

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 132 503

95

CG 011 341

AUTHOR Harway, Michele; And Others
TITLE Sex Discrimination in Guidance and Counseling.
Executive Summary.
INSTITUTION Higher Education Research Inst., Inc., Los Angeles,
Calif.
SPONS AGENCY National Center for Education Statistics (DHEW),
Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Feb 76
CONTRACT 300-75-0207
NOTE 50p.; For related documents, see CG 011 298-299, HE
008 584 and HE 008 684, and EA 009 103-104

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Equal Education; *Females; Higher Education;
*Occupational Guidance; *Policy Formation; Research
Projects; Secondary Education; *Sex Discrimination;
Social Factors; *Vocational Counseling

ABSTRACT

This report reviews sex discrimination in counseling and guidance in secondary and postsecondary education. Following a review of existing research and literature and a critical discussion of the state of knowledge in this area, the report presents implications for policy and modes to implement needed changes. The primary focus is vocational guidance and counseling. Personal-social counseling and mental health are examined briefly. Six issues are identified to reflect the areas of inquiry vital to sex discrimination in guidance and counseling: (1) socialization reflects the sex-role biases of the surrounding society; (2) the counselor training field reflects the biases and sex-role stereotypes of the larger society; (3) counselor trainers and training rationales may reinforce existing biases or produce attitudes and values that interfere with equitable counseling practices; (4) tests (personality, interest) and other source materials used to assess clients and assist them with their educational, vocational, and personal decisions reflect sex-role biases; (5) negative outcomes of counseling are reflected in students' educational and career decisions which indicate acceptance of sex-role stereotypes; and (6) existing counseling programs can be freed of sex biases through implementing new approaches in counselor training and procedures. The report presents implications and recommendations in the areas of socialization, self concept and sex-role attitudes, counselor training and characteristics, materials and theories, nontraditional counseling, and research and legislative recommendations.
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ED132503

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National Center for Education Statistics
Education Division
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

February 1976

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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Acknowledgements

This study had the support, advice, and assistance of many persons.

We would like to acknowledge the work of C. E. Christian and Patricia P. McNamara, research analysts at the Higher Education Research Institute. Ms. Christian conducted the exploratory survey in the Los Angeles metropolitan area high schools and analyzed the data. Ms. McNamara, coauthor of Sex Discrimination in Access to Postsecondary Education, worked closely with us on many overlapping aspects of the two reports.

Three consultants provided expertise on different aspects of the study. Lorenza Schmidt and Marguerite Archie were most helpful in sensitizing us to issues of minorities. Wendy Williams, a lawyer with Equal Rights Advocates, a public interest law firm, helped us examine findings in the context of recent legislation. Two other consultants contributed substantially to portions of the report. Rita M. Whiteley and Arthur J. Lange were responsible for the section on assertion training. Moreover, Rita M. Whiteley coauthored portions of the chapter on sex bias in counseling theories. She also contributed sections on feminist counseling and outcomes.

Lewis C. Solmon and Alexander W. Astin read the manuscript, offering numerous insights and suggestions.

We would like to thank Valerie Kesler, Kathleen Kaufman, and Mary Ruth Swint, who typed and retyped the many drafts. Beverly T. Watkins edited the entire manuscript.

Most of all, we would like to thank the project monitor, Shirley Radcliffe, and the Advisory Panel, and the National Center for Education Statistics for their guidance and support.

The Authors

February, 1976

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974, which constitutes Section 408 of the Education Amendments of 1972, proposes to provide educational equity for women in the United States. Section 408 (f) (4) states:

From the sums available for the purposes of this section, the Commissioner is authorized and directed to conduct a national, comprehensive review of sex discrimination in education, to be submitted to the Council not later than a year after the date of enactment of this section. The Council shall review the report of the Commissioner and shall make recommendations, including recommendations for additional legislation, as it deems advisable.

This report reviews sex discrimination in counseling and guidance in secondary and postsecondary education. Following a review of existing research and literature and a critical discussion of the state of knowledge in this area, the report presents implications for policy and modes to implement needed changes.

The primary focus of this study is vocational guidance and counseling. Personal-social counseling and mental health are examined briefly.

Six issues are identified to reflect the areas of inquiry vital to sex discrimination in guidance and counseling:

1. Socialization, which plays an important role in shaping the education and career decisions of young people, reflects the sex-role biases of the surrounding society.
2. The counselor training field reflects the biases and sex-role stereotypes of the larger society.
3. Counselor trainers and training rationales may reinforce existing biases or produce attitudes and values that interfere with equitable counseling practices.

4. Tests (personality, interest) and other source materials used to assess clients and assist them with their educational, vocational, and personal decisions reflect sex-role biases.

5. Negative outcomes of counseling are reflected in students' educational and career decisions which indicate acceptance of sex-role stereotypes.

6. Existing counseling programs can be freed of sex biases through implementing new approaches in counselor training and procedures.

Four major services compose a school's guidance program (Shertzer & Stone, 1971):

1. An appraisal service to collect objective and subjective data about the student.

2. An informational service to give students information about vocational, educational, and personal opportunities.

3. A counseling service to facilitate students' self-understanding and development through dyadic or small-group relationships.

4. A planning, placement, and follow-up service to help the student locate job opportunities.

Throughout the report, the terms "counselor" and "guidance counselor," and "counseling" and "guidance" are used interchangeably to reflect common usage.

One objective of counseling is to expose students to all the possible goals for which they may strive. Conversely, sex bias in counseling is "that condition or provision which influences a person to limit his or her considerations of career opportunities solely on the basis of that person's sex" (AMEG Commission, 1973). Expanding the definition, sex bias in counseling is

any condition under which a client's options are limited by the counselor solely because of gender. That would include limiting expression of certain kinds of behavior because they have not traditionally been appropriate for one sex. Sex bias in counseling may be overt: for example, suggesting that a female high school student not enroll in a math class because "women aren't good in math," thereby limiting her later options to enter scientific or professional careers. Or it may be covert: subtle expectations or attitudes that "girls always are" certain stereotypic characteristics.

Every person should have the educational opportunity to develop fully his/her talents and assets. "Talents" means not only those acquired at birth, but also those developed in the school years. Even though this study looks at equity in secondary and postsecondary counseling, inequities can begin at birth and continue through life because of differential treatment at home, in school, and in society at large. Thus, even if equal counseling treatment were provided to high school students independent of sex, one could expect different outcomes because of different treatments and experiences previously. It seems obvious, then, that equal treatment of people with different experiences would result in different opportunities for men and women. Rather than equal treatment for all, equity for members of each sex will probably require differential treatment by sex. While counselors' role has traditionally been to explore options with students passively, counselors will need to encourage women actively to seek non-traditional careers because their socialization may result in their considering only the most traditional. Counselors will have to make special efforts to ensure that young women develop to their fullest individual capacities rather than only along stereotypical lines. Following this line of reasoning, equity should be achieved through affirmative action: not

through passive approval or disapproval of a student's choice but through action that enhances the student's perceived options.

The critical analysis of these issues depends heavily on three data sources:

1. Existing research and theoretical literature.
2. Reexamination and presentation of data from statistical reports (e.g., Project TALENT, census data, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), National Longitudinal Study (NLS) data, American Council on Education-University of California at Los Angeles, Cooperative Institutional Research Program (ACE-UCLA CIRP).
3. Exploratory studies to address questions for which existing information is lacking in either the theoretical and research literature or the statistical profiles of high school and college youth.

The present study was undertaken to comply with the provision of the Women's Educational Equity Act that a study on sex discrimination be completed within a year of enactment. Because of this provision, the research team operated under enormous time constraints. The work had to be completed within nine months of the contract date (April 30, 1975 to January 31, 1976). Consequently, selective review of data and literature sources was conducted.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Overall conclusive results are somewhat scarce. Chapter 1 comprises an elaboration of the material above. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with student background characteristics that can affect the counseling situation. The purpose of these chapters is not to document instances of discrimination but to contribute to understanding forces that impact on the student prior to his/her first experience with a secondary school counselor.

Chapter Two

Chapter 2 surveys the effects of socialization on the sexes. Some of the key findings are:

1. Physiological differences are no more clear-cut than similarities. While sex is physiologically determined, individuals' behavior and role assumption are determined by their gender identity, that is, the sex ascribed to them and which they ascribe to themselves (Frazier & Sadker, 1973). Evidence suggests social and cultural factors play a strong part in the behaviors and roles assumed by boys and girls.

2. While some sex differences are quite well-established, others are myths and still others require additional evidence before their reliability can be ascertained (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Well-established sex differences appear in verbal, visual-spatial, and mathematical abilities, and in aggression. Unfounded beliefs about sex differences are that girls are more "social" and more "suggestible" than boys; that girls have lower self-esteem and lack achievement motivation; that boys are more analytical; that girls are more affected by heredity, boys by environment; that girls are auditory, boys visual; and that the sexes show differences in perception, learning, and memory.

3. Certain behaviors are sex-typed, and a child learns quite early which behaviors and characteristics are appropriate for males or for females.

- a. Parents encourage their children to develop sex-typed interests or provide them with sex-typed toys. They discourage their children, especially their sons, from inappropriate sex-typed behaviors and activities (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

- b. In addition to family influences, children's literature

and television are major sources of information available for processing by preschool children. Analyses of children's books and of elementary, secondary, and college textbooks reveal that women are grossly underrepresented in such books. Where women appear, traditional sex-role stereotypes are reinforced (Weitzman, et al., 1972; Women on Words & Images, 1972). Prime-time television communicates the message that there are "more men around, that they are dominant, authoritative, and competent." Women hold traditional jobs, are dependent, and have more negative characteristics. These stereotypes are even more explicit in commercials (Women on Words & Images, 1975).

c. Aside from the obvious stereotyping in textbooks, other more covert instances of sexism may occur in the classroom. The teacher may allow different behaviors by the two sexes and may even treat boys and girls differently. Boys receive more positive, as well as negative, attention, are praised more, given more instruction, and encouraged more often than girls to be creative. Girls are trained to be docile and conforming. Moreover, as early as kindergarten, curriculum and activities may not be the same for each sex. For example, both sexes may not have equal access to all play materials in the classroom (Sears & Feldman, 1966; Levy, 1973).

4. Most research on sex-role development and socialization has involved white middle-class populations. Whether any conclusions are generalizable to other subgroups is open to question. Moreover, much research in minority or ethnic-group socialization has been done by white middle-class scholars and is open to criticism on the basis of cultural sensitivity (Hernandez, 1970; Suarez, 1973).

5. Findings from Project TALENT (1960) and NLS (1972) about the role of

significant others on students' post-high school plans indicate that:

a. Boys often discuss post-high school plans with their fathers, while girls consult with mothers, siblings, friends, and other adults for advice. Counselors, teachers, principals, and clergy give advice to both sexes equally.

b. Males more often than females discuss college plans, high school work, and personal problems, while males and females discuss post-high school jobs about as frequently.

c. Black and Hispanic students rely more heavily than whites on parents, peers, other relatives, and counselors.

d. Overall, females appear to have more discussions about their plans with significant others and seem more affected than males.

Both sexes are equally encouraged to go to college and neither group perceives that counselors and teachers are trying to influence them toward vocational or technical schools. Males more often are encouraged to enter apprenticeships and the military, while females are more often encouraged to get jobs. On the whole, members of minority groups are encouraged more frequently than whites to seek every post-high school option.

Chapter Three

Chapter 3 surveys research on sex-role perceptions, self-concept, and achievement motivation, all internal variables that the individual brings to the guidance situation. Results of the review show that:

1. The level and direction of achievement motivation appear to be affected by sex-role definitions, orientations, and expectations. Sex-role orientation may cause individuals to be motivated to achieve only in areas that are sex-appropriate (Horner, 1972).

2. Child-rearing practices conducive to feminine sex-typing are frequently antagonistic to those that lead to achievement-oriented behavior (Stein & Bailey, 1973).

3. National Longitudinal Study (NLS) results indicate that more girls (20 percent) than boys (13 percent) indicate no plans for further education past high school graduation, thus pointing to lower educational aspirations. Other studies (Watley, 1971) also indicate that women set lower aspirations and goals for themselves and that the views and expectations of others influence young women's orientation toward academic endeavors (Crandall et al., 1964; Brindley, 1971; Entwisle & Greenberger, 1972).

4. Women and men seem to differ in self-esteem. The ACE-UCLA CIRP (1974) freshman survey indicates that women rate themselves higher on "artistic ability," "cheerfulness," "understanding of others," "writing ability," and "sensitivity to criticism." Men rate themselves higher on academic achievement-oriented traits, e.g., "intellectual self-confidence," "originality," "mathematical ability," "public speaking ability," and "leadership."

Black men and women have lower self-ratings, compared with white youth, on "academic ability," "mathematical ability," "mechanical ability," and, to some extent, "originality." "Drive to achieve" and "intellectual self-confidence" are comparable. However, "popularity in general" and "popularity with the opposite sex" are higher for black than for white students. Black women tend to rate themselves lower on "artistic ability" and "math ability," and higher on "drive to achieve," "popularity in general," "popularity with the opposite sex," "intellectual self-confidence," and "social self-confidence." Black women, compared with black men, rate themselves higher on "drive to achieve" but lower on "leadership," "math ability," "mechanical ability,"

"popularity with the opposite sex," and "intellectual and social self-confidence."

Older women rate themselves lower than younger college women on a number of the academic and achievement-oriented variables.

5. Men's life goals are determined more by extrinsic needs and interests, whereas women's objectives are more intrinsic in nature. More high school and college men consider success in their work an important objective, whereas a higher percentage of high school and college women think finding the right mate and having a family life an important life objective. Lots of money and a leadership role are more important for young boys than young girls. Such value differences also affect choices of careers and the educational preparation that enable people to pursue these careers.

6. There are pervasive stereotypic sex-role attitudes among high school and college students which may circumscribe the options available to both sexes. Boys and girls differ in their conceptions of women's roles (Turner & Turner, 1974). While both sexes disapprove of women holding men's jobs, boys consistently hold more conservative opinions. Black students are less opposed than white students to women working, but they are just as negative toward women doing the same work as men. Many social myths about women's place in society persist, especially among male groups. While acceptance of women working seems to be increasing, women's career options are restricted largely to traditionally feminine areas. Women believe the ideal woman should strive for a balance between self-realization and intrafamily nurturing. Moreover, women's view of men's ideal woman is significantly more family-oriented and personally subordinated. This belief inhibits some women from seeking work roles because they believe men prefer traditional homemakers.

However, much research indicates that men prefer a more balanced woman (Steinman, 1959; 1963; Steinman & Fox, 1966).

8. Success and achievement are considered masculine attributes (Feather & Simon, 1975). When a woman is presented as successful, either the quality of her achievement is devalued or a multitude of negative consequences are associated with her success. Since success by women is not highly valued even by other women, it requires high self-motivation and an internalized reward system for women to seek success.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the forces that shape the counselor before his/her interaction with clients.

Chapter Four

Chapter 4 documents the composition by sex and race of counselor trainers and counselors in practice and surveys counselor training and certification.

1. Haun (1971) indicates that 85 percent of counselor educators is men, and a greater proportion of women faculty is found at the assistant professor level and below. The proportion of women faculty employed is far smaller than the proportion earning doctorates in areas appropriate for counselor educators.

2. Sixty-eight percent of the membership of the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES) indicates sex on the membership form: 1,800 (or 67 percent) are male, 900 (or 33 percent) are female. Over half the members indicate race: 90 percent is white, 10 percent black.

3. A Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) survey of counselor education departments indicates that two (or 8 percent) of the 26 responding programs (about 7 percent of all counselor education departments and 26 percent of these samples) have a female department head. Of the 191 faculty, 158 (or 83 percent) are male, while 33 (or 17 percent) are female.

4. Textbooks used in training programs appear biased:

a. A survey of graduate texts in psychology indicates that both errors of omission and commission are frequent. Representation of women scholars in the texts is limited, women are less preferred as subjects of psychological research and as subject material in books. Moreover, the texts show limited career roles associated with women, thereby restricting career options. There is little discussion of sex differences or sex roles (Birk, et al., 1974).

b. Tests and measurement textbooks usually mention test bias, although not often in great detail (Tittle et al., 1974).

c. Three counseling textbooks (used by several graduate programs) were content analyzed by HERI. They show bias in their coverage of women. In one book, 4 percent of the total pages refers to women and 52 percent to men. Another volume has 94 percent of its pages describing men and 4 percent women. A third gives 37 percent of its pages to men and 11 percent to women. When women are mentioned in these texts, it is usually in stereotypical terms.

5. There is a paucity of courses on counseling girls and women. Only 12 programs in a nationwide survey (Pressley, 1974) offer such courses, yet 75 percent recommends that a course in counseling girls and women be offered. Among the 26 programs that responded to the survey, only one provides a course specifically on women as a special subpopulation. Nonetheless, all but one program have rewritten their catalogs and other descriptive material to reflect sex neutrality of students and faculty, indicating at least an effort to maintain sex fairness in recruiting students.

6. Few counselors take courses on counseling minority group members and most have no supervised experience with minority group counseling (NLS, 1973).

7. Reports on sex and race breakdowns of members of the counseling profession show that:

a. Of those responding to the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) membership survey, 52 percent is women. Furthermore, members of APGA divisions are overwhelmingly white.

b. Women represent 48 percent of members of the National Association of School Psychologists, yet few officials of the Association are women.

c. Of two divisions of the American Psychological Association (APA) the division of school psychology membership is 39 percent women while the division of counseling psychology has a much larger male representation (82 percent).

d. A survey by Pressley (1974) of guidance and counseling divisions of all state departments of education shows that 65 percent of elementary counselors and 43 percent of secondary counselors are women.

e. Forty-two percent of the counselors responding to the NLS is women. When asked about ethnic background, an overwhelming number describe themselves as white (93 percent). Another 5 percent says black. Less than 2 percent indicates other than black or white.

Chapter Five

Chapter 5 discusses the effects of race and sex on counselor behavior and the attitudes that counselors hold toward the two sexes.

1. Most studies show that counselor-client race similarity is not the important dimension but, rather, it is the experiences of the counselor and the human qualities of both counselor and client (Backner, 1970; Peoples & Dell, 1972).

2. Similarly, neither sex of the counselor nor of the client is signifi-

cantly related to therapeutic outcome or counseling effectiveness. Only the experience of the counselor is significantly related to the outcome (Scher, 1975; Hill, 1975).

3. In terms of attitudes, most mental health professionals (including counselors) are either negative or ambivalent toward women.

a. Mental health clinicians, with their double standard of mental health, have different concepts of a mentally healthy man and a mentally healthy woman, and these concepts parallel sex-role stereotypes (Broverman et al., 1970; Maslin & Davis, 1975).

b. Therapists have ambivalent attitudes toward women, although female therapists have more contemporary attitudes than male therapists (Brown & Hellinger, 1975).

c. Therapists with less experience are more traditional in their views toward women (Brown & Hellinger, 1975).

d. Male counselors perceive college-bound girls as destined for traditional feminine occupations at the semiskilled level, whereas female counselors perceive them as interested in college-level occupations (Friedersdorf, 1969).

e. Females aspiring to medical school are judged more sternly by traditional than by liberal counselors (Abramowitz et al., 1975).

f. Women with deviate (traditionally masculine) career goals are not as highly approved of by counselors as are women with conforming goals. Women with "inappropriate" career goals are seen as in need of further counseling (Thomas & Stewart, 1971).

g. Counselors and clinicians hold stereotypes that are no different from the general population and, regardless of sex, they are biased against

women entering male fields (Schlossberg & Pietrofessa, 1974).

Chapter Six

Chapter 6 surveys tests, materials, and theories used by practicing counselors, perhaps the most concrete area where bias is the best documented.

1. Educational tests may reinforce sex-role stereotypes and restrict individual choice (Tittle et al., 1974).

2. An analysis of nine achievement test batteries indicates that all but one use a higher frequency of male than female nouns and pronouns. A sex-role stereotyping analysis of the same materials shows women portrayed exclusively as homemakers or in pursuit of hobbies. Some items imply that the majority of professions are closed to women (Tittle et al., 1974).

3. Test developers seem to base their instruments on the world as it is--a man's occupational world. This world limits the choices for women by limiting their occupational scales on several inventories and, on others, by reflecting cultural stereotypes without questioning the meaning for women's vocational counseling. The assumption is implicit that what is is equivalent to what should be (Tittle et al., 1974).

4. Several interest inventories indicate sex bias:

a. The Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB) uses two forms--one for each sex with different career options. Where identical occupations are listed on both forms, scoring requirements are different. Campbell, in revising the SVIB, agreed that it tends to perpetuate stereotypic roles for men and women.

b. Campbell's revision, the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII), is an improvement over the SVIB:

1. It eliminates the obvious bias in asking men and women different questions by combining items into one booklet.

2. It modifies the vocabulary to eliminate references to gender.

c. The Kuder Occupational Interest Survey (KOIS) has similar wording problems in that it restricts the choices for women. Separate criterion groups of males and females suggest that sex differences are important in occupations and in measuring interests.

d. The Self-Directed Search (SDS) has problems similar to those of the above instruments. In addition, it is biased in its handling of interests and abilities, since women have not had sufficient opportunity to develop interests and abilities in some areas because career options are predicated on past experiences.

e. Minority women have even greater problems with interest inventories. For example, Gump and Rivers (1975) point out that the background experiences of the minority female force her to develop different expressed interests than those of whites. This, they argue, results in a mismatch of interests.

f. Some inventories are being revised. However, the literature suggests that the changes are not radical enough in many instances.

5. Numerous counselors point to the manual and handbook as further sources of race and sex bias. Birk (1975), who surveys four interest inventory manuals, notes that, in varying degrees, the materials contain both explicit suggestions and subtle implications that, if followed, could have a negative effect on women clients. Bias in the interest inventory instructions often provided in the manual can also affect the results of the inventory.

a. The SVIB manual indicates that options for women are limited and accepts the status quo of women's roles throughout. A 1969 supplement to the

manual opens with: "Men in different jobs have different interests," setting the tone for the supplement which uses the masculine pronoun throughout.

b. An early version of the KØIS manual uses masculine pronouns throughout. The use of the masculine pronoun is usually interpreted to refer only to male individuals (Schneider & Hacker, 1973) and thus can project a view of the occupational world as reserved for men. While the new interpretive leaflet makes a change, it is likely that the older leaflet will continue to impact on test-takers and counselors.

c.. The SDS manual also focuses on male users and takers.

6. Many manuals describing colleges and their admission requirements are also biased, addressing themselves overwhelmingly to men (Tittle et al., 1974).

7. Content analyses of illustrations in career materials show that such materials overwhelmingly stereotype the sexes.

a. Career representatives in high positions (professional, technical, and managerial) are mostly men. Men predominate in all categories but one, clerical and sales, where 54 percent of pictures represents women. Men perform exciting and challenging tasks; they work autonomously, while women are assistants (Birk, Cooper & Tanney, 1973).

b. Women are underrepresented in one counselors' guide (the 1974-75 Occupational Outlook Handbook, OOH) compared with their numbers in the labor force, while members of ethnic minority groups are slightly overrepresented. This guide is in frequent usage with 80,000 copies distributed. These overrepresentations in illustrations may limit the horizons of women and men who use the guide as a source of information (Birk, Cooper & Tanney, 1975).

c. In another content analysis of the career literature, 61 percent of illustrations represents men, 21 percent women, and 18 percent both.

Twenty-two percent of men and 6 percent of women are pictured outdoors. Seven percent of men and 11 percent of women are black, while 2 percent of women and less than 1 percent of men are other minority-group members. Almost equal proportions of men and women are in professional careers (Vetter, 1975).

d. In another study, men and women are both illustrated and mentioned in significantly different proportions in 10 general census categories of occupations. The pronoun "he" is used in the text more frequently than either "you" or "she," with "she" used the least frequently. Thirty-six percent of materials mentions that women have different career patterns than men and 30 percent mentions working mothers. The authors contend that most materials use stereotypic representations of the sexes (Vetter et al., 1974).

8. College catalogs also aim primarily at men. A HERI content analysis of a random sample of 119 institutions finds that:

a. A far greater proportion of catalog content is devoted to men than to women. Four-year colleges and universities present the greatest disparity in their treatment of the sexes (23 percent of half pages devoted to men, less than 1 percent to women, the remainder referred to he/she, you or neither), followed by two-year institutions (16 percent and 2 percent, respectively). Proprietary institution catalogs provide the most equitable treatment--14 percent of half pages is devoted to men, 9 percent to women.

b. The illustrations that accompany the contents also deal somewhat differently with men and women. More than one-third of illustrations in all three types of institutional catalogs represents men only. Twenty-five percent in four-year catalogs and 29 percent in two-year catalogs represents women only. The largest proportion of illustrations in proprietary catalogs represents

women (45 percent).

Women are almost never illustrated in technical labs, alone or in combination with men, while men are infrequently shown in nursing pictures. Men are almost always the sole persons pictured in contact sports, while women are most frequently pictured alone in dance or exercise activities. In pictures of nonstudents, professors and administrators are most often men.

c. Four-and two-year institutions have largely male faculties (76 percent and 70 percent, respectively). Proprietary schools narrow the gap somewhat with 59 percent male faculty. The percentage of men is highest at the full-professor and assistant-professor level, and lowest at the unranked level for both four-and two-year colleges.

d. These institutions provide few special services for women students.

Chapter Seven

Chapter 7 surveys theories of guidance, examining textbooks through the years. Major implications for sex discrimination of the guidance literature are:

1. Guidance theory is based heavily on psychological theory, bringing with it sex-bias.

2. Implicit assumptions about women are made without any data. The practice of guidance is warped because its assumptions about women are not examined.

3. Theories of personality and development are incorporated verbatim into guidance theory. Yet, theoretical formulations learned about personality development in graduate school are irrelevant to the problems of minorities (Franklin, 1971) and women (Doherty, 1973).

For example, Erikson's model is essentially a male model and, therefore,

inappropriate for women. Also, his stages of development are based on polarities, which constricts both sexes.

4. Socially acceptable behavior differs for men and women, providing another source for bias.

5. Most guidance textbooks make no reference to sex differences, men, women, boys, girls, sex roles, human development, adolescence, or personality theory. When problems of sex bias are presented, they are not deemed of sufficient importance to accent or develop. One excellent report on guidance for girls is not deemed important enough by the profession to publish.

6. The effect of a woman's employment and career on her marriage is explored less in the guidance than in the marriage literature. Women's working is not generally conceptualized in guidance practice as having identity and growth components. Many aspects of the human condition which profoundly influence the lives and shape the development of both men and women are left unconsidered.

Chapter Eight

Chapter 8 examines counseling theory specifically as it affects the sexes.

Findings include:

1. Much counseling theory is a product of the theoretical legacy of Freud.

2. Most counseling theories assume a biological basis for sex differences in behavior, with little or no thought given to the culture as the source of sex-role behaviors. Those theories of personality from which counseling theories are drawn largely ignore the importance of socialization in developing sex-role behavior.

3. The theoretical assumption that the problem is within the individual

rather than within society (or somewhat societally based) becomes a further source of bias in theory. One problem with traditional approaches to counseling is that they do not include the milieu in which the woman operates (Doherty, 1973; Weisstein, 1971).

4. Transactional Analysis is translated into a feminist perspective by Wyckoff (1974) and Steiner (1974). This perspective holds that many scripts (which guide a person's behavior through life) have their origins in sex-role stereotyping.

5. Rational Emotive Therapy thoroughly considers sex-role issues. It considers the problems of clients in relationship to the family constellation and the broader environment, and it develops specific counseling interventions to help women change (Wolfe & Foder, 1975).

6. Two changes are suggested as a result of the literature review:

a. The conceptualization of counseling theories must include such issues as sex difference, psychology of women, sex-role stereotypes, and societal norms for healthy, acceptable behavior by men and women.

b. Theories that conceptualize individuals' problems as primarily intrapsychic in origin are inadequate to conceptualize the important sources of distress women encounter in society. Rather than adjusting the client, change must occur in society and in the sex-role expectations significant persons have of women.

7. Women's vocational development and concerns are either ignored or treated as trivial corollaries to men's career development (Laws, 1975).

8. While some early vocational theorists incorporate views on women, they describe the usual patterns in women's career development, characterized primarily by discontinuity due to marriage and child bearing and rearing.

9. Each of four theories deals with career development as a unitary process, that is, a process explained by essentially the same parameters for all individuals, thereby ignoring the special forces that affect women's career development (Osipow, 1973).

10. Two proposed theories of career development for women by Zytowski (1969) and Psathas (1968) yield disappointing results. While they identify important parameters, their interpretations of woman's life cycle and the social context within which she functions are limited to traditional, middle-class approaches.

a. Zytowski uses the female life cycle as a framework for his theory. However, he assumes initially that woman's major life role is that of homemaker, thus restricting all succeeding stages. Zytowski also assumes incorrectly that women are free to choose among career patterns. Such freedom requires perfect information about the existing patterns and the rewards and drawbacks for women associated with each pattern.

b. Psathas favors examining the occupational choices of women in the context of sex roles. However, he does not analyze sex roles, making it difficult to determine the nature of the relationship between sex roles and occupational roles for women. Psathas notes the social forces that foist conventional choices on women, but he fails to deal with the variations in perceptions and the alternative or nontraditional options that are equally valid within his theory.

Chapter Nine

Chapter 9 attempts to reach some conclusions about the impact of counseling. Overall, conclusive results are scarce. Most are based on students' perceptions of their counseling experiences supplemented by counselors' studies of the impact of their services. Typical findings are:

1. NLS results show that guidance counselors are probably sought by only about one-fifth of respondents of both sexes. Women are slightly more likely to seek counselors. Of all ethnic groups, blacks are the most likely to confer with a guidance counselor over future plans, although the numbers are relatively small.

2. Most students completing the NLS (over 80 percent) think they can see a counselor when they need to: This is true of both sex and ethnic groups. Most (about 80 percent) think guidance counselors usually have the necessary information. In rating the overall excellence of the guidance and counseling program, however, only 60 percent is satisfied, and less than one-third is satisfied with the job placement services.

3. In an exploratory study, a majority of Los Angeles high school graduates (66 percent) agrees that teachers and counselors are more interested in the college-bound than the employment-bound student. While men and women are in equal agreement, more minority than white students see counselors and teachers favoring the college-bound. A majority of all students agrees that the school staff has little time to discuss academic or personal problems.

4. A survey of college students reflecting on their high school counseling reveals that less than one-third thinks it suits the needs. White men are most satisfied, black women least satisfied. However, only 4 percent of all respondents thinks the counselor is prejudiced toward blacks or women or

treats them in a stereotypic manner. One-half thinks the counselor knowingly fails to inform them of possibilities in certain careers because of sex. Again, the counselors' sex bias seems to demonstrate itself in terms of omissions rather than commissions (Jones, 1973).

5. College students indicate that counselors are infrequently consulted for advice. Friends and parents are considered first for help with emotional problems, while faculty, friends, and parents are preferred first for help with educational-vocational problems. Counselors rank lower for both kinds of problems (Christensen & Magoon, 1974).

6. Most high school counselors visited for an exploratory study keep little data on graduating students and become defensive when asked about such data. Even where some data are available, counselors think they are inadequate. Counselors also think the data should but probably will not be improved, because time is inadequate for such an activity.

7. At the college level, studies of those who use counseling services are more frequent:

a. Sharp and Kirk (1974) find that counseling initiation is greatest just after school begins and declines over time. Women tend to initiate counseling earlier in the school year. Men who seek counseling during final exams are unlike the average male student.

b. Sue and Kirk (1974) find that Chinese-American women are the largest users of mental health services, while Japanese-American and non-Asian women make less frequent but equal use of the services.

c. Only 17 percent of Mexican-American students (Perez, n.d.) have used counseling services. Mexican-American students and a control group of white students both prefer counselors of the same sex and ethnic background. Mexican-American women experience more stress over security and inclusion in

the university community than men. Both are less positive about therapy and counseling and have less confidence in mental health workers than nonminority students.

8. Tyler (1969) concludes that clients are overwhelmingly satisfied with counseling, that clients of college counseling services obtain better grades than noncounseled students of equal potential, that counseling does not always enable marginal students to succeed in college, that testing in vocational counseling is an effective way to impact on clients, and that the effect of counseling on personality change yields mixed results.

9. Of the relatively few studies that evaluate the impact of counseling services, none looks at the difference in impact on men and on women, although some look at both men and women.

Chapter Ten

Chapter 10 surveys novel programs and counseling approaches with a view toward extracting principles to use in traditional settings. A recent surge of activity is aimed at combatting sexism in educational institutions and expanding opportunities for girls and women. Individual counselors and researchers, parent-community organizations, school boards, professional associations, the federal government, and others are setting up task forces, developing guidelines, inventing or revising techniques, and establishing programs to equalize the treatment of and opportunities available to men and women.

1. Task forces in schools identify sexism within educational policies and practices and develop guidelines and strategies for its removal. Guidelines emphasize the importance of the student as an individual who should receive equitable treatment in and access to all areas of school life, regardless of sex.

2. School board committees are setting up guidance objectives for counselors. For example, one board (Department of Public Instruction, State of North Carolina, n.d.) suggests:

a. Students of all ages should be encouraged to develop their own talents as individuals, rather than as members of a sex group.

b. Students should take part in life planning as individuals and as family members.

c. Special effort should be made to encourage girls to take their talents seriously and to explore traditionally male classes and fields; boys should be warned of the hazards of the "superman" role.

d. Both sexes should be involved in vocational awareness for all occupations at all ages; girls should understand the value of a job or career for self-sufficiency and self-fulfillment.

3. Several professional societies are setting up commissions on women, for example, the APGA. Its commission is responsible for investigating and reporting the status of women in the APGA, formulating recommendations, and guiding affirmative action programs within APGA, its divisions, and branches. Other commissions include:

a. The Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (AMEG) commission on Sex Bias in Measurement (1973), which at the request of the APGA senate, is defining sex bias and developing a guide to evaluate sex bias in interest inventories.

b. The APA Task Force on Sex Bias and Sex Role Stereotyping (1975), which examines the effect of psychotherapeutic practices on women as students, practitioners, and consumers. The task force identifies four major areas of sex bias or sex-role stereotyping in psychotherapy and counseling: (1) fostering traditional sex roles, (2) bias in expectations and devaluation of women (3) sexist use of psychoanalytic concepts, and (4) responding to female clients

as sex objects, including seduction.

4. Sex-role consciousness raising is the focus of many alternative counseling programs. For example, Schlossberg (1974) suggests that "liberated" of nonsexist counseling requires sex-role consciousness raising by counselors and clients, as well as counseling expertise.

5. Several career counseling models seek to build young women's awareness of the myths and facts about women and work, a first step toward more realistic life planning. They emphasize choosing a satisfactory job, one that fits the individual's interests and talents and optimizes her potential, not just a "female" job.

6. To meet the demand for nonsexist curricular materials and activities, individual counselors, professional associations, feminist organizations, and private publishers are producing a multitude of resources. However, traditional and sexist materials are still produced by well-known publishing houses and compete with nonsexist materials. Persuading school boards to approve and teachers to use innovative approaches and materials poses problems of re-education and consciousness raising.

7. Several workshops have been held for counselors from elementary school through college, for example, the federally funded Sex Equality in Guidance Opportunities (SEGO) project.

8. Handbooks and guides are being developed to aid teachers, counselors, and all professionals concerned with maximizing human potential.

9. New counseling techniques are being developed and old ones revised to help women overcome the restrictive aspects of socialization and break out of their sex-role stereotypes.

a. Assertion training as a behavioral intervention is offered increasingly

in groups for women only. Because women struggle with issues of assertion in many roles they play, assertion training as a behavioral change intervention is widely applicable for those who seek assistance from agencies or therapy groups. Women trying to function in roles outside the home often find themselves relating to others with behaviors that interfere with their effectiveness as leaders and decision-makers, problem-solvers, or simple persons with their own ideas and self-interests to promote and personal rights to protect.

b. Not only are a growing number of feminist psychologists, counselors, and psychiatrists revising existing theory and practice within established therapies to deal more adequately with the psychological needs of women, they are also creating independent theoretical perspectives on the psychology of women and experimenting with alternative intervention systems in their professional practices. There are three major thrusts in developing a feminist counseling approach; constructing a developmental psychology of women, identifying and analyzing the negative consequences for women of their socialization, and providing alternative formulations of presenting problems and counseling outcome goals for women clients.

c. Counseling returning adult women students has led to continuing education programs for women. These programs assist women to make the transition from homemaker to student with a minimum of extraneous complications, as well as to determine the direction they wish to take.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 11 summarizes implications and recommendations based on the findings in the previous chapters.

Socialization

Recommendations, based on the findings of chapter 2, include:

1. Because the effects of discrimination are cumulative, and elementary school is a key time for programmatic work, career development interventions should be made at this early stage. The need to understand the impact of this programmatic thrust warrants an evaluation component in each programmatic effort.

2. Special guidance curricula and materials should be available at the elementary school level. New materials should be developed and existing in-class materials, such as readers and other textbooks, revised.

3. Researchers need to determine how to resocialize the sexes: specifically, what kinds of activities, interactions, and materials would be effective.

4. During adolescence women regress in educational and social development. This regression coincides with biological and hormonal change. What happens to young girls at that time in terms of preparing for motherhood and career? Research should answer this question. Interventions with young men, as well as young women, are needed for sex-role restructuring, because they are the future mates, bosses, colleagues, and subordinates of young women.

5. In the area of training, teachers must give special attention to nontraditional careers for women. This recommendation implies additions to the teacher education curriculum, consciousness raising, and revision of the attitudes of teachers so they do not treat the sexes differently. This recommendation applies to teachers at all levels. Administrators must also be sensitized to allow certain novel materials into the schools.

6. More nontraditional role models should be provided. Male elementary teachers should be recruited in greater numbers. When police officers or firemen come to school for visits, the group should include both sexes.

7. Counselors must be aware of socialization and sex-role research.

They must be taught techniques based on the research in number 3 above, to counteract harmful socialization. Counselors must also be aware of their own biases.

8. Everyone in the majority population, including teachers, researchers, counselors, and administrators, misinterprets minority socialization. This response stems from inadequate information and poor research. More higher quality research and consciousness raising on minority issues must be undertaken for the above groups.

9. Because of the increased contact of women with counselors, the same advice given to a man and a woman becomes more important when given to a woman. Counselors must be extremely cautious in the actions they suggest and encourage for both women and minority students.

Achievement Motivation, Self-Concept, and Sex-Role Attitudes

Implications and recommendations based on the finding in chapter 3 include:

1. Since achievement motivation, self-concept, and sex-role attitudes are all affected by earlier socialization, it is all the more important that sex-typing be eliminated.

2. Many more questions than those answered in chapter 3 remain to be investigated. For example, do existing theoretical works on achievement motivation provide an adequate explanation for women's achievement behavior? To what extent do other variables, such as self-concept and sex-role attitudes, affect women's achievement? Does attribution theory provide a valid, alternative explanation for differential achievement?

3. Because these topics are fraught with myths, unanswered questions, and controversy, it would be far wiser for a counselor to make no assumptions about sex differences in achievement motivation and self-concept but,

rather, to work to expose social myths and restrictive stereotypes that may inhibit the individual from realizing his/her true potential.

Counselors must be actively involved in raising the consciousness of both men and women and facilitating their understanding and acceptance of themselves and one another.

4. Helpful interventions should change students' locus of control and perception of power. Value clarification exercises could change values on an individual basis rather than on a male/female continuum. Counselors are responsible for enlarging the options.

5. Both boys and girls must be trained in career awareness but also in what it means to be a family member. Alternatives must be generated for the usually rigid sex roles. Boys and girls also must be encouraged to communicate with one another about their perception of sex roles.

6. Changes in acceptable ways for self-actualization¹ should be introduced. Society must accept values that allow a young man who does not want a career to actualize himself in other ways.

7. Research on points in numbers 4, 5, and 6 should be conducted.

8. Forces in the development of minority students which contribute to lowered self-esteem and achievement motivation should be documented and serious thought given to whether such patterns warrant change.

Counselor Trainers, Training, and Certification

Implications and recommendations from chapter 4 include:

1. The sparsity of female counselor educators dictates that more be hired. Many more women earn doctorates in areas appropriate for counselor

¹ Self-actualization is a continuous striving to realize one's inherent potential by whatever means available (Hall & Lindsey, 1957).

educators than are hired for such positions. Unavailable qualified women is not an issue; rather, affirmative action must be practiced.

2. More female students should be recruited for graduate programs in counseling. In the high schools, students of both sexes and of minority status should be exposed to counseling as a job possibility.

3. More men hold high-level faculty positions than women. Women are hired at the assistant professor level and often not given tenure. The implication (aside from the obvious inequity) is that students see powerful male department heads and weak female assistant professors and conclude that women will never rise beyond a certain level. This situation discourages female students from aspiring to higher educational and career levels since they do not have appropriate role models.

4. Textbooks used in graduate training must be carefully reviewed and guidelines provided to or by the publisher. Neuter syllogisms or the use of both masculine and feminine nouns and pronouns should be adopted as standard publishing procedure.

5. There is no book on guidance and counseling which brings together female psychology and counseling. New materials for those now being trained must be developed, as well as for those who have already been trained.

6. Those already trained should be required as part of their certification to take in-service training on nonsexist counseling. In conjunction, contracts should be awarded to develop and package in-service training materials.

7. Courses on counseling girls and women must be added to the counselor training curriculum. The likelihood that such courses would be well received is high, since most departments surveyed by Pressley (1974) indicate a desire for this type of course. Courses on minority students should also be

encouraged. Supervision and field experience with both groups should be required of the training program. All these recommendations should be requirements for counselor certification.

8. A question that needs further discussion is whether successful teaching should be given less weight in counselor certification. It is not clear why a teaching certificate is required in some states to pursue a counselor certificate. Perhaps, instead of that requirement, field experience and course work should be increased.

9. Researchers need information on the role of minorities in the counseling field, in particular the nonblack minorities. The total lack of research on American Indians is particularly salient.

10. Additional research could study the recipients of services and the system. Recommendations could be made to the state departments that they set standards for training which would include antibias regulations. Professional associations should be encouraged to adopt guidelines for training programs to eliminate sex bias. The APA, for example, could withhold approval from programs of school and counseling psychology if they did not meet the guidelines. Moreover, the APGA and other professional guidance associations could publish statements encouraging nonsexist training.

Effects of Counselor Characteristics

The effects of the race and sex of the counselor on counseling outcomes are ambiguous, although the sex of the counselor may be related to certain kinds of counselor behaviors.

Counselors generally have stereotyped attitudes toward women who behave in nontraditional ways. Many women who do not conform to the norm--whether by choosing careers in engineering or not marrying or displaying traditionally masculine qualities such as assertiveness--meet with resistance from counselors.

Chapter 5 prompts these recommendations:

1. Counselor educators should concentrate on instilling human and empathic qualities into counselors and in raising their consciousness about race and sex stereotypes.
2. Schools that employ counselors should provide consciousness-raising sessions specifically to combat sex-stereotypic attitudes. In addition, counselors should examine their individual attitudes toward women.
3. More information on careers, financial aid, colleges, apprenticeship, and jobs should be provided to counselors, since many operate under incorrect assumptions.

Counseling Materials

Several groups are already refining tests and career guidance materials: the National Institute of Education, which released guidelines for tests, the AMEG/APGA group, individual test developers such as Campbell and Kuder, the APA Task Force on Sexist Issues in Graduate Training, and publishers such as Scott-Foresman. This kind of change, however, is slow to come, and it is likely that tests and materials will not change much in the near future. Recommendations based on chapter 6 include:

1. Counselors should use new nonsexist materials when available.
2. Until those are readily available, counselors' must raise questions about every tool they use, whether it is an interest inventory, a career brochure, college catalog, or the OOH. They must ask whether the information or the test reflects stereotyped roles for men and women, and whether the materials tend to close certain career options for either sex. Then they must counteract the stereotypic assumptions of the materials. The counselor and the client have an opportunity to confront and explore sex-role biases as they emerge in the counseling session and to pursue avenues that are broadening

rather than binding.

3. Colleges and vocational schools must rewrite their catalogs to reflect nonsexist intent. Government publications which have vocational impact must also be rewritten.

4. Colleges should consider providing special services for women students.

Guidance and Counseling Theories

Both counseling theory and practice are based on psychological theory, which is encumbered with sexist assumptions. Moreover, the guidance literature virtually ignores women. Although it has begun to focus on women's career development, vocational development theory is dysfunctional for women. Examination of the theory underlying guidance and counseling (chapters 7 and 8) suggests:

1. The consciousness of counselors, especially those trained prior to the 1970's, is low to nonexistent concerning sex-bias. Consequently, consciousness raising should be conducted with counselors to point out that they are using sex-biased theory. They must examine carefully any theory used in their work, as well as the research underlying it.

2. A body of non-sex-biased research and sex-fair theories is urgently needed.

3. Given all the data on women's career patterns, vocational development theory for women can now be developed: the hypothesis can be stated and tested. Researchers should be encouraged to take these steps.

Results of Counseling

Findings from chapter 9 suggest:

1. Programmatic research is needed on outcomes of counseling. Specifically, what are the effects on the student of seeing a counselor? Care must be

exercised, however, because traditional measurements of counseling outcomes are encrusted with sex bias.

2. More research is also needed to determine how particular characteristics of counselors affect clients.

3. Counseling centers must keep records of clients by sex and race.

4. Data indicate that counselors have little influence on high school students. What causes this lack of impact? Is the sparsity of counselors and their overload responsible? Research could answer these questions.

5. What are counselors telling students and what messages are students getting? A national study of interaction between counselors and students should be conducted.

6. Restructuring the role of the school counselor so he/she will have an opportunity to make an impact may be advisable.

7. College students must be made aware of all available counseling services.

Alternatives to Traditional Counseling

Recommendations from chapter 10 include:

1. Continued development of alternative programs, techniques, and materials must be encouraged.

2. School boards and teachers must approve and use innovative materials.

3. Counselors should be exposed to nonsexist counseling techniques and testing and incorporate them into school counseling and curricula. New approaches must also be brought into training programs and reeducation sessions for counselors already certified, and into consciousness raising.

4. Since women as a group vary, counselors and teachers must adopt a more multidimensional view toward them. Within the group of minority women for instance, are blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians, and each of

these groups has subgroups (for example, among Hispanics are Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans). To consider that all women will get married is also erroneous. Some will be single parents, others will be married but the major contributor to the family, while still others may never marry. All these differences must be considered when dealing with women students.

Additional Research Recommendations

Because of time and data constraints, the report does not raise some pertinent issues. Here are some recommendations for future research at the high school level:

1. More minority women than men complete high school and go on to postsecondary education. Disproportionate numbers of minority men may perceive that their options are limited to post-high-school-employment or to military service. How influential is the military in channeling minority men out of the educational mainstream?

2. Traditionally, programs for the disadvantaged have tried to change individual students rather than the school system that produces those students. Of course, only students who are exposed to the programs are affected by them; disadvantaged students who are not enrolled do not benefit. Some educators suggest that the money spent on such programs could be better used to develop techniques to change the institutions that produce differentially prepared and motivated students. In similar fashion, women students may be considered disadvantaged in that they do not often have the opportunity, for instance, to enroll in industrial arts courses, and are discouraged from hard sciences and mathematics. A great deal of money is spent to remedy these injustices *ex post facto*. Researchers should examine the school system and the counseling (both

informal and formal) that results in differential treatment with an eye toward changing both.

Recommendations for research at the college level:

1. College counseling services are often segmented. Apparently, many colleges offer vocational services in one location, job counseling and placement services in another, financial aid counseling in a third, and personal-social counseling in still another. Does this specialization and lack of coordination have differential effects on men and women?

2. Apparently, at the college level, there is a hierarchy of acceptability for student counseling. Many counselors give top status to personal-social counseling and second-class status to vocational counseling. If individuals primarily interested in personal counseling end up counseling students on vocational goals, what effect will their attitudes have on the counseling a student receives?

3. The effect of the sex or race of the student and counselor is discussed in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5. Demographic characteristics of participants in counseling interactions become an issue in the assignment of student to counselor. How is this assignment made? Are the race and sex of both parties considered? Is a student assigned to the first counselor available?

4. In several colleges, counseling services are experimenting with outreach programs, that is, counselors are assigned to certain subject areas or to particular schools. Are men counselors assigned to the school of engineering while women counselors work with the school of home economics? Such assignments would have clear implications for the two sexes.

Recommendations for research on vocational schools:

The focus of counseling is a little different in vocational schools. Since training is more oriented to the labor market, counseling also tends to focus

on labor market issues. This raises several questions:

1. Is counseling in vocational schools as stereotyped as the labor market? Are women students channeled into such careers as beautician, secretary, and dental hygienist while men are steered away from those fields?
2. Is there any counseling for personal-social problems in vocational schools?

Since little data are available, it is difficult to answer any of these questions. The only major study of vocational institutions (Wilms, 1974) does not focus on counseling. The 1974 ACE-UCLA CIRP data on a preliminary segment of 19 schools make it possible to explore the percentage that will seek both types of counseling: About 4 percent of entering students projects a need for both vocational and personal counseling. For colleges and universities, the figures are about 10 percent and 5 percent, respectively. College men and women project a need for both kinds of counseling in about equal numbers, but proprietary school men more often than women project a need for vocational counseling, while the reverse is true for personal counseling.

3. Apparently the major emphasis on counseling comes at the beginning of school and at graduation. Any funneling of students into careers by sex probably occurs during the admissions process or the awarding of financial aid. Job placement counseling may be equally fair to both sexes, although no data support either supposition.

Legislative Recommendations

This study was undertaken at the time Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was enacted. The provisions in Title IX correspond closely to the findings of this study and to the recommendations.

Specifically, Title IX prohibits discrimination in counseling and in

appraisal and counseling materials. The measure requires developers of counseling programs to use internal procedures to prevent such discrimination. The institutions themselves may have to determine whether a test or other criterion is biased and to look at the reasons for unbalanced results. Title IX also requires that catalogs and literature distributed by educational institutions reflect nondiscriminatory policy in both text and illustrations.

Not covered under Title IX are textbooks and curricular material protected under the free speech provisions of the First Amendment. Some states have attempted to get around this problem: California, for example, enacted Section 9240 of the California Education Code, which states that:

When adopting instructional materials for use in the schools, governing boards shall include only instructional materials which, in their determination, accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society, including:

a. The contributions of both men and women in all types of roles, including professional, vocational, and executive roles.

b. The role and contributions of American Indians, American Negroes, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, and members of other ethnic and cultural groups to the total development of California and the United States.

Further, Section 8576 states, in a paragraph on instruction in the social sciences, that:

Instruction in social sciences shall include the early history of California and a study of the role and contributions of American Negroes, American Indians, Mexicans, persons of Oriental extraction, and other ethnic groups, and the role and contributions of women, to the economic, political, and social development of California and the United States of America, with particular emphasis on portraying the roles of these groups in contemporary society.

Similar legislation should be enacted in every state. While Title IX

addresses itself to the issues in this study, its enforcement is limited to administrative review by a small staff at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and does not provide for private right of action. Without private right of action, which allows an individual to sue an institution, Title IX can pose no real legal threat to institutions, especially since they have become sophisticated in avoidance tactics under Executive Order 12246. An amendment to provide for private right of action in a court of law is necessary.

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