces relevant responses, decision making, and goal oriented behavior.

Much has been written and said about the importance of having a person of similar characteristics that the trainee can immediately identify with, yet additional information is needed since there is little in the way of "hard data" to establish that the racial match of the counselor and counselee is crucial to predetermined behavioral outcomes in

manpower programs. In the interest of assisting the individual trainee to develop skills as rapidly as possible, it seems important to continue to explore aspects of conditions that may be facilitating to his more immediate development. If the similarity of counselee and counselor is found to be an important consideration, this then has implications for selection of counseling staff who will be working with trainees in manpower programs, many of which are directed toward disadvantaged groups. Going a step further and assuming that there may be some significance in the factor of match, this has implications for pre-service, in-service, and post-service staff training. Obtaining qualified personnel is of importance to administrators of these programs. It could also mean that counselor education and training programs might require re-examination on the basis upon which some students are being selected.

The cost-benefit factor has already been alluded to by Sommerfield (1969), in a comparative study of four "brands" of training programs for the hard core unemployed in which he reported that about 25 million dollars had been expended alone in the city of Detroit. Gordon (1969), in a review and analysis of the Experimental and Demonstration projects, reported that over 30 million dollars had been spent since 1962 at the time of reporting. This amount does not include that spent on the JOB programs, OEO, and various other manpower-related training efforts. With the current level of expenditures that are being made, and which apparently are likely to continue, a continuing program of evaluation and assessment is necessary in order to determine program effectiveness and to furnish information regarding changes in program content as well as organizational structure, i.e., staffing patterns. In short,

the significance of such a study as this resides primarily in three areas: (1) benefits that are directly related to the trainee; (2) benefits that may accrue to those who are responsible for administering manpower programs; (3) benefits that may be derived theoretically from a field test of an instrument based on decision theory to measure counselee attitudes and perceptions.

Specification of Proposed Area
of Inquiry

Some questions that arise from experience and the accumulated research are:

- (a) If specific behavioral objectives and outcome criteria are utilized, what would be the difference in outcomes for trainees who had black rather than white counselors?
- (b) Is it important that the counselor be of similar race and socio-economic background as the trainees?
- (c) If the counselor's characteristics are important, are they more important in some situations rather than in others and what are some of the conditions under which the race of the counselor appears to be an important consideration?
- (d) Does the organizational environment provide a set of conditions that affect the relationship between race of counselor and trainee outcomes or reactions. For example, does race of counselor have different meanings and effects when top program administration is white than when top administration is black or racially mixed?
- (e) When trainee self rating of accomplishment during training is

considered, what will be the variation in ratings of counselee assigned to black counselors as opposed to white counselors?

- (f) For counselees assigned to work with teams, does the race of counselor have different meaning and effects when team members are all white, all black, or racially mixed?

Hypotheses

This study proposes to test the hypotheses that are formulated below:

1. The relationship between positive and negative measured attitudes of a trainee about whether he is counseled by a counselor of the same or different race will vary widely among trainees according to trainees' age, sex, educational level, and prior contact with the non-black community.
2. Outcomes of the attitudes of black trainees under white counselors will vary according to the trainee's initial attitudes toward working with a counselor of a different racial background: trainees who begin the training with a negative attitude toward white counselors and who are assigned to a white counselor, will have lower self ratings on behavioral outcomes than will those trainees who started with more positive attitudes.
3. The organizational environment will be a key factor on subsequent measures of trainee attitude and on self ratings of achievement on specific behavioral measures. Two aspects of organizational environment are particularly important:
 - (a) whether the top administrators are all black, mixed, or all

white; and (b) the attitudes of the counseling staff and other staff toward working with a disadvantaged trainee.

Null hypotheses will appear later in context.

Summary

This study explores the significance of ethnic match between white and black counselors and black trainees enrolled in manpower training programs and the implications upon goal behaviors as perceived by black counselees. An effective counseling relationship is assumed to be based upon establishing conditions of mutual trust between counselor and counselee. Since blacks as an oppressed people occupy powerless positions which they are struggling to abandon, a question arises whether core counseling conditions, which include mutual trust, genuineness, and respect can be developed between one who is oppressed and another who is the symbol of that oppression. White presence creates anxiety in blacks and generates role prescription for black behavior. The black response to blacks may be different from black response to whites.

Reports exist substantiating that black students are requesting more often that their counselors be black. In staffing programs in poverty areas, it has been recommended that workers be employed who are indigenous to the population being served, in terms of race and other socio-economic characteristics. Matching of client and counselor in terms of similar characteristics assumes that the similarity in characteristics will facilitate developing rapport, promote freer communication by clients, foster client trust and confidence because counselor and client perceive a common background and status. In spite of the

armchair discourses and scattered documentation about the implications of counselor-counselee ethnic match, few studies have been conducted that investigate the importance of race in a counseling relationship with counselees in manpower training programs from predominantly poverty backgrounds.

This study has relevance for both theory and practice. Its practical significance lies in the administration of manpower training programs, with implications for staffing patterns, staff training, and economies that may be realized as the result of a modified organizational design. Theoretically, this study will field test the use of an instrument based on decision theory in measuring trainees attitude toward counselor-counselee ethnic match.

The study proposes to explore whether it is important for black trainees in manpower programs to have a counselor who is of the same race and the conditions under which racial similarity is important. The next chapter is a review of relevant research which was helpful in developing hypotheses and formulating the research design.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study is concerned with the black response to whites and the black response to blacks in the counseling relationship. Since counseling involves an interaction between two or more people, the literature review includes those studies of black-white interactions where two-way communication is for a designated purpose. An assumed condition that is necessary to facilitate communication is the establishment of rapport. The race of the experimenter as a variable has been used in studies of the counseling relationship, testing, surveys and opinion polls, the last two which are relevant since these activities may be required activities of counselors in some setting. The literature review will deal with the intrusion of race pertaining to three focal functions: counseling; testing; and survey and polling activities, with pre-school-elementary; high school, college and adult groups.

Surveys and Opinion Polls

High School Students

In collecting sociometric data on the friendship choices of adolescent boys and girls, blacks showed higher self-preferences than whites, but within each racial group, girls reflected higher racial self

preference than boys (Gottlieb & Tenhouten, 1965). Self-preference levels of each race-set group was determined by using Criswell's double-ratio index of self-preference:

$$\frac{\text{Number of same-race choices} \div \text{Number of cross-race choices}}{\text{Number of students in same race} \div \text{Number of students in the other race}}$$

(Criswell, 1937, 1939, cited by Gottlieb & Tenhouten, 1965). This finding is consistent with the earlier findings of Lundberg and Dickson (1952, 1959) that black high school students show greater self preference than whites particularly for friendships, a finding also supported by St. John (1964).

College Students

In order to test the hypothesis that the response of white subjects will differ in a group attitude measuring situation, depending upon the race of the experimenter, when questioned about their attitude toward items relating to civil rights and racial discrimination, Rambo (1969) found that 96 respondents (24 subjects assigned to each of four treatment conditions) responded less favorably when the experimenter was black. This was opposite to the direction predicted. The Consequences Model Questionnaire, one of the instruments used, which is based on a decision theory approach to attitude measurement (Edwards, 1961), asks the subject to give both positive and negative consequences of an issue and the desirability or undesirability (utility) of each consequence generated. Also, subjects were asked to rate the likelihood (probability) that each consequence would occur. Indices computed were:

(a) SPU+ = the sum of the products of utility and subjective probability for positive consequences; and (b) SPU- = the sum of the products of utility and probability for negative consequences. Presumably high positive SPU+ reflect more favorable attitudes toward an issue while high SPU- are indicative of less favorable attitudes.

The shifting attitudes of blacks and the implications for counseling are suggested in a study of the attitudes of black college students at a predominantly black university (Banks, 1970). In 1967, a sample of 174 black undergraduate college students (112 females and 62 males) randomly selected from the natural sciences, social sciences and the humanities were administered the Anti-White (AW) and Anti-NEGRO (AN) scales developed for a study by Steckler to measure racial ideology (Steckler, 1957 cited in Banks, 1970). The F-scale was used to measure the authoritarianism construct which has been shown to be related to various prejudicial points of view (Adams, 1950 cited in Banks, 1970). A syndrome of characteristics has been found to be associated with a high F score a few of which include, submissiveness to authority, conventionality in approach, and toughmindedness. Findings, which were compared with Steckler's study ten years earlier, indicated that: black students accepted more anti-white ideology than black students in 1957; black students were less willing to accept negative stereotype about their racial group, but they still accepted anti-black stereotypes to a greater degree than anti-white stereotypes.

Adults

During World War II, a study of black soldiers interviewed by black interviewers tended to elicit protest information, more than white

interviewers, about the plight of blacks in the Army, race relations, and the conduct of the war (Stauffer, Guttman, Suckman, Lazarsfeld, Star & Clausen, 1950).

To study the effect of race and age on different types of verbal activity, taped interview responses were obtained by four white, middle class, middle age female interviewers, from four groups of employed black and white respondents in age groups 18 to 34, and 35 to 64 (DeKoning, 1969). Open questions involved a greater amount of verbal activity for all four groups than did closed questions but black respondents manifested more verbal behaviors than did white respondents before adequate answers were obtained.

When black and white mothers were interviewed relative to the "crisis" of premature birth, it was found that apparent "personality" differences between black and white mothers related more to a response set of agreeableness and conformity on the part of the black mothers rather than to real differences in personality (Hare, 1960).

Contrasts were made of the responses obtained by white and black interviewers of blacks in a southern city in 1942 regarding race relations and it was found that black interviewers obtained more responses of a negative nature than did the white interviewers (Cantril, 1944). Cantril concludes that "discrepancies between interviewers and respondents on the ground of class and race definitely hamper rapport and create a distortion of true opinion [p. 118]."

Williams (1964) investigated whether bias is more likely with greater social distance between interviewer and respondent and the more threatening the interview question. Black and white female interviewers

interviewed 840 black urban and rural respondents of low and high social rank. An interview scale was used containing items of low threat, moderate threat and medium threat material. Williams (1964) concluded that

. . . on the basis of the data, the race of interviewer, the social distance between interviewer and respondent, and the threat potential of interview schedule items are associated with bias in the information interview for negro respondents. The data indicates that race of interviewer is an important variable related to bias but that this is true only under certain conditions with certain types of interview questions [p. 351].

In a study designed to ascertain the effects of caste, class and deference upon interview responses, Lenski and Leggett (1960) presented pairs of mutually contradictory statements to test whether low status respondents show deference by acquiescing to simple agree/disagree statements even though acquiescence leads to inappropriate responses. Approximately 8 per cent of more than 600 respondents expressed agreement with the contradictory statements with this behavior observed more often with a greater degree of social distance between interviewer and respondent. Blacks, for example, agreed one-fifth of the time with the contradictory propositions. Whites agreed one-twentieth of the time. The investigators indicate that this raises serious questions concerning the validity and interpretation of Grole's A-Scale measuring alienation and Adorno's F Scale measuring authoritarianism. Researchers are advised to avoid questions that invite respondents to express agreement or disagreement to statements that bear a stereotypic flavor.

Summary

The research studies from poll and survey type studies tend to suggest that the race of the experimenter can bias the results. For

blacks responding to whites, there may be a response set of agreeableness, i.e., to tell the white interviewer what is wanted. Conversely, when blacks are interviewed by blacks the tendency was observed for blacks to give more negative information around sensitive issues, e.g., race relations. The race of interviewer, the social distance between interviewer and respondent, and the type of interview question all seem to be associated with bias information, obtained from black respondents by white interviewers.

Testing

Preschool and Elementary

Using five and six year old black kindergarten children who were randomly assigned to four groups, Forrester and Klaus (1964) studied the effects of race and rapport on test results by having two southern female examiners--one white and one black--administer both forms L and M of the 1937 Revised Stanford Binet counterbalancing the order of test administration and race of examiners. It was found that the race of the examiner influenced intelligence test scores significantly.

An investigation to determine whether the presence of a black examiner would have measurable influence upon the test performance of highly prejudiced white, elementary fifth grade students, revealed that the racial differences between the examiner and the examinee had no adverse effect upon group testing programs (Brewer, 1970). Brewer's data tentatively suggested that the presence of the black examiner tended to elicit more questions than did the presence of a white examiner, possibly suggesting higher levels of anxiety.

A white examiner who exposed 40 black preschool children to psychological testing found the subjects to have a lower level of performance in expressive language, supporting the hypothesis that inhibition in verbal responsiveness results from the different skin color (race) of the examiner compared to reported behavior and verbal comprehension (Pasamanick & Knobloch, 1955).

Using 148 black boys, ages seven to ten, from low income neighborhoods, the effects of race of examiner, approval-disapproval, and need on learning was investigated (Katz, Henchy, & Allen, 1968). Two black and two white adults served as examiners in which the subjects were given the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Questionnaire (measure of need for approval) and a verbal learning task. All subjects received either approval or disapproval on the learning task. Performance on the learning task was better for black subjects under black experimenters than under white examiners, and also under the conditions of approval rather than disapproval. The authors conclude that

. . . the experiments indicate that in order to understand the effects of positive and negative social reinforcement on verbal learning in Negro pupils, it is necessary to take into account the need state of the individual and the racial identity of the adult dispenser of reinforcement [Katz, Henchy & Allen, p. 41].

High School

The research literature suggesting that emotional conflict involving the need to control hostility, blocking of aggressive impulses, and difficulty expressing aggression openly may all lead to impairment in intellectual efficiency, was used as a basis to test the effects of the race of the experimenter and instructions upon the arousal and

expression of hostility in 72 black male adolescents (Katz, Robinson, Epps & Waly, 1964). A questionnaire disguised as a concept formation test was given by either a black or white experimenter with instructions describing it either as an intelligence test or neutrally. Scores were then compared with those obtained from a previous day in an all black informal setting. Hostility was measured on a 58 item test of aggressive and nonaggressive concepts with each item consisting of four words and instructions to circle a word that does not belong. The total number of items in which a subject included aggressive words constituted his hostility score. The experimental prediction was supported because levels of hostile expression remained the same under neutral instructions regardless of the race of the examiner, but when intelligence test instructions were used, hostility scores were increased under the black experimenter and decreased under the white experimenter. The interpretation of results was that subjects revealed their arrogance by forming aggressive concepts when the experimenter was black, but when he was white the subjects had a need to control hostile feelings which resulted in their avoiding aggressive words.

Instead of using blacks as subjects, Turner (1971) selected 80 ninth grade white males, ages 13-15, from a predominantly white Catholic school which had an all white male faculty, to investigate the effects of the race of examiner and the need for approval upon learning. This study is of interest as a contrast since the effects of race, social class, and sex on performance have tended to use blacks as subjects. The investigator used Katz, Henry, and Allen's (1968) design in which they demonstrated that 7-10 year old black children learned items in a

memory test faster under verbal approval or disapproval with a black experimenter than with white testers. Eight experimenters: two black males; two black females; two white males; and two white females saw children individually from ten groups randomly assigned to the experimenters. A 10-item version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability test (measure of need for approval) was completed and a simple learning task was administered involving nine trial runs for each subject. Verbal approval was given after certain trials. Findings indicated that experimenters of the same race as subjects obtained higher performance from their subjects than did experimenters with subjects of different racial identities. The effect obtained is similar to that observed by Katz et al. (1968) with black subjects. Contrary, however, to Katz et al. findings, no significant correlation was found between subjects need for approval as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability test and the subjects' learning scores.

College Students

In order to determine the effects of varying degrees of threat upon the impairment of performance in the presence of persons of another race, 115 black college students performed a digit letter substitution task under a white condition, where the examiner and a confederate (who posed as another subject) were white, and under a black condition where both were black (Katz & Greenbaum, 1963). The black college students were told to anticipate mild or strong electric shocks while working on the tasks. Performance was found to be better when confronted with a condition of mild white threat than black mild threat. Although

performance was more impaired under strong threat conditions, it was more severely impaired under the white condition than the black condition.

Social interaction and task performance in interracial work teams have been studied to determine productivity, effects of authoritarianism and the outcomes of interracial problem solving (Katz, Goldstone & Benjamin, 1958; Katz & Benjamin, 1960; Katz & Cohen, 1962). In cooperative problem solving, black college subjects made fewer proposals than did whites and displayed marked social inhibition and subordination. Even on mental tasks that had been rigged in favor of blacks, there was a tendency for blacks to rate whites in the experiment higher on intellectual performance. Unless the blacks were forced to act independently under "assertion training," blacks continued to suppress their ideas in favor of whites.

What are likely to be the results when black students are told that they will be compared intellectually with other black or white students? Difficult and easy versions of a digit symbol task were given to black male students in a southern college (Katz, Epps & Axelsson, 1964) in which instructions were varied: no test; a scholastic aptitude test with college norms; scholastic aptitude test with national norm (predominantly white). Marked differences were observed: highest performance occurred when told they would be compared with black norms; intermediate performance was with white norms and lowest performance occurred when no comparisons were expected. On the other hand, the performance of white college students at a nearby university tested under similar conditions, did not differ (own college and national norms)

and they were more efficient than subjects not expecting comparisons.

Two replications were conducted on the Katz, Epps, and Axelsson (1964) study that found a detrimental effect on cognitive performance of black college students when the norm condition was white and the experimenter black. Replication experiments were carried out at two predominantly black colleges, one in the North and the other in the South, having higher admission standards than in the previous study (Epps, Perry, Katz, & Runyon, 1971). An assumption was that subjects would include those more confident of their ability to compete against a white peer comparison group. Experiment I involved 86 black male freshmen from a southern college exposed to an arithmetic task having three digit numbers arranged in vertical order for summing. Achievement motive was a variable which was measured by instruments to obtain an achievement motive score consisting of the number of success responses minus the number of fear of failure responses. Instructions to the group varied, indicating alternatively that subjects would be compared with a white norm, black norm and under neutral conditions. Experiment II involved 219 black males from a northern college, exposed to a scrambled words task and digit-symbol substitution task by a black experimenter. The comparison group was the same as in the first experiment, except that the neutral condition was dropped. The findings were contrary to the Katz, Epps and Axelsson study (1964) for subjects' performance was higher when the norm comparison group was white. The cross racial comparison effect on performance then seems to be uncertain.

Black male college students in a southern college were investigated to determine how their performance on digit symbol task would be

affected by race of administrator, difficulty of task and the evaluative significance of the tasks (Katz, Roberts & Robinson, 1965). Half the group was tested by a white examiner and the other half by a black examiner. The sample was broken down further into three groups with one group working on a relatively easy task, another on a medium difficult task, and the third group on a harder task. Tasks were described as a research study on eye-hand coordination in order to emphasize the nonthreatening factors. Consistent with findings obtained under low threat conditions (Katz & Greenbaum, 1963), the subjects worked more efficiently under the white experimenters, but the favorable influence noted was on the most difficult of the three tasks. Conversely, when two additional groups of subjects were told that tasks were a measure of intelligence, the subjects did not obtain higher scores under the white examiner, but rather the I.Q. instructions elevated slightly their performance under the black examiner. This was not unlike the effects of strong shock as noted by Katz and Greenbaum (1963) in the earlier experiment.

Adults

Black and white examiners administered self-report instruments to 40 black and 40 white disadvantaged job trainees to study the differential effects of subject's race, examiner's race, and the stated purpose of testing trainees' self-report measures (Cotnam, 1969). There was no evidence that examiners of unlike race were a threat to enrollees of either race even though black and white examiners represented different demand characteristics.

The influence of the examiner's race, style, and sex on the test responses of black subjects enrolled in an antipoverty work experience program was investigated through a $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 3$ factorial experiment: two levels of examiners race (black vs. white); two levels of examiners style (warm vs. cold); two levels of examiner's sex (male vs. female); and three examiners within each race-sex category (Pelosi, 1968). Although differences were small and nonsignificant, visual inspection of scores of the subjects tested under opposite levels of each of the three main effects revealed that on all but one subtest, subjects tested by white examiners scored slightly higher than subjects under black examiners. Pelosi concludes that the examiner traits studied did not significantly influence test performances of black male subjects, except on one test--the TPAT Cultural Fair Intelligence Test.

Summary

Most of the studies on the effects of the influence of the examiner under testing conditions have been done with elementary and college students. Numerous studies have been conducted by Katz and his associates. Studies of black subjects have been conducted where the race of the experimenter has been explored in relationship to rapport, sex, anxiety, language expressiveness, hostility, threat conditions, interracial work situations, black and white normative conditions, and task difficulty. The accumulated research evidence gathered from the research reviewed furnishes support that race of white examiners tends to have a detrimental effect upon black performance. Observed test effect upon black performance may manifest itself in the lack of rapport,

increased anxiety, lower verbal expression, covert hostility and deference and suppression of ideas.

Counseling

Elementary

Among racially mixed fifth and sixth grade elementary school students, a study on the use of racially mixed teams of counselors in group sessions revealed that there may be no advantage over using either a black counselor or a white counselor working alone as a means to alleviate racial attitudes (Owens, 1969).

High School

In an exploratory study to determine the effects of the presence of a black counselor and type of problem upon the helper's preferences on white high school students, a questionnaire procedure was used with students in four types of high schools: Type A--white student body, private, small city, no black teachers or counselors; Type B--integrated urban, black teachers and counselors; Type C--rural white, no black teachers or counselors; and Type D--white, small city, black and white teachers and counselors (Eiben, 1970). For various problems and concerns, students were asked to respond as to the "source of helper" they would seek: (a) black counselor; (b) white counselor; (c) black friend; (d) white friend; (e) black teacher; (f) white teacher. Where the focus of group participation was on the improvement of race relations, black counselors were preferred in all four schools. The presence of black counselors in Type B and D schools did not increase the students' choice significantly for a black counselor compared to schools Type A and C.

In short, white counselors were preferred for most problems that concerned the students, except in the area of race relations.

The effects of (1) the race of model and (2) the age of model, on the vocational-educational planning behaviors among 105 eleventh grade black students were investigated through random assignment to four experimental groups and one control group: (a) black peer model; (b) white peer model; (c) black adult model; (d) white adult model; and (e) an active control group represented the fifth group. Models were depicted on booklets with pictures along with narrative explanations of the model's activity. The experimental groups were exposed in one day to different (age and race) models performing identical information-seeking behaviors while controls were exposed to no models. Measures of frequency in performance of the modeled information seeking behaviors were obtained after an interval of 12 days. The rewarded model produced more vocationally-relevant behaviors than control procedures but differences relative to race and age of the model were not obtained (Stugart, 1970).

Racially similar pairing of 32 eleventh and twelfth grade black male high school students with eight counselors (4 black and 4 white), resulted in greater client self exploration on initial interviews in a study designed to determine the effects of race, social class and accurate empathy (Banks, 1971b). Empathy, however, which proved to be a source of effect for more positive outcomes, was derived from high empathy counselors, regardless of race.

To study the effects of race and dialect of the communicator upon attitude formation, black and white high school students in two

midwestern cities were presented tapes of: (a) white communicators "general American dialect"; (b) white communicator "southern dialect"; (c) black communicator "general American dialect"; and (d) black communicator "southern dialect" (Lehman, 1969). Semantic differential and Likert type questionnaires were used to assess attitudes of respondents toward communicator. Analysis of variance was used in assessing attitudes of the subjects on four independent variables, two levels each: race of communicator (black, white); dialect of communicator ("general American," "southern dialect"); race of student (black, white) and sex of student (male, female). The subjects were found to be more positive toward the communicators with the "general American dialect" than toward those with the "southern dialect." More positive attitudes were expressed toward the Caucasian communicator than toward the black by the Likert-type questionnaire. "Southern dialect" was rated significantly less positively when used by the white communicator than by the black. Subjects tended to rate their own race more positively. The author concludes by indicating the potential importance of the possible influence of race and dialect of counselor in a counseling relationship.

A questionnaire designed to measure junior high school students' satisfaction with their counselor was completed by 2,000 students, 161 of whom were black (Mims, Herron & Wurtz, 1970). Analysis of the black responses was the object of the study conducted in two nonadjacent suburbs in Detroit where the black students were a distinct minority. Each school had black and white male counselors and white female counselors but no black female counselors. The investigators concluded that counselors of black students do not have to be black but rather sex is

suggested as a more important consideration than race. For example, the data suggested that black junior high school girls do not want a female counselor. Black boys had a similar degree of unhappiness with black male counselors and white female counselors. A limitation of the study is that black female counselors were not a part of the counselor population. Further review of the investigators' data would also tend to suggest that there was less satisfaction with white female counselors in general by both black and white junior high school students in the study.

The effects of the race of inexperienced lay counselors were tested with black junior high school students (Heffernon & Bruehl, 1971). Four black and four white college men who had no counseling experience were given eight hours of training in Rogerian principles of counseling. Each counselor was assigned two groups, each made up of three black eighth grade boys matched by I.Q. reading level, seventh grade attendance records, and grades. Assessment of reaction to counseling were made by: the result of giving counselees a choice at session five between reporting for counseling or going to the library; and measurement of pre- and post-counseling change on a 69-item version of the Barrett-Lennard Relationship Inventory; and an adjective check list describing real- and ideal-self. No systematic differences were observed on the paper and pencil instruments, but on the behavior measure, all of the counselees of black counselors chose to report to counseling rather than go to the library, while only one of 23 counselees with white counselors did not choose the library. The authors conclude that the behavioral measure showed a greater preference for black counselors, interpreted in terms of perceived counselor-counselee similarity.

The differences were studied between the attitudes of black high school students toward their white counselors and the attitudes of white students toward the same counselors (Burrell & Rayder, 1971). A sample of 50 seniors (10 blacks and 40 whites, both groups divided equally by sex) who had visited their counselors at least three times were asked to react to a 12-item attitude schedule, each item rated on a 5-point continuum ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. When analyzed by race, results indicated that the black student responses and attitudinal statements toward the counseling situation were significantly lower than responses by white students.

College Students

The hypothesis that clients who are counseled by counselors who are more similar to them (race, sex, and language) will be able to explore self more and to make greater progress was tested through taped one-hour interviews with 37 black male and female students in special programs for culturally disadvantaged using five black counselors and nine white counselors (Grantham, 1970). Random assignments were made so that each counselor was scheduled to see two males and two females. Four instruments were used in the study: (1) a slang test--40 multiple choice items measuring the counselor comprehension of nonstandard English; (2) Client Outcome Questionnaire (COQ)--a measure of client satisfaction; (3) Depth of self-exploration scale (DX); and (4) Counselor Facilitative Conditions Scale (FC)--measure of counselor functioning in the interview. Language was not found to be a significant variable. Two significant findings were: (a) black counselors were preferred by

subjects over white counselors to a significantly greater degree; and (b) female counselors were preferred to a greater degree than were male counselors.

"Effective" and "ineffective" groups of male student counselors in a NDEA Counseling and Guidance Institute were identified and the difference in prejudices were investigated twice (Milliken, 1965). Counseling practicum grades formed the basis for dichotomizing "effective" and "ineffective" counselors for the first investigation. Counselor supervisors' rating was the basis for determining counselor effectiveness in the second investigation. The Bogardus Ethnic Distance Scale was used to measure prejudice attitudes. That prejudice is related to counseling effectiveness (practicum grades) was supported; however, counseling effectiveness (supervisor rankings) and prejudice were not significantly related, but the results were in the hypothesized direction.

Replicating an earlier study, Mendelsohn (1966) assesses the effects of client-counselor similarity upon the duration of counseling by controlling for effects of client personality and counselor personality. The Meyers Briggs Type Indicators (MBTI) based on Jungian theory of types and consisting of four scales: Judgment-Perception; Thinking-Feeling; Sensation-Intuition; and Extraversion-Introversion were administered to 111 males and 90 female counselees seeking vocational-educational counseling and the 11 counselors involved (6 females and 5 males). Findings were that greater duration of counseling was positively associated with similarity on the MBTI and that there was no indication that sex of client or counselor exerted influence upon counseling duration. Although race was not involved as a variable, this study seems relevant

in view of the question that might arise whether race would have an intrusive affect.

In a study designed to determine the effects of counselor race and training with black clients in initial interviews, four counselors--a black counselor and three white counselors--of varying amounts of experience and education, were assigned to see eight black undergraduate students (4 male and 4 female) in a counter-balance design during consecutive weeks (Banks, Berenson & Carkhuff, 1967). Counselor performance was determined by independent rating of dimensions of interpersonal functioning: counselor empathy; counselor genuineness; counselor specificity of expression; and client depth of self-exploration. Also counselees assessed the counselor's level of functioning on a 50-item relationship inventory.

The black counselor and two inexperienced white counselors functioned at higher levels than the experienced white Ph.D. trained in the more traditional trait-and-factor approach. The counselees stated that they would return to see the black counselor, but none indicated that they would return to see the white Ph.D. When the data on the black counselor is disregarded, Banks et al. (1967) state that "two-thirds of the counselees would not return to see a white counselor for a second session [p. 72]."

Sixty-four undergraduate students, half black and half white, participated in three counseling sessions after which they responded to questionnaires and instruments designed to measure pre- and post-comparisons of preferences of counselors varying in professional experience; ethnicity; and sex (Tucker, 1969). Counselees had less

difficulty viewing the experienced counselors positively regardless of race or sex. However, counselors who differed from their counselees in sex and racial membership are less preferred with choices as follows:

SEX AND RACE	FIRST AND SECOND CHOICE	
1. Black Females	1st	Black Males
	2nd	Black Females
2. Black Males	1st	Black Males
	2nd	White Male
3. White Females	1st	White Male
	2nd	White Female
4. White Males	1st	White Male
	2nd	White Female

Prior to counseling a black coached client, 30 counselor trainees in a practicum completed the Bogardus Ethnic Distance Scale and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale to obtain rating on prejudice and dogmatism (Milliken & Patterson, 1967). Ratings of counselor behavior were made by the coached client and the supervisors of the counselor trainees following the interviews. Although the hypothesis that "good" counselors would have low rankings on prejudice and dogmatism findings were only in the hypothesized direction and not significant, it was concluded that both prejudice and dogmatism may be factors to consider in successful counseling relationships.

A study of the personal characteristics of four white and four black counselors and its relationship to counselor effectiveness, as viewed by 48 black college students, revealed that counselors of

different levels of education, experience, and race can function as effective change agents (Gardner, 1970). However, black college students perceived that black counselors would be able to function at higher facilitative levels with black students than white counselors.

In three separate samplings involving three different projects, SEEK (Search for Education, Exploration and Knowledge) students were surveyed to determine their attitudes and opinions regarding the importance of the ethnic backgrounds between counselor and counselee (Backner, 1970). The first survey involving 115 of 325 students revealed that only 12.7 per cent of the students endorsed a counselor of the same racial background as being a desired quality as compared to 25.3 per cent desiring counselors of same sex; 18.5 per cent indicated a preference for counselors over 35; and 43.4 per cent indicating a preference for a counselor under 35 years old. In the second sampling, 174 or 44.8 per cent out of 408 questionnaires were returned from SEEK students about one and one-half years later. Only 25.3 per cent stated that the counselor's ethnic background should be similar to counselees while 68.4 per cent stated that it didn't matter. However, Backner (1970) states that a "greater percentage of students did indicate that their counselor's ethnic background was important to them, but the large majority continued to indicate that it was not [p. 633]." In a third survey, in which the questionnaires were distributed under less controlled conditions, 30 out of "probably a hundred or a hundred and fifty [p. 634]" were returned. Twenty-one students responded that the ethnic background of the counselor did not matter. Backner concludes from the three samplings that most SEEK students during the period of the survey felt

that similarity of ethnic background between counselor and student doesn't matter.

Adults

The initial clinical interviews were recorded on four groups of hospitalized black and white female patients diagnosed as schizophrenics from upper and lower class status (Carkhuff & Pierce, 1967). They were assigned to black and white upper and lower class counselors who saw each patient in a design counterbalanced to control for the effects of order. Race and social class were significant sources of effect on patients' depth of self-exploration with patients most similar to the race and social class of the counselors tending toward more exploration of self.

In the natural setting of the employment interview, research was conducted to determine whether white and black employment interviewers elicit the same or different language patterns from lower class black subjects (Ledvinka, 1969). Tape recordings were made of the interviews of 75 black job seekers who were interviewed once each by a black interviewer and a white interviewer. On all measures, black interviewers elicited greater linguistic elaboration than did white interviewers. It is concluded that the interview situation affects the black response in such encounters for whites are a source of anxiety, role behaviors are prescribed for blacks to enact, and distances are created between black and white by white society.

Among the conclusions of an investigation into the nature of the counselor-client relationship as perceived by 39 adult unemployed and/or

underemployed culturally different clients in a pre-employment program was that the racial similarity between counselors and counselees is the factor effecting individual counseling relationships (Taylor, 1970).

A comparison was made between the number of counseling interviews held by 12 white counselors and one black counselor with black and non-black disadvantaged clients in the outreach units of the Michigan Employment Security Commission (Tourangeau, 1970). The study sought to determine the effectiveness of white middle class employment counselors in "reaching" disadvantaged black and white individuals as determined by the rates of interviews. No differences were found in the average number of counseling interviews held. Although there were considerable differences among counselors in their "success" in dealing with clients, when race was ignored there was considerable variance between counselors in the number of interviews held.

Fourteen white teachers and ten black parents were subjects in an investigation to explore the efficacy of training as a means of facilitating relationships between the races (Carkhuff & Banks, 1970). Both black and white subjects increased their functioning in interpersonal skills. However, whites tended to function at slightly higher levels with white adults and children and blacks tended to function at slightly higher levels with black. The authors indicate that "... reflects perhaps some generalized greater facility in communication with persons who are similar in characteristics [Carkhuff & Banks, 1970, p. 417]."

In a study of black youth who were enrolled in a job project and the factors related to their success, Gurin (1968) examined the general

issue of "whether the reaction of a trainee to a staff member is affected by the degree of similarity between staff members and trainee, similarity in terms of class background, values, cultures and sympathies [p. 26]." Using a series of rating scales, Gurin assessed trainees' perceptions of 93 black male counselors and 51 white male counselors with respect to the following: (1) trainees' attraction to staff member; (2) trainees' perception of staff member's influence; (3) trainees' perception of staff members' knowledge; (4) trainees' perception of staff members' punitiveness; (5) trainees' perception of staff members' stress on middle class behaviors. Trainees were asked to indicate their perceptions of other staff members on the same scale--100 black male basic education teachers, 32 white male basic education teachers, 54 black male vocational education teachers, and 20 white male vocational education teachers. In presenting the findings, Gurin observes:

What we see very clearly when the data are presented . . . the race of the staff members makes a very critical difference in the counselor role but no significant difference in the other roles. When compared to the white male counselors, the black male counselor was much more attractive to the trainees under him and was perceived by them as having more knowledge and influence. The differences are large and significant. In contrast, when black and white education and workshop teachers are compared, the differences, though in the same direction, were clearly not as large or significant. Whether or not the staff member is black or white does seem to matter in a role that requires a relationship of trust and personal closeness. It matters less in roles that are less personal and where the major focus is on information and skills that have to be taught [p. 27].

Gurin also suggests that trainees react differently to program staff "socialization" attempts when they come from black rather than white staff members. Correlations were obtained between the trainees' attraction to staff members and the perception of the extent to which staff members stressed middle class behaviors. The results indicated

that trainees reacted more favorably to these behavioral pressures when they came from a black staff member.

Summary

Research studies on the effects of the race of the counselor in the counseling relationship have been conducted with students in elementary grades, high school, college, and with adults. The bulk of the research to date has been accumulated on college students. These studies were concerned with the effects of race of counselor on black behavior in relationship to: stated counselor preference, depth of self-exploration, linguistic elaboration, interracial communication, number and duration of counseling interviews, dialect and language preferences and group counseling. The weight of the evidence for the research reviewed supports the notion that blacks tend to behave differently in the presence of white counselors than in the presence of black counselors. In the few studies where whites were included as subjects, it was also observed that whites expressed a preference for white counselors, just as blacks did for counselors of a similar race (Tucker, 1969; Carkhuff & Bank, 1970; Eiben, 1970; Lehman, 1969). As Banks (1971b) observes: "It is important to note that white clients reported greater rapport with white counselors. The factor of racial similarity is indeed a two-way street [p. 4]." On the other hand, it has also been found that counselor experience may tend to reduce counselee viewing counselors of an opposite race less positively (Tucker, 1969; Gardner, 1970) but this could be questioned in view of Banks et al. (1967) finding that the inexperienced counselors functioned at higher levels than

the trained Ph.D. This study could be criticized because of the small number of counselors and subjects involved in the sample.

Overall, the literature suggests that race is a source of effect in the interpersonal relationships. The method and procedure used to investigate race of counselor as a source of effect in the counseling situation will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

General Design

Trainee attitudes about working with a counselor of a different race were measured upon entry into three manpower training programs, and attitudes were measured six to eight months later. A questionnaire was used to gather demographic and background information. Two instruments were used to measure trainee attitudes.

Null Hypotheses

Operational hypotheses were stated in Chapter I, however the following null hypotheses were tested.

- H₁ There will be no differences in the trainees attitude about being assigned to a counselor of a different race prior to or upon entry into training by age, sex, and level of education.
- H₂ There will be no differences in trainee attitude about being assigned to a counselor of a different race six to eight months after program entrance and assignment to counselor, by age, sex, educational level, and race of counselor.
- H₃ There will be no differences in measured attitude of trainees in three different programs about assignment to a counselor

of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into a training program by race of counselor.

- H₄ There will be no differences in initial measure of trainees attitude about assignment to a counselor of a different race at program acceptance and between their measured attitude six to eight months following assignment to a counselor.
- H₅ There will be no differences in trainee self-rating of progress on behavioral measures six to eight months after acceptance into a training program by age, sex, educational level, and race of counselor.
- H₆ There will be no differences between trainees measures of internal-external locus of control, by age, sex, educational level, their initial measures of attitude about assignment to counselor of different race at program acceptance, and their measure of attitude about assignment to counselor of different race six to eight months later.

Subjects

The subjects in this investigation were 191 trainees enrolled in three manpower programs in Detroit, Michigan: Work Incentive Program (WIN), Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) and the McNamara Skills Center. There are four major CEP locations in Detroit with eight satellite units. WIN has three program locations. Subjects were selected from three CEP program locations, one WIN program in the inner city, and the only skills center program in the city. The sample also included counselors assigned to work with the enrollees and other

members of the employability development team: 19 counselors; 11 work training supervisors; 8 manpower specialists; and 11 job coaches. Staff selected to participate in the study were made by counseling and program supervisors. Since black counselors were usually fewer in number, the available black counselors were always included in the study sample. Chart 1 presents a description of staff.

CHART 1

STAFF BY PROGRAM, POSITION, RACE AND SEX

Position	Program												Total
	WIN				CEP				Skill Center				
	Race and Sex				Race and Sex				Race and Sex				
	BM	BF	WM	WF	BM	BF	WM	WF	BM	BF	WM	WF	
Counselor	1	1	1	3	0	3	1	2	0	1	1	5	19
Coach	1	5	0	0	4	1	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	11
Manpower Specialist	0	2	2	1	0	2*	1*	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	8
Work Training Specialist	0	1	0	5	0	3	0	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	11
Total	2	9	3	9	4	9	2	4	0	1	1	5	49

*Served on 2 or more teams.

NA = not applicable since Skill Center does not use the employability team model.

All of the programs, CEP, WIN and the Skills Center enrolled the unemployed or the underemployed person from a disadvantaged background (Manpower Report of the President, 1971). Chart 2 represents the number of trainees by sex and program.

CHART 2

TRAINEES BY SEX AND PROGRAM

Sex	Program			Total
	WIN	CEP	Skill Center	
Male	16	33	26	75
Female	22	47	47	116
Total	38	80	73	191

Background and Description
of Programs

This investigation was concerned with subjects who were enrolled in three manpower training programs in Detroit, Michigan; and this section gives background and description of WIN, CEP, and the Skills Center.

Work Incentive Program (WIN)

WIN was authorized by the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act. Its purpose is to restore economic independence to employable persons 16 years of age and over who are receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (Manpower Report of the President, 1971; Levitan & Mangum, 1969). At the national level, the program is a cooperative effort between the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Locally, identification of referrals for WIN manpower services is accomplished by the Department of Social Services and counseling, training and placement services furnished by the State Employment Service. For those who can be made job ready, the following services are provided as needed: work orientation, basic

education, skill training, and work experience. As an incentive for work, no deduction is made from welfare benefits for training stipend received or for earning up to a certain amount (Manpower Research Projects, 1970).

The WIN program seeks to implement the Human Resources Development Concept (HRD), the philosophy being to "screen in rather than screen out" the disadvantaged through vigorous out-reach efforts, referral to outside agencies, job development and coordination of efforts with other organizations on behalf of clients (Levitan and Mangum, 1969). The employability development team is assigned to each enrollee and consists of the counselor, manpower specialist, work training specialist and coach.

The process of delivery services to WIN program enrollees involves a series of steps including referral, intake, team assignment, orientation, training and job placement, bolstered by a support system.

Referral. Identification and referral to the MESC-WIN program staff is performed by caseworkers in the Michigan State Department of Social Services.

Intake. Caseworkers screen applicants and make initial determinations for program eligibility. In addition to being a recipient of Aid to Dependent Children, the applicant should be: (a) physically able to accept training, and (b) unemployed or underemployed. The right of final determination to enter WIN may be exercised by MESC.

Team assignment and role functions. After the applicant has been accepted as an enrollee, he is assigned to an employability development team consisting of a counselor, coach, work training specialist,

and manpower specialists who carry out role functions on behalf of the trainee (WIN Technical Assistance Handbook, November, 1968).

The counselor provides assistance to the enrollee related to job choice, job change, and job adjustment problems. Taking into consideration the enrollee's individuality and needs, assistance is furnished so as to enable the enrollee to reach decisions relative to vocational goals.

The coach, as a person indigenous to the population being served, acts as an intermediary between the enrollee and other team members. As interpreter and source of feedback from the community, under supervision, he assists and aids trainees by securing needed information and helping with problems of transportation, medical information and finances. The coach serves as client-advocate.

The work-training specialist performs administrative work related to developing training resources. He implements contracts for training projects and training slots in accordance with enrollees' needs.

The manpower specialist has the primary responsibility for job development, job placement and maintaining employer relations.

Orientation. After program acceptance, enrollees are provided four weeks of orientation which is subcontracted to the YMCA. The orientation program covers "world of work" topics, e.g., job seeking, reporting for an interview, getting to work on time, and related issues that may affect future employability.

Training. Training is "purchased," when required, for the client on a subcontract basis from existing community resources. The

counselor has the major responsibility in deciding, in concert with the counsellee and other team members, the nature of the training. Public training facilities and private institutions--profit and nonprofit--are used for semi-skilled, skilled, technical, business clerical and service types of training.

When a clear training program cannot be determined after orientation because of the lack of identifiable interests, aptitudes, or marked educational disadvantaged, basic education and/or work sampling may be offered. Work-samples provide enrollee and counselor a basis for assessing interests, aptitudes and motivation through simulated job tasks that are standardized covering levels of complexity in the dimensions--data, people, and things (Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Volume II, 1965).

Job placement and follow-through. This represents the terminal component in the program service delivery system when the enrollee is placed on a job and periodic checks, during a 90-day period, are made subsequent to placement to determine level of adjustment and to furnish necessary assistance.

Supportive services. Enrollees continue to receive the basic Aid to Dependent Children grant while in training. Also, a stipend of \$54.00 per month is paid in two week installments as an incentive.

Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)

The CEP program covers a defined geographic area where there is a high rate of unemployment, usually a metropolitan slum area or a rural area that is highly impoverished. The emphasis of CEP is to concentrate in a target area for the purpose of impact; to serve as a coordinating

mechanism for a variety of separate manpower programs operating in the target area; and to involve private employers in hiring the disadvantaged. At the federal level, administration of the program is a cooperative effort between the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor (DOL). Locally, the city of Detroit, Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Development (MCHRD) is the program sponsor, working in close alignment with the Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESCC). CEP provides training and supportive services to disadvantaged persons so they may obtain employment. A major function of CEP is to orient enrollees to their potential and furnish the applicant assistance in enrolling in the most appropriate ongoing manpower program that would be more suited to his needs.

A more detailed description of delivery of services to CEP enrollees involves a series of activities that include outreach and referral, intake, team assignment, orientation, training, work experience and job placement.

Outreach and referral. Identification, location, and referral of applicants to CEP is an active process of door to door community canvassing and maintaining liaison with other community agencies. The outreach and referral function is performed by the city of Detroit, Community Action Centers which may accept referrals from such organizations as the courts, MESCC and the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and other social organizations, and lay and professional people.

Intake. CEP staff determines program eligibility among which include: (a) applicant must be unemployed or underemployed;

(b) applicant must live in the CEP target area (a geographically specified boundary in inner city Detroit); and (c) applicant must meet income criteria guidelines established by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which at the time of this investigation, was \$1,900 for a single person, graduated in \$600 increments for each dependent.

Team assignment and role functions. Upon acceptance, the enrollee is assigned to a team comprised of CEP employees of the city of Detroit and MESC-CEP employees. Team members include a counselor, interviewer/work training specialist, manpower specialist (MESC-CEP employees), a coach and clerical worker (city-CEP employees). Since the employability team model is followed, the role functions of each team member basically parallel that described in the WIN program.

Orientation. Except for enrollees who are determined to be "job ready" an average of two weeks of orientation is furnished by the CEP staff related to work habits and attitudes, completing job applications and other general world of work requirements.

Training. A prime objective of CEP is to insure that its enrollees have access to the range of existing manpower training programs in the area which may include technical-vocational, business-clerical, service and other programs. Basic education is provided enrollees in need of improved skills for training or employment purposes.

Job placement. Placement assistance is furnished when the enrollee is determined ready. However, work experience and job-tryouts are sometimes used as an intermediate step when necessary and available.

Other support assistance. All enrollees receive a basic physical examination at the time of program entrance and are furnished minor medical restorative services necessary to enhance employability. Trainees in orientation programs, basic education, vocational training and work experience receive weekly training stipends that average \$51.00, the exact amount determined by dependency status and transportation needs.

McNamara Skills Center (Skills Center)

The skills center concept was initiated by the Office of Education of HEW whose responsibility was to contract for training programs and facilities for enrollees selected by the State Employment Service (Levitan and Mangum, 1969). Under contract from HEW, the McNamara Skills Center is operated by the Detroit Public Schools but the identification of clients, screening, counseling and job placement is performed by the Michigan State Employment Security Commission (MESC). Trainees are selected for the Skills Center by the MESC.

The Skills Center delivery of service is through a series of activities that also include outreach and referral, intake, orientation, training, placement and follow-up.

Outreach and referral. Applicants for the Skills Center may be referred by branch offices of the MESC, MESC-mobile units and CEP programs.

Intake. MESC maintains an office at the Skills Center site. Determination as to eligibility for the program includes that the applicant must be in need of skill training; he must be disadvantaged; and he

must be unemployed or underemployed. At the time of acceptance, the enrollee is assigned a counselor who counsels with the enrollee during three program phases.

Program phases. The major phases are (a) orientation, (b) basic education and (c) occupational training. During the two weeks of orientation, the enrollee obtains information regarding center procedure, participates in assessment procedures to determine basic job related education needs and he is exposed to world of work activities pertaining to work behavior and attitudes.

Basic education may average six to eight weeks, but since some trainees may not require this amount of time, they may enter occupational training that ranges up to 50 weeks in six areas: (1) clerical, (2) automotive, (3) metal trades, (4) service, (5) shipping and receiving and (6) sales--auto parts. Vocational training is provided by instructors of the Detroit Board of Education.

Placement and follow-up. Following training MESC placements specialists provide placement assistance and follow through up to six months.

Selection of Sample

In order to conduct the investigation, it was necessary to obtain the approval of top program administrators. A combination of means were used usually involving written communication enclosing copy of the proposal for the study, telephone conversations, and personal meetings to work out details. It was important to assure these administrators that the study would be conducted with the interest in mind of minimally disrupting normal daily operations.

WIN Program

Since the team concept was being phased in at the time the study was initiated, teams that had a full complement or those that were close to complete were included in the study. Teams with black counselors were usually fewer in number; therefore it was necessary to include all teams with black counselors. Once teams had been selected, all new trainee enrollments were selected for inclusion in the study that were being assigned to selected teams. Since trainees already assigned to team caseloads were at various stages of program completion, new trainees were accepted only as new slots opened. A coordinator of trainee enrollment informed the project staff when new trainees were to enter and these trainees were seen for initial interview at the program site prior to or at the time they started orientation. As shown in Chart 1 the sample from the WIN program consisted of six teams involving six counselors; six work training specialists; five manpower specialists; and six coaches. Two counselors were black (1 male and 1 female) and four counselors were whites (1 male and 3 females). The sample was made up of 38 trainees (16 males and 22 females), as shown in Chart 2. The sample was selected by taking all new trainees as they enrolled in training slots over a five-month period.

CEP Program

The CEP program uses an employability development team model to implement the HRD concept. Although CEP includes aides, clerical staff and ex-officio members on its team the following team members were included in the study group: counselor; job developer-manpower specialist; coach; and work training specialist. Since this program was early

into the initiation of the team concept, teams that were closer to having a full complement of members were selected. Three CEP locations were included in the study in order to obtain black counselors. Project staff was notified in advance of new entrance dates and trainees to be assigned to selected teams were interviewed at the time of enrollment. Subjects in the sample were selected as they enrolled who were assigned to six teams involving six counselors; five work training specialists; three job developers-manpower specialists; and five coaches. As Chart 1 indicates, three counselors were black (all females) and three counselors were white (1 male and 2 females). The sample consisted of 80 trainees (33 males and 47 females), as indicated in Chart 2.

Skills Center

The Skills Center, a multi-occupational training program that is operated in a single facility, does not use the employability team concept. Trainees are assigned to counselors and they are exposed to center instructors for orientation, basic education and skills training. Project staff made arrangements with the Michigan Employment Security Commission, which maintains an office and counseling staff at the center, to interview applicants on intake days. At the time of interview, it was not known whether an applicant would enter the center for training or who would be his counselor. As a result, 35 applicants interviewed were not included in the sample since they were not assigned to counselors who participated in the study.

As shown in Chart 1, the Skills Center sample consisted of 73 enrollees (26 males and 47 females). This included seven counselors,

one black female and six white (1 male and 5 females), as shown in Chart 2.

Time Schedule

Initial interviewing was conducted between October 1970 and March 1971. It had been anticipated that the initial interviewing would have been accomplished within the first three months, but the economic decline in Detroit caused a lag in new slots becoming available for new enrollees resulting from the decline in job placement of enrollees already in programs awaiting placement.

Follow-up interviewing was conducted between May 1971 and October 1971. Some difficulty was encountered in contacting enrollees due to their absence at the time the interviewers visited the training facilities or because enrollees had completed programs, discontinued, or changed their place of residence. The final round of post interviewing resulted when enrollees responded to a letter indicating that they would be paid \$5.00 for their time.

Measurements

Two instruments used in this study were the Consequences Model Questionnaire and the Internal -External Locus of Control Scale.

Consequence Model Questionnaire (CMQ)

The CMQ used in this study was designed by Rosen and Komorita (1969). It is a two-factor model based upon a decision theory approach to attitude assessment. Measurement of attitudes that relate to

behavior is important and the two-factor approach recognizes that the value of an attitude object may be determined by a multiple approach.

In reviewing the literature on consumer choice behaviors, Edwards (1954, 1961) discusses the concept of economic man, the assumption being that man behaves in a rational way in the attempt to maximize payoff after all alternatives have been considered. Edwards suggests that payoff may be the result of several courses of action, and he presents four models of decision making: actions that maximize the product of objective probability and objective utility; behaviors that maximize the product of objective probability and subjective value; actions which have maximization on the product of subjective probability and objective utility; and actions which maximize the product of subjective probability and subjective value. The value of a choice may be obtained by multiplying those numbers representing the probability factor and the value factor, and obtaining the summation of the products across all consequences of the decision.

The subjective probability and subjective utility model is suggested by Edwards (1961) as more appropriately reflecting human decision making. Assuming that the value of a given choice is obtained by computing the products of subjective probabilities and subjective value it is considered the subjective expected utility model (SEU), the model adapted for use in this study. In short, since the two-factor approach to attitude assessment assures that each attitude has an instrumental relationship to the ends that it serves, measurement is made of the "desirability/undesirability of associated consequences as perceived by the respondent, and the likelihood that the consequences will actually

result from the action, i.e., the perceived degree of association between the proposition and the consequence [Rosen & Komorita, 1969, p. 511]."

An advantage of the CMQ over other models is that the subjects generate their own beliefs and ratings of probability, as opposed to more structured instruments and designs where consequences or associations may be predetermined (Rosen, 1969; Morgan, 1969). For each issue or proposal presented, the subject is asked to give his perception of what they view to be the positive and the negative consequences related to the issue. Subjects are then asked to rate the probability of occurrence of each consequence listed, then they rate the utility of each consequence assuming its occurrence. The sums of the products of probability and utility yields the subjective expected utility (SEU) of the attitude object.

All subjects were administered the CMQ at the training location prior to or at the time of entry into a training program. In the initial interview, subjects were asked: "What are the good and bad things that you think might happen if you were assigned to work with a counselor who is of a different race and background than you?" At the time of the post interview, subjects were asked: "If you were to continue in this program, what do you think would be the good and bad things that might happen if you are assigned to work with a counselor who is of a different race and background than you?" The question in the post interview was asked in a parallel manner in order to maintain the probability dimension and to facilitate the comparison between interviews.

The counselor and members of the employability development team were also administered the CMQ on a one-time basis in order to establish a base line of their attitudes. The question presented was: "What do you think would be the good and bad things that might happen if you were assigned to work with an enrollee who is of a different race and background than you?"

After the subjects had given the positive and the negative consequences of the proposal, they were asked to rate the probability or likelihood in conjunction with implementation of the proposal, and to rate the utility of its occurrence.

In rating probability, subjects were shown a 5-point scale with the consequences that each subject had generated. The scale ranged from "very likely" (score 5) to "very unlikely" (score 1). Subjects were re-read each consequence and then asked to rate each consequence by selecting an alternative on the scale.

For rating the utility of positive consequences, subjects were asked to select a response from a 3-point scale that ranged from "very desirable" (score 3) to "unimportant" (score 0).

The utility of negative consequences was rated by selecting an alternative on the scale that ranged from "very undesirable" (score 3) to "unimportant" (score 0).

From the CMQ, three measures may be obtained: $SEU +$ = the sum of the products of subjective probability and utility for positive consequences; $SEU -$ = the sum of the products of subjective probability and utility for negative consequences; and total $SEU = SEU -$ subtracted from $SEU +$. High positive $SEU +$ scores presumably represent favorable

attitudes toward an issue while high SEU - scores are indicative of less favorable attitudes.

It is possible to obtain other scores from the CMQ which are the number of positive and negative consequences, positive and negative probability, and positive and negative utility.

Internal-External Control Scale

The internal-external control scale is based on the theoretical formulations of Rotter (1966) that people vary in the extent to which they feel that success and failure are based more upon individual efforts rather than due to external conditions. An internal orientation places emphasis upon the individual incorporation of the middle class values and the Protestant Ethic. On the other hand, an external orientation suggests that beliefs are held that fate and chance occurrences are more determinant than individual effort. Furthermore, an internal orientation makes the assumption that competency, personal efficacy and a sense of control over one's fate is involved. It suggests a positive rather than a negative affirmation.

Some of the uses, interpretations, and concepts that are associated with Rotter's scale and measures of internal-external control have been seriously questioned. For example, the unitary nature of the concept, the positive affirmations that have been accorded to "internals" and the skill vs. chance assumptions that have been widely used in experiments have all been challenged (Gurin, Lao & Beattie, 1969). Much of the criticisms against the uses and interpretations made from the internal-external control measure has its basis in data from the research of Gurin and Gurin et al. (1969) with black college students

and black high school dropouts and adults enrolled in job training programs. Because of the groups involved, particularly those in the job training, a brief consideration of the criticism leveled seems appropriate since the internal-external control scale used in this study has been responsive to some of the criticism for the scale was modified to some extent.

Internal and external concepts of locus of control are not unitary concepts. As previously noted, it is important to make distinctions of directionality and source: people control vs. control by impersonal forces; type of client--negative or positive; and the nature of the external forces--benevolent or malevolent.

The Gurins point out that self-other distinctions are quite important to the understanding of the control measure particularly as it relates to assignment of responsibility: individual blame vs. system blame. This seems particularly important with black subjects. An internal orientation could take on a negative value when associated with failure, but it is positively valued when associated with success. An internal orientation of blacks with a history of failure tied to external conditions who believe that it is the lack of ability, skill and education that is the cause of their condition can hardly be viewed positively. Thus when internal control has intrapunitive implications, it could lead to feelings of guilt, self degradation, and self blame which could be psychologically damaging.

Most of the Rotter experiments are based on two factor assumptions of skill vs. chance. Again the study of black subjects appears to be relevant. When taking into consideration external control, it seems

overly naive to explain that the great majority of blacks find themselves economically distressed solely because of fate and chance factors rather than as the result of a system that has discriminated systematically against blacks as a group.

Internal and external control operates generally within the society and also at the more personal level, distinctions that are not often made. In studies of blacks in job training programs (Gurin, 1968), there was no correlation between acceptance of generalized ideological control beliefs about the protestant ethic values and success in job and training. However, when placed in a more personal context, personal control ideology related to achievement and feeling of personal sufficiency. It was observed, for example, that most of the black college students and blacks in a manpower training program adopted the more middle class values and beliefs for what makes for success. Yet this internal orientation was not found to have any relationship with measures of achievement and success. However, at the more personal level--questions directed to personal situations and circumstances--the ones who were more internal in belief were observed to be higher on concepts of success, achievement, and aspirations.

Taking into account the deficiencies in the Rotter Internal-External Control Scale, the Gurins selected items from Rotter's scale, the Personal Efficacy Scale, and developed others that followed the forced choice format. These items were factor analyzed to obtain loading which centered around four factors: Factor I--Control Ideology--designed to establish the beliefs regarding levels of success or failure of people in general; Factor II--Personal Control--all phrased in the

first person establishes beliefs at the personal level relative to success-failure factors; Factor III--System Modifiability--beliefs relative to the extent that war, racial discrimination, and world affairs can be changed; and Factor IV--Race Ideology. Race Ideology is subdivided into: (1) Individual Collective Action--refers to strategy for handling discrimination; (2) Discrimination Modifiability--measure of beliefs that discrimination can be reduced by social and political efforts; (3) Individual-System Blame--beliefs that reflect viewpoints regarding the social and economic condition; and (4) Racial Militancy--a measure of belief in a militant form of protest.

Selected items from the Internal-External Control Scale dealing with person control, control ideology, individual-system blame, individual-collective action and racial militancy were selected for administration to the subjects. Since this scale had been used primarily with college students, it was necessary to simplify some of the wording to guard against the possibility that trainees would have difficulty due to low level reading skills.

The Internal-External Control Scale was given in the first interview to both staff and enrollees. It was not repeated during post interviewing. All administrations were made on an individual basis following their completion of the CMQ. Subjects were presented the 17 item scale with the general instruction: "Here are a few statements that we would like for you to read. Choose one that best suits you while we are checking the other forms." Subjects were required to read each pair of statements, then place a check in one of the boxes in front of each pair that he (she) decided upon.

Questionnaire

Two questionnaires were used in the data collection. The questionnaire in the first interview was designed so as to gather demographic data, e.g., age, sex, education and race. Other information obtained related to racial mix of neighborhood and school when subjects were growing up and the racial composition of the community in which the subjects were currently living.

For staff, the questionnaire related primarily to demographic data and the staff's experience in working with enrollees whose ethnic match was different.

The post questionnaire, administered only to trainees during the second interview, included some items used in a study of the Job-Now Project (Gurin, 1968) and it also incorporated new items. The questionnaire was designed to obtain information to tap the feelings of the enrollees relative to the progress that each trainee was making or had made in the program and the parts of the program that were perceived as being more helpful. Enrollees were also asked to give a picture of their behavior retrospective to program entry and a rating of the same behavior currently. A 7-point scale was used on which they placed checks containing descriptions of behaviors. Also, trainees were asked to rate the counselor and/or member of the employability development team relative to their influence in the program, how close they felt toward the staff, and how much trust enrollees' felt could be generated toward staff. Ratings were obtained of their feelings about how much each staff understood the enrollee and his problems.

Procedure

All instruments were administered to staff and subjects on an individual basis. During the first interview, enrollees were contacted prior to or at the time of enrollment in a training program. The instruments that were administered to enrollees during the initial interview were the basic questionnaire of background information, the CMQ and the Internal-External Control Scale. Enrollees were contacted at the program site. Staff were interviewed once to establish base line information for the counselor and or manpower teams. All staff were asked to furnish information for the questionnaire and they were given the CMQ and the Internal-External Control Scale.

In the second interview, the questionnaire pertaining to enrollees' feeling toward staff, program, and progress, was completed. The CMQ was also administered a second time. Trainees were contacted at the program location or at a specific training site.

Interviewing was controlled for racial bias inasmuch as black and white staff was seen by an interviewer of the same racial background. Black trainees were interviewed by black female interviewers who were high school graduates.

Because of the emotionally laden nature of some of the questions being asked, training sessions were held to familiarize the interviewers with situations they might encounter and to furnish training in using the instruments.

Limitation of Study

In any study of this type there are necessarily some limitations that are imposed. The limitations of this study pertain to

- (1) geographical location, (2) size of sample, (3) nature of sample and
- (4) the time frame.

The study was conducted in Detroit, Michigan, an urban setting, and no attempt was made to include job trainees from rural settings. Consequently, the findings would appear to be more applicable to a large metropolitan location. In addition, enrollees were selected from three different manpower programs, therefore the results should be considered in relationship to the type of programs included in this study and may not apply to other types of manpower training efforts.

Although an attempt was made to include enough subjects in the study sample to be representative of persons enrolled in three different manpower programs, constraints imposed in the selection process as a result of program intake procedures, the number of slots opened to accept new enrollees while the investigation was in progress, and the importance of not disrupting normal agency functioning, all resulted in selecting enrollees when they were available which was on an "as they enrolled basis."

This is a study of differential attitudinal responses of black job trainees toward being assigned to a counselor dissimilar racially. Because of the relative absence of white enrollees in the programs, white job trainees were not included in the study. The finding then pertains to the black response to black and white counselors.

Time intervals between pre- and post-testing occurred during a period when trainees were to be enrolled in a program as opposed to program completion. The time allowed between initial and post interviewing was felt to have been sufficient for a working relationship to develop

between counselor and enrollee. Different responses may have been obtained had all post interviewing occurred upon program completion. However, two factors that argued against this were: the time limitations of a grant to conduct the study; and the risk of not being able to locate large numbers of the trainees with considerable passage of time.

The results obtained from an analysis of the data are presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This study was designed to investigate the attitudes of manpower trainees toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race prior to or immediately upon entrance into a manpower training program and their attitudes six to eight months later. The 191 subjects used in this study were all black (75 males and 116 females) who were counseled by black and white counselors. Subjects were enrolled in three different manpower training programs in Detroit, Michigan: Work Incentive Program (WIN), Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), and the McNamara Skills Center (Skills Center).

Data were collected through personal interviews. The measuring instruments used to assess attitudes were the Consequence Model Questionnaire (CMQ) and the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (I-E Scale). The CMQ, described in more detail in Chapter III, is a two-factor model based upon decision theory. It elicits both positive and negative consequences regarding an attitude object along with: (a) the probability that each consequence generated is likely to occur, and (b) the utility of each consequence should the consequence be implemented. The proposals (attitude object) presented by black interviewers to black subjects in this investigation were: (a) "What do you think would be the good and

bad things that might happen if you were assigned to work with a counselor who is of a different race and background than you?" (initial measure), and (b) "If you were to continue in this program, what do you think would be the good and bad things that might happen if you were assigned to work with a counselor who is of a different race and background than you?" (post-measure).

Based upon the theoretical formulation that success and failure are more the result of individual effort than the effects of external conditions, the I-E Scale, discussed in more detail in Chapter III, was administered to all subjects initially for use in analysis of attitudes from the CMQ. The I-E Scale assesses feeling related to personal control, control ideology, individual system-blame, individual-collective action, and racial militancy.

The data were analyzed to examine trainees' initial and post attitudes towards working with a counselor of dissimilar race in order to examine associations related to demographic variables, program considerations, internal-external locus of control, and self-ratings on behavioral indices. Null hypotheses were as follows:

1. Trainees' attitudes toward assignment to a counselor of different race is independent of age, sex, and level of education prior to or upon entry into training.
2. There would be no differences in trainees' attitude about being assigned to a counselor of a different race six to eight months later by age, sex, and educational level.
3. There would be no differences between initial and post attitude measures of trainees about assignment to a counselor of

different race, by race of counselor.

4. Trainees' attitude toward assignment to counselor of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into training is independent of the program.
5. Internal-External locus of control would be independent of age, sex, educational level and initial and post attitude measures toward assignment to counselor of different race.
6. Trainee ratings of progress on behavioral indices six to eight months after program acceptance would be independent of age, sex, educational level, and race of counselor.

This chapter will first present general findings from the measuring instruments on the initial sample with a summary of the findings from the measuring instruments. The final sample will be discussed, and the major hypotheses will be presented with the results from statistical analyses. Findings from each hypothesis will be summarized.

The Initial Sample

Consequence Model Questionnaire (CMQ)

Attitude of manpower trainees toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race was measured by the CMQ. The desirability/undesirability of the proposal is designated subjective utility (U) and the likelihood/association as subjective probability (ψ). The contribution of each consequence generated by the trainee is a multiple of ψU , or Subjective Expected Utility (SEU). The difference between SEU+ and SEU- equals overall SEU. Overall SEU scores on the initial samples are presented in Table 1, which indicates that the 22-28 year-old age group earned slightly higher mean scores, while 29 year-olds and over scored

lower; females yielded higher scores than males; and that trainees with 9th grade education or less scored higher, while enrollees with 10th and 11th grade education scored lower. In testing the differences within groups, the differences were not statistically significant.

TABLE 1
PRE-OVERALL SEU SCORES OF 153 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

		Pre			
	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	61	4.721	15.399	.457	n.s.
22-28	44	6.182	13.436		
29 and over	48	3.146	16.491		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	58	2.138	13.948	2.581	n.s.
Female	95	6.179	15.747		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	22	6.045	15.076	.725	n.s.
10-11	43	2.302	13.426		
12 or more	88	5.443	16.012		
Total Respondents	153	4.647	15.171		

The dynamics of how overall SEU scores were obtained may be determined from Table 2 and Table 3 positive SEU and negative SEU scores. Although not statistically significant by age, sex, and education, the 22-28 year-olds yielded slightly higher positive scores, but the 29 and over age group generated higher negative scores. Females had higher positive and lower negative scores. Across age, sex, and educational levels, all groups generate higher positive than negative scores.

TABLE 2

PRE-OVERALL POSITIVE SEU SCORES OF 129 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

		Pre			
	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	54	15.074	11.848	.268	n.s.
22-28	36	16.944	11.539		
29 and over	39	15.744	12.219		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	47	15.021	12.006	.319	n.s.
Female	82	16.244	11.745		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	17	17.059	11.360	1.049	n.s.
10-11	34	13.294	11.590		
12 or more	78	16.615	11.984		
Total Respondents	129	15.798	11.809		

TABLE 3

PRE-OVERALL NEGATIVE SEU SCORES OF 119 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

		Pre			
	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	49	10.755	11.331	.267	n.s.
22-28	32	10.562	10.503		
29 and over	38	12.237	10.660		
Total	119	11.176	10.834		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	50	11.640	11.733	.157	n.s.
Female	69	10.841	10.209		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	15	10.467	11.109	.542	n.s.
10 or 11	36	9.806	9.718		
12 or more	68	12.059	11.389		
Total Respondents	119	11.176	10.834		

Internal-External Locus of Control

The factors measured pertaining to internal-external locus of control, discussed in detail in Chapter III, are summarized at the beginning of this chapter.

Personal Control scores (Table 4) were assigned on a range from 0-5 so that 5 was the highest possible score that could be earned (low personal control, 0, and high personal control, 5). By age, sex, and education, there are no statistically significant differences, although the least educated have lowest personal control scores.

On Internal Control Ideology (highest possible score, 4), there were no differences by age and education (Table 5). However, a sex difference was found, for males were lower than females ($p < .05$). However, those with least formal education are lowest of all groups on internal control ideology measures.

Measurement of Individual-System Blame, the range is 0-4 with low score in the direction of self-blame while a high score indicates choices representing tendencies to blame the system. Table 6 shows an age difference ($p < .01$) for the 22-28 year-old age group generated lowest mean score. No statistically significant sex and education differences were observed.

In measuring Individual-Collective Action (highest possible score, 2), a low score suggests that the person is less prone to feel the need to organize to combat racial discrimination. No differences were found by age, sex, and education (Table 7).

Racial Militancy measures the belief in a form of protest (highest possible score, 2). While there were no age and educational

TABLE 4

I-E PERSONAL CONTROL SCORES OF 177 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	72	3.014	1.041	.484	n.s.
22-28	50	3.220	1.217		
29 and over	55	3.145	.297		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	66	3.121	1.117	.005	n.s.
Female	111	3.108	1.209		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	26	2.654	1.056	2.396	n.s.
10-11	54	3.164	1.161		
12 or more	97	3.206	1.190		
Total Respondents	177	3.113	1.172		

TABLE 5

I-E INTERNAL CONTROL IDEOLOGY SCORES OF 177 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	73	3.205	.927	.249	n.s.
22-28	52	3.212	.893		
29 and over	52	3.096	1.071		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	67	2.970	.953	5.048	.05
Female	110	3.300	.944		
<u>Education</u>					
01-09	26	2.923	1.017	1.107	n.s.
10-11	54	3.185	.848		
12 or more	97	3.237	.998		
Total Respondents	177	3.175	.958		

TABLE 6

I-E INDIVIDUAL SYSTEM BLAME SCORES OF 170 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	72	.972	1.100		
22-28	49	.918	.909	6.569	.01
29 and over	49	1.612	1.204		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	68	1.338	1.087	3.585	n.s.
Female	102	1.010	1.121		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	26	1.615	1.098		
10-11	53	1.132	1.161	3.038	n.s.
12 or more	91	1.011	1.070		
Total Respondents	170	1.141	1.116		

TABLE 7

I-E INDIVIDUAL-COLLECTIVE ACTION SCORES OF 178 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	75	.600	.788		
22-28	52	.519	.671	.669	n.s.
29 and over	51	.686	.707		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	69	.652	.744	.548	n.s.
Female	109	.569	.725		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	26	.808	.694		
10-11	55	.509	.690	1.481	n.s.
12 or more	97	.598	.759		
Total Respondents	178	.601	.731		

differences (Table 8), sex differences were found for males yielded a higher overall mean score ($p < .001$).

TABLE 8
I-E RACIAL MILITANCY SCORES OF 179 TRAINEES
BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	74	.757	.679	1.383	n.s.
22-28	52	.558	.725		
29 and over	53	.755	.782		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	70	.929	.748	12.311	.001
Female	109	.550	.673		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	26	.769	.863	.319	n.s.
10-11	56	.732	.726		
12 or more	97	.660	.691		
Total Respondents	179	.698	.726		

Summary

The two major instruments used in this investigation of manpower trainees' attitude toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race were the CMQ and the I.E Scale. From the CMQ, there were no overall significant differences between SEU scores on the basis of age, sex, and education. The difference between positive and negative SEU scores yielded an overall net positive result, indicating that the sample as a whole generated more favorable than negative responses about being assigned to a counselor of a different race.

From the I-E Scale, there were no age, sex, and education differences on measures of personal control and individual-collective action.

Age and education differences were not found on Internal Control Ideology and Racial Militancy. However, females scored higher than males on Internal Control Ideology ($p < .05$), and males obtained higher scores on Racial Militancy than females indicating that females were more accepting of the system. The 22-28 year-old group obtained lowest scores on Individual-System Blame ($p < .05$), but there were no sex and education differences.

The Final Sample

The final sample on which hypotheses were tested included those trainees from the initial round of interviewing who could be located and who made themselves available for post-interviews. Absence, discontinuation of training, and address changes contributed to difficulties during the post-interview phase of this investigation. In this section, we will look again at the hypotheses examined in Tables 1, 2, and 3, but restricting ourselves to those entering trainees on whom we also have a later second interview.

Hypothesis One

Trainees' attitude toward assignment to a counselor of different race prior to or upon entry into training is independent of age, sex, and level of education. To test the null hypothesis of no association, the overall SEU scores for enrollees were separated for analysis. The mean scores and standard deviation are presented in Table 9. Overall, the subjects generated scores that had a net positive result. By age, sex, and education, the 22-28 year-old group had higher overall SEU scores, females were higher than males, and subjects with most education

had higher overall scores. Lower scores were obtained by the 29-year-old-and-over group and by those with 10th-11th grade educations. In order to determine the dynamics that contributed to overall SEU score, both positive and negative SEU scores were separated for analysis of means using F ratios; the results are presented in Table 10 and Table 11. Across age, sex, and educational levels, all groups obtained higher positive SEU scores than negative scores. Between groups, those age 29 and over, males, and enrollees with 10-11 years of schooling earned lower positive scores. The same groups obtained lower negative SEU scores, except those with least formal education produced lowest scores. Again, all findings are not significant.

In general, then, findings on demographic relationships and enrollees' SEU scores are similar whether we look at the total sample of enrollees or only at those who also received a post-interview.

TABLE 9
PRE-OVERALL SEU SCORES BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION: FROM ENROLLMENT
INTERVIEW OF 86 TRAINEES WHO ALSO RECEIVED POST-INTERVIEWS

	N	Mean	S. D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	35	6.857	18.091	1.071	n.s.
22-28	23	7.478	13.601		
29 and over	28	1.892	13.434		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	34	4.265	14.884	.300	n.s.
Female	52	6.154	16.091		
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	8	5.750	12.748	.893	n.s.
10-11	29	2.310	15.253		
12 or more	49	7.184	16.139		
Total Respondents	86	5.407	15.563		

TABLE 10

PRE-POSITIVE SEU SCORES BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION: FROM ENROLLMENT
INTERVIEWS OF 73 TRAINEES WHO ALSO RECEIVED POST-INTERVIEWS

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	31	18.194	12.732		
22-28	19	18.737	13.029	1.776	n.s.
29 and over	23	12.826	9.029		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	29	14.345	12.321		
Female	44	18.159	11.513	1.815	n.s.
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	6	17.500	13.867		
10-11	23	13.913	11.473	.884	n.s.
12 or more	44	17.955	11.907		
Total Respondents	73	16.644	11.905		

TABLE 11

PRE-OVERALL SEU NEGATIVE SCORES BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION:
FROM ENROLLMENT INTERVIEWS OF 69 TRAINEES
WHO ALSO RECEIVED POST-INTERVIEWS

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	29	11.207	11.368		
22-28	16	11.500	11.094	.109	n.s.
29 and over	24	10.083	9.203		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	28	9.679	11.303		
Female	41	11.707	10.610	.623	n.s.
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	6	9.833	9.833		
10-11	25	10.120	10.120	.170	n.s.
12 or more	38	11.553	11.553		
Total Respondents	69	10.884	10.458		

Summary

Overall SEU scores from the CMQ reflected a net positive result, indicating that more positive than negative consequences were generated by trainees toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race. Although slightly higher overall SEU scores were obtained by the 22-28 year-old group, by females, and by subjects with 12 years or more education, the differences were small and insignificant. Some variation was observed among the positive and negative SEU scores, but these were small and insignificant.

Hypothesis One is supported that trainees' initial attitude toward assignment to a counselor of different race prior to or upon entry into training is independent of age, sex, and education.

Hypothesis Two

There would be no differences in trainees' attitude about being assigned to a counselor of a different race six to eight months later by age, sex, and education. Post overall SEU scores are presented in Table 12 by age, sex, and education with means and standard deviations. Overall, the subjects generated scores that had a net negative result in that scores were on the SEU- side. By age, sex, and education, the group age 29 and over had the lowest overall SEU score, males were lower than females, and enrollees with 10-11 years of schooling were lowest. However, none of these differences are significant. In order to determine in what way the generation of both positive SEU and negative SEU scores contributed to overall results, these scores were separated and analyzed by age, sex, and educational groupings (Table 13 and Table 14). Within subgroup comparisons against themselves indicated that higher

TABLE 12

POST-OVERALL SEU SCORES OF 99 TRAINEES BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

		N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>						
	17-21	42	.048	11.580		
	22-28	26	.038	10.157	.666	n.s.
	29 and over	31	-3.065	14.697		
<u>Sex</u>						
	M					
	Male	40	-1.825	10.935		
	Female	59	-.356	13.159	.339	n.s.
<u>Education</u>						
	9 or less	10	-.100	13.699		
	10-11	35	-2.371	13.333	.359	n.s.
	12 or more	54	-.185	11.423		
Total Respondents		99	-.950	12.272		

TABLE 13

POST-POSITIVE SEU SCORES OF 95 TRAINEES BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

		N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>						
	17-21	39	19.436	9.495		
	22-28	26	17.769	5.995	.321	n.s.
	29 and over	30	18.067	10.716		
<u>Sex</u>						
	Male	38	17.053	8.593		
	Female	57	19.544	9.291	1.739	n.s.
<u>Education</u>						
	9 or less	10	16.500	10.773		
	10-11	33	18.425	8.246	.325	n.s.
	12 or more	52	19.019	9.323		
Total Respondents		95	18.547	9.055		

negative than positive scores were yielded across groups except for the 17-21 year-olds, females, and those with 12 years or more schooling. Again, none of these relationships were significant.

TABLE 14
POST-NEGATIVE SEU SCORES OF 98 TRAINEES BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P
<u>Age</u>					
17-21	41	18.439	8.735		
22-28	26	17.808	9.516	.547	n.s.
29 and over	31	20.484	12.767		
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	40	18.025	9.601		
Female	58	19.534	10.821	.504	n.s.
<u>Education</u>					
9 or less	10	16.600	9.454		
10-11	35	19.686	9.779	.346	n.s.
12 or more	53	18.849	10.913		
Total Respondents	93	18.918	10.316		

Summary

Overall SEU scores from the CMQ showed a net negative result indicating that more negative than positive consequences were yielded by trainees toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race. Overall lower scores were obtained by the oldest age group, males, and enrollees with 10-11 years of formal education, but these were not significantly different. Within subgroup comparison in terms of positive and negative SEU scores, higher negative than positive scores were generated across groups except the 17-21 year-olds, females, and

enrollees with 12 years or more formal education. However, these differences were not found to be significant.

Hypothesis Two, that there would be no differences in trainees' attitude about being assigned to a counselor of a different race six to eight months later by age, sex, and education is supported.

Hypothesis Three.

There would be no differences between initial and post attitude measures of trainees about assignment to a counselor of a different race by race of counselor. An analysis was made of post overall SEU scores, post positive SEU scores, and post negative SEU scores to determine the effects of race of counselor (Table 15, Table 16, and Table 17). The overall mean SEU score of .946 for trainees who were assigned to white counselors is much higher than the overall mean SEU score of -6.308 (Table 15) generated by trainees assigned to black counselors ($p < .01$). Although trainees assigned to black counselors produced slightly higher post negative SEU scores than did trainees assigned white counselors, the differences are not statistically significant (Table 16).

TABLE 15

POST-OVERALL SEU SCORES 100 TRAINEES BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Number Trainees	Mean	S.D.
White (N=13)	74	.946	13.131
Black (N=6)	26	-6.308	6.810
Total (N=19)	100	- .940	12.210

$F, 1 = 7.216$

$p < .01$

TABLE 16

POST-POSITIVE SEU SCORES OF 96 TRAINEES BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Number of Trainees	Mean	S.D.
White (N=13)	71	19.761	9.462
Black (N=6)	25	15.160	6.619
Total (N=19)	96	18.562	9.009

$$F,1 = 5.026$$

$$p < .05$$

TABLE 17

POST-NEGATIVE SEU SCORES OF 99 TRAINEES BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Number of Trainees	Mean	S.D.
White (N=13)	73	18.233	10.904
Black (N=6)	26	20.885	8.071
Total (N=19)	99	18.929	10.264

$$F,1 = 1.283$$

n.s.

The substantial difference in the post-positive SEU score generated contributes to overall results, i.e., enrollees assigned white counselors yielded higher post-positive SEU scores ($p < .05$, Table 16).

Analysis was made to determine mean change between pre- and post-overall SEU scores, pre- and post-positive SEU scores, and pre- and post-negative SEU scores. Table 18 indicates that there was an overall net

TABLE 18
PRE-^a AND POST-^b OVERALL SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES
BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Pre-SEU*			Post SEU**			Mean Change
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	
White (N=13)	4.619	63	16.800	.946	74	13.131	- 3.673
Black (N=6)	8.083	24	11.594	-6.308	26	6.810	-.14.391
Total (N=19)	5.575	87	15.552	- .940	100	12.210	- 6.515

*F,1 = .861
n.s.

**F,1 = 7.216
p < .01

^aN=87

^bN=100

change of -6.515 with the change less for enrollees assigned to white counselors (-3.673) than the change for enrollees assigned to black counselors (-14.391). Trainees assigned to white counselors obtained slightly lower initial overall SEU scores than trainees assigned to black counselors, and increased (+3.157) in post-overall positive SEU scores while trainees assigned to black counselors obtained scores which decreased (-1.935) as shown in Table 19. Both groups of trainees generated an increase in negative SEU scores. As indicated in Table 20, enrollees assigned black counselors had lower initial negative SEU scores than trainees assigned to white counselors, but obtained higher post-negative SEU scores to realize a higher net mean change (+12.635) than the net mean change of enrollees assigned to white counselors (+6.433). Mean changes were tested for significance using correlated t-tests and as indicated in Table 21, changes were found to be significant for the total sample on pre- and post-overall SEU ($p < .01$) and

TABLE 19

PRE-^a AND POST-^b POSITIVE SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Pre SEU*			Post SEU**			Mean Change
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	
White (N=13)	16.604	53	12.180	19.761	71	9.462	+ 3.157
Black (N=6)	17.095	21	11.269	15.160	25	6.619	- 1.935
Total (N=19)	16.743	74	11.854	18.562	96	9.009	+ 1.819

*F,1 = .026
n.s.

**F,1 = 5.026
p < .05

^aN=74

^bN=96

TABLE 20

PRE-^a AND POST-^b NEGATIVE SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Pre SEU*			Post SEU**			Mean Change
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	
White (N=13)	11.800	50	11.695	18.233	73	10.904	+ 6.433
Black (N=6)	8.250	20	5.628	20.885	26	8.071	+12.635
Total (N=19)	10.786	70	10.414	18.929	99	10.264	+ 8.143

*F,1 = 1.67
n.s.

**F,1 = 1.283
n.s.

^aN=70

^bN=99

TABLE 21

CHANGE IN OVERALL SEU, POSITIVE SEU, AND NEGATIVE SEU SCORES
OF TRAINEES IN TOTAL SAMPLE AND BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

	Number of Trainees	M	S.D.	t	P
A. Total Sample					
Pre-Overall SEU	87	5.57	15.55		
Post-Overall SEU	100	-.94	12.21	3.19	< .01
Pre-Positive SEU	74	16.74	11.85		
Post-Positive SEU	96	18.56	9.01	1.06	n.s.
Pre-Negative SEU	70	10.79	10.41		
Post-Negative SEU	99	18.93	10.26	-5.09	< .001
B. For Trainees with Black Counselors (N=6)					
Pre-Overall SEU	24	8.08	11.59		
Post-Overall SEU	26	-6.31	6.81	5.29	< .01
Pre-Positive SEU	21	17.10	11.27		
Post-Positive SEU	25	15.16	6.62	0.71	n.s.
Pre-Negative SEU	20	8.26	5.63		
Post-Negative SEU	26	20.88	8.07	-5.07	< .001
C. For Trainees with White Counselors (N=13)					
Pre-Overall SEU	63	4.62	16.80		
Post-Overall SEU	74	.95	13.13	1.20	n.s.
Pre-Positive SEU	53	16.60	12.18		
Post-Positive SEU	71	19.76	9.46	1.61	n.s.
Pre-Negative SEU	50	11.80	11.70		
Post Negative SEU	73	18.23	10.90	-3.51	< .001

pre- and post-negative SEU scores ($p < .001$). For enrollees with black counselors, mean change on pre- and post-overall SEU was significant ($p < .01$) and mean change was significant on pre- and post-negative SEU scores ($p < .001$). Enrollees with white counselors showed a significant change between pre- and post-negative SEU scores ($p < .001$).

A further test conducted in an attempt to account for the variance was an analysis of variance technique on pre- and post-overall SEU scores using age and counselor's race. As indicated in Table 22 and Table 23 (analysis of variance on pre-positive and negative SEU scores) there were no racial effects initially, as expected; however, race had a main effect on post-administration ($p < .05$), shown also in Table 24 (analysis of variance of post-positive and negative SEU scores).

Regardless of the race of the counselor, all enrollees see more negative things about a white counselor after the training. That is, actual experience in the counseling relationship sensitized them to some of the limitations of a white counselor. It should be stressed that it is the limitations of the white counselor that experience points up; experience does not significantly affect the perceptions of the positive things a white counselor can contribute.

If negative perceptions increase for trainees with both white and black counselors, who do the overall SEU scores change for those under black counselors but not white? Two things explain this:

(a) although negative scores increase for both, they increase more for those with black than with white counselors, and (b) while neither of the differences in positive scores is significant, there is a tendency

TABLE 22

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF TRAINEES PRE- AND POST-OVERALL SEU SCORES
BY TRAINEES AGE AND RACE OF COUNSELOR

Age	Pre-Overall SEU		Age	Post-Overall SEU	
	Black Counselor (N=6)	White Counselor (N=13)		Black Counselor (N=6)	White Counselor (N=13)
17-21	12.000 (N=6)	5.793 (N=29)	17-21	-4.667 (N=6)	0.931 (N=29)
22-28	6.500 (N=6)	7.533 (N=15)	22-28	-5.333 (N=5)	.933 (N=15)
29 and over	5.900 (N=10)	-0.375 (N=16)	29 and over	-7.300 (N=10)	-0.563 (N=16)

83

84

F Ratio		F Ratio	
Main effect Race	0.3182	Main effect Race	3.8812*
Main effect Age	1.0661	Main effect Age	0.4842
Race x Age	0.8524	Race x Age	0.0116
		*p < .05	
		2,76 df	

TABLE 23

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PRE-POSITIVE AND PRE-NEGATIVE SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES
BY RACE OF COUNSELOR AND TRAINEE AGE

Age	Pre-Positive		Age	Pre-Negative	
	Black Counselor (N=6)	White Counselor (N=13)		Black Counselor (N=6)	White Counselor (N=13)
17-21	19.500 (N=6)	14.778 (N=18)	17-21	7.500 (N=6)	12.111 (N=18)
22-28	25.333 (N=3)	19.111 (N=9)	22-28	12.000 (N=3)	15.222 (N=9)
29 and over	12.500 (N=6)	12.272 (N=11)	29 and over	9.667 (N=6)	11.455 (N=11)

85

F Ratio		F Ratio	
Main effect Age	1.6457	Main effect Age	0.4166
Main effect Race	0.8306	Main effect Race	0.8332
Race x Age	0.2194	Race x Age	0.0603

for those under white counselors to see more positive things in a white counselor after experience with one, while those under black counselors see less positive things about a white counselor. In general, then, the findings may be interpreted as follows: while experience with a white counselor sensitizes a trainee to the limitations of a white counselor, it also sensitizes him somewhat to the positive factors, so that there is no significant overall change in his view of white counselors. In contrast, experience with a black counselor has clearer results in that it makes him less positive as well as more negative to a white counselor. Another way of saying this is that experience with a white counselor is not a clear negative experience--it has positives as well as negatives; but experience with a black counselor seems to be a clear positive experience which has the effect of making a trainee more clearly negative to the idea of a counselor who is not black. The experience makes them pro-black rather than anti-white.

Summary

Trainees who were assigned to black counselors yielded a significantly lower net mean overall SEU score than trainees assigned to white counselors ($p < .01$), but all trainees' overall SEU scores were lower than their initial scores were--a net negative result overall. For enrollees with black counselors, the mean change on pre- and post-overall SEU was significant ($p < .01$) and mean change was significant on pre- and post-negative SEU scores ($p < .001$). Enrollees with white counselors, while showing changes between pre- and post-overall scores that are nonsignificant, show significant changes between pre- and

TABLE 24

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF POST-POSITIVE AND POST-NEGATIVE SEU SCORES
BY RACE OF COUNSELOR AND TRAINEES AGE

Age	Post-Positive		Age	Post-Negative	
	Black Counselor (N=6)	White Counselor (N=13)		Black Counselor (N=6)	White Counselor (N=18)
17-21	13.333 (N=6)	21.944 (N=18)	17-21	18.000 (N=6)	19.167 (N=18)
22-28	14.667 (N=3)	19.556 (N=9)	22-28	19.667 (N=3)	18.000 (N=9)
29 and over	13.333 (N=6)	24.545 (N=11)	29 and over	18.667 (N=6)	24.818 (N=11)

F Ratios

Main effect Age 0.6593
Main effect Race 0.4450
Race x Age 0.3624

F Ratios

Main effect Age 0.1912
Main effect Race 8.6916*
Race x Age 0.3035

*p < .01

1, 47 df

post-negative scores ($p < .001$). Analysis of variance also revealed a main effect of race of counselor on post-overall SEU scores ($p < .05$).

The hypothesis that there would be no difference between initial and post-attitude measure of trainees about assignment to counselor of different race by race of counselor is not supported.

Hypothesis Four

Trainee's attitude toward assignment to a counselor of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into training is independent of program.

Pre-overall SEU scores were isolated by program and compared with post-overall SEU scores to examine the program effects of WIN, CEP, and the Skills Center relative to trainees' initial and post-attitudes toward assignment to a counselor of a different race (Table 25). Initial overall SEU scores were positive indicating favorable attitudes toward assignment to counselor of different race.

TABLE 25

PRE-^a AND POST-^b OVERALL SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES ENROLLED IN WORK INCENTIVE (WIN) CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT (CEP) AND SKILLS CENTER PROGRAMS

Program	Pre*			Post**			Mean Change
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	
WIN	4.000	15	10.149	-2.687	16	14.822	- 6.687
CEP	9.937	32	13.661	- .872	39	9.881	-10.909
Skills Center	2.231	39	18.220	- .386	44	13.373	- 2.617
Total Respondents	5.407	86	15.563	- .950	99	12.272	- 6.357

*F, 2 = 2.297
n.s.

**F, 2 = .204
n.s.

^aN=86

^bN=99

There are initial differences between programs with highest overall net positive SEU scores yielded by CEP and lowest scores by the Skills Center; the differences were not significant, but were in the direction of statistical significance. The contribution of positive (Table 26) and negative SEU scores (Table 27) to overall net effect shows high positive SEU scores and high negative scores by trainees enrolled in the Skills Center which narrowed the overall net effect. High positive and low negative scores were produced by WIN, a trend also observed by CEP trainees. As a result, the Skills Center trainees stand out on negative SEU toward assignment to a counselor of a different race ($p < .01$) even though an overall positive net effect was generated. When post-overall SEU scores are analyzed, an overall net negative score is noted among trainees in all programs with overall mean SEU highest for WIN (-2.687) as indicated in Table 25. The greatest change, however, occurred among CEP trainees (-10.909) whose pre-overall SEU scores were the most positive initially. WIN trainees obtained higher positive SEU scores than initially, but generated substantially higher negative SEU scores than on pretest which outweighed positive SEU. Skills Center trainees obtained somewhat higher post-positive SEU scores than on pretest and also higher post-negative SEU scores than on initial testing. As indicated in Table 27, the mean net change in negative SEU scores among trainees in all programs increased, outweighing the positive change observed by trainees in all programs.

The differences noted among programs, though not statistically significant, are interpreted to mean that CEP enrollees, who came from the more depressed area in the city, had possibly more to hope for from

TABLE 26

PRE-^a AND POST-^b POSITIVE SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES ENROLLED IN WORK
INCENTIVE (WIN), CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT (CEP)
AND SKILLS CENTER PROGRAMS

Program	Pre*			Post**			Mean Change
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	
WIN	13.727	11	5.569	17.933	15	12.430	+4.206
CEP	16.276	29	12.458	18.923	39	7.031	+2.647
Skill Center	17.939	33	12.985	18.415	41	9.558	+ .476
Total Re- spondents	16.644	73	11.905	18.547	95	99.055	+1.903

*F, 2 = .532 n.s.

**F, 2 = .071 n.s.

^aN=73^bN=95

TABLE 27

PRE-^a AND POST-^b NEGATIVE SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES ENROLLED IN WORK
INCENTIVE (WIN), CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT (CEP)
AND SKILLS CENTER PROGRAMS

Program	Pre*			Post**			Mean Change
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	
WIN	7.583	12	4.441	19.500	16	14.189	+11.917
CEP	6.696	23	5.628	19.795	39	8.498	+13.099
Skill Center	14.882	34	12.846	17.907	43	10.328	+ 3.025
Total Re- spondents	10.884	69	10.458	18.918	98	10.316	+ 8.034

*F, 2 = 5.593 p < .01

**F, 2 = .386 n.s.

^aN=69^bN=98

being assigned to white counselors. Following the experience, however, they were more negative toward a white counselor than were trainees in other programs, suggesting that the experience with white counselors was less than expected to a much greater degree than did trainees in other programs.

Summary

An analysis of pre- and post-overall SEU scores by program reveals that there were no statistically significant differences in overall scores by program. Some effect of program was observed on the pre-negative SEU scores in that Skills Center trainees obtained higher scores. However, program effects were not observed on post-administration of either pre- or negative SEU component, but rather, the main effect was race of counselor on overall SEU ($p < .05$) and positive SEU ($p < .01$).

Analysis of the data provides support for the hypothesis that trainee attitude toward assignment to a counselor of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into a training program is independent of program. The null hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis Five

Internal-external locus of control is independent of age, sex, educational level, and initial and post-attitude toward assignment to counselor of different race. Internal-external control measures were discussed and data presented earlier in this chapter for the total sample. These data are summarized in Table 28 from Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. A summary of the findings indicated that: (a) there were no age,

TABLE 28
SUMMARY OF INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL

I-E Scale Component	Age	Sex	Education
Personal Control ^a	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Internal Control ^a Ideology	n.s.	Females higher than males $p < .05$	
Individual-System ^b Blame	22-28 lowest $p < .05$	n.s.	n.s.
Individual-Collective ^c Action	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Racial Militancy ^d	n.s.	Males higher than females $p < .001$	

^a177 respondents

^c178 respondents

^b170 respondents

^d179 respondents

sex, and education differences with regards to Personal Control; (b) there were no age and education differences in Internal Control Ideology, but a sex difference indicated that females were higher than males ($p < .05$); (c) on Individual-System Blame, trainees in the 22-28 age group were lowest ($p < .01$), but there were no sex and education differences; (d) no differences were found on Individual-Collective Action; and (e) males generated a higher mean score on Racial Militancy ($p < .001$) than females, but no statistically significant differences were found on age and education.

With regard to trainee measures of attitude toward assignment to counselor of different race, Internal-External Locus of Control

scores were separated into low, middle, and high groupings. For each group, pre- and post-overall SEU were analyzed and net mean change scores calculated.

In terms of trainees classified low, middle, and high on Personal Control, on pre- and post-overall SEU scores there were no statistically significant differences between the groups (Table 29).

On Internal Control Ideology (Table 30), trainees who scored lower tended to have lower overall pre-SEU scores; however, the small sample size suggests that these observations be interpreted cautiously. The differences, however, between the low, middle, and high group

TABLE 29

I-E, LOW, MIDDLE AND HIGH PERSONAL CONTROL SCORES OF TRAINEES
BY PRE-^a AND POST-^bOVERALL SEU MEAN SCORES OF TRAINEES

	Personal Control Score	*Pre-overall SEU			**Post-overall SEU			Mean Change
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	
Low	0	2	7.000	7.071				
	1	10	2.600	21.793	9	-.222	7.997	- 2.822
Middle	2	17	10.647	15.133	20	-2.450	8.338	-13.097
	3	20	2.250	12.773	21	1.905	13.867	- .300
High	4	28	7.107	16.417	36	-1.861	10.968	- 8.968
	5	7	.429	13.661	9	-8.889	12.820	- 9.318
Total		84	5.571	15.711	95	-1.663	11.286	- 7.234

*F, 2 = .802
n.s.

**F, 4 = 1.546
n.s.

^aN=84

^bN=95

TABLE 30

I-E, LOW, MIDDLE AND HIGH INTERNAL CONTROL IDEOLOGY SCORES OF TRAINEES
BY PRE-^a AND POST-^b OVERALL SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES

	Internal Control Score	*Pre-overall SEU			**Post-overall SEU			Mean Change
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	
Low	0	2	-10.500	31.820	2	-2.000	16.971	+ 7.500
	1	3	6.000	2.646	33	11.000	11.533	+ 5.000
Middle	2	10	.500	14.834	15	-1.338	11.368	- 1.838
High	3	25	6.280	13.885	29	- .207	10.641	- 6.487
	4	41	7.634	17.113	44	-3.227	11.293	--10.861
Total Respondents		81	5.827	15.827	93	-1.495	11.261	- 7.322

*F₅ = .590 n.s. **F₄ = .838 n.s.

^aN=81

^bN=93

reveal no statistically significant differences. The post-overall SEU scores revealed no significant difference. While overall net effect of change is negative, trainees who score low on internal control ideology tended to change in a positive direction on post-overall SEU scores.

Very low scorers on Individual-System Blame, i.e., they tended more to express beliefs for blaming themselves for their current situation rather than to place blame on external factors, obtained higher pre-overall SEU scores than trainees in the middle and high range on Individual-System Blame who were less positive (Table 31). These observed differences were found to be significant ($p < .05$). However, when questioned six to eight months later about their feelings of being assigned to a counselor of a different race, the same group reflected the largest

TABLE 31

I-E, LOW, MIDDLE AND HIGH INDIVIDUAL-SYSTEM BLAME SCORES OF TRAINEES
PRE-^a AND POST-^bOVERALL SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES

	System Blame Score	*Pre-overall SEU			**Post-overall SEU			Mean Change
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	
Low	0	31	12.323	17.317	38	-1.842	11.705	-14.165
	1	22	4.727	11.007	24	1.042	12.341	- 3.685
Middle	2	14	.429	15.917	16	- .750	11.762	- 1.179
High	3	10	.800	14.398	12	-1.083	16.172	- 1.883
Total Respondents		77	6.493	15.670	90	- .778	12.383	- 7.271

*F,3 = 2.857
p < .05

**F,3 = .262
n.s.

^aN=77

^bN=90

amount of mean change in a negative direction. Differences, however, in post-overall SEU scores were not significant.

These findings would tend to suggest that intrapunitiveness (i.e., blame of self and blacks' acceptance of the system) appears to be consistent with greater acceptance of white counselors.

Trainees who express the belief that collective action vs. individual action is required on matters of racial discrimination and civil rights obtained negative scores on the pre-overall SEU; however, the size of this group is quite small (Table 32) for most scored low on Individual-Collective Action, indicating an alignment with the belief in more individual and personal effort. Although the differences between the groups are not large, the results are in the direction of

TABLE 32

I-E, LOW, MIDDLE, AND HIGH INDIVIDUAL-COLLECTIVE ACTION SCORES
OF TRAINEES BY PRE-^a AND POST-^bOVERALL SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES

	Collective Action Score	*Pre-overall SEU			**Post-overall SEU			Mean Change
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	
Low	0	44	7.523	15.704	53	-1.679	11.504	-9.202
Middle	1	29	6.483	14.217	32	- .406	13.490	-6.889
High	2	9	-3.778	18.713	9	- .556	13.154	+3.222
Total Respondents		82	5.915	15.727	94	-1.138	12.244	-7.053

*F,2 = 2.007
n.s.

**F,2 = .116
n.s.

^aN=82

^bN=94

significance. There is no difference between post-overall SEU scores for the net effect across groups reflected negative feeling toward assignment to counselor of different race. However, the greatest amount of change occurs among the trainees who held stronger beliefs in individual rather than collective effort, the same group that had obtained high pre-positive SEU scores. The change, however, was in a negative direction yielding a net negative effect, reflecting less positive feelings about assignment to a counselor of a different race.

Trainees who indicated beliefs in forms of protest obtained higher pre-overall SEU scores while low scores were obtained by those expressing more militant beliefs ($p < .05$), as indicated in Table 33. Post-overall SEU scores showed a net negative result, being higher among those indicating strong beliefs in forms of protest, but the

TABLE 33

I-E, LOW, MIDDLE AND HIGH RACIAL MILITANCY SCORES OF TRAINEES
BY PRE-^a AND POST-^bOVERALL SEU SCORES OF TRAINEES

	Militancy Score	*Pre-overall SEU			**Post-overall SEU			Mean Change
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	
Low	0	35	11.429	17.167	40	- .050	11.598	-11.479
Middle	1	34	1.324	13.133	39	- .795	13.322	- 2.119
High	2	12	5.250	12.433	14	-4.071	10.601	- 9.321
Total respondents		81	6.272	15.487	93	- .968	12.168	- 7.240

* $t_{1,2} = 3.977 < .05$ ** $F_{2} = .568$
n.s.

^aN=81

^bN=93

post-overall results were not statistically significant. However, in terms of change, trainees who expressed less militant beliefs and who initially generated high positive overall SEU scores reflected the greatest amount of change in a negative direction. Trainees expressing stronger beliefs in militancy yielded highest post-overall negative SEU scores and also showed a substantial change in a negative direction.

Summary

Hypothesis Five was that internal-external locus of control is independent of age, sex, education and initial and post-attitude toward assignment to counselor of a different race. Age, sex, education differences were not reflected on personal control measures. There were no age and education differences on internal control ideology, but females expressed significantly higher internal control belief than males

($p < .05$). Trainees in the 22-28 year old group reflected higher self-blame versus system-blame ($p < .05$) than other age groups; there were no sex and education differences. Age, sex, and education differences were not found on measures of individual action versus collective action. Males expressed a significantly higher belief in forms of protest action ($p < .001$) than females, but there were no age and education differences on racial militancy.

In terms of initial and post-measures of attitude toward assignment to counselor of a different race, the following were found: (a) on Personal Control, there were no differences between low, middle, and high groups on pre-overall SEU scores and post-overall SEU scores; (b) groups that were low, middle, and high on Internal Control ideology revealed no statistically significant differences on pre-overall SEU scores and their post-overall SEU scores were not significantly different from each other; (c) trainees who reflected more indications toward self-blame as opposed to system blame tended to generate higher pre-overall SEU scores indicative of a more favorable attitude toward assignment to a counselor of a different race ($p < .05$); but on post-overall SEU scores there were no statistically significant differences; (d) there were no significant differences on pre-overall SEU scores for those trainees who expressed more pronounced beliefs in individual action relative to racial injustice as opposed to those expressing belief in collective action; the same was observed on post-overall SEU scores; and (e) trainees expressing mild and strong beliefs in racial militancy and protest obtained lower pre-overall SEU scores, indicating less positive feelings toward assignment to counselor of a different

race ($p < .05$); however, there were no significant differences between pre- or post-overall SEU scores.

Summary.--The two significant findings show that the more militant people--those more militant on the militancy scale and those more blaming of the system--are less favorable to a white counselor. So this attitude toward counselor is reflected by race ideology to some extent.

Only partial support was found for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis Six

Trainee ratings of progress on behavioral measures six to eight months following program acceptance would be independent of age, sex, educational level, and race of counselor.

A 9-point scale was constructed on which polar behaviors were described and placed at opposite ends of a 12-item scale. Trainees were asked to give their perceptions of their behaviors by placing a check between numbers ranging from 1 to 9. A check placed over 1, for example, would indicate that trainees perceived their behaviors to be in a direction away from the behavior described at the opposite end of the scale, presumably less favorable, in view of generalized objectives of the manpower training program. A rating of 9 (highest possible) would be an indication that the trainee perceived his behavior to be congruent with the behavior described, presumably more favorable. Trainees were asked to provide ratings in two time dimensions: (a) when he first started the program, and (b) at the present time or "now."

Obtained scores were grouped for purpose of analysis and converted into derived scores which ranged from 0-3. On any single item the highest possible score became 3, which would indicate perceptions of

behavior highly congruent with desirability and expectations. A more detailed description of the scale appears in the Appendix.

From Table 34, a description of the data is provided from trainee rating on the "now dimension" with mean scores and standard deviation provided separately for trainees assigned to black counselors and those assigned to white counselors. For the most part, the self-descriptions of current behavior reflect no significant differences. However, trainees who were assigned to black counselors rated themselves higher in their attendance than did those trainees assigned to black counselors ($p < .01$). On the other hand, enrollees with white counselors rated themselves higher in the "plan ahead now" dimension, significant at the .05 level. More trainees whose counselors were white indicated that they tended to carry tasks through to completion than trainees who had black counselors ($p < .05$).

With regard to age differences, none were found, and sex differences were few. The significant differences based on sex are shown in Table 35. A significantly higher number of females reported themselves higher in finishing-tasks behaviors than did males ($p < .001$). Females also indicated that they tended to plan ahead more than did males. Males, however, reported themselves higher on being able to read ($p < .01$).

A finding that seems to be consistent with expectation is that trainees with the least amount of education rated themselves lower on being able to read than those groups who had attended school more years ($p < .001$). Also, those with nine or less years of formal education reported less finishing-tasks behavior than the more educated--a

TABLE 34

TRAINEES BEHAVIORAL MEASURES BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	Number of Trainees	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<hr/>					
A. Present Now					
White (N=13)	78	2.179	.833	7.679	.01
Black (N=6)	28	2.643	.488		
Total (N=19)	106	2.302	.783		
<hr/>					
B. On Time Now					
White (N=13)	78	2.462	.715	.061	n.s.
Black (N=6)	28	2.500	.694		
Total (N=19)	106	2.472	.707		
<hr/>					
C. Friendly Now					
White (N=13)	67	2.672	.587	.941	n.s.
Black (N=6)	17	2.824	.529		
Total (N=19)	84	2.702	.576		
<hr/>					
D. Trust Instructor Now					
White (N=13)	77	2.351	.757	.000	n.s.
Black (N=6)	26	2.346	.846		
Total (N=19)	103	2.350	.776		
<hr/>					
E. Follow Instruction Now					
White (N=13)	78	2.731	.527	1.023	n.s.
Black (N=6)	28	2.607	.629		
Total (N=19)	106	2.698	.555		
<hr/>					
F. Able to Read Now					
White (N=13)	78	2.628	.667	2.531	n.s.
Black (N=6)	28	2.393	.685		
Total (N=19)	106	2.531	.676		

TABLE 34--(continued)

Race and Number of Counselors	Number of Trainees	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<hr/>					
G. Do Math Now					
White (N=13)	75	2.533	.622	.362	n.s.
Black (N=6)	27	2.444	.751		
Total (N=19)	102	2.510	.656		
<hr/>					
H. Never Argue Now					
White (N=13)	68	2.750	.557	1.217	n.s.
Black (N=6)	16	2.562	.814		
Total (N=19)	84	2.714	.613		
<hr/>					
I. Plan Ahead Now					
White (N=13)	76	2.289	.846	4.274	.05
Black (N=6)	26	1.885	.909		
Total (N=19)	102	2.186	.876		
<hr/>					
J. Finish Tasks Now					
White (N=13)	77	2.519	.681	4.275	.05
Black (N=6)	27	2.185	.834		
Total (N=19)	104	2.433	.734		
<hr/>					
K. Complete Progress Now					
White (N=13)	75	2.212	.843	1.691	n.s.
Black (N=6)	28	1.964	.922		
Total (N=19)	103	2.146	.868		
<hr/>					
L. Ask Help Now					
White (N=13)	78	2.474	.768	2.190	n.s.
Black (N=6)	28	2.214	.876		
Total (N=19)	106	2.406	.802		

TABLE 35

TRAINEES BEHAVIORAL MEASURES BY SEX

Sex	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<hr/>					
A. Able to Read Now					
<hr/>					
Male	41	2.341	.752	8.297	.01
Female	64	2.719	.576		
Total Trainees	105	2.571	.677		
 B. Plan Ahead Now					
<hr/>					
Male	40	1.950	.876	4.656	.05
Female	61	2.328	.851		
Total Trainees	101	2.178	.876		
 C. Finish Task Now					
<hr/>					
Male	39	2.103	.852	14.663	.001
Female	64	2.641	.574		
Total Trainees	103	2.437	..737		

TABLE 36
 TRAINEES BEHAVIORAL MEASURE BY EDUCATION

Education	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<u>A. Able to Read Now</u>					
9 or less	12	1.833	.718	14.499	.001
10-11	35	2.429	.778		
12 or more	58	2.810	.438		
Total Trainees	105	2.571	.677		
<u>B. Finish Task Now</u>					
9 or less	12	2.000	.853	4.361	.05
10-11	35	2.314	.832		
12 or more	56	2.607	.593		
Total Trainees	103	2.437	.737		

pattern observed consistently with the number of years of schooling ($p < .05$).

Several program differences were observed as indicated in Table 37. In terms of attendance, trainees at the Skills Center reported they were absent more often, and WIN trainees reported higher attendance behavior ($p < .01$). CEP enrollees reported perceiving that they were less able to do math now than the other programs ($p < .05$); that they did not perceive themselves as planning ahead as much as WIN and Skill Center trainees ($p < .001$), that they asked for help less often, and the enrollees rated themselves lower in feeling that they were making progress to the extent of other program trainees.

In order to obtain trainee perceptions of their current behavior in relation to the same behavior at the time of entrance into training, "past" scores were subtracted from the "now" scores and 10 was subtracted from the mean figures in Tables 38, 39, and 40.

For the thirteen items on which measures were obtained, there were no age differences in perception of change. In terms of sex (Table 38) females, to a greater extent than males, reported a perception of change in their attending behavior indicating that they attended less in the "now" dimension than at the time of starting, the difference between sexes significant at the .05 level. There are some apparent program differences as noted in Table 39. CEP trainees reflect a slight increase in perception from their initial positions on attendance and being on time ($p < .05$). Although not significant, trainees at the Skills Center shift their perceptions downward relative to trusting instructors while WIN and CEP held constant, showing no perceptual

TABLE 37

TRAINEES BEHAVIORAL MEASURES BY PROGRAM

Program	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<u>A. Present Now</u>					
WIN	19	2.368	.684	11.892	.01
CEP	41	2.683	.521		
Skills Center	45	1.933	.863		
Total Trainees	105	2.305	.786		
<u>B. Do Math Now</u>					
WIN	19	2.684	.671	3.077	.05
CEP	39	2.308	.655		
Skills Center	43	2.605	.623		
Total Trainees	101	2.505	.658		
<u>C. Plan Ahead Now</u>					
WIN	18	2.444	.784	13.800	.001
CEP	40	1.675	.859		
Skills Center	43	2.535	.702		
Total Trainees	101	2.178	.876		
<u>D. Finish Task Now</u>					
WIN	19	2.737	.653	9.767	.001
CEP	38	2.053	.769		
Skills Center	46	2.630	.610		
Total Trainees	103	2.437	.737		
<u>E. Complete Progress Now</u>					
WIN	19	2.368	.761	8.879	.001
CEP	39	1.718	.916		
Skills Center	44	2.432	.728		
Total Trainees	102	2.147	.872		

TABLE 37--(continued)

Program	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<u>F. Ask Help Now</u>					
WIN	19	2.474	.841	9.257	.001
CEP	40	2.025	.862		
Skills Center	46	2.717	.584		
Total Trainees	105	2.410	.805		

TABLE 38

TRAINEES PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES ON BEHAVIORAL MEASURES BY SEX

Sex	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<u>A. Present Now</u>					
Male	41	9.951	.921	7.705	.05
Female	64	9.375	1.106		
Total Trainees	105	9.600	1.071		

TABLE 39

TRAINEES PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES ON BEHAVIORAL MEASURES
BY PROGRAM

Program	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<hr/>					
A. Present Now					
WIN	19	9.526	1.172	6.338	.05
CEP	41	10.024	.353		
Skills Center	45	9.244	1.317		
Total Trainees	105	9.600	1.071		
B. On Time Now					
WIN	19	9.737	1.195	3.701	.05
CEP	41	10.073	.721		
Skills Center	45	9.511	1.036		
Total Trainees	105	9.771	.983		
C. Trust Instructor					
WIN	19	10.000	.333	2.036	n.s.
CEP	38	10.000	.232		
Skills Center	45	9.667	1.206		
Total Trainees	102	9.853	.837		
D. Plan Ahead Now					
WIN	18	11.000	1.940	4.097	.05
CEP	40	10.075	.267		
Skills Center	43	10.209	1.264		
Total Trainees	101	10.297	1.205		
E. Complete Progress					
WIN	19	10.684	1.455		
CEP	39	10.154	.366		
Skills Center	44	9.955	1.033		
Total Trainees	102	10.167	.976		

change. Although CEP trainees increased from their initial standing relative to perceiving more planning-ahead behavior, both WIN and Skills Center trainees showed more perception of improvement in planning ahead ($p < .05$).

There were no significant differences found in trainee perceptions of change on the behavioral indices. However, enrollees assigned to black counselors rated themselves higher on perceiving that they were making more progress initially than did trainees assigned to white counselors. On the other hand, enrollees assigned to white counselors indicated that they perceived that they asked for help more than initially, while trainees assigned black counselors declined from their initial position (Table 40).

TABLE 40
TRAINEES PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES ON BEHAVIORAL MEASURES
BY RACE OF COUNSELOR

Race and Number of Counselors	N	Mean	S.D.	F	p
<u>A. Complete Progress</u>					
White (N=13)	75	10.053	.837	3.747	n.s.
Black (N=6)	27	10.464	1.232		
Total (N=19)	103	10.165	.971		
<u>B. Ask Help</u>					
White (N=13)	78	10.167	.859	2.449	n.s.
Black (N=6)	28	9.893	.567		
Total (N=19)	106	10.094	.799		

Summary

Hypothesis Six stated that trainee rating of progress on behavioral measures six to eight months following program acceptance would be independent of age, sex, education and counselor race.

Trainees assigned to black counselors rated themselves higher in attendance; trainees assigned to white counselors rated themselves higher in the planning-ahead-now dimension; and trainees with white counselors rated themselves higher on task completion. No significant differences were found relative to perception of change from their initial positions on the behavioral indices.

No age differences were found on ratings in the "now" behavioral dimensions nor were significant age differences observed relative to perceptions of change from original standing.

With regards to sex differences, more females reported higher finishing-task behavior than males; more females indicated planning-ahead behavior; but males rated themselves higher more often than females in reading ability. On perception of change in behavior from the time of program entrance, both males and females showed a slight decline in the attendance dimension but higher for females than men.

Trainees with 9th-grade education or less rated themselves less capable in reading ability than other age groups and reported less finishing-task behavior. No differences, based on education, were found in perception of relative change in initial position on behavioral components.

Program differences were observed in attendance behavior with WIN trainees indicating better attendance behavior than Skills Center

trainees. When compared to other programs, CEP trainees reported being less able to do math, less-planning-ahead behavior, less finishing of tasks started, reported they asked for help less and indicated to a lesser extent that they were progressing to complete satisfaction. Relative to trainee perceptions of change in behavior compared to behavior at the time of entrance, CEP trainees reflect slight improvement in perception of attending behaviors, and WIN trainees showed a statistically significant increase in perception of planning-ahead behavior compared to other programs.

Some components of the hypothesis were supported but the data were in the direction of nonsupport for several facets. There is only partial support for the hypothesis that trainee rating of progress on behavioral measures would be independent of age, sex, education and counselor race.

Findings in this chapter will be discussed in Chapter V along with some further interpretation of the data.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study was designed to explore the significance of ethnic match between counselors and manpower trainees. The attitude of manpower trainees toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race was measured prior to or immediately upon entrance into the WIN, CEP, and Skills Center programs and their attitude was assessed six to eight months later. This chapter will discuss the findings in terms of the implications to the initial questions raised in Chapter I, the operational and null hypotheses, and the research literature. There are several aspects to these facets of inquiry but they tend to center around the following focal points: (a) attitude toward assignment to counselor of different race as a function of demographic factors, (b) post attitude toward counselor of different race as a function of the initially held attitude, (c) post attitude toward assignment to counselor of different race as a function of the organizational environment, (d) post attitude of trainees toward race of counselor and the effect of race, (e) the association between trainee attitude, counselor race and trainee's perception of behavior, (f) attitude toward counselor of different race as a function of Internal-External Locus of control, and (g) findings of this investigation and its relationship to previous research.

Demographic Factors Associated with Initial Attitudes
Toward Assignment to Counselor
of Different Race

The initial overall attitudes of the black trainees in the investigation were favorable toward counseling by a counselor of a different race. In other words, the sample generated more positive consequences relating to a possible experience with counselors of opposite race than they generated negative ones. Trainees perceived that more good things than bad would result from a counselor racially dissimilar. Demographic factors such as age, sex, and level of education were variables that did not influence any significant differences in overall attitudes on the pre-administration of the CMQ. The very small insignificant differences observed in overall attitude were: females tended to have more favorable attitudes about the proposal than did males; enrollees with the least amount of education were more positive; and the 22-28 year old group reflected more favorable attitudes. Across age, sex, and education groupings, males were less positive generally than other categories although their initial attitudes were on the positive side.

Some consideration was given to the possible role that prior contact with the non-black community may have had on trainees perception. Therefore, the questionnaire (see Appendix) was designed to tap the racial mix of enrollees in their community when they were growing up; during the elementary school years; during high school; and also racial mix in the community in which they were living at the time of the investigation. Although not reported earlier because of its lack of significance, the data gathered did not appear related to trainees' attitudes at the time they entered into training. No association was found between previous

contact with the non-black community or trainees' age, sex, and level of education relative to initial attitude toward a counselor of a different race.

Six to eight months following the initial attitude assessment, trainees had changed their favorable attitudes in that their overall attitude was unfavorable. In other words, they felt that there were more negative than positive aspects; consequently, attitudes toward being counseled by someone of another racial group was not as attractive to them as initially expressed. In terms of age, sex, and level of education, all groups expressed more negative than positive viewpoints except for two groups, those 17-21 and 22-28 years old. This observation is somewhat surprising since it had been anticipated that the younger age group would have expressed more negative feeling in view of the increased rhetoric among young blacks relative to "black is beautiful," the black experience, and the emphasis among young blacks on racial consciousness and identity. In fact these two groups yielded a small and insignificant positive feeling about being assigned to a counselor of the opposite race, but to a markedly less degree than the positive feelings expressed initially. Somewhat further surprising, the oldest age group had higher overall net negative feelings than did any other group in terms of age, sex, and education. Also just as the males had been less positive than females initially, they were more negative about the prospects of being counseled by a counselor of a different race if they continued in the program.

Post-Attitude as a Function of Initial Attitude
toward Counselor of Different Race

In terms of obtaining further understanding of the post attitude of trainees, two aspects of their initial attitude are of interest, i.e., whether their initial attitude was negative or positive toward a white counselor. For example, when considered in terms of demographic factors, it is of interest to determine whether trainees who were initially negative toward white counselors became increasingly negative, less negative, or positive, after a counseling experience. Also it is of interest to determine if those trainees who were positive became increasingly positive, less positive, or negative after the counseling experience.

The attitudes of manpower trainees six to eight months after enrollment in training and having received counseling were considered in relationship to the initial attitude held at the time of entrance. In other words, the dynamics that underlie the shift toward a negative stance was examined. The dynamics were considered on a demographic basis in terms of whether post-attitudes reflected were the result of generating more negative consequences, while the mean positive scores remained constant; or whether their initial overall negative attitudes remained constant while positive consequences decreased.

An analysis of the data on pre- and post-positive SEU scores and pre- and post-negative scores indicate that overall, except for the 22-28 year old group, there was no relative constancy in negative or positive feelings. Enrollees evidenced increases in both negative and positive feelings across age, sex, and education groups. The 22-28 year old group, however, generated less positive viewpoints than initially held, but the decrease was very modest (mean change $-.928$). Although

there was an increase in both positive and negative feeling, the negative attitudes were controlling overall. It was significant however that the net mean shift toward the increased negative stance from the initial negative SEU position was almost uniform across age, sex, and education groups. Conversely, there was much more variability in the increase in positive feelings, which, as previously pointed out, was not as marked as the increase in negative attitudes. Operational hypothesis is not supported that initial attitude position toward counselor of different race would influence the directions of subsequent attitude based on age, sex and education.

Attitude as a Function of Organizational Considerations

The organizational considerations that may have had a bearing on the attitude issue are program differences, varying program selection criteria, the racial mix of the staff, and whether top administration is all black, mixed, or all white. With regard to the racial composition of top administrative staff, the dual administration of programs and the cooperative efforts between agencies were found to be somewhat more complex than initially expected and deserved a different research design for adequate study. Trainee selection criteria and variation in program content were pertinent. When the data was analyzed, some program effects surfaced. For example, the CEP enrollees initially expressed more positive feeling toward assignment to counselor of different race. The Skills Center trainees were less positive overall initially than trainees in the other programs. When the differences noted were taken into overall account, differences in the attitude of trainees in all programs

were not significant. Yet, analysis of the negative and positive components that contributed to overall attitudes found that trainees in different programs did have varying degrees of negative feeling toward being counseled by a counselor of a different race. For example, Skills Center trainees were more negative in viewpoint than WIN and CEP trainees who held a substantially less negative attitude toward the issue of counselor race.

One could speculate about the reason for the overall more positive feelings toward a racially different counselor manifested by CEP enrollees as compared to Skills Center and WIN program enrollees. One possibility is that CEP enrollees are from a geographically depressed area where there is a high concentration of unemployment, more urban blight, and poorer general living conditions; therefore, they expected to gain more and therefore were more positive. On the other hand, speculation might be that CEP trainees represented the epitome of oppression and they should have indicated more negative feeling toward a counselor representing the oppressor. In spite of the slight differences among trainees between programs, these were not significant overall. The programs were providing training and employment assistance to enrollees who essentially were quite similar in their initial attitudes. Moreover, the data indicates that whatever the differences that existed in attitudes as a function of program factors, the effect had been removed when trainees were interviewed six to eight months later.

Post Attitude Toward Counselor of Dissimilar Race and Effects of Race

When the trainees' initial attitudes toward assignment of counselor of different race were analyzed, there were no differences at the

time of program entrance. However, measures of the enrollees' attitudes six to eight months later revealed a significant shift in attitudes resulting in overall unfavorable expressions as compared with the initially favorable attitudes. The change in attitude occurred with enrollees counseled by both black and white counselors. However, net mean change in attitudes of enrollees assigned to black counselors were more negative than for trainees with white counselors. The dynamics underlying attitude change indicates that the enrollees with white counselors were able to produce a slight increase in favorable responses about assignment to counselor of a different race, but they also yielded a substantial increase in negative responses that eroded the initially favorable posture to an overall position closer to neutrality. Enrollees with black counselors generated slightly less positive responses than they did at the onset of training and markedly increased the number of negative responses. This resulted in a substantial reflection of negative feelings overall about the probable consequences of being counseled by white counselors. The data indicated that there were significant differences between the attitudes of trainees assigned to white counselors and trainees counseled by black counselors ($p < .05$). Analysis to determine the effects of the interaction of age of trainees and race of counselor indicated that there were no significant effects on attitudes due to age and no interaction of age and race, although there was a significant main effect of race ($p < .05$). Effects of race as a source of variance is significant in terms of the differences in the number of favorable responses produced by the two groups. Enrollees with white counselors seemed to have more favorable feeling than those

with black counselors ($p < .01$). Analysis of variance of post-attitude measures using program and race of counselor showed that the main effect of race on positive attitudes was more significant, because trainees with black counselors had significantly less positive feelings than enrollees counseled by white counselors. As previously indicated, there were no significant main effects of program on post-testing and no interaction effects of program and race. T-tests, of pre- and post-negative SEU mean scores, were significant at the .001 level for enrollees with black and white counselors.

Findings from this investigation indicated that the race of counselor had a significant effect upon the trainees' feelings about being counseled by a counselor of a different race.

The differences in the feelings between trainees with black counselors and those with white counselors may be explained as a function of modifying their feelings and perceptions after having engaged in a direct counseling relationship. Enrollees counseled by whites became both more negative and positive about the consequences to be derived from white counselors and thus reflected some feelings of ambivalence. They were no longer positive as they were before the counseling experience. Trainees with black counselors had more negative feelings and less positive feelings about the benefits to be obtained from a counseling experience with white counselors having realized the positive benefits and experiences deriving from the experience with a black counselor. Whatever the benefits that were obtained by trainees with black counselors, the changes in their expectations of being assigned to a white counselor are interpreted to be the result of the

following: (a) the trainees recognized out of the relationship that certain things could not be provided by a white counselor or (b) the trainees became aware that black counselors were able to furnish a set of beneficial conditions that they had not initially perceived that a black counselor could provide. In other words, white counselors furnished less than expected and black counselors offered more than anticipated resulting in a negative change in attitude toward being counseled by white counselors.

Attitude toward Counselor of Different Race
as a Function of Internal-External
Locus of Control

The evidence indicated that females expressed higher internal control ideology than males. This indicated that they felt that for people in general success and failure were more due to individual effort rather than to external factors. Males expressed agreement with the belief that militant forms of protest are needed in order to relieve problems of racial discrimination to a greater extent than females. Greater tendencies toward self-blame as opposed to system-blame were indicated by the age group 22-28. Otherwise there were no significant differences across group on the factors measured by the I-E Scale.

In fact, on measures of personal control and internal control ideology, the trainees in this study tended to identify, more often than not, with beliefs conveying a sense of control over what would happen to them, contrary to the opposite belief that what happens is the result of external forces over which they had very little or no control. Among trainees at all levels within the personal and internal control hierarchy, there were no statistically significant differences in their feelings

toward a counselor of a different race when they entered training and six to eight months later. Most trainees tended to identify with beliefs that social and economic disadvantages among blacks were more often due to the lack of skill and ability--individual-blame--as opposed to the lack of opportunities or racial discrimination-system blame. Rather marked differences are noted in regard to attitude toward counselors of a different race depending upon the belief in "individual blame" or "system blame."

More favorable attitudes toward being assigned to a counselor of a different race were expressed by trainees choosing self-blame ideology. Trainees who felt that social and economic disadvantage among blacks is due to system factors held markedly less favorable viewpoints about working with a counselor of a different race ($p < .05$). Attitude shift six to eight months later is even more interesting for trainees subscribing to the "lack of skill and ability" notion became increasingly negative about the positive consequences that would accrue from being counseled by someone opposite in race. They were more negative than trainees who subscribed to the system blame ideology.

Belief in individual-effort rather than group-effort was chosen by most trainees as being the best way to overcome discrimination. As expected, those who identified with the "individual-betterment" approach, held more favorable attitudes initially toward a racially different counselor. Trainee identifying with the need for more group and collective efforts to combat discrimination initially held negative views. The difference in attitude is distinct but since few trainees were in the latter category, the difference was not statistically significant.

Six to eight months later, trainees subscribing to the individual-effort point of view became increasingly negative, reflecting the greatest change of attitude. However, those initially negative toward a counselor of a different race moved in a positive direction, closer to a position of neutrality.

Results indicate that most trainees identified with the notion that some form of protest behavior was essential in reducing racial discrimination and obtaining basic civil rights. Clear differences were observed between those expressing this viewpoint and those trainees who were inclined to subscribe to "talking things over" as the more desirable means. Initially more favorable attitudes toward a white counselor were expressed by trainees who aligned themselves with beliefs that were opposite to forms of protest. Trainees identifying with more racially militant protest forms were much less positive ($p < .05$).

Overall post-attitudes of trainees, however, were negative toward a counselor of different race. Trainees who subscribed to militancy, however, became more negative toward the prospects of being counseled by a counselor racially dissimilar.

Trainee Perceived Behavior and Counselor Race

The behavior that was investigated in this study was primarily through estimates furnished by the enrollees about themselves. As a result the data reflects trainee perceptions relative to his position or change in position on certain behavioral indices. Most of the behaviors in this study represent those that have been of general concern to manpower training personnel preparing unskilled, unemployed and low socio-economic

groups for employment. While external objective measures of these same behaviors may have been more desirable, the rationale for using self ratings of trainee's behaviors was due to our interest in obtaining trainee's perceptions relative to his own progress or lack of progress in these areas. External evidence may or may not support the trainee's observations; nevertheless the behavior investigated reflects the way trainees perceived themselves along two dimensions of time: (a) "now" and (b) at the time of entrance into the program.

More males than females reported themselves higher in their ability to read. Men rated themselves higher than females in the planning ahead dimension and on finishing task behavior. The reason for this is not clear unless men started from a relatively lower position on these behaviors than did females.

When certain behaviors were reviewed from a level of education vantage point, those trainees with the most education--12 years or more--rated themselves lowest in reading and finishing tasks behavior than did other groups. Whether there was a tendency for those with least education to overestimate themselves while those with most education underestimated their ability is uncertain. One interpretation is consistent with a feeling or "perception of movement" viewpoint. Those with least education may have felt that they made more progress in reading behavior, particularly if they had been exposed to basic education, while trainees with most schooling may have perceived less progress. This explanation would seem to be plausible if those with more formal schooling were unable to profit from any reading instruction they were offered because they were beyond the level of basic education offered. In relationship to themselves, they may have perceived that they had

not advanced in their reading skills.

Viewed in terms of programs, there were some program distinctions in the way the trainees perceived themselves on behavioral indices. Probably greater meaning is to be derived in terms of their perception of "movement" in relationship to their relative standings at the time of entering the training programs. It should be recalled that the trainee's perception of initial standing on a given behavioral measure was held constant so that a "difference" score could be derived between his perception of his behavior "at the time of entrance" and "now." It is of interest that the trainees in the CEP program perceived less change on several behavioral measures far more often than did trainees in the other programs. One possible explanation may be in the trainees themselves who came from the most economically depressed area within the city carrying with them longer periods of unemployment, and lower basic education levels.

Of equal interest was the observation that trainees on the whole perceived so little change on the behavioral measures over their initial standings.

The results seem to suggest that few behavioral indices used in these studies were differentially perceived based on counselor race. The behavioral measures on which differences were reported were in planning ahead behaviors; finishing tasks behavior; and attendance behavior.

Where the difference seemed to be significant, however, trainees assigned to black counselors rated themselves higher on attendance in the "now" temporal dimensions than did trainees with white counselors ($p < .01$). Trainees with white counselors rated themselves higher on

planning ahead behavior and finishing tasks behavior ($p < .05$). However, when differences are calculated on trainees' positions in the "at the time of entrance" and the "now" dimensions, slight differences but nonsignificant, were observed for trainees with black counselors to rate themselves higher more often than they felt they were making more progress; but trainees with white counselors reported that they asked for help more often.

Relationship to Previous Research

Since previous research has indicated that race of interviewer could bias results (Stouffer, Guttman, Suchman, Lazarsfeld, Star and Clausen, 1950; Cantril, 1944; and Williams 1964) this investigation used black interviewers to interview black trainees that were used in this study.

Studies that have attempted to study the effects of race of counselor in a counseling relationship are generally sparse until recently and they are practically nonexistent with regards to manpower trainees. Our results indicated that trainees entering these manpower programs were favorable toward being counseled by a counselor of a different race and that they shifted to an unfavorable position six to eight months later with the main influence being the race of the counselor they had. Findings from this research would tend to support that of Taylor (1970) that among adult unemployed groups racial similarity between counselors and counselees was the factor affecting individual counseling relationships; Carkhuff and Banks (1970) that blacks tended to function at slightly higher levels of interpersonal skills with blacks

than with whites; Ledvinka (1969) that blacks showed patterns of greater language elaboration with black job interviewers than with white interviewers; and Gurin (1968) that black job trainees expressed more attraction to black male counselors than to white male counselors even though race of other staff members was less critical. With regard to the findings from this study that black job trainees tended to view being counseled by a white counselor more negatively than before they had the experience, these findings also are consistent with those of Tucker (1969) and Gardner (1970) who interpreted their results in terms of counselor experience. Inexperienced counselors functioned at higher facilitative levels than more trained counselors according to Tucker. Gardner, however, found that counselors of different levels of education and experience could function as effective change agents although black students perceived that black counselors would function at higher facilitative levels with black students than white counselors.

Black counselors in our study had a slight edge in experience with 2.3 years while white counselors had an average of 1.7 years counseling experience.

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS

This study was designed to explore the significance of ethnic match between counselors and manpower trainees and the implications upon goal-persisting behaviors as perceived by black enrollees in federally supported manpower training programs. The subjects in this study were 191 trainees enrolled in the Work Incentive Program (WIN), the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), and the MacNamara Skills Center (Skills Center).

Data were collected by means of questionnaire in personal interviews and two instruments were used. The instruments were the Consequence Model Questionnaire (CMQ) and the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (I-E Scale). Each trainee was interviewed by black interviewers on two occasions; prior to or upon entrance into training and six to eight months later.

Data were analyzed to determine the effects of age, sex, and education program and race upon attitudes toward race of counselor and locus of internal-external control as a factor in attitude formation.

Major hypotheses were as follows:

1. Trainees' attitudes toward assignment to a counselor of different race is independent of age, sex, and level of education prior to or upon entry into training.
2. There would be no differences in trainees' attitude about being assigned to a counselor of a different race six to eight months

later by age, sex, and educational level.

3. There would be no differences between initial and post-attitude measures of trainees about assignment to a counselor of different race.

4. Trainees' attitude toward assignment to counselor of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into training is independent of the program.

5. Internal-external locus of control would be independent of age, sex, educational level and initial and post-attitude measures toward assignment to counselor of different race.

6. Trainee ratings of progress on behavioral indices six to eight months after program acceptance would be independent of age, sex, educational level and race of counselor.

Age, Sex and Educational Differences

There was no age, sex, and educational differences of statistical significance influencing trainees' attitudes toward being counseled by a counselor of a different race and background at the time of entrance into the three training programs. Overall, trainees were positive about the prospects expressing the feeling that more positive benefits than negative consequences would occur. Assessment of trainees' attitudes toward assignment to a counselor of a different race six to eight months later indicated that there were no differences based upon sex, age and educational level even though attitudes had shifted to an overall negative position. However, overall, the oldest age group (29 and over), males, and enrollees with 10-11 years of schooling were generally more

negative six to eight months later having been exposed to a counseling experience. The differences, however, were small and insignificant.

Race of Counselor

Trainees who were counseled by black counselors were significantly less favorable in their attitudes about counselors of a different race than were trainees counseled by white counselors. The change from the initial favorable attitude on the part of trainees with black counselors to a position of negative feeling was significant. Trainees with white counselors, six to eight months later had shifted their attitudes from a favorable position to one approximating neutrality, ending up in a small favorable position. However, what is significant is that there was a marked increase in negative feelings by these trainees which were found to be significant. Analysis of these results reveal a main effect of race of counselor.

The hypothesis that there would be no difference between initial and post-attitude measure of trainees about assignment to counselor of different race on the basis of race of the counselor was not supported.

Program Effects

Analyses of attitude scores of trainees entering the three different programs were analyzed. Program differences in overall attitudes toward being counseled by a counselor dissimilar in race were not significant at the time of program entrance; however, there was a significant difference between programs reflected by the negative feelings of enrollees entering the Skills Center. In other words, trainees at the time of their enrollment at the Skills Center expressed more negative

feelings about a counselor of a different race than did the trainees in the other two programs.

Six to eight months later during post interviewing there were no program differences.

Analysis of the data provided support for the hypothesis that trainee attitudes toward assignment to a counselor of a different race six to eight months after acceptance into a training program is independent of program.

The Role of Internal-External Locus of Control

On internal-external locus of control measures, age, sex, education differences were not reflected on personal control measures. There were no age and education differences on internal ideology but females expressed significantly higher internal control beliefs than did males. Trainees in the 22-28 year old group showed evidence of higher self-blame as opposed to system-blame than other age groups, but on individual-system blame there were no sex and education differences. No age, sex and education differences were observed on individual-collective action. Males expressed a significantly higher belief in racial militancy than did females but no age and education differences were observed.

With regard to internal-external locus of control and its association with attitude toward being counseled by a person of a different race the following were found. Trainees who tended more toward self-blame felt more positive toward a counselor of a different race initially, but there were no statistically significant differences during post-testing.

Less positive feelings initially were felt toward a counselor of a different race by trainees with mild and strong beliefs in racial militancy, but these differences were not seen during post-testing.

Only partial support was found for the hypothesis that internal-external locus of control is independent of age, sex, education level and initial and post-attitude toward assignment to a counselor of a different race.

Trainee Perceptions on Behavioral Indices

Trainees assigned to black counselors rated themselves higher in attendance; trainees assigned to white counselors rated themselves higher in the planning ahead now dimension; and trainees with white counselors rated themselves higher on tasks completing behavior.

With regard to sex differences, females reported higher finishing tasks behavior than males; more females indicated greater planning ahead behavior; but males rated themselves higher more often than females in reading ability. Trainees with 9th grade education or less rated themselves less capable in reading ability than other age groups and they also reported less finishing task behavior.

Program differences were observed: WIN trainees reported better attendance behavior; CEP trainees reported less ability to do math, less planning ahead behavior, less finishing of tasks started; reported that they ask for help less; and indicated that they were progressing to complete satisfaction to a lesser extent than did trainees in other programs.

Only partial support was found for the hypothesis that trainees'

rating of progress on behavioral measures six to eight months following program acceptance would be independent of age, sex, educational level and race of counselor.

Conclusions

Two major findings from this study were: (1) a main effect of race was associated with trainees shifting toward less positive feelings toward white counselors and (2) trainees who were more accepting of the system, were more favorable toward white counselors prior to the counseling experience.

Effect of race

Regardless of the race of the counselor, all trainees expressed more unfavorable feelings about white counselors following the training. In other words, the actual experience in the counseling relationship seemed to have sensitized them to some of the limitations of white counselors. It should be stressed that it is the limitations of white counselors that experience discloses; experience does not significantly affect the perception of the positive things that a white counselor can contribute.

Since negative perceptions increased for trainees with both white and black counselors, a question is why the overall SEU scores change for those counseled by blacks but not for white. Two things explain this: (a) although negative scores increase for both, they increase more for those with white counselors, and (b) while neither of the positive scores are significant, there was a tendency for trainees counseled by whites to see more positive things in a white counselor after

experience with one, while trainees with black counselors saw less positive things about white counselors.

In general then the findings may be interpreted as follows: while experience with a white counselor sensitizes the trainee to the limitations of a white counselor, it also sensitizes him somewhat to the positive factors, so that there is not significant overall change in his view of white counselors. In contrast, experience with a black counselor has clearer results in that it makes him less positive as well as more negative toward a white counselor. In other words, experience with a white counselor is not a clear negative experience--it has positive as well as negative aspects; but experience with a black counselor seems to be a clear positive experience which has the effect of causing a trainee to more clearly perceive the negative aspects toward the idea of being counseled by a counselor who is not black. The experience makes them pro-black rather than anti-white.

Self-Blame and Militancy

Trainees who subscribed to the ideology that social and economic disadvantages among blacks are due to blacks' lack of skill and ability held more favorable attitudes toward white counselors prior to a counseling experience. These representations of intrapunitiveness and acceptance of the system was in contrast to the unfavorable attitudes of trainees who felt that disadvantage among blacks is the result of the system--lack of job opportunity and systematic racial discrimination. Further, unfavorable attitudes toward white counselors were found among trainees who subscribed to militant forms of protest to combat racial injustices to a greater extent than did trainees who felt that "talking things over" was the more appropriate approach to

eliminating racial inequities.

Implications

The significance of this research would appear not to be based solely upon the major findings of this investigation but, rather, the impact seems to be in terms of the additional questions that are raised relative to the effectiveness of white counselors in counseling blacks. Three foci are discussed in the implications which follow: (1) increased generalization as to the meaning of the findings; (2) reconceptualization of counselor education strategy in preparing counselors to work with blacks; and (3) needed areas of future research.

1. Trainees' attitudes toward white counselors appear to be influenced not only by their perceptions of the quality of the relationship but also to the extent that white counselors can facilitate their becoming a part of the system and obtaining a piece of the action.

Analysis of the content of trainees' responses toward the negative and positive aspects of being counseled by a white counselor indicated that the category of improving communication and interpersonal relationships between races formed the largest category. Further examination of responses revealed feelings that these were on a more personal level in terms of whether they perceived they would be channeled or blocked in their progress toward acquisition of jobs with good pay. Basic to the relationship with a white counselor was the notion of trust. Trust not so much in the sense that blacks could talk over

personal problems with a white counselor where such personal problems were of noneconomic significance, but trust in the sense of whether they could expect "Whitey" to be fair and square in letting them know where the good jobs were located. In other words would a white counselor "put it on the line" to make sure they would obtain a job with good earnings and intervene on behalf of a trainee if necessary.

On the surface, the positive aspects of working with a white counselor seem to have been viewed in terms of the white counselor's power and knowledge--white knowledge of the world of work, in other words, their knowledge of the system. Content analysis conveys the impression that trainees felt that if they learned the custom of whites, showed white counselors how smart they were, that the white counselor would understand them and through the good relationship established with the white counselor, trainees perceived that positive benefits would be derived in economic terms by being counseled by white counselors. It should be stressed that improving communication between the races and increasing understanding, were not viewed as ends within themselves, but in terms of the possible "pay-offs." Expressed in another way, if the white counselor would make the black client work harder and there was a pay-off at the end, then working with a white counselor would be positively viewed.

Clearly economic rewards and self betterment through attainment of skills and jobs were the goals in the minds of the trainees. Abstract goals of self exploration and self understanding espoused by some proponents of counseling did not seem to be relevant to the trainees if this did not lead to better skills, job and economic self-sufficiency. Trainees did not seem necessarily positive toward white

counselors because they felt they could develop a better relationship with a black counselor, and that the relationship would lead to tangible, concrete, meaningful rewards of economic significance.

It seems, therefore, the response of blacks is not so much whether black trainees can relate to white counselors or not, but whether blacks perceive that white counselors will permit or deny access to tangible pay-offs to be derived from the relationship.

2. Trainees in this study had different expectancies about the outcomes of counseling with black and white counselors.

The concept of expectancy seems pertinent as previously indicated. It could be that trainees perceived black counselors to be much in the same boat as they, in terms of power and knowledge of the system. How could black counselors possibly help as much as white counselors? Consequently, trainees in this study may have been expecting much less in terms of the tangible benefits from counseling by a black counselor than they were expecting from whites.

Assuming that there is some validity to the observation that trainees were favorable toward being counseled by whites because of the perceived power status and what that would do for them, following the counselling experience, their feelings were brought more in line with the realities. The interpretation of this is that white counselors did not use the power that trainees perceived white counselors had to the extent of their expectations because (1) it was mythical and nonexistent or (2) trainees perceived that whatever power white

counselors had was not used to their advantage. On the other hand, the use of power by black counselors was more than anticipated and as such trainees were clearly more positive about counseling from blacks.

3. The role behaviors of black counselors resulting from practical experience may have been different from the counseling behavior of whites, which may partially account for the positive attitude trainees seemed to have toward black counselors and the shift away from a feeling of positiveness to more neutral attitude toward white counselors.

Any possible differences in role behaviors, should be considered in the light of educational background and experience. White counselors had an average of 1.7 years counseling experience and black counselors averaged 2.3 years, giving black counselors a slight edge in experience over white counselors.

All counselors held bachelor degrees primarily in the social sciences, and only two counselors had majored in non-social science fields. Surprisingly, one counselor only--a black--had a Master's degree at the time of the study which was in Language Arts. Educational differences between black and white counselors were minimal. When broken down in terms of race, all blacks except one, who had bachelors' degrees, indicated that they were engaged in graduate study in guidance and counseling. The black counselor with a bachelor's in psychology did not indicate that he was engaged in further study.

As for white counselors, eight indicated they were pursuing additional work in guidance and counseling. Of the five remaining, undergraduate degrees for three white counselors were in the social sciences

and the college majors of two were English and Business Administration.

In summary, 12 counselors, out of a total of 19, in this study, or over half, were studying toward a graduate degree in guidance and counseling.

4. Unconditional positive regard, accurate empathy, genuineness--all considered core conditions in developing and maintaining a counseling relationship--while necessary, may be insufficient in view of the expectations of trainees in this study.

Having analyzed counselors' educational background, it is concluded that both black and white counselors were similar. Training and educational background of the counselors is of significance in view of the finding of Banks et al. (1967) that black counselees would not return to see an experienced Ph.D. trained counselor but some would return to see lay counselors with minimal training. Although the sample was quite small in the Bank et al. study, it does raise the question of whether some of the training that is furnished counselors has a dehumanizing effect in that it may tend to "train out" certain qualities and characteristics that are important for functioning at more facilitative levels in an interpersonal relationship with black counselees. Do counselor education programs, with emphasis upon techniques, cause counselors to function in certain ways that perhaps are not very satisfying to black counselees? Client-centered approaches that emphasize reflecting of feeling and self exploration may have little relevance for some black clients who would state: "the data is in baby." Counseling, historically is a middle class activity that has been used primarily with middle class clients.

The trainees in this study were certainly not middle class. It is questionable whether techniques that stress greater depth of self exploration, and feelings about self would be appropriate to many of these trainees who have needs that are seeking gratification at a different level within the need hierarchy, i.e., payment of rent, purchase of food, care for children, and obtaining a job. When a black client does not have a job, food, clothing, and rent, of what utility is exploring how he feels about it? The black client in such circumstances seems to be correct when he states that "the data is in baby." It would seem that counseling should be related to things that are relevant and immediate to the clients' needs, but within a setting of acceptance. Clearly in this study, client goals were expressed in terms of the tangible and concrete. Assuming that depth of self exploration was important, Ledvinka's (1969) findings on the language elaboration of the black job seeker is pertinent, for blacks were found to be much more expressive in the presence of blacks than with whites. This suggests that understanding the black trainee by white counselors is important if they (white counselors) are to facilitate more spontaneous verbal behavior on the part of black counselees.

5. Since goals of both counselor and counselee are verbalized within a similar dimension, there may be a discrepancy in the expectations between white counselor and black counselee relative to the means by which goals will be achieved and an underestimate of reality demands on the part of both.

The practice of counseling in Manpower training programs has suffered from a lack of definition and precise description (Gordon, 1969).

The goals of counseling as expressed by counselors in this investigation however suggest the kind of activities counselors felt were important to assist counselees.

While counseling techniques and philosophies are not readily labeled or identified in these programs, it was clear that counseling was viewed as an individualized activity on a one-to-one basis where counselor-trainee interaction was the means used to assist trainees to determine goals; assess motivation for training and employment; help trainees enroll in education and training; develop acceptance of responsibility and independence; improve work habits, attendance, and interpersonal relationships; modify trainees' outward displays of hostility when it occurred; and to assist trainees to prepare for job interviews and jobs.

There was no set requirement that a counselee was to be seen on a regular basis, but contact was based primarily upon counselor judgment and interpretation of client need. Goals of counseling as seen by counselors were in terms of economic considerations. Expressed another way, trainees were to become taxpayers and get off of welfare. They were to become employed and in the process trainees were expected to report regularly, punctually and in appropriate attire for training and work assignments. The focus of counseling was upon those factors within the individual that needed to be changed as opposed to factors in the environment in need of modification, e.g., hiring requirements and discriminatory behavior of employers. Institutional controls and system entrenchment all suggest that there is a need for more direct intervention by counselors to modify untenable system requirements. Programs that are implementing the employability team concept are indicative

of the suggested directions since extrinsic factors need to be given far more attention than the attention that intrinsic considerations have received. Trainees in this study seemed to have had expectations calling for a more active counselor role.

6. In preparing counselors to meet the needs of black manpower trainees from disadvantaged backgrounds, a reconceptualization of counselor preparation programs seems indicated.

Typically, most counselor preparation programs at the university level prepare counselors to deal with modifying factors within the person, that may facilitate adjustment personally and vocationally. While some attention is also given to socio-political considerations, counseling philosophy tends to support leaving things to the devices of clients in terms of negotiating environmental hurdles after clients have altered perceptions of self, clarified goals, increased motivation and gained insight into intrapsychic difficulties. In view of the goals of both counselors and counselees in this study, attention might be focused at two fronts: (1) counselor-counselee interaction and (2) counselee-counselor-environmental interface.

Since trainees tend to think of goals in tangible terms, preparation programs that give undue weight to relationship therapy may fall short of meeting needs and objectives of black counselees. While it appears that some white counselors are able to establish warm working relationships with black counselees, it also occurs that some black counselors have the potential for establishing even warmer relationships with black counselees arising out of a shared background and feelings derived from the "black experience." While it is unlikely that white

counselors would come to know the "black experience" in a very personal way, preparation programs that provide white counselors exposure in the black community conceivably would be beneficial in sensitizing white counselors to black problems. This is not to suggest that there are certain racially inherent or racially derived attributes that are unique to either black counselors or white counselors, but rather that one who has already experienced that which is associated with the meaning of "we shall overcome" or "I've been to the mountain top" is able to empathize at a deeper level with a client when both client and counselor know each has been there. To the black counselor, greater depth of self-exploration by the client and techniques designed to get clients to explore problems related to past and present frustrations, are often irrelevant and unnecessary, because the black counselor has already identified with certain aspects of the client's situation. Of more importance, however, is that both black and white counselors need to attend to those immediate and concrete things in the client's life space that have relevance for the client--particularly those things which will be immediately reinforcing to client progress toward specific goals.

Counselee-counselor-environmental interface has already been referred to in the discussion. It simply means a more active rather than a passive role on the part of the counselor with the counselee. A more active counseling role is needed to help eliminate institutional barriers inimical to client adjustment which have discriminated systematically, predictably, and reliably. Client advocacy, counselor intervention, and counseling modes that bring counselors out of the cubicle to counseling "on the hoof" out where the action is--in the

home, pool room, or at the job site--are what is needed.

7. It is suggested that far too few black male counselors may be employed in manpower training efforts where substantial numbers of blacks are trainees.

A major problem in conducting this study was the apparent lack of black counselors and black males particularly. Some evidence already exists that counseling is viewed as a feminine activity by unemployed blacks and the experience from this study would tend to reinforce that impression.

Major efforts are recommended for the recruitment of black males already trained in counseling for employment in manpower programs. If black counselors are in short supply, the implications seem clear for establishing training institutes or aligning with on-going counselor preparation programs.

8. An exploratory study of this nature is suggestive and replication of this study by investigations that consider other variables and research designs are recommended.

(a) This investigation was conducted in a field setting carrying with it all of the problems associated with the inability to control known as well as unknown variables. A replication study might introduce a control group in order to control for effects of different administrations of the instruments used on subject responses.

(b) Counselor experience, counselor level of training, and counseling theoretical approaches are variables in need of future consideration. Research that takes into account these variables, along with effects of counselor race, is suggested.

(c) White trainees were not included in this study, consequently the results do not apply to white clients although there is some evidence that counselor race is indeed a two-way street. Future investigations might well include white subjects.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

Date of Interview _____

Interviewer_____

Initial Interview Schedule (Enrollees)

I. BACKGROUND DATA

Name _____ Birthdate _____ Age _____
 last first initial
 Sex _____

Home Address _____ Marital Status: ☐ married
☐ never
☐ married
☐ widowed
☐ divorced
☐ separated

Race _____

Number of Dependents_____

Phone (at home) _____ Name of Program _____

II. EDUCATION

A. Number years attended regular school. (Circle one)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

B. In addition to regular schooling, have you been in a special training program?

1. No

2. Yes (If yes, specify type and length) _____

C. During grade school and high school, did you go to school with:

grade school | high school

1. Primarily all white students

2. Primarily all black students

3. About 75% white and 25% black

4. About 75% black and 25% white

5. About half black and half white

6. Other (Describe)

III. WORK HISTORY

- A. When did you last work? _____
mo. yr.
- B. When did you start your last job? _____
yr.
- C. What was your last job? _____
title and brief description
- D. How much did you earn (take home) per week? _____

IV. COMMUNITY

- A. How would you describe your community?

	When you were growing up?	At Present
1. Primarily all white	_____	_____
2. Primarily all black	_____	_____
3. About 75% white and 25% black	_____	_____
4. About 75% black and 25% white	_____	_____
5. About half black and half white	_____	_____
6. Other (Describe)	_____	_____

V. GOALS AND PROGRAMS EXPECTATIONS

What is it that you hope that this program will do for you or help you to do before you leave? (try to obtain behaviorally)

VI. COUNSELOR CONTACT

A. Counselors are the people who will be working with you in the program. Have you ever talked with a counselor before?

_____Yes _____No

1. (If answer is yes to A above) How helpful was the counselor to you?

_____Not very helpful _____Helpful _____Very helpful

What did you see the counselor about? _____

2. (If answer is yes to A above) Have you ever talked with a counselor who was from a different race and background than yours? _____Yes _____No

3. (If answer is no to A above) Do you know what counselors do? _____Yes _____No

(If no, explain using the following explanation:

"Counselors help people with personal problems, etc."

APPENDIX B

Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about some of your general feelings about life--not just about work or the retraining program.

In each of these questions, we're going to give you two sentences. Check the one that comes closest to telling the way you feel things actually are in life.

Be sure it's the way things actually are in life, not the way you'd like them to be.

1. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- ☐ Trust to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

2. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- ☐ Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

3. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
- ☐ It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck anyhow.

4. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
- ☐ Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

5. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- ☐ Who gets to be boss depends on who has the skill and ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

6. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
- ☐ It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.

7. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ What happens to me is my own doing.
- ☐ Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

8. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead.
- ☐ People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.

9. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way.
- ☐ Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.

10. CHECK THE BOX

- ☐ It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many blacks from getting a job. It's not just because they are black. When a black is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.
- ☐ Many qualified blacks can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.

11. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual black to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.
- ☐ Only if blacks pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.

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12. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.
- ☐ The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual black to be even better trained and more qualified than the best qualified white person.

13. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Many blacks who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.
- ☐ Blacks may not have the same opportunity as whites, but many blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

14. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Many blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.
- ☐ When two qualified people, one black and one white, are considered for the same job, the black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

15. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be handled better by black leaders talking with white leaders.
- ☐ Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.

16. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ The attempt to "fit-in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for blacks. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're black.
- ☐ The problem for many blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.

17. CHECK ONE BOX

- ☐ Discrimination affects all blacks. The only way to handle it is for blacks to organize together and demand rights for all blacks.
- ☐ Discrimination may affect all blacks but the best way to handle it is for each individual black to act like any other American--to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

APPENDIX C

Name _____

Interviewer_____

Date _____

What good things do you think +
might happen?

Ψ
Chance that it
might happen?

U
How good would
it be?

WU

```

*--star scale inversions due to
reinterpretation of utility after
probe.

```

Note any significant non-scalable content on sheet provided at end either during or immediately after interview.

Very unlikely
Unlikely
As likely as not
Likely
Very likely

Unimportant
More desirable
than not
Desirable
Very desirable

[illegible]
$$+ \psi U =$$

Name _____

Interviewer _____

Date _____

What bad things do you think might happen?	ψ Chance that it might happen?					U How bad would it be?				ψU
	Very unlikely	Unlikely	As likely as not	Likely	Very likely	Unimportant	More undesirable than not	Undesirable	Very undesirable	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	4	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	
	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	

$$\sum \psi U = \sum \psi U + \sum \psi U =$$

APPENDIX D

Date of Interview_____

Interviewer_____

Interview Schedule (Staff)

I. BACKGROUND DATA

Name_____ Sex_____

Organization_____

Position, Title_____

Race_____

Marital Status () married
() never married
() widowed
() divorced
() separated

II. EDUCATION

A. High School 1 2 3 4 Received high school diploma
(Or equivalent) ____Yes ____No

B. College 1 2 3 4

C. Graduate School 1 2 3 4

D. Degrees Held: Bachelors____ Major____ Masters____ Major____

E. What year did you receive your: Bachelors Degree____ Masters Degree____

F. Other type of training:_____

G. Still in school ____No ____Yes (If yes, indicate major)_____

H. During grade school, high school, and college, did you go to school with:

	grade school	high school	college
1. Primarily all white students			
2. Primarily all black students			
3. About 75% white and 25% black			
4. About 75% black and 25% white			
5. About half black and half white			
6. Other (Describe)			

III. WORK HISTORY

- A. How long have you worked with this organization? _____
- B. How long have you been assigned to your present job with this organization?

- C. How much Counseling experience have you had altogether? _____
- D. Have you had experience counseling enrollees (counselees) who are of a different race and background than yours?
_____Yes _____No
- E. If answer is yes to D, please estimate the percentage of your counselees who have been of a different race than yours.
- _____ less than 10%
- _____ 10-20%
- _____ 20-30%
- _____ 30-40%
- _____ 40-50%
- _____ 50-60%
- _____ 60-70%
- _____ 70-80%
- _____ 80-90%
- _____ 90-100%

IV. COMMUNITY

How would you describe your community?

1. Primarily all white
2. Primarily all black
3. About 75% white and 25% black
4. About 75% black and 25% white
5. About half black and half white
6. Other (describe)

When you were growing up?	at present
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

V. PROGRAM AND COUNSELING GOALS

- A. What are the requirements for a trainee to enroll in this program? (Please list)

- B. What do you see as the specific goal of counseling with enrollees while they are in training? (To be specified in behavioral terms--please list)

- C. What do you see as the overall goals of this program for the enrollees? (To be specified in behavioral terms--please list)

VI. ADMINISTER CONSEQUENCE MODEL QUESTIONNAIRE

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APPENDIX E

POST-INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Exit Interview Going to All Trainees)

Respondent's Name _____
Last Name First Name Initial
Name of Program (WIN, SKILLS CENTER, CEP) _____ Male _____ Female _____
Date _____
Interviewer's Name _____

(DO NOT READ: MEMORIZE)

You may recall that you were interviewed by someone when you first started. Let me tell you what this interview is all about. The questions I am doing to ask you were made up by a research team working for the University of Michigan. We are interested in understanding projects like this project. In particular, we would like to know some things about the people who are actually enrolled in the project. In order to find out what we want to know, we have decided to pick a few people to talk with and yours was one of the names picked. We have interviewed many of you already.

It is very important that you tell me what you really think rather than what you think I want to hear or what you think you should say. All your answers will be kept strictly confidential. We are not interested in what any one person said, but rather how many thought one way and how many thought another way. Your interview, together with similar interviews from hundreds of people will be studied at the University of Michigan. No one here, or anyone else, will see your answers to our questions.

The other people we have interviewed have found the questions interesting and I hope you will, too.

PART I.

1. When did you first start in this program? _____
2. Who is your counselor: _____
 - A. About how many times have you talked with the counselor since you started in this program?
3. How have things gone for you since you started here?
4. When you have a special problem that you want to discuss, whom do you go to see about it? (Get name and job title of person.)
5. What kind of progress do you feel you are making?
6. What did you hope to accomplish when you first started this program?
 - A. How far have you come in accomplishing it?
 - B. If you have not made as much progress as you wanted to, what do you think is the reason?
7. Who has been most helpful to you in assisting you to accomplish your goals?
8. What in the program has been especially helpful to you?
9. Have you been exposed to: (Circle)

A. Reading	Yes	No
B. Math	Yes	No
C. Individual Counseling	Yes	No
D. Vocational Training	Yes	No
E. Work Try Out	Yes	No
F. Orientation	Yes	No
G. Role Playing	Yes	No
(Social Skills)		
(Group Counseling)		

 - II. Which of the above have been particularly helpful to you?
Why?
 - I. Which of the above have not been very helpful?
Why?

PART II.INSTRUCTIONS

We are interested in obtaining a self description of your behavior.
 (1) When you first started in the program, and (2) your behavior now.
 Please place an X on the scale at the top of the line to picture yourself
 when you first started here. Please put N on the scale at the bottom of
 the line to picture your behavior now.

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Most of the
time absent _____ | | | | | | | | Most of the time
present |
| 2. Usually late _____ | | | | | | | | Usually on time |
| 3. Hostile toward
other students _____ | | | | | | | | Friendly toward
other students |
| 4. Distrustful of team
and instructors _____ | | | | | | | | Trustful of team
and instructors |
| 5. Unable to follow
instructions _____ | | | | | | | | Able to
follow instructions |
| 6. Unable to read
at all _____ | | | | | | | | Could read
very well |
| 7. Unable to do
simple math _____ | | | | | | | | Could do
simple math |
| 8. Often argued with
other students _____ | | | | | | | | Never argued
with other students |
| 9. Live from
day to day _____ | | | | | | | | Planned life
ahead |
| 10. Give up before
task completed _____ | | | | | | | | Finished tasks
started |

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Making no progress at all _____ Progressing to complete satisfaction
12. Never asked for help when needed _____ Always asked for help when needed

PART III.

We are going to ask you some questions about four of the staff members who may have been assigned to work with you--your Counselor, your Coach, your Work Training Specialist, and your Manpower Specialist (JOB Developer).

First, write the names of these four people in the lines below.

The name of my Counselor is _____

The name of my Coach is _____

The name of my Work Training Specialist is _____

The name of my Manpower Specialist is _____

The questions that follow will be about these four staff people. Write in the names of these same four people on each of the questions, and answer the questions about each of them.

WRITE IN THE SAME FOUR NAMES, AND ANSWER THIS QUESTION FOR EACH OF THE FOUR STAFF MEMBERS, IF EACH HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO WORK WITH YOU.

1. Some staff members have more influence around the unit than others do. They have more say in what goes on and what gets decided on. We want to see how much say around the unit you feel these staff members have. Put a check in the box that best fits how you feel.

A. (WRITE IN COUNSELOR'S NAME) _____.
How much say do you think he has around the unit?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
He has the most say around here	He has a great deal of say	He has pretty much say	He has some say	He has very little say

B. (WRITE IN COACH'S NAME) _____.
How much say do you think he has around the unit?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
He has the most say around here	He has a great deal of say	He has pretty much say	He has some say	He has very little say

C. (WRITE IN WORK TRAINING SPECIALIST'S NAME) _____.
How much say do you think he has around the unit?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
He has the most say around here	He has a great deal of say	He has pretty much say	He has some say	He has very little say

D. (WRITE IN MANPOWER SPECIALIST (JOB DEVELOPER) NAME) _____.
How much say do you think he has around the unit?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
He has the most say around here	He has a great deal of say	He has pretty much say	He has some say	He has very little say

WRITE IN THE SAME FOUR NAMES, AND ANSWER THIS QUESTION FOR EACH OF THE FOUR STAFF MEMBERS, IF EACH HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO WORK WITH YOU.

2. Now we want to ask how close you feel toward each staff person. How free do you feel to talk over personal problems that might be bothering you. Think of how free you feel to discuss things with each of the staff members listed below and put a check in the box that best fits how you feel.

- A. (WRITE IN COUNSELOR'S NAME) _____.
How close do you feel to him. How free do you feel to bring up personal problems with him. (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>
I feel free to talk about any-thing with him	I would talk about most things with him	I feel pretty free to talk about things with him	There are only some things I would talk about with him	I don't feel free to talk about things with him at all

- B. (WRITE IN COACH'S NAME) _____
How close do you feel to him? How free do you feel to bring up personal problems with him? (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

() () () () ()

- C. (WRITE IN WORK TRAINING SPECIALIST'S NAME) _____
How close do you feel to him. How free do you feel to bring up personal problems with him? (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

() () () () ()

- D. (WRITE IN MANPOWER SPECIALIST (JOB DEVELOPER) NAME) _____
How close do you feel to him. How free do you feel to bring up personal problems with him. (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

() () () () ()

WRITE IN THE SAME FOUR NAMES, AND ANSWER THIS QUESTION FOR EACH OF THE FOUR STAFF MEMBERS, IF EACH HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO WORK WITH YOU.

3. Everybody trusts some people more than others. Some people can't be trusted at all. We want to see how much you trust each of the four staff members. Put a check in the box that best fits how you feel.

A. (WRITE IN COUNSELOR'S NAME) _____
How much do you trust him? (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>
I have com- plete trust in him	I trust him very much	I trust him a good deal	I trust him pretty much	I don't trust him very much

B. (WRITE IN COACH'S NAME) _____
How much do you trust him? (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

() () () () ()

C. (WRITE IN WORK TRAINING SPECIALIST'S NAME) _____
How much do you trust him? (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

() () () () ()

D. (WRITE IN MANPOWER SPECIALIST (JOB DEVELOPER) NAME) _____
How much do you trust him? (CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

() () () () ()

WRITE IN THE SAME FOUR NAMES, AND ANSWER THIS QUESTION FOR EACH OF THE FOUR STAFF MEMBERS.

4. We want to find out how much you feel that each staff member understands and knows about you. Some staff members probably know a lot while others know very little about you.

A. (WRITE IN COUNSELOR'S NAME) _____
How much knowledge do you think he has about you?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>
He know just about every- thing	He knows a great deal	He knows a lot	He knows a fair amount	He doesn't know very much

B. (WRITE IN COACH'S NAME) _____
How much knowledge do you think he has about you?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

C. (WRITE IN WORK TRAINING SPECIALIST'S NAME) _____
How much knowledge do you think he has about you?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

D. (WRITE IN MANPOWER SPECIALIST (JOB DEVELOPER) NAME) _____
How much knowledge do you think he has about you?
(CHECK ONE BOX ONLY)

<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>	<u>()</u>
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

Part IV

1. Who is the staff person in the Program that was most important and helpful to you? (GET BOTH NAME AND JOB--COUNSELOR, COACH, WORK TRAINING SPECIALIST, ETC.)

Last Name

Job

- 1a. In what ways was he important and helpful? (PROBE FULLY)

2. Is there any other person who was particularly important and helpful to you? (GET BOTH NAME AND JOB)

Last Name

Job

- 2a. In what ways was he important and helpful? (PROBE FULLY)

3. How about the question of being black. Do you think that being black might keep you from getting a job, or don't you think that will matter if you do your job well?

4. Do you have an idea when you will be placed on a job?

_____ Yes

_____ No (GO TO Q.5)

IF YES) 4. When will that be? _____

5. Where did you get this idea--who told you this? _____

5. Do you feel that you are now ready to hold a job, or would you like a little more time and training?

_____ More time and training

_____ Now ready (GO TO Q.7)

(IF MORE TIME AND TRAINING) 5. What do you still have to learn to be ready?

6. Do you think you will learn this before you leave the Project?

_____ Yes

_____ No

How long do you
think it will take
to learn it?

What will you do
when the Project ends?

6. When you have a job, would you prefer that the people you work with were mostly Black, mostly White, or about half of each.

_____ Black

_____ White

_____ Half

_____ No difference

- 6a. Why do you feel that way?

7. Suppose it turned out that all the people you were working with were White . . . How would you feel about that?

- 7a. Do you think it would make it tough for you in any way?

_____ Yes

_____ No

How is that?

8. Would you prefer that your supervisor, the person you work under, be black or white?

_____ Black

_____ White

_____ No difference

- 8a. Why do you feel that way?
