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TRACT

This document is part of a series designed to help selors and counselor educators consider their knowledge of and tudes toward the sex-limited status of women. This guide, written elp counselors increase their knowledge of and sensitivity to sex , presents a brief discussion of the issues relevant to seling women and girls, including counselor bias, cultural ctations, occupational limitations, job level limitations, ational practices and role models, and women's attitudes about selves. Each chapter contains a statement of the problem, a rature review, a commentary, recommendations for staff training, references. Summaries of anti-discrimination laws pertinent to eradication of sex bias are also given. (Author/NRB)

# ERASING SEX BIAS THROUGH STAFF TRAINING

## An Examination of Selected Factors

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# ERASING SEX BIAS THROUGH STAFF TRAINING

## An Examination of Selected Factors

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# ERASING SEX BIAS THROUGH STAFF TRAINING

## INTRODUCTION

As the struggle of women to achieve equal education and equal employment opportunities has intensified during the last decade, the need to directly confront prevailing sexist attitudes in the United States culture has become apparent. Of particular consequence are biased attitudes of teachers, counselors, and school administrators who have a direct influence on the way boys and girls come to think of themselves, on the way high school students make decisions about careers and post-secondary education, on the way young men and women in schools and colleges view their roles in the adult society.

During the last two decades, governmental emphasis at local, state, and national levels has focused on development and implementation of legal directives. Citizens concerned with erasing sex bias have tended to direct their efforts toward influencing the legislative process. As a result, a body of significant legislation has emerged including the following:

The Equal Pay Act of 1963

Titles IV and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972

Executive Order 11246

The Vocational Education Amendments of 1976

Women's Educational Equity Act, as reauthorized in 1978

Through these federal initiatives, discrimination against women and girls has been held to be illegal. Affirmative action programs have been written at all levels of education affirming institutional beliefs in equal access and equal opportunity. Nonetheless, the status and treatment of women and girls in education and in employment has not markedly changed. The commitments of educational institutions to the eradication of sex bias remain unclear. The attitudes and expectations of educational personnel, among both females and males, toward women's roles and abilities are not necessarily modified by the enactment of laws. At the intimate level of teacher teaching students, counselor counseling girls and boys, administrator directing educational programs, selecting textbooks, and hiring staff, sex bias continues to prevail, whether intentional, accidental, or unconscious.

Counselors, in their work with students in small groups or as individuals, have a great opportunity to influence evolving perceptions of self among girls and boys, women and men. Yet counselors themselves may bring to their profession sex-role stereotypes which reflect their own socialization.

To assist counselors in increasing their knowledge of and sensitivity to the pervasive and destructive facts of sex bias, this paper will present brief discussions of issues pertinent

to counseling women and girls. Dimensions to be considered are as follows:

- Counselor Bias
- Cultural Expectations
- Occupational Limitations
- Job Level Limitations
- Educational Practices and Role Models
- Women's Attitudes Toward Themselves

Selected references and descriptions of anti-discrimination laws will be incorporated for further study.

It may be useful to suggest sample definitions of bias and sex bias as a means of establishing a frame of reference for the paper. Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973) offer the following definition:

> ...an opinion, either favorable or unfavorable, which is formed without adequate reasons and is based upon what the bias holder assumes to be appropriate for the group in question. (p. 44)

Two additional definitions relate specifically to the field of counseling. The Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (1973) holds that 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 basi

of that person's sex." Harway and Astin (1977) state:

> Sex bias in counseling is any condition under which a client's options are limited by the counselor solely because of gender....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. (p. 1)

This analytical paper is one of six documents in a series entitled ERASING SEX BIAS THROUGH STAFF TRAINING. Other components in the series include four staff training units and an annotated bibliography. The staff training units, designed to help counselors and counselor educators consider both their knowledge of and attitudes toward the sex-limited status of women, are as follows: Women in Employment; Women in Education; Sex Stereotyping: Personal Characteristics; Sex Stereotyping: Career Potentials.

Counselors and counselor educators have the opportunity and responsibility to partially fulfill Recommendation No. 31, THE REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, Report of the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (1973), which specifies:

> School administrators and school boards, at

both state and local levels, must set forth commitments to eliminate all vestiges of sexism in the schools.

Areas of immediate concern are equal employment and treatment of the sexes in instructional and administrative positions, equal opportunities for female students to participate in all curricula areas, including career education, and the elimination of all courses required of only one sex.

Individual teachers should make sure they are not focusing their teaching toward either sex. (pp. 21-22)

## COUNSELOR BIAS

"Because counselors generally have stereotypic attitudes toward women who behave in nontraditional ways, women who do not conform to the norm...may meet with resistance from their counselors..."

- Harway and Astin

THE PROBLEM

Counselor bias and sex bias in counseling and guidance practices have been identified in innumerable studies. To say that sex bias in counseling and guidance exists is superfluous when one considers the massive documentation in the publication SEX DISCRIMINATION IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING (Harway, Astin, Suhr, Whiteley, 1976). If unchallenged and unchecked, counselor bias can become an impediment to the expectations which women and girls hold for themselves.

THE LITERATURE

Counselors were put on the alert at the beginning of the 1970's that their professional actions and decisions might well reflect personal biases and sex-role stereotypes. Although earlier corroborative research already existed, the Broverman et al study (1970), coinciding as it did with heightened national attention to the treatment of girls and women in American culture, is considered

a classic contribution to the literature of the Women's Movement. The study tested three hypotheses: (1) that clinical judgments about the mental health of individuals would differ as a function of the sex of the person judged; (2) that the differences in judgments would be similar to established sex-role stereotypes; (3) that attributes regarded as ideal for a sex-unspecified adult would be considered more often by clinical judges as appropriate for men than for women. Results of the study suggest that clinician bias intrudes on professional judgments. In brief, the Broverman et al study warned professionals engaged in counseling, psychology, and social work that their professional actions and judgments may perpetuate sex-role stereotypes held by the society in general and "reinforce social and intrapsychic conflict."

Abramowitz et al (1973), in a study of clinicians' political bias as a factor in evaluations, found that "non-liberal counselors...imputed greater maladjustment to a left-oriented politically active female than to an identically described male student client." Pointing out the possibility of clinician discrimination against liberated women, the researchers note:

> The public and practitioners in general may not be aware of how much of which sectors of the variation in clinical

> determinations are governed by an evaluator's personal predilections which may have scant relevance to the question of the evaluatee's psychological status... (p. 391)

In an investigation of counselor bias and female occupational roles, Pietrofesa and Schlossberg (in Pottker and Fishel, 1977) tested the hypothesis that "counselors are biased against women entering 'masculine' occupations." Based on their findings, the researchers conclude that counselor bias indeed exists against women entering male occupations. Female counselors were just as likely to display bias as were their male counterparts. Both male and female counselors showed evidence of greater bias "against" females than "for" females entering typically male occupations. Schlossberg and Pietrofesa make the following observation:

> ...counselors, both male and female, hold biases against female counselees entering an occupation characteristically associated with males. Counselor education programs must take this into account and attempt to bring into the open such biased feelings, so that counselors are able to control them, or better yet, remove them from their counseling and human encounters. (p. 227)

Bingham and House (1973) studied counselor knowledge of the condition of women in the world of work as well as counselor attitudes toward women and work. Based on an analysis of their findings, the researchers conclude that counselors are generally not well informed about factors which bear on the work-life of

women, but that their attitudes toward women in the world of work are more positive - though not clearly defined - than negative. The lack of clear definition of counselor attitudes leads the writers to suggest:

> On the basis of the data analyzed here, it can be concluded that girls who do feel uncertain about their counselors might anticipate greater support on some dimensions of vocational behavior from female rather than from male counselors.

Summarizing research on counselor bias, Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1974) understate the implications of the evidence as they conclude, "Many minority group members and women have been limited by inappropriate counseling and teaching." (p. 44)

COMMENTARY While the literature leaves little doubt that counselors hold biases and sex-role stereotypes which surely affect their perceptions of counselees, the extent to which their biases and stereotypes influence counseling practices and outcomes is not clear. More study and research is needed, and the counseling profession should take the initiative to examine these issues. Although the profession, as represented by the several personnel, guidance, and counseling associations, have established women's commissions, the issues of counselor bias and sex bias in counseling and guidance practices are not given particular priority in annual programs at conferences. A.P.G.A. produced

a Handbook for Workshops on Sex Equality in Education several years ago under a contract with the U. S. Office of Education, and, in 1978, the Association for Counselor Educators and Supervisors published For Women and For Men: Sex Equality in Counselor Education and Supervision. But these documents, like the staff training units which comprise a part of the ERASING SEX BIAS THROUGH STAFF TRAINING project, are essentially "consciousness-raising" tools to be used, in all likelihood, by individuals who have already had their consciousness raised. Too often, when women's issues are addressed or counselor sex bias is discussed, the provocateurs are female.

Although women outnumber men in the ranks of school counselors, that fact does not necessarily mean that sex bias in counseling and guidance will be reduced. The literature has shown that female counselors are as likely as males to reflect biases and attitudes which are stereotypic and limiting toward women's potential and toward women's roles. Notably, as a corollary, women themselves, while the most vocal proponents for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, are also the most vocal opponents. Female counselors may very well reflect the larger society's attitudes, both pro and con.

In the absence of any pressing demand from the larger society for reform, practices perpetrated by counselors and counselor

educators generally are not scrutinized for sex fairness. Without careful monitoring and any exercise of legal enforcement of legislation, the federal initiatives are little more than permissive guidelines. When the profession, collectively, fails to give highest priority to recognition of counselor sex bias as a critical issue, counseling and guidance services for girls and women are not likely to be modified. On the other hand, as counselors and counselor educators recognize their biases and take steps to deal with them as they may interfere with counseling and guidance practices and training, they may realize the potential described by Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard (1978) as follows:

> Counselors are the official resource persons for students at all educational levels who seek help concerning educational plans, career goals, and personal and interpersonal decisions. They are the official referral sources for parents and for educators concerned about the behaviors and attitudes of students at all levels of education. The counselor who is also educator trains new counselors, teaches those counselors who return to school for further training, and conducts in-service courses in local school systems. Counselors thus have the potential to influence not only students and the counseling profession but classroom teachers and administrators. (p. 27)

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAFF TRAINING

Counselors and counselor educators must increase their sensitivity to the limiting nature of sex stereotyping in American society.

Specifically, they need to increase their awareness of limits which they may attribute to females in the contemporary world. Staff training should help counselors identify sex stereotypes which limit an individual's sex-role identity. It should help counselors recognize their own perceptions of role limits which are attributable to sex stereotyping. Finally, staff training should help counselors recognize ways in which sex stereotyping affects counseling processes and outcomes.

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## CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS

> "One can argue that some of the things wrong with the world are that the characteristics it seems to be more natural for women to develop have not had much influence on the course of human affairs as they should have had."
>
> - Leona Tyler

THE PROBLEM How does one come to realize a potential for individual accomplishment? Who is to say what limitations on expression of that potential are acceptable or unacceptable? The cultural milieu in which boys and girls "grow up" has an extremely forceful influence on the formation of life values, aspirations, and personality. The socialization process may teach girls and women that they are subservient, second-class citizens. It may teach that non-conforming behavior is ridiculed and unacceptable to the majority culture.

THE LITERATURE Janet Saltzman Chafetz (1974) establishes the framework for a discussion of the effect of cultural expectations on the development of girls and women as she states, "Though the socialization process humans come to more or less completely internalize the roles, norms, and values appropriate to the culture and subculture within which

they function." (p. 69) She later adds that cultural definitions become personal definitions of propriety, normality, and worthiness. In the United States, studies have demonstrated that sex-role differentiation is observable at very early ages. (Rohrbaugh, 1979; Joffee, 1974; Chafetz, 1974; Boocock, 1972; Maccoby, 1966; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974) The family constellation and dynamics are major factors in the socialization of children. These forces communicate what is acceptable and what is not acceptable behavior, and generally, the rules for girls differ from the rules for boys. Bossard and Boll (1960) wrote:

> The system of rewards for sex-appropriate and punishments for sex-inappropriate behavior constitutes a large part of the social code of any society. It operates with relative severity, begins early in the family's treatment of the child, and is reinforced later by the controls of the school, the gang, the social clique, and the adult world. For the child, particularly the female child, the road to prestige is paved with the rewards of observing the sex-appropriate code, especially as one moves from the lower to the higher social classes. (p. 374)

Kagan and Lang (1978) reiterate the theme as they observe that "sex typing begins at home during infancy and is continued in the schools..." (p. 53) Matthews adds (1972):

> The present attitudes toward sex differences in infancy and childhood could actually be the most important single focus for life development. The reason for this is the tendency for all areas of life to be filtered through the

> grid of sex rather than through the filter of human individuality. Generalities about groups are used to create, justify, and condone positions of great injustice, stress, and powerlessness for those who differ from the norm. (p. 18)

As children progress through the school system, they adopt the behaviors which they have learned are expected of them by virtue of their sex. Girls, in many instances, learn that they are not to be competitive, and this "learning" is reinforced by peer pressure to conform to the stereotyped standards. (Boocock, 1972, p. 89)

An important contribution to the evidence illustrating the effects of culture on the aspirations of children and youth is the analysis of data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress Career and Occupational Development studies. Juliet V. Miller (1978), who analyzed data on nine-year-olds, found consistent trends for female nine-year-olds to score higher and male nine-year-olds to score lower on household cluster skills. For example, she found that by age nine, 73% of the girls had ironed clothes compared with 42% of the boys. When she looked at the data on maintenance-building skills, the trend was to the reverse; that is boys consistently scored higher and girls lower on maintenance-building skills. Eighty percent of the boys, but only 45% of the girls, had built from wood.

The same trend was observed among thirteen-year-olds. Aubrey (1978) found that 94% of the boys, age 13, had repaired something compared with 64% of the girls; 90% of the boys, but only 45% of the girls, had built from wood. Forty-five percent of the girls, but only 8% of the boys, had made clothing. Also using the National Assessment data, Westbrook (1978) found that, among adults, 27% of the females and only 1% of the males reported that they enjoyed doing household skills. By contrast, 40% of the male adults and only 19% of the females said they liked doing individual sports.

When the 13-year-old population was asked to name occupations which they were considering for future jobs, females were much more prepared than males to name jobs, and their choices followed stereotyped lines: teacher/educator/librarian, 18%; nurse/pharmacist, 16% and office worker, 9%. It is noteworthy, however, that 11% of the girls named doctor/dentist/veterinarian. (Aubrey, 1978).

That girls in significant numbers identified a "non-traditional" occupation may suggest that cultural expectations associated with women's careers, at least, are beginning to change. Kagan and Lang make a similar suggestion as they comment:

> America is in the process of reevaluating the roles of men and women, and the schools have an important function to perform by allowing

both boys and girls to discover and develop their skills in an atmosphere that is free from sexual discrimination. (p. 286)

COMMENTARY Counselors and counselor educators have the opportunity to function as significant "agents of change", in a very real sense, as they work with youth, both males and females, to free themselves from repressive cultural conditioning. Counselors must be activists and counselor educators can help them learn the role, to ensure that limitations are not placed on any child in terms of opportunities for learning made available. The minds of boys and girls are challenged or stultified by educational opportunity or lack of it. Counselors can encourage girls to pursue science, math, mechanical drawing, and, given an activist role, can be extremely influential in persuading schools to encourage, not just permit, girls to enroll in the classes.

Counselors can create, in their work with both girls and boys, a climate for learning that emphasizes individual potential; that challenges both sexes to achieve without necessarily inducing competition; without emphasizing the sex of the child in analyses of individual performance.

Counselors can help teachers, too, to combat the deeply ingrained tendency to hold different behavioral expectations for

children, depending primarily upon their sex. The way children come to look at themselves is largely a product of levels of expectation held for them by others. Just as boys are more often the objects of teacher disapproval when classroom behavior is assessed, so, too, girls may learn to adopt docile behavior to gain and keep teacher approval. Feelings of inferiority are not innate. They result from interactions with others. Counselors, trained in consultation skills, can assist teachers and parents in understanding that ambition, rather than being genetically determined, is stifled or whetted by one's experiences. Tasks assigned to children in school or at home can perpetuate sex-role stereotypes or break conventions.

Harway and Astin (1977), summarizing the research on cultural influences on female development, point out: "Knowledge of the nature of the sex stereotypes that children have internalized through earlier socialization and of what other socializing agents...are currently teaching students about their appropriate sex roles is essential to evaluate the success of counseling and guidance in optimizing an individual's alternatives regardless of sex." (p. 34) They conclude:

> Counselors must expose the myths and stereotypes, expand knowledge about the nature and impact of a self-concept, and help students develop self-concepts congruent with their full potential. (p. 35)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAFF TRAINING

Counselors and counselor educators must increase their sensitivity to the influence of cultural expections of the development of aspirations among children. Specifically, they need to increase their awareness of limits placed on girls as a result of socialization processes. Staff training should help counselors increase awareness of their own male and female sex-role stereotypes, their own attitudes toward masculine and feminine roles in contemporary society.

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## OCCUPATIONAL LIMITATIONS

"Although it may lack the theatrics to win headlines, the struggle over equity for women in work is the essence of the feminist movement and an American Revolution."

- Corrine Rieder

THE PROBLEM

Although women are entering the labor force of the United States in record numbers, they remain concentrated in few occupational categories which also tend to be low-paying. Sex-role stereotyping in education, training, and hiring practices has the effect of imposing occupational limitations on choices open to girls and women. Unless the barriers to occupational opportunity are overcome, the talents and potential of women as contributing members of the work force will continue to be unrecognized, underutilized, and unrewarded.

THE LITERATURE

Three particular barriers to the full utilization of women in the labor force have been identified (Sexton, 1977). These include (1) barriers to entry into traditional male occupations; (2) barriers arising from employers' personnel practices; (3) barriers related to the amount of work women are able to do and are willing to do during their lifetimes.

Reporting on research conducted under sponsorship of the U. S. Department of Labor, Sexton suggests that one barrier keeping women from non-traditional occupations is self-imposed. She states that research demonstrates, "Women college graduates ...tend to think science, medicine, and engineering were too demanding as careers, and too likely to require a full-time commitment. They considered engineering unfeminine, and requiring abilities women do not have." (p. 23)

Education and training, which have steered women, as girls, away from subjects which eventually lead to traditionally male occupations, contribute to the barrier. Relating women's career choices to their educational preparation, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (L. K. Epstein, 1975) concluded: "In schools, at all levels from primary grades to college, we believe freedom to choose courses and programs of learning gives women no freedom whatsoever. All it does is reinforce them in the old ruts and stereotypes that culture has already imposed on them." (p. 11) She adds:

> Women probably ought to be encouraged and required to study a wide range of subjects, including the sciences, economics, and law. Only then can they be exposed to what these fields are and acquire competence in them which will be encouraging to their future activity in any of these cases. (p. 11)

G. F. Epstein and A. L. Branzaft (1974) studied aspirations

of freshmen women toward careers and found that 52% hoped to have careers but that the overwhelming occupational choice was "teacher." In addition, few indicated that they aspired to post-baccalaureate education. Moore and Veres (1976), in a study of traditional and innovative plans among two-year college women, found that role innovativeness was expressed by only 20% of the sample. They also report that over 40% of those who planned to work continuously also plan to marry and have a family of two or more children. Almquist (1974) studied sex stereotypes in occupational choice among college women. She found that women who choose male-dominated occupations differ from women who select feminine occupations. The differences were notable in family influence, work values, work experience, role model influences, and, to some extent, in the influence of collegiate activities.

Education and training are not the only factors which prevent women from entering traditionally male occupations. Employers themselves sometimes resist hiring females, although affirmative action regulations, when imposed, are opening new opportunities for women. According to the U. S. Department of Labor studies (Databook, 1977), women are distributed among the occupational levels as follows, with percentages expressed as "percent of workers in the occupational group":

| | |
|---|---|
| Professional-technical | 42.0% |
| Managerial-administrative | 20.8% |
| Sales | 42.9% |
| Clerical | 78.7% |
| Craft | 4.8% |
| Operatives | 31.3% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nonfarm laborers | 9.3% |
| Service, except private household | 57.8% |
| Private household | 97.3% |
| Farm | 16.2% |

These studies provided by the Labor Department (1977, 1975) suggest that women are beginning to broaden their participation in labor force occupational categories. In 1970, for example, 4.8% of lawyers and judges were female; in 1976, 9.2% were female. In 1970, women constituted 8.5% of physicians; in 1976, 12.8%. In 1970, 16.5% of managers and administrators were women; in 1976, 20.8%. In some traditionally male fields, however, little progress has been demonstrated indicating that stereotyping by occupational classification remains a serious limitation. In 1970, 26% of accountants were women; in 1976, 26.9%. In 1970, women made up 1.6% of engineers; in 1976, 1.8%.

In spite of small gains in occupational classifications, women continue to lag pitifully behind males in wages earned, another manifestation of occupational limitations. Sexton (1977) reports that fully employed women earn $6 for evey $10 earned by fully employed men. The Databook (1977) gives the following analysis of women's earning as a percent of men's in several major occupational classifications:

| | |
|---|---|
| Professional-technical | 73% |
| Managerial-administrative | 58% |
| Sales | 45% |
| Clerical | 64% |
| Craft | 61% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Operatives | 60% |
| Nonfarm laborers | 73% |
| Service | 64% |
| Farm | 88% |

In every major occupational group, the earnings of women are significantly less than those of men in similar classifications.

COMMENTARY Counselors and counselor educators need to have a clear understanding of occupational limitations faced by women. They need to be able to analyze the relevance of educational decisions, made while girls and women are still in school, to their future ability to participate meaningfully in the labor market. They need to help girls and women expand their occupational horizons to include consideration of programs of study leading to a broader range of work-force occupations. Educational training programs need to be regularly assessed to determine whether or not one particular sex-identifiable group is "over-enrolled." For example, are students enrolled in technical, industrial, and trade programs predominantly male? Are students enrolled in business and commercial courses predominantly female?

Careful career planning, in the hands of a counselor who is knowledgeable about occupational limitations, is essential to help women achieve within the work force. "Career by accident" will not get a woman into a profession. Girls and women should be helped to plan for their economic self-sufficiency while they

are still in an educational situation to correct deficiencies in academic areas or to explore the entry requirements for career fields considered to be non-traditional.

Women are making increasingly evident commitments to labor market careers. They are setting higher goals for themselves. They are getting more and more advanced education. In the face of these facts, our society can no longer tolerate occupational limitations which exclude women from significant managerial and professional positions simply because they are female. That is a waste of the human potential. Yet, women are likely to continue to face serious occupational limitations. The MANPOWER REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT (1975) pointed out that even with increasing educational attainment and greater job market opportunities for women, it is doubtful...that the aspirations of younger women (entering the work force) will be achieved. Women will have to be willing to "go the extra mile" and to work "that much harder" to establish vocational equity in the traditional world of male-dominated occupational classifications. The list of coping skills cited by Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1979) are instructive in considering special qualities which women need to succeed in traditionally male-dominated occupations: guts, a good sense of humor, and tolerance. (p. 135)

Derek A. Newton, in the book THINK LIKE A MAN, ACT LIKE A

LADY AND WORK LIKE A DOG (1979) uses humor to suggest ways in which occupational limitations can be overcome:

> ARISTOTLE. This great philosopher said...'Man is the measure of all things.' Some give the credit for this insight to Protagoras. Nevertheless, if either of them were to visit a large corporation today, he would see that men make the rules, keep the score, and, for the most part, play the game. It's a fun game. But they won't let you play unless you're very, very good. It's not fair, but you can't change it (within the foreseeable future). Since you have chosen to play in their ball park, have fun, too: learn the rules, learn to keep score, and learn to play the game very, very well. (p. 5)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAFF TRAINING

Counselors and counselor educators need to be exposed to facts about the status of women in the labor market of the United States and be able to relate labor market information to their work in guidance with women and girls. Specifically, they need to increase awareness of traditional and non-traditional occupational limitations. Staff training should help counselors understand barriers to employment opportunity which women face. It should increase their understanding of women's feelings of role ambiguity and of the coping mechanisms women need to overcome barriers to employment.

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## JOB LEVEL LIMITATIONS

"Women and those allied with them in their battle for equal opportunity have come around to believing that the hand that rocks the cradle can indeed rock the boat."

- Bernice Sandler

THE PROBLEM

In spite of the legislative initiatives of the last decade, women continue to be "found" in the labor market in lower level occupations which often provide limited upward mobility. Stereotypes about women prevail and they are damaging: "Women only want to work for pin money." "Women are ill more than men." Myths abound as well and they tend to restrict opportunities for advancement: "Women prefer routine tasks which men find boring." "Nobody wants to work for a woman." Women continue to suffer from discriminatory employment practices which prevent them from achieving upper level jobs commensurate with their potential.

THE LITERATURE

Sexism, the literature suggests, is a very basic factor in the relegation of women to lower levels in the labor force of the United States. Bardwick and Douvan (1976) believe that external and internal forces are at work. These include such external forces as the logistical

challenges of employment-household responsibilities as well as "facing the organization" where women's careers are not taken seriously. They point out:

> ...women are less respected than men. The expectation of inappropriate behaviors from women may contribute to this preference (that both men and women prefer to work for and with males), but basically it exists because men - their accomplishments and their perceived personalities - are unthinkingly and automatically given more respect than women. (p. 37)

These researchers believe that the internal forces which pose problems for women are (1) lack of confidence and (2) lack of supportive relationships. Their observations include the following:

> Partly because of sexism, few women have been promoted to important positions or hired as candidates for important careers. Thus, few women can achieve responsible positions, and the few who do are always deviant. It is always difficult to become a leader; it is more difficult when there are no role models, when the organization cannot perceive your potential, when you cannot enter the normal channels of promotion, when you are defined as ineligible, when successful women are considered exceptions. (p. 37)

Some of the literature suggests that women should be pleased with the progress they have achieved in recent years. Ben Wattenberg (1974), for example, remarks: "What women in America

today really have that they did not have a decade or two ago is not jobs but the option to get a job....Today, the great increase in the women's labor force is among women who don't have to work but opt to work..." (p. 38)

Perhaps typical of the view that women should be more relaxed about their current status in the labor force, Wattenberg continues:

> It's quite true that it is rare to find women holding the top jobs in our society...However, just beneath that level - and pervading the entire occupational structure - women have come into the labor force and gone up the occupational ladder: out of domestic jobs and into clerical jobs; out of college and into professional-technical jobs. (p. 39)

While women have entered the labor force in record numbers and indeed have increased their options, the distribution of workers, based on U. S. Department of Labor studies (1977), does not appear to support Wattenberg's assertion. In 1976, women continued to represent 98.5% of all secretaries; 90% of all bookkeepers; 88% of all cashiers; 91% of bank tellers. Their male counterparts, who very likely use or could use the skills of secretaries, bookkeepers, cashiers, and tellers but whose jobs are of "a higher order," constitute 75% of buyers and purchasing agents; 75% of bank officials and financial managers; and 80% of all managerial-administrative office holders.

Some of the literature related to job level limitations suggests that women, once employed, are uncertain how to handle themselves and how to prepare themselves for mobility within the organization. Barnett and Baruch (1978) note:

> The socialization of women has been oriented toward virtue and acceptance, not toward power and competence, the double-bind impact of which has often been noted. Society rewards and values those who are powerful and competent, giving little more than lip service to those who are loved and ethical. Women who seek power and competence, thus gaining in two of the bases, often lose in areas of virtue and acceptance... (p. 18)

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1978) has contributed significantly to the literature on female mobility in the workplace, primarily through her studies of the effects of organizational structure. She has suggested, for example, that "one cannot evaluate the question of equality without understanding more fully how positions that appear to be at the same level of authority and status may, in fact, differ in important structural features." She continues:

> We further suggest that what appear to be behavioral predispositions of women in the workplace - at least in the United States, and perhaps in other Western countries - may instead be the characteristic behaviors and styles induced by particular kinds of structural positions in organizations in which women have been disproportionately found, because we show that men in similar structural positions exhibit many of the same tendencies. (p. 1)

Kanter (1977) believes that effective strategies for affirmative action must be "based on an examination of the design of jobs and their settings." She elaborates:

> Feminists and men in dead-end jobs both have a stake in seeing that organizations change to open opportunity channels and decentralize power...Hierarchical systems of organizations are often successful in fragmenting groups and leading them to believe that their interests lie in opposition, so that they blame each other for their problems rather than uniting to change the system. (p. 264)

Kanter suggests that job level limitations on women could be alleviated by "opportunity-enhancing designs" within organizations. (1977) These designs would include a review of job ladders and an effort to open new ladders; bridges between ladders; a performance appraisal system; job posting; job redesign and new jobs.

Her unique contributions to the literature on women are encapsuled in the following comment:

> There is certainly value to encouraging a variety of explanations for women's status and a variety of change approaches. Understanding the biological, educational, social, and cultural role pressures that affect women is important in developing complete analyses of the problem. But perhaps there has been too much emphasis on some of these extra-organizational forces and not enough attention to the impact of immediate job conditions and the location of one's job in organizational distributions of opportunity, power, and proportional representation. (1978, p. 24)

COMMENTARY

With the increased attention to the treatment of women in the labor force, required by Title IX and other federal legislation, women have begun to assert themselves, to express dissatisfactions more openly, to put themselves forward for promotion and advancement opportunities, to recognize the strength of support systems and networking. If their job level barriers are to be overcome, women will need to continue to speak up for themselves. For example, a Harris poll (Wattenberg, p. 213) asked males and females to state their agreement with the item: "If women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing will be done about these problems." Of the females, 71% agreed with the statement; 67% of the males also agreed.

As women try to elevate their status in the world of work, however, they face hostility, very often, from males who feel threatened by women's advancement. Charges of "reverse discrimination" are commonplace. Even when able, competent women are promoted or given increasingly responsible positions in organizations, their advancement is demeaned with charges that "she got it because she's a woman."

The Battle of the Sexes, in the employment arena, may indeed be one of the major confrontations of the 1980s. With the Women's Movement established as a significant force in the United States,

and not likely to disappear, regardless of the ultimate fate of the Equal Rights Amendment, the treatment of women at work will be continuously scrutinized; the effects of Affirmative Action, carefully monitored. Very likely, tensions will continue to exist: between women who want careers and upward mobility in employment and women who are satisfied with their roles as homemakers; between female and male workers as they compete for advancement; between women workers and their employers who may, in some cases, feel "forced" to consider women for all position vacancies.

Women, as a result, may need special help in coping with a wide range of feelings: their relationships with other women including non-working women; their relationships in the family constellation including, obviously, relationships with husbands; their relationships with female and male co-workers. At the same time, women may need special help in developing their own identity as a worker: their potential for advancement, their potential for leadership; their attitudes toward the place of "the job" among life priorities.

Women also will have to cope with the negative backlash toward the Women's Movement. Whether they personally identify with the movement or not, women are embraced as part and parcel of the movement as it is a convenient target for those who view

the current social/employment resolution "with alarm." If job level barriers are to be overcome, women will find strength in support provided by other women who have similar experiences; they will find strength from mentors, both male and female, who are willing to open doors and provide helpful guidance; they will find strength as they come to view themselves as competent equals. In a very real sense, all of the agents of strength just cited, while they have probably always existed, have been mobilized anew as a result of the Women's Movement; as a result of bringing into sharp public view the miserable status of women, as an "affected class", in employment. Women may want to evaluate their attitudes toward the Women's Movement and be prepared to confront those who resent its tactics or its leadership in behalf of all women. They may want to be prepared to confront, in their own lives, veiled threats toward their own activism. Wattenberg, in discussing what he prefers to call "The Women's Lib movement," provides an example of such a threat as he ominously concludes:

> There are times in the affairs of men when a frenetic demand for a whole loaf yields not the proverbial half a loaf, but only crumbs. (p. 224)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAFF TRAINING

Counselors and counselor educators must be keenly sensitive to their roles in career guidance for girls and women. Inasmuch as education

is directly related to one's ability to participate effectively in the labor market, counselors can have a direct impact on elimination of job level limitations as they assist women and girls in developing basic skills essential for upward mobility in work; as they assist women and girls in developing strong, positive confidence in themselves; as they assist women and girls in assuming responsibility for economic self-sufficiency. Staff training should help counselors and counselor educators increase their sensitivity to the delicate issues of dual careers, mentoring, networking in the guidance of girls and women.

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## EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES AND ROLE MODELS

> "It is time now to begin to put forth 'good faith' efforts so that soon our nation's (schools) will have reached a state of progress sufficiently obvious to justify the abandonment of continual research studies on the status of women in (education)."
>
> - Suzanne Howard

THE PROBLEM

Sex-role stereotyping in educational practice is a problem for both girls and for boys. It is a significant student problem as children's sense of self jells in educating settings. Until there are significant numbers of leader-role models in the schools, and until the books and activities to which children are exposed are sex fair, girls and women are likely to continue to set limited goals and to aspire for the conventional.

THE LITERATURE

Bias is communicated in educational practices in various ways. The literature to which children are exposed is excessive in stereotyped portrayals of girls and boys, women and men. Educators, both women and men, are apt to contribute to sex-role stereotyping by the tasks assigned to students and by differential treatment in classroom discipline.

Bias in textbooks is described in numerous studies and is revealed in the relative number of male and female characters as well as in stereotypic activities which males and females perform. Weitzman et al (1972) studied prize-winning children's books and analyzed them for sex-role stereotyping. The researchers found that women appeared far less often than men, and, when women were shown at all, their roles reinforced traditional concepts.

A study by Trecker (in Stern, 1971) surveyed 13 popular social studies texts and concluded: "Women in such texts are passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with their role in society, and well supplied with material blessings." (p. 17) While women are presented as occasionally receiving some "rights," such as suffrage, their efforts to gain entrance into higher education, to join labor unions, to win labor rights are all but ignored. Dr. Trecker summarizes the impact of women on American history (and the sense of history communicated to young learners), as presented in the 13 textbooks, in the following single paragraph:

> Women arrived in 1619. They held the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the 19th century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1920, they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the Second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America.

Goerss (1977) reported that girls appear in only 20% of the instructional materials used in a survey of elementary schools. Their portrayal was as passive and fearful individuals.

Several researchers have examined the impact of school practices on the development of boys. Firester and Firester dramatically describe the vulnerability of males to stress created by stereotyping. (1974) They charge that schools have "a contributory role in the destruction of boys' minds and self-esteem." Brody (1973) believes sex-bias in textbooks presents psychologically unhealthy role models for both boys and girls. She stresses the need to portray human virtues that are equally desirable for both sexes. Tibbetts (1977) finds that boys, as well as girls, are cramped by rigid sex-stereotypes: (1) male self-esteem is contingent upon accomplishments; (2) males are more severely punished for acting like a female than vice versa; (3) males experience greater conflict regarding behavior; (4) males seem less secure about their sexual identity; (5) males must always be best.

Evidence of bias has been found as well in occupational inventories, testing instruments, and major sources of occupational information including the Occupational Outlook

Handbook and the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. The last two publications have recently been reissued by the U. S. Department of Labor after editing to correct for sex-biased job titles and descriptions. Esther Diamond, editor of a massive study of career interest measurement, concludes:

> A next major step forward would be implementation of the research recommendations included in the papers presented here, beginning with the most urgent recommendations. Change may be slow, for much more is involved than just changing the inventories. But changes will come, and we can look forward to a day when no career will be considered atypical for one sex or the other, and when everyone - regardless of sex or ethnic membership - will have a truly free choice regarding his or her career development. (1975)

The values and attitudes of the culture are reflected, as well, in the schools where, at all levels educational institutions fail to meet the challenge of equipping women for positions of equality. Lynch (1975) reports that the elementary school perpetuates the norms which exist at home through its authority structure, teacher behavior, physical education programs, counseling and guidance practices, and through the literature utilized in classrooms.

Also to be considered are the role models presented to children within the structure of the schools. Almost all primary teachers are women, and most of the elementary grades

are taught by women. Jacqueline Parker Clement (1975), in an excellent monograph, reports the following. Although women constitute 65% of the total instructional staff of public elementary and secondary schools (or, 65% of the available talent pool from which school administrators are selected), men hold 99.4% of the superintendent positions; 97.1% of the assistant superintendent positions; 97% of the high school principalships; 96.5% of the junior high principalships; and - even in the last bastion for women - men hold 80.6% of the elementary school principalships. It is probably ironic that Ms. Clement's statistics show women as occupying 92% of the school librarian positions: a proper place to "keep quiet."

Howard (1975) studied the status of women in public schools and found results similar to those presented by Clement. She concludes that the school is "a microcosm of American society, functioning, consciously or unconsciously, to reinforce the sex prejudice and discrimination increasingly recognized as widespread in our society." (p. 18) Howard summarizes:

> In its traditional role as an agent of socialization, the schools contribute to a selecting and sorting process that perpetuates the status quo. The relationship between education and society is reciprocal: to eradicate inequality in our society, we need to change our schools. Historically, public schools have invariably been followers in change rather than leaders of it. Nevertheless, schools can and should serve as a major vehicle of social change in our society. (p. 18)

COMMENTARY

Discrimination in education must be considered both in terms of the content of education and in terms of educational practices. Bias is evident in the instructional materials and in counseling and guidance practices to which the young - both boys and girls - often are subjected. In study after study, evidence of sex-role stereotyping and bias abounds: in textbooks, in the force and influence of the role models surrounding children in the schools, in the subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, expectations communicated by teachers and counselors. Boys learn that they are expected to be strong, extroverted, and leaders. They should participate in team sports and consider careers in law, medicine, engineering, and any of the sciences. Girls too often learn that they should be "nice," demure, docile, and followers. To avoid being thought of as a tomboy or hyperactive, they should take up cheerleading and consider careers in retail sales, library work, nursing, teaching, or home economics.

While the people of the United States take pride in attributing to American public education its historic responsibility for the molding of character, the development and affirmation of values, and the development of the intellect - regardless of sex - discriminatory practices in schools exist. Girls and boys ARE socialized by their school experiences to

accept sex-stereotyped and sex-limiting roles. Teachers and counselors need help to make the transition from discriminatory practices, intentional or unintentional, to equitable practices. Girls as well as boys need strong role models of their own sex in their public school years, and the powerful barriers which keep women out of influential administrative and other leadership positions must be overcome.

On the matter of sex-bias in educational employment practices, the evidence is overwhelming. People tend to speak of education as an occupation offering maximum opportunities for equality for women. These opportunities for greatness do not appear to extend much beyond a public school classroom to "all your own;" beyond equality to compete in the lowest ranks in colleges and universities; beyond lower level staff positions in local, state, and federal education departments. There are token exceptions, of course; but male leadership is far more in evidence than female leadership. The appointment of a woman as the new Secretary of the Department of Education is a startling exception which may suggest a wave of the future. It is a sad commentary, however, that from among all of the exceptionally well prepared professional women educators there are in the United States, the new Secretary was drawn from the legal profession.

The status of women in education in Florida appears to

reflect the rest of the United States. Women, by and large, have lost their leadership roles in public school principalships; they have made minimal progress in advancing up the academic or administrative ranks; and, with exceptions, they remain invisible in top level governmental policy-level positions in education. In the public schools of Florida, two women, of 67, are superintendents of schools, both elected. In 17 Florida counties where superintendents are appointed, all are male. In the 67 school districts, 198 individuals hold the title Associate Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, or Area Assistant Superintendent. An estimated 93% of these individuals are male; 7%, female. (Soldwedel, 1980)

Using information in the 1979-1980 Florida Education Directory, large and small counties are similar. In the seven largest counties, all superintendents were male and 92% of their 100 assistants were also male. Of approximately 1050 principals, 71% are male. In the 27 smallest school districts, those with under ten schools, the two female superintendents exist among 25 males. All of the 14 assistants are male, and 91% of the school principals are male. (Soldwedel, 1980)

The situation in colleges, universities, and, specifically in counselor education, is no different. Males significantly outnumber females in positions of leadership. The role models are definite.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAFF TRAINING

Counselors and counselor educators need to consider their own attitudes toward "the place of women" in society and "the place of women" in education. The "non-conscious ideology" (Bem and Bem, 1970), defined as a set of beliefs and attitudes which are implicitly accepted with regard to women's place, must be dealt with as counselors and counselor educators consider sex bias in counseling and guidance practices. Staff training can help counselors increase sensitivity to sex-role stereotyping in all school practices, including counseling and guidance. It can help counselors become catalysts in schools to reduce sex-role stereotyping in the preparation or adoption of instructional materials.

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# WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THEMSELVES

"The supply of superior intelligence is limited and the demand for it in society is even greater. The largest unused supply is found among women."

- Carnegie Commission

## THE PROBLEM

It is often said that women are their own worst enemies. Too many women undersell themselves, think they are lucky to hold the jobs they do, and are willing to settle for less than a position which commands their full potential. They are literally grateful for small favors. Even though the socialization process may teach little girls to act out roles as passive followers and handmaidens, women must know - and internalize - that they ARE equal.

## THE LITERATURE

Epstein (1970) poses the "rarely asked" question: "Why (do women typically fail) to fulfill their promise -- especially when that promise has been made explicit by liberal tradition and education?" (p. 3) She goes on to point out that "our best women -- those in whom society has invested most heavily -- under-perform, underachieve, and underproduce." (p. 4) The answer, she feels, lies

in the contradictory and ambiguous cultural expectations of women which are at least limiting and at worst sources of considerable strain. The American girl is faced with an image of the ideal woman which includes attributes of personal warmth and empathy, sensitivity and emotionalism, grace, charm, compliance, dependence, and deference. At the same time, she is faced with the all-American values of equality, achievement, and full self-development. The career woman faces conflict in that attributes considered successful in professional settings are viewed as masculine: persistence, drive, personal dedication, aggressiveness, and detachment. (Epstein, 1970)

Torrey (1973) reports that in the business world, women are expected to hold only marginal commitments to careers. "It is assumed that her commitment to work was low because she was a woman, never because it was a low-pay, low-status, no future job." (p. 27) All too often such social stereotypes become self-fulfilling prophecies. Similar stereotypes work to relegate women to clerical jobs and helping professions, extensions of women's domestic roles. Torrey discusses the psychological barriers which operate to block women's aspirations, and includes among the barriers a reluctance to jeopardize success that is enjoyed by male permission, an absolution from the pressure to achieve, and the lack of

training and skills with which to assert themselves.

Another well publicized psychological barrier has been presented by Horner (1969, 1972) and is described as M-s: the motive to avoid success. According to her studies, women are seen to be afraid of succeeding in competitive situations. This fear adversely affects their performance. Qualities of competence, independence, and intellectual achievement are viewed as inconsistent with women's conception of femininity. Horner's research has disturbed some. Robbins (1973) wrote:

> As long as it is believed that the lack of success of many professional women is primarily due to their psychological disability, expressed as motive to avoid success, there will be little incentive to redress some of the tangible external barriers - such as admission quotas, slower rates of promotion, and reluctance to grant tenure - which have stood just as surely in the way of professional achievement. (p. 137)

Subsequent research has supported Horner's findings but has suggested that M-s, rather than existing as a sex-related phenomenon, is common to both men and women.

Such confusion and conflict about women's attitudes toward themselves is also reflected in their career development. Hansen (1972) describes a typical situation:

> a woman whose main identity is through a husband's career, whose occupational role models are stereotypic, whose sense of planfulness has been limited to having something to fall back on in case something happens to her husband, whose goal in going to college is to provide a stop gap until marriage, and whose sense of control over her own life is very limited in a society in which the focus on marriage is a major goal. (p. 89)

Vetter (1973) reports research describing a number of limiting factors affecting career choices among women, including early and persistent sex stereotyping of occupations, societal expectations that women shall be supported by men, fear that maternal employment will lead to delinquency among children, home versus career conflicts, and male attitudes.

Conflict also is expressed in women's attitudes toward one another. Epstein (1970) points out that women who are homemakers frequently resent and deride women who are pursuing careers outside of the home. Women professionals are critical of each other. Goldberg (1968) examined the question of women's prejudice against women and discovered that female students rated the same articles as of greater value when they were assigned a male author than when they appeared to be by a female author. This held true not only in the traditional male fields of law and city planning but also in traditional female fields such as dietetics and elementary education.

On the positive side, Dickerson (1974) found in a study of female college students, that if a woman feels faculty and administrative personnel have high expectations for her, her own level of aspiration is raised. Tenelshof and Mehl (1976) found that freedom from a prescribed sex role definition has a positive effect on academic achievement.

Getz and Miles (1978) report on research with particular relevance to counseling and guidance and student personnel administration. They studied types of counselors preferred by male and female college students with such problems as: vocational choice, college routine, adjustment to self and others, drug-related and sex-related concerns. Students expressed a preference for same-sex counselors for all problems, except vocational choice, with a definite female preference toward counselors of their own sex.

With regard to perceptions of women's potential, Patricia Graham, at the time Director of the National Institute of Education, suggests that women have precise leadership skills needed in education, although they may not perceive these strengths. In an address before the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (1979), Graham stated:

> If I may be permitted a modest endorsement for our gender, I will say that I agree with those

who believe that because of the unique combinations of experience which many women have accumulated, women leaders are often, perhaps more often than men leaders, among those who possess the leadership qualities needed in education: understanding education, valuing education, perspective, rigor, and compassion. Our society has required that women be well organized, tough minded, and nurturing. Women are frequently more used to husbanding time and energy carefully, used to being responsible for several different tasks at once, accustomed to circumstances in which limits must be explained. Most of all, they are accustomed to balancing daily legitimate demands of both personal and professional life.

COMMENTARY

Women must believe it is as natural for women as for men to aspire, if they are to overcome feelings of inferiority. It is easy, however, to become discouraged, to give up, when recognition for one's talents is not forthcoming from other women or from men; or when demeaning sexist slights occur. Women committed to their goals, women who are determined and persevering will find that these compelling forces are effective self-protection and help them look at themselves in different ways.

One of the chief accomplishments of the Women's Movement, history may record, is the recognition by women of their equality with males. The record numbers of women enrolling in assertiveness training suggests that women want to learn skills necessary to achieve greater individuality and inter-

personal equality. The popularity among women of stress management and conflict resolution seminars suggests that gentleness and forbearance may not be "so sweetly tempered and mingled in their constitutions." (Thomas Jefferson, in Padover, 1956) Most strikingly, perhaps, as one considers women's attitudes toward themselves, women are providing the support systems for one another, as never before in history, to fight sex bias, sex-role stereotyping, and sex discrimination at personal levels and in the world of work.

Counselors, working with women and girls to clarify their attitudes toward themselves and others, need to take an active leader role in confronting barriers which individuals may impose on themselves. They need to take an active leader role in confronting barriers which are imposed on individuals from external forces.

Additional study is needed to explore student preferences with regard to sex of the counselor. As Getz and Miles (1978) remark: "If student services are designed to respond to student needs, then some attention to preferences should be of utmost importance." (p. 40)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAFF TRAINING

Counselors and counselor educators can help girls and women strengthen concepts of self so that each individual has the opportunity for

development and fulfillment of one's potential. Counselors and counselor educators need to increase their understanding of the devastating effects of society's stereotypes on the way some women come to view themselves and their potential. Staff training can help counselors and counselor educators develop strategies for counseling and guidance practice which are directed toward the specific needs and concerns of girls and women. It can increase their sensitivity to program policy implications if sex bias is to be erased.

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## ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

The following summaries of anti-discrimination laws, pertinent to erasing sex bias, are drawn from the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights publication A GUIDE TO FEDERAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS PROHIBITING SEX DISCRIMINATION, 1976, Government Printing Office.

### EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963, as amended by EDUCATION AMENDMENTS of 1972

The Equal Pay Act amended the Fair Labor Standards Act to include a prohibition against pay differentials based on sex. All businesses that must pay employees minimum wage are prohibited from discriminating on the basis of sex in determining wages for workers. The Education Amendments of 1972 extended the Equal Pay Act to include previously uncovered executive, administrative, and professional workers (including academic personnel).

Coverage. The act forbids any employer who must pay employees at least minimum wage from determining wages for workers on the basis of sex. Examples of discrimination forbidden by this act include: establishment of different pay scales for female and male clericals, or for female maids and male janitors who perform substantially similar work; or establishment of higher commissions for male salesclerks who sell men's clothing than for female salesclerks who sell women's clothing.

What Is Required. Covered employers must pay women and men the same wages if they work at the same business location, under similar working conditions, doing similar work which requires equal or substantially similar skill, effort, and responsibility. Difference in pay must be based on merit, seniority, or a method which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production but may not be based on the sex of the worker.

### TITLE VII OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 as amended by the EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1972

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, prohibits discrimination in employment in federal, state, and local government and in the private sector on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Coverage. Title VII prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin by all private employers of 15 or more persons, all public and private

educational institutions, state and local governments, public and private employment agencies, labor unions with 15 or more members, and joint labor-management committees for apprenticeship and training. Religious institutions, however, may be exempt from the provisions of Title VII where the employment of persons of a particular religion is necessary to carry out the purposes of the institution. Examples of discrimination forbidden by Title VII include: maintenance of sex-segregated classified advertising; establishment of different retirement ages for men and women (62 for women and 65 for men); maintenance of separate promotion ladders for women and men; or refusal to treat pregnancy as a temporary disability.

What Is Required. State and local governments, private employers, and labor unions must provide to all persons an equal opportunity to participate in training and apprenticeship programs, to be hired and promoted into all types of jobs under the same terms and conditions of employment, and to receive all available benefits of those jobs.

## TITLE IX OF THE EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972

Most educational institutions across the United States receive federal financial assistance. These include preschool programs, elementary and secondary school systems, 4-year colleges and universities, vocational and technical schools, 2-year community and junior colleges, and graduate and professional schools. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and HEW's Title IX regulations prohibit educational institutions which receive federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex.

Coverage. This prohibition covers educational programs, employment, health benefits, housing, athletics, admissions, and financial aid, and all other programs and services of the institution, except fraternities and sororities. Military schools and schools operated by religious organizations whose tenets are inconsistent with the provisions of Title IX, are exempt from coverage.

Vocational, professional, graduate, and public undergraduate schools may not discriminate on the basis of sex in admissions, but private undergraduate schools, schools which have traditionally admitted only individuals of one sex,

and public and private preschools, elementary and secondary schools (except where such schools are vocational) are exempt from the provisions with regard to admissions only. Schools which are in transition from single-sex to co-educational institutions are allowed 7 years to complete the process, during which they may continue to make admissions decisions on the basis of sex.

Examples of discrimination forbidden by these amendments include: refusal of a board of education to hire or promote qualified women as principals in the school system; refusal of a college to provide housing of comparable quality and cost to students of both sexes; or maintenance of sex-segregated classes in business, vocational, technical, home economics, music, and adult education courses or programs.

What Is Required. An education program or activity receiving funds must afford employees, students, and potential employees and students equal employment opportunity and equal opportunity to participate in and receive the benefits of all educational programs and activities, without regard to sex. Specific obligations are detailed in the referenced document.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 11246, as amended by EXECUTIVE ORDER 11375: Federal Contract Compliance Program

Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375, prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin by most federal government contractors and subcontractors and by contractors and subcontractors in federally-assisted construction.

Coverage. Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 prohibit federal contractors and subcontractors that have contracts of more than $10,000 and banks that are depositories of federal funds or handle federal savings bonds from discriminating against their employees or applicants for employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Examples of discrimination forbidden by these orders include a contractor's refusal to hire women for certain jobs because of overtime requirements or weightlifting requirements, or a contractor's

acceptance of a union's demand for sex-segregated seniority systems.

What Is Required. Contractors are prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin in all aspects of their employment activities. They are also required to take affirmative action wherever necessary to remedy the effects of past discrimination or to counteract discriminatory barriers to equal employment opportunity. Specific obligations are detailed in the referenced publication.

The following summaries of anti-discrimination laws, pertinent to erasing sex bias, are drawn from the National Advisory Council on Women's Education Programs publication EQUITY FOR THE EIGHTIES, March, 1980, Government Printing Office.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AMENDMENTS of 1973 (P. L. 94-482)

The Vocational Education Amendments emphasize the elimination of sex stereotyping and discrimination in vocational education. They include special provisions designed to overcome sex bias, sex stereotyping, and sex discrimination so that employment opportunities are fully open to women.

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT as reauthorized in 1978 (P. L. 95-561)

The purpose of the act is to provide educational equity for women in the United States and to provide financial assistance to enable educational agencies and institutions to meet the requirements of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. The Commissioner of Education is authorized to make grants to, and enter into contracts with, public agencies, private non-profit agencies, organizations, and institutions for activities designed to achieve the purposes of the act. In addition, a National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs is authorized.