Counseling the Individual Student

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JOHN W. M. ROTHNEY
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

AND

BERT A. ROENS
DIRECTOR OF GUIDANCE
ARLINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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Preface

APPRAISING students' behavior and performance is a difficult task and many procedures must be used if it is to be accomplished successfully. A complete treatise on counseling and follow-up techniques would require several volumes; this book focuses attention on the first step in counseling—the study of the individual student. It is aimed at those who are preparing to become teachers and counselors at secondary and higher levels. The authors assume that the reader has some general knowledge of the subject and is ready to undertake the intensive study of the educational, emotional, and, to a lesser extent, the vocational problems of the *individual* student that are about to be presented. When the student-teacher has completed his assignment in this book he should be prepared to evaluate and to apply many of the methods of studying individuals.

In order to center attention upon the individual in the practical school situation, the authors provide many case histories of subjects who have been studied, counseled, and followed up over a period of years. It has been found that these exercises provide invaluable material for class discussions and that students respond to them with enthusiasm.

Much of the argument in this volume will be controversial, owing in part to the authors' unique opportunity, in several longitudinal researches, to observe students who have been examined and counseled over long periods of time, and in part to the authors' conclusion that the results of many short-period studies with individuals vanish when checks are made of their later performances.

The authors have noted, as any critical reader of the literature of educational research may, that results of experiments are usually reported as applying *on the average, in general, on the whole,* and *other things being equal.* It is agreed that such generalizations may provide frames of reference and produce statements of probabilities that permit the formulation of hypotheses about individuals, but it is contended that they provide *only* these. The authors have therefore attempted to demonstrate that generalizations must be modified to fit *particular* individuals in specific situations and that general frames of reference must be examined in terms of *each* counselee's performances. Counselors are cautioned throughout to be wary of group studies where generalizations are presented without proper warnings that all members of a group do not possess the characteristics of its average.

Throughout the book it is indicated that, as counseling becomes a profession, it must possess one characteristic worthy of that title —that its practitioners utilize sound judgment in the interpretation of the information obtained about their clients. Such judgment is essential because, at this stage of development in the counseling process, there cannot be any procedure that follows automatically from the application of specific techniques. The necessity for sound judgment demands careful selection of those who would enter the profession and thorough training of those selected.

The authors have attempted to be practical in their approach to the problems of counseling. They realize that there is a vast gap between the specialized university clinic or experimental laboratory and the school situation. They are also aware that reforms come slowly, and that the understandings of human behavior so essential for good counseling are not likely to develop rapidly from the restricted conditions under which most researchers must work. But youth cannot wait; youth's many and complex demands require action, and the counselor cannot refuse to act because everything is not perfect. The procedures discussed in this volume have proved useful, but the authors believe that as research and reform advance, many of them will eventually be replaced by even better techniques.

So many persons have contributed to the development of the points of view represented in this book that it is impossible to name them all. The many teachers who have worked with the authors during the testing of techniques in experimental counseling and other situations must be the first to whom we express our gratitude. Next come those university students who criticized the materials in class discussions and offered helpful suggestions. Former teachers have contributed more than they know, and we are heavily indebted to them also. And due thanks must be given to those who have permitted one or both of the authors to participate in many longitudinal researches. Among these are Professor Emeritus Walter F. Dearborn of Harvard University, Dr. E. R. Smith, former Chairman of the Records and Reports Committee of the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association, Professor Adelbert Ames, Jr., of the Dartmouth Eye Institute, Dr. Lura Oak, formerly director of a Research Learning Project in Massachusetts, and Mrs. Ruth H. Greenough who sponsored the work of the Harvard Guidance Study. Ruth Rothney has been an unfailing source of inspiration.

J.W.M.R.
B. A. R.

Madison, Wisconsin
April, 1949

Chapter I — The Study of the Individual as the First Step in Counseling

SURVEYS of practices in what are commonly called "counseling programs" in educational institutions reveal that no clear-cut, universally accepted definition of the counseling process has yet been evolved. Practices are so diverse in kind and quality of offering, so variable in their administrative arrangements, so varied in their statements of objectives, and so lacking in evidence of accomplishment of their aims that, other than their labels, they have few elements in common. One institution appends an individual to its staff who sets up a clinic or bureau or department, isolates himself from other members of the staff, and proceeds as if the counseling process were one which could be divorced from all other aspects of life and of education. Other institutions attempt to assign a counseling task to every member of the teaching staff and, with every teacher a counselor, attempt to provide individual services in every class and in every extraclass activity. Some institutions attempt to meet counseling needs in homeroom or other special groups, others try to individualize the whole process, and still others attempt a combination of group and individualized techniques. And there are still large numbers of educational institutions that have made no attempt to introduce any counseling services.

Uncertainty concerning the optimum type of counseling program is due in part to the fact that the guidance movement has demanded a fairly new (or, perhaps, rediscovered)[1] emphasis in education, and hence its basic principles, purposes, and techniques have not yet been clearly formulated. Basic counseling purposes are

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

frequently presented vaguely and generally so that they seem to incorporate every objective that has previously been assumed by general and vocational education, or they may be narrowly and specifically defined as the provision of assistance to students in the selection of a vocation. The techniques designed to serve such purposes range, therefore, from the administration of large test batteries to students shortly before graduation, to intensive studies of students throughout their school careers. In some cases they range from primary concern about the postschool performance of the student to concern about the past history, current status, and ultimately, though not solely, the students' postgraduation educational, social, and vocational achievements.

Uncertainty concerning the activities that counselors should undertake will continue until they accept the responsibility of evaluating their work in terms of its objectives. Partly because guidance workers, like many others in education, have not been required to evaluate the products of their labors in terms of students' effectiveness in managing their affairs,[2] and partly because the assessment of performances of human beings is a very difficult process, the task of measuring the effects of counseling has rarely been accepted. The paucity of evidence concerning the achievements of guidance workers makes it virtually impossible to determine which of the many types of programs would be most suitable for any particular institution. Despite the rapid increase in the amount of literature about guidance[3] and the great increase in the demand for counselors, the lack of evidence concerning accomplishments makes the development of a program a process of shrewd estimation rather than one of choosing among those procedures which have been tested and found to be good.

In this volume we shall be concerned, as our best estimate[4] concerning the most effective counseling programs, with those which place major emphasis upon *intensive study of individuals* throughout their entire educational careers. Such a program would require each member of a faculty to serve, under the direction of a trained counselor, in the manner in which his particular training and skills could best be utilized. Each staff member would share in the study

[2] See the discussion of follow-up procedures in Chapter VI.

[3] Wright, H. W., and J. G. Darley, "On Counseling and Guidance," *Journal of Educational Research,* vol. 41, 1947.

[4] Supplemented by results of research in practical school situations.

of students and in the pooling of results of such studies, so that the counseling that followed would be based upon established patterns of development in terms significant for present guidance, future guidance, and transfer.

The place of group counseling. It is conceded that as long as our schools are founded upon an economy of minimum and scarcity, programs of group counseling may have some value. In placing group-counseling procedures in a secondary role we are aware that in schools where every teacher is "guidance-minded," they may be more effective than they now appear to be. The time may come when most teachers are skilful enough to provide adequate counseling for *groups* of students, but that time is too remote for the millions of students currently in our institutions. These students need *individual* counsel now.

It is admitted that some group counseling techniques may serve useful dual functions. Classes in occupations, for example, may assist the individual in making his own vocational choice and, at the same time, they may serve the very desirable social objective of teaching students about the advantages, disadvantages, problems, and conditions of employment in other fields. Irrespective of the fact that a student has no personal intention of entering a particular occupation, it is desirable that he know something of the trends and conditions of employment in, at least, our major industries. Although crucial experiments in which the effects upon students of teaching classes in occupations have not been conducted, it seems likely that gains in social understandings might be achieved as successfully in this field as in the more common social-science courses. And there is always the possibility that information obtained from such classes may stimulate the student to make a more thorough examination of the occupation that he proposes to enter. The classes, because of their general nature must, however, be supplemented by individual work with each student.

Similar statements may be made about classes in which students are required to make analyses of personal profiles derived from test scores, ratings, judgments of classmates, school marks, and various other sources of information. Without convincing experimental evidence about the value of such procedures, we may continue to assume that they may assist in the development of such habits as those of looking for evidence before making judgments of persons, and making students more aware of their own strengths

and weaknesses. If such procedures avoid the very common errors of attributing equal dependability to measures of greatly differing validity and reliability, of putting related measures together in a manner which suggests that they are completely independent, and of using undefined terms to describe behavior apart from the situations in which it appears, they may have limited value. If they remain as class exercises without interpretation for each individual, they may do much harm to the students' confidence and cause serious errors and misinterpretations. If the exercises are interpreted to the student in conference with a counselor who is fully aware of the limitations of the data and of the risk of doing harm to the individual, they may be a useful part of the counseling process.

Counseling requires work with the individual. Counseling must always be an individualized affair, and group guidance techniques must always be supplementary and secondary aids. The word "always" is used advisedly for the foundation of counseling is found in the fact that there are *personal* choices to be made. In many cases there may be similar situations and patterns of development which require similar choices, but, in the last analysis, there must be some one person who accepts the responsibility of helping this particular individual to analyze his unique personal problems. To such situations someone must bring *particularized* knowledge obtained from records, observations, and tests, and someone must interpret it. Someone must answer a student's specific questions, and someone must raise particular questions that he may not have raised about himself. Someone must interpret to each student separately the specialized educational and vocational implications which he, because of his lack of experience and knowledge, is unable to recognize, and someone must help each student to appreciate the social and domestic circumstances of his particular characteristics and situation. Someone with quick personal perceptions and a sympathetic interest in human difficulties must help a student to help himself when he finds that he is confronted with problems beyond his power to solve. And someone must *care* about him in such circumstances. All such activities could be carried through by many teachers if time were made available and training for such tasks were required for professional certification, but most teachers have a heavy class load and are insufficiently trained to be other than helpers in such assignments. It is these *personalized*

tasks, then, that the counselor, who has only a token teaching assignment and who has had specific training, will undertake.

Counseling activities. The individuality of problems cited above makes it very difficult to classify the activities of the counselor. Any list must be inadequate because of the complexity of the counseling process and the need for adaptation of techniques to fit particular cases. The following list[5] represents an attempt at a *partial* summary of activities required in work with several hundred students during the course of their counseling over a five year period. It does not contain the many activities required in such other aspects of the counseling program as working with parents and other school personnel. It is concerned only with the work with pupils, and it suggests only *some* the areas in which the counselor serves.

1. Interpreting test results to students.
2. Assisting students in the choice of appropriate courses and curriculums.
3. Analyzing reasons for students' failures and suggesting remedial procedures.
4. Stimulating students to put forth maximum efforts.
5. Providing occupational information and stimulating students to seek further information.
6. Assisting students in making choices of educational institutions for further training.
7. Assisting students to find means for financing postschool education through work and scholarships.
8. Advising students concerning vocational placement and techniques of securing employment.
9. Analyzing, and assisting students to analyze, their adjustment problems and suggesting remedial procedures.
10. Assisting students to improve their personal appearance.
11. Arranging for the correction of physical defects.

[5] Rothney, J. W. M., and B. Roens, *Guidance of American Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. In press, 1949.)

This *partial* list presents only some of the activities of counselors in dealing with students in the face-to-face situation. The categories are obviously not mutually exclusive. Analyzing reasons for a student's failure and suggesting remedial procedures (3, above) may require, for example, that processes 1, 2, 4, 9, and 11 be utilized and others, such as 5 and 6, given consideration.

The thumbnail[6] descriptions of actual cases presented at the end of this chapter illustrate some of the processes involved. Most of these cases have been studied eleven years after the first contact with the counselor, and most of them seem to have been successfully treated. As we shall point out later, however, it is exceedingly difficult to determine the success of attempts at counseling. The time at which the follow-up evidence is obtained, and the point of view of the observer concerning the nature of success, will determine his evaluation of the processes utilized.

COUNSELING PROGRAMS

In the preceding pages we have used the terms "counseling program" and "counseling process" without attempting any rigorous definition of the terms. We have, by presenting illustrative sketches of cases at the end of this chapter and more complete reports of cases throughout this volume, suggested some of the procedures that are commonly utilized in such programs and, in a sense, have defined the terms operationally. In doing so we have been concerned primarily with the face-to-face procedure commonly described as "counseling." It is unfortunate that the terms "counseling" and "guidance" are frequently used in a manner that suggests that they are separate functions[7] or that counseling is only one part of the guidance process. We suggest that all the other common guidance functions are contributory to the counseling process, and that the emphasis would be placed where it belongs if all such activities were subsumed under the general term of "counseling."[8] Counselors must be concerned with the processes of appraisal and self-appraisal of the student. They must be concerned with the as-

[6] For more complete cases, see Rothney and Roens, *op. cit.*

[7] The American Educational Research Association publishes reviews of educational research under the title "Counseling, Guidance and Personnel Work."

[8] One finds schools that profess to have guidance programs but have no provision for counseling. Students in such schools rarely get any personal attention.

sistance of students in the study of their present circumstances and the opportunities that may become available to them. They must be concerned with the making of choices, with selection among training opportunities, with initial placement, and with follow-up. If some of these functions are separated from the others and delegated to other agencies or persons, or if some are performed in other than counseling situations, they will be less effective than if they are performed individually to the same extent that any divided plan of procedure in dealing with human beings is less effective than a coordinated and continuous approach.[9]

It may appear to the reader that we take our definition of counseling programs from the techniques that we propose to use. It should be noted, however, that we consider the two to be truly inseparable. One does not follow from the other, but both come from evidence concerning the complexity and uniqueness of the individual and from our knowledge of learning processes. No two students are alike, learn at the same rate, or reach identical learning levels except in the very simple processes. There may, however, be enough similarity of simple single characteristics among pairs, or even groups, of students so that any of the usual school subjects may be taught in various sized classes with various degrees of economy and effectiveness. The importance of the extent of learning any one of the common school subjects cannot be compared, however, with the value of learning to make sound personal and vocational choices or adjustments and of working with someone personally in the solution of problems of any kind.[10] The failure of even large percentages of our school populations to learn any part of one of the subjects taught in secondary schools and colleges, unfortunate as that may be, seems relatively unimportant when compared with the possible consequences of failure of young persons to make sound choices when their decisions must affect every day of adult life. Remedial procedures in the usual school subjects can correct common subject field deficiencies in a relatively short time

[9] Many placement agencies must, of course, remain as separate organizations. In such cases there is need for transfer of data from one institution to another and, use by the receiving agency of such data in counseling situations.

[10] This is, of course, a controversial issue. We are considering here, the usual rather than the ideal teaching of any subject matter. For further discussion of the issue see J. M. Brewer, *Education as Guidance* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932).

and at relatively little cost,[11] but the retraining and rehabilitation of individuals who have made unfortunate choices about behavior or about occupational careers is a long and difficult process. And the diagnosis of subject-matter failures is a comparatively simple process compared with that of analysis of a behavior disorder.

Guidance and Counseling. All these arguments suggest, then, that although we may grant that there will be less than maximum achievement in the learning of school subjects for the sake of economy (for that is what we do when we assign students to large classes), we dare not do so when personal and vocational adjustments are at stake. The consequences of failure are too drastic to permit of gambling lifelong happiness and effectiveness against the cost of a counseling program that provides for individual attention to each student. The guidance program must become essentially a counseling program.

In taking the position described above, we may accept the statement that all education has for one of its purpose the aim of teaching the student to make wise choices among those which all persons are forced to make during school and postschool life. We do know that education falls far short of such a goal for large numbers of its clients. We know that it must continue to fall short of the goal as long as it continues to depend as heavily as it does on theories of mental discipline and wholly unwarranted faith in unlimited transfer of training, on patterns of organization that provide piecemeal heterogeneous lumps of material to be covered in periods regulated by the clock and the calendar rather than in terms of student performance, on counting credits, hours, and grade points, and on coverage of materials that must ever remain remote from the lives of large percentages of the student population. We can be sure that education must fail to meet its objectives of preparing youth to make good current and later choices so long as it is founded upon an economy of scarcity that requires classes so large that individualization is impossible,[12] provides minimum facilities, and permits wholly unqualified persons to become teachers. If our schools and colleges were as functional, as well equipped, as practi-

[11] There is much evidence, for example, that remedial work in reading can be done effectively. See the annual reviews by W. S. Gray in the *Journal of Educational Research.*

[12] We are in sympathy with the efforts of those who propose to individualize instruction in the classroom. We are also aware that with the usual class size in American public schools it is practically impossible to do so.

cal, as concerned with individuals, and as well staffed as they would have to be to reach their objectives, then education itself would truly be guidance. No one could, however, be realistic and maintain that it is currently so in any significant number of educational institutions.

It does not follow from the above that counseling is simply a stopgap procedure to be used until schools can begin to fulfill the obligations that their pronouncements assume. It is as absurd to consider education as composed of only that counseling program which we have maintained is essential for each individual as it is to assume that the procedure called "education" will continue as it has in the past without counseling. We may conceive of the school of the future as one that maintains its classes and continues many of the other group activities that are currently popular. Such activities will, however, be supplemented by a special corps of workers who will have particular responsibilities with respect to *individual* matters and who will be given time and facilities for such tasks.

If counseling is to be effective, all the activities and personnel functions in an institution must be coordinated and integrated. This can best be accomplished through a department under the direction of a well-trained counselor. The department should be composed of counselors whose number would be determined by the student population in a ratio of not less than one counselor to each 350 students. These counselors must be completely democratic in outlook and action. They must know the psychology of youth well enough to select from the welter of data about human behavior those significant items which can be used. They must have acquired a high level of sophistication about measurements so that they will not be misled by the claims and misrepresentations of some who offer tests for sale. To these qualifications of counselors must be added some experience in the world of work outside the classroom. Finally, they must know the field of education and have shown that they can perform adequately in the classroom situation.

The primary duty of such counselors will be that of collecting, collating, and interpreting data about, and to, the individual. In the following chapters of this volume we shall be concerned with such processes. Primary emphasis will be placed upon collecting and collating data so that interpretations made by counselors and their counselees may be based upon valid information. The actual

counseling processes which follow would require several additional volumes to describe, but enough samples have been provided to indicate their nature. Before details of method are discussed, however, it will be necessary to consider the importance to the counselor of the recognition of the *individuality* of each of his subjects.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUALITY

If you have ever waited at a busy corner to meet a friend, you may have mused on the extent to which the passing individuals are so much alike and yet so different. But if your friend came along as you were musing, dressed like the others, of the same general height and body build, and perhaps of the same general color of complexion, you recognized that person as *distinctly* your friend. And if for a moment you were not quite sure, his voice, his smile, the clasp of his hand, and a moment of conversation removed all doubt. He was, and is, the only Bob Jones. "No one just like him," you say.

No two human beings have ever been found to be alike. No scientific investigations of human behavior—even those of so-called "identical twins"[13]—have resulted in the finding of individuals completely similar in structure or behavior. The most startling fact about the members of the largest group of individuals with as near common heredity and environment as it has been possible to study, the Dionne quintuplets,[14] is the extent to which they differ in performance and behavior. The observations of writers throughout the ages concerning individuality are being confirmed as we count, measure, manipulate, and give new labels to individual characteristics. Though the observations have been made by a Plato, a Shakespeare, or a factor analyst with his punched-card equipment, the results vary only in slight degree. There are no two persons alike. Allport[15] states the case as follows:

> The outstanding characteristic of man is his individuality. He is a unique creation of the forces of nature. Separated spatially from all other men he behaves throughout his own particular span of life in his own distinctive fashion. It is not upon the cell nor upon the single

[13] Burnham, R. W., "Case Studies of Identical Twins," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology,* vol. 56, Second half, June, 1940.

[14] Blatz, W. E., *Collected Studies on the Dionne Quintuplets* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1937).

[15] Allport, G. W., *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1937).

organ, nor upon the group, nor upon the species that nature has centered her most lavish concern, but rather upon the integral organization of life processes into the amazingly stable and self-contained system of the individual living creature.

Allport goes on to point out that the general laws of science have value in depicting the common ground upon which all individual minds meet, but that this common ground is really a no man's land. "When the investigator turns his eyes upon the individual he finds that in him all laws are modified."

The counselor who is well trained only in the use of devices for obtaining *mass* data finds too often that his generalizations leave him completely at a loss as to what to do with the local lad who is driving his teacher to distraction, the adolescent girl who is "boy crazy," and the sophomore who is in an academic slump. The counselor who is thoroughly familiar with the literature of experimentation in guidance may be thoroughly bewildered when he has to get down to cases because the *generalizations* apply to so few of them. When the counselor has computed the correlation coefficients between scores on his *tests,* he will often find himself with a problem rather than a solution. When his *group* guidance program is completed, he will find that the need for individual guidance is ever more evident. When he learns about the group, he will find that he must learn more about each individual as a person-in-a-situation.[16] Rarely will he be able to justify the existence of his position on the educational scene until he gets down to cases.

Despite the wide acceptance of facts and theories about the extent and importance of individuality as indicated by the frequency of reference to it by educators, there is still too little done for, with, and about, the individual. Despite the incontrovertible evidence of the uniqueness of each person, there is increasing emphasis in

[16] See the second criterion presented in Chapter II. The references cited at the end of this chapter will be helpful to those who may be disturbed by the apparent conflict between the emphasis upon the individual as an individual and the need for continuous consideration of him as a person-in-a-situation. Note that the procedures recommended in this volume are intended to supplement, not replace, the many excellent group study and instructional procedures which have been devised. There need be no conflict between emphasis upon work with individuals and emphasis upon work with groups if extremes in either procedure are avoided. Those students who are not familiar with recent developments in this area should read Sherif's volume, which is listed in the readings at the end of this chapter.

education upon *class* instruction, *group* testing, *mass* experimentation and *group* guidance. And despite the evidence concerning the complexity of each unique human organism, there is still much emphasis upon the development of techniques for handling larger and larger groups more efficiently and too little emphasis on methods of working with the individual.[17] Those who develop and encourage the use of such practices ignore, or make only half gestures toward, the fact that the welfare of the mass may be determined primarily by the combination of the welfares of those who compose the group. They do so despite their verbal assurances that our practices and objectives in education have validity primarily when they further the development of each person.

Mass procedures, no matter how well intentioned, must fail to accomplish the objectives of education unless they are supplemented by adequate attention to the individual. In spite of the ever-increasing efficiency of administrative and organizational devices developed for the management and instruction of groups, it seems unlikely that they will ever become adequate substitutes for the counseling process in which an informed and trained person works with another person, provides him with information that can be interpreted in terms of his personal needs and accomplishments, and assists him to make his own decisions. It is not likely that administrative devices for management of *groups* will ever properly provide for the needs of the individual; semi-individual devices will seldom be sufficient; no substitute will be adequate.

TENDENCY OF SCIENTIFICALLY ESTABLISHED GENERALIZATIONS TO OBSCURE INDIVIDUALITY

Intensive study and work with individuals may bring the counselor into opposition with strong current trends in educational experimentation and psychological research. These trends toward dealing with the abstractions and generalizations obtained from large populations have become commonly accepted procedure in the study of human beings, and those who promote them often attempt to exclude the intensive study of individuals as unscientific. Despite the cautions of the scientist concerning the care with which

[17] The attempt of one of the authors to get a course on the study of individuals on an equal basis with a course in statistics was, at one time, rejected summarily with the comment, "We do not think that the study of individuals is as important for a teacher as a course in statistics."

data must be collected and the need of describing basic materials fully, the current practice of many educators is to collect a minimum of data about a maximum number of subjects and, after ignoring the essential step in the scientific process of describing an experimental population as completely as possible, to become very precise about the crude measures obtained. Manipulation of hurriedly gathered data on many inadequately described subjects has become a common practice in a great deal of educational and psychological research. Many experimenters have found their values in numbers and their prestige in being "scientific" about these numbers. Inadequate descriptions of experimental subjects are often glossed over in generalization about averages, but, as Stone has pointed out in the following statement, "Statistics do not tell the whole tale."[18]

The sport, or business, of racing, is based on the interesting and often unpredictable way in which individual horses differ from one another.

When you put two dollars on a race, you are not at all interested in the average running time of two-year olds. Even the average time of Sea-Biscuit may seem irrelevant. What you want to know is what your favorite black filly is likely to do on a muddy track this afternoon.

In the field of business, statistics showing the average rate of decline of mental alertness with age are equally uninforming when it comes to deciding whether old Mr. Jones in the bookkeeping department should be retired or whether his intimate knowledge of the customers doesn't make up for the fact that he is a little deaf on the telephone.

Statistics, indispensable handmaiden to science, can actually obstruct the advance of knowledge if followed blindly.

If scientists allow the study of averages, trends, and totals to blind them to the interesting and often puzzling differences between individuals, many facts will remain hidden. The trees, in this case, will remain without clear form because obscured by the forest.

Averages can actually be misleading as well as uninforming. The idea that hunger is a more powerful drive than sex was cited as an example of how averages may obscure the facts. Looking only at the average behavior of a group of animals over a number of consecutive days, this conclusion is logical. But if you watch a particular animal you will find that although he becomes hungry often, that hunger will

[18] Permission to quote this statement was given in personal communication by Dr. Calvin P. Stone of Stanford University.

at times become relatively unimportant in his scheme of life. If the observations of his behavior were timed to coincide with the height of both drives, the averages might tell a different story.

Translated into the world of human affairs, though a man may spend most of his waking hours chasing dollars, we must not conclude that money means more to him than love or beauty or religion.

Statistics do not tell the whole tale.*

It was natural that many educators would attempt to become ultrascientific and statistical during the period in which this country made great strides in the use and development of scientific methods in the physical sciences and the period in which the chief slogans were "bigger and better" and "the more the merrier." The spirit of the times in the past fifty years of developing America was such that quantity often became the indicator of excellence, and large numbers of rather superficial observations[10] were frequently substituted for intensive study of persons. Few ambitious educators would concern themselves with the individual problems of small groups of children when, with electrical and mechanical devices, they could manipulate the symbols for thousands of cases and produce generalizations in less time than it took to work thoroughly with an individual. And how much easier it was to get "results" with symbols than with persons! Why should many graduate students of education and psychology learn about working with the individual when scientific methods seemed to make it possible for them to handle large groups and statistical methods gave them the tools to get *results?*

Overemphasis on science and statistics. In the excitement of this scientific period and statistical "binge," the study of the individual case tended to become almost disreputable. It was said

* Since this section was written, the inadequacy of the public-opinion polls in the prediction of the behavior of large numbers of individuals has been revealed by the result of the 1948 presidential election. Although the inadequacy had been suspected by some (see, for example, the report by E. Borneman, "The Public Opinion Myth," *Harper's Magazine,* July, 1947), it is now quite apparent that many persons, including the writers (we must admit), were misled by the masses of what appeared to be scientifically respectable data.

[19] The senior writer was frequently amused by a leader of an Army research project. Almost daily he read off large numbers of near-zero correlation coefficients between test scores and success in a training program. He finished his readings by stating that they were low, but "If we could only get enough of them we would solve our problem."

that one could not be "scientific" about a single case,[20] and in the harried search for general laws, the importance of the search for lawful tendencies of "minds-in-particular" were almost forgotten. When a case did not fall within the requirements of a general law or formula, many educational scientists tended to follow an ancient procedure of some natural scientists and label it a "sport" (an exceptional case beyond the expected limit of probability of occurrence), and thus, they eliminated the need for further investigations. Such a case was just too many sigmas away from the mean for those who were concerned with the mass beneath the bulging hips of the curve. As a result there have been countless generalizations about people (the honest researchers admit that they all need further examination, confirmation, and corroboration), thousands of studies concerning averages of hundreds of kinds of behavior, but very little to assist the counselor when he works with a particular youth. He knows the average height of boys at age sixteen, but what can be found about the provision of assistance for Tommy who is greatly concerned about the fact that he passed the average height for sixteen-year-olds at fourteen and is still growing? The average age scores for each of the tests taken by a student can be found, but who can be sure about the action necessary to provide for the optimum development from the pattern of performances, activities, and attitudes that he displays?

In the process of making education "scientific" as soon as possible, many educators have found it convenient to borrow the methods of the natural scientist and creep under his halo without making the adaptations required by the fact that they are dealing with that most *complex* of all phenomena, the growing human individual; that they are working with data in which every subject is *unique,* even though it appears to be similar to others; and that they are dealing with irreversible subjects who cannot be purified so that the experiment can be repeated exactly, and with subjects so *precious* that they cannot be disposed of on a scrap heap when the experiments turn out badly. Many educators and psychologists have borrowed the method of controlled experiment and the laboratory procedure, despite the fact that they can never place human beings in situations that approximate the controls of the natural

[20] See the discussion of this issue in G. W. Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942).

scientist. And many apply the label "matched groups" to their groups, although they know that any matching can result only in rough approximations of too few variables. Many will admit that emotional life and inner thought processes are important but only a small fraction of the experimenters in psychology and education attempt any control on these essential factors.[21]

But, as we have pointed out, the overemphasis on science and statistics in education is a natural development that has grown out of the spirit of the times, the status which education has reached, and the rapid increase in size of the school populations. *Shyrock*[22] has shown that this development might have been expected. He says:

Quantitative procedures were the earmarks of the most successful scientific fields; ergo, education must apply them. It may well be that, in the hurry to establish scientific status, educators sometimes used statistics uncritically or to no necessary purpose. Here again, however, one has a record very similar to that of other professions. Quantitative procedures were used uncritically, at a correspondingly early stage in their evolution, by medicine and the social sciences. In each case, too, there was prompt criticism, which at times went to the extreme of questioning the possibility of ever using mathematics systematically in those fields. Indeed, the recent questioning of statistical work in education can be recognized by the historian as a perfectly typical stage in the evolution of any scientific field. The next stage, in medicine and social science, was a more careful and critical exploitation of quantitative methods which, despite some delays and even reversions to qualitative generalizations, eventually resulted in successful procedures.

We shall discuss and illustrate specific problems of language usage and scientific method in the study of individuals at greater length later, but we have indicated briefly here that some scientific and statistical methods provide only measures of mass relationships, reference points, and measuring rods to determine deviation from these points. These have not yet been developed to the point where they can provide a complete guide to the understanding of each

[21] A survey of the literature shows that most experimenters control only on such items as mental test scores, age, academic level, and crude measures of socioeconomic status. Very few experimenters use more than two or three easily obtained items.

[22] Shyrock, R. H., "Pedagogues and Pedagese," *School and Society,* vol. 65, No. 1671, 1947.

person who is, in himself, a special law of nature. When the counselor examines the individual, he will find that all his generalizations require modification, that every case is an exception. He will be forced to scrutinize each person carefully to discover intra-individual laws within the person on the basis of which he can, with some degree of assurance, provide beneficial counsel. And when he can do this for each member of his group, the whole group may profit.

Generalizations from studies of relationships. Neglect of individuality often follows the acceptance of generalizations which have arisen from the uncritical use of correlation coefficients. Valuable as such coefficients are for many purposes the counselor must keep in mind that the discovery of relationships in the mass does not assure that they will be present in the individual case. Dunlap has stated the case well:

> It was not to be expected, however, that the statistical method would be so easily routed from psychology. It offers an easy method for the obtaining of "results," and the results have an impressive appearance due to the profundity of the mathematical principles involved. The fact that these principles are above the comprehension of the person doing the research, and that the results, therefore, seem to come as gifts from the gods to the humble turner of the wheel, by no means lessens their impressiveness. .
>
> For this reason, the methods of correlation introduced by Pearson and improved by Yule and others, have had a great vogue in individual psychology, and coefficients of correlation are being applied, not *to* the solution of various and sundry problems, but applied *as* the solutions; which is quite a different matter. Now it is true, the correlation method has very important uses, and may have such even in psychology, when applied to a collection of data which really has a Gaussian distribution or whose deviations from this distribution are such as can be corrected. But I fear that most of those who use the method would not know how to determine whether a given distribution were Gaussian or not. .
>
> The difficulty in the interpretation of a coefficient of correlation is very great. The difficulty is strikingly illustrated by a survey of the literature embodying it, in which almost any correlation is calmly assumed to prove not merely that there is a relation between the arrays correlated, but that the particular relation the seeker hoped to find is there. Illogical as it may seem, the assumption appears to be that data gathered by utterly incompetent persons, sometimes under

known conditions, actually known to be pernicious, is in some miraculous way validated, and made reliable, when the magic method of correlation is applied to it. .

Where any test has not been established for a given purpose by other than "correlational" methods, its application is little more than guess work. The establishing of educational and social projects and programs on mere "coefficients" is something which psychology might view merely with compassion, were it not for the fact that such establishment is being made brazenly in the name of psychology; and the public credits the failures to the experimental psychologists who protest against the methods. . .

A coefficient of correlation is, in psychology, at the most only the beginning of research; a suggestion for a theory which may be formulated and put to experimental verification. .

Individual psychology, which has been carried away by the mathematical fascination, and which has made its mental measurements so largely matters of correlation, can regain its balance and justification by returning to the fold of experimental psychology and profiting by its experience, disillusionments, and achievements.[23]

It should be observed that significant relationships may occur within individuals even though the correlation coefficients between two sets of measurements may be very low. Jones[24] has pointed out that functional relationships may occur in a few individuals (whom he calls "clinical deviates"), but that these may be so few that they are hidden in mass data. He points out also that negative functional relationships, which in a few persons run counter to the prevailing positive relationship, may reduce correlation coefficients. He further shows that two traits which are correlated in a certain low degree may, at a certain age, be markedly affected by a third factor which produces increased correlation in growth *rates* without having this condition affect the correlation of *amounts* of growth. His final point is that relationships between traits may involve functionally significant patterns of characteristics which differ qualitatively in different individuals and that, as a result, no single pattern when correlated with the other trait will yield a high correlation.

[23] Dunlap, K. N., "The Experimental Methods of Psychology," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology,* vol. XXXII, No. 3, September, 1925.

[24] Jones, H. E., "Relationships in Physical and Mental Development," *Review of Educational Research,* vol. III, No. 2, 1933, p. 162.

The implications of such statements should be obvious to the counselor who is concerned with the study of persons. Regardless of the general relationships between two variables expressed by a correlation coefficient, it is possible to find relationships within a particular counselee that run counter to the pattern indicated by the coefficient even to the degree of complete reversal of it; to find, within one person, the amount of correlation between characteristics which is common to the whole group; and even to find, within one person, closer relationships than would be expected in view of the size and direction of the coefficients obtained from the mass data.

Undesirable comparison of individuals encouraged by generalization. One unfortunate effect of the neglect of the individual to get at the generalization is the emphasis that is put on the comparison of individuals. One could be led to believe, from the study of many educational researches, that education is a continuous race with numerous tests and timers at every lap.[25] But the counselor must recognize that his function usually requires him to treat a subject in much the same manner as a physician treats each patient. When a patient reports that he is in great pain, the doctor does not always deem it necessary to measure his suffering in terms of the pains of the average person in the average community. He sets out to find the cause of the specific pain and to apply procedures to relieve it. Similarly, a counselor is often required to assist a student with a problem in spite of the frequency or degree of severity of such problems among other members of the student population. It is not always necessary for him to obtain a percentile rating on a home-adjustment scale before he can assist the student with what is, to that student, a problem sufficiently serious to make both home and school situations very unhappy.

No teacher-rating scale may be necessary when a boy indicates that he fears his teacher so much that he will not attend her classes. Comparison of a girl's weight with standardized charts is not always necessary when she is greatly embarrassed about what she considers to be excessive bulk. Comparison of a boy's score with national norms on a reading test is not particularly helpful when a teacher finds that the boy cannot read the textbook used in her class, though the administration of a diagnostic, noncomparative

[25] Note, for example, students' designation of school and college life as a "rat race."

test may be of value in discovering the source of his difficulty. In such problems comparisons are seldom essential, and, in some cases they may be definitely harmful. For them we can dispense with the control group, the scaled scores, the statistical "level of significance," and the trappings of the "scientific" educator. A problem that is important to the counselee may become a significant problem for the counselor, irrespective of its fit to, or deviation from, a norm. A problem for one individual may not be a problem for another. The fact that two students make identical scores on a test does not mean that they have equal significance in their counseling.[20] The good counselor never loses the individual in a mass of scores.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD HOLDS PROMISE FOR COUNSELORS

Because we have questioned much of the so-called "scientific approach" to the study of those students who are to be counseled, it must not be assumed that we would discourage scientific experimentation in counseling. We have simply pointed out that the achievements of science in the field of guidance *up to this time* have not provided the counselor with devices or procedures which make his work truly scientific in any sense of that word. As we shall point out in the following chapters, there are some scientific procedures and devices which may be utilized with a high degree of confidence if they are supplemented by the careful judgment of an experienced counselor who has analyzed the particular situation in which he finds his counselee. Conant[27] has expressed this point of view very effectively. In discussing the place of science in our unique society, he says:

> I have no illusion that basic national issues can be handled by any group of scientists in the way problems of design of bridges and machines can be treated by engineers. *Nor do I believe that in the near future many policy questions which must be resolved by governmental officials, business executives, or labor leaders can be handed over to*

[20] It was actually possible in the Air Corps cadet-testing program, for example, to get numerically identical scores, though one cadet achieved most of his total score on psychomotor tests, while the other made most of his on paper-and-pencil tests.

[27] Conant, J. B., "The Role of Science in Our Unique Society," *Science*, Jan. 23, 1948.

scientists to find an answer which is "right." Most of the decisions must be made on the basis of experience coupled with the advice of competent analysts and those whom I have ventured to call social philosophers. The point of view of scientists may be of assistance in these matters, and the results of their investigations should be of increasing value. *But the types of problems where one can hope for immediate assistance from the social psychologist, sociologist, and anthropologist are for the most part somewhat limited in their scope;* they involve human relations and those tensions among individuals and groups which have been so much intensified by the conditions of modern life. [Italics ours.]

Applying his thinking more directly to the field of guidance in public schools he makes a statement to which all counselors should give much consideration.

Let me illustrate by a brief consideration of our public schools; they are a concrete manifestation of our belief in the idea of equality of opportunity. We believe they should be ladders by which youths with varied talents may reach satisfying employment, with everyone entitled to a fair chance. Every year some two or three million of our youth mature, leave school or college, and look for jobs. Unless each year this annual crop of youngsters can be fitted into our economy, we shall fail to keep our society prosperous and dynamic. Therefore, our educational system must be heavily involved in the whole question of guidance and of placement. The specific problems will vary from city to city, from state to state. Here is a case where we are *beginning to have sound knowledge and can look forward with considerable assurance to further improvements in the methods.* Here is a case where the welfare of the Nation depends on our skill in solving a whole host of detailed human problems. [Italics ours.]

Even with his borrowed methods the educational scientist has been able to obtain some experimental results which, as a framework for individual reference, can be of some value. On the *average* it is now fairly safe to say that the formal teaching of reading (if anything in early education is to be done formally) should be postponed until a child has attained a mental age of approximately six years. On the *average* it is probably better to add some motion pictures to other instructional techniques in the teaching of science. The *average* pupil should not be exposed to long division in the third grade. The *average* gifted child should not be given the average work of his *average* chronological age group, nor should the

average moron be expected to keep up with a group of *normal* children of his own age. The *average* high-school student aspires to a vocational level that is beyond him, and needs some assistance in adjusting his sights. Educational experiments are fairly dependable in their provision of such generalizations about the average and the counselor must not ignore them. Though he is concerned with the person behind the educational generalization and within the educational institution he must not, at any time, lose sight of that person's contemporaries and circumstances.

The practicing counselor will not, therefore, reject the generalizations of science and the scientific method. He will grasp eagerly for that which science has produced and he will constantly be on the watch for new developments. He must hope that a new science of *individuals* will bring him relief from the uncertainty that he must feel when he counsels on the basis of hunches and uncertainties. Meantime, the practicing counselor will continue to be aware that he must often make mistakes, and that no immediate solution to the processes of trial and error which he employs is yet in sight. And that realization should produce the humility which is an essential characteristic of those who would counsel with youth.

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EXERCISES

1. Read the following report on *Homer*. List the various actions taken by the counselor and indicate, with reasons, whether you approve or disapprove of them.

2. Compare the techniques used in Chapters I and III of the two studies, *Motivation and Visual Factors*, and *Evaluation of Visual Factors*, with respect to intensity of study of individuals and utility of results for counseling.

EXERCISE 1

(See instructions for work on this case in number 1 above.)

HOMER

Voted as the most bashful boy in his graduating class, recognized by his mother as socially maladjusted, stated by teachers to be handicapped even in school work by his personal limitations and these conditions immediately reflected in his physical appearance, *Homer* proved to be such a difficult problem that only partial success was attained in helping him to overcome his personality difficulties through a five year period of counseling.

Homer was referred to the counselor in the eighth grade for study because of extremely poor posture, peculiar gait, failure to mix with other pupils and academic difficulties. In the opinion of the school principal, he seemed to be well on the way toward becoming a mental health problem.

Interpretation of Test Record (thirty-six tests were administered over a period of five years). Over a period of several years there is a marked discrepancy in the ratings obtained from the various tests of general mental ability but on the whole they are average for pupils of his age and grade. His reading comprehension and his speed of reading are average for his group and his vocabulary test performances have been consistently high. He achieved the middle third of his group on a language test for high school graduates and college freshmen. His scores on tests of mathematics have been in the lower third of his group as well as his scores in paper form board tests of spatial facility

and in tests designed to measure clerical aptitude. His scores on personality schedules are the kind which the test manuals present as indicative of neurotic tendencies.

Family Data. Homer is the son of American-born parents of English descent. Both parents are high-school graduates. The second child, a sister, was born when Homer was fourteen years old. His father is an office manager of a commercial concern and the mother states that he has little interest in Homer or in other members of the family. She stated also that Homer's father likes to be alone and has no close friends. Until the birth of her daughter, Homer's mother worked out of the home and she admitted that Homer was probably neglected during the years he was growing up. She has always seemed to realize that her son was not socially well adjusted and she seemed very anxious to do everything possible to help him. She has been very co-operative with the counselor.

Health Data. Although Homer gives an impression from the way he carries himself that he has some physical disability, several medical examinations have proved to be negative.

Leisure-Time Activities. Homer has always been a prolific reader, and from the time that he entered junior high school, historical novels have been his favorite type of literature. He has also tried his hand at writing poetry and short stories although he has never been willing to show any of these to the counselor or to any of his teachers. He has a small stamp collection which has been accumulated over a period of years but he is not particularly interested in it. After he entered high school, he became interested in the sports activities of the school and he frequently attended the baseball and football games as well as the track meets. He has never participated in any group activities.

Work Experience. Homer has never made any attempt to earn any money.

Vocational Choice

Grade 8	Chemist or astronomer	He dreams of being a great chemist or astronomer alone in his laboratory
Grade 9	Same	
Grade 10	Journalism	He likes to read and he also realizes that future work in sciences will require too much mathematics

Grade 11	Same	
Grade 12	Journalism or teaching	He thinks that he might like to be a teacher of English

Counseling. When Homer was first seen by the counselor he was in the eighth grade, a tall, thin, stoop-shouldered boy with large brown eyes, a squeaky voice and a "hang-dog" expression on his face. When he walked, he shuffled his feet and carried his left arm as if it were paralyzed. His whole appearance suggested some sort of physical disability. From time to time he has suffered the abuse of other boys in school who referred to him as "banjo-eyes" and who teased him about girls. When this incident occurred in the eighth grade; Homer refused to come to school and complained of illness. It was not until the principal of the school assured him that it would not happen again that Homer was willing to come back to school. The following are excerpts from a letter written by Homer's mother to the principal after the counselor had recommended that Homer be given a physical examination and the source of school difficulties be investigated:

"You probably have wondered why you have not heard from me, regarding the matters that we discussed when I interviewed you in your office recently. I have intended taking Homer to the doctor for a physical examination ever since, but as I am at Business during the day, and this is the busiest time of the year, my spare time is very limited. (My mother takes care of Homer during my absence.)

"However, as Homer has not seemed very well of late, I remained home from the Office this morning, had the doctor give him a thorough examination, and am submitting his report to you.

"First, regarding Posture: the doctor agreed with you, that Homer is very round-shouldered, but that this is entirely Homer's fault, in the way he carries himself. There is absolutely nothing organically wrong. He gave me a list of exercises for Homer to do, and wants him to take Gym in school as often as possible.

"Now, regarding his mixing with the other boys; this seems to be my biggest problem. I do not know if you heard about the 'Helen Episode' or not, but it seems that some of the boys began to tease Homer about a girl named 'Helen.' Evidently it spread through the school, as that's all he heard, wherever he went, and they would try to make him blush, which made matters worse.

"Now I am not blaming the Class, as I realize that if Homer would act like the other boys, no doubt they would leave him alone, and he probably invites their taunts by his attitude. However, the outcome of it was, that he got nervous indigestion, was sick for several days, and hasn't been to school since.

"It does seem too bad, that his school work and health has to suffer for such a trivial matter. I explained all this to the doctor and he said that he has known of cases of this kind before, and it is apt to affect a person's whole future.

"You asked me to send you a list of the names of the boys that were the chief offenders, but as there are so many, this seems quite impossible. I do not want you to think that I am complaining to you, for such is not my intention, but I am merely telling you the facts, as I am honestly afraid that Homer will refuse to go to school altogether, if the boys don't leave him alone.

"If he doesn't come to school tomorrow, I wonder if you would mind calling him on the phone and talking to him. I think it might help a lot. I dislike very, very much to trouble you so much, but I hardly seem to know what else to do.

"If I can be of any help in any way, please let me know."

Although the physician recommended corrective exercises, Homer refused to take gym in school because of the cold shower and because he did not like to undress in the presence of other boys. He did, however, attend a special posture class after considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him, but he put no effort into it and there were no perceptible results. The principal warned several boys who had teased Homer that further activity of this kind would not be tolerated and the incident was closed.

The counselor had several interviews with Homer while he was in the eighth grade. At first he was unresponsive and suspicious but he gradually became more cooperative. One of the topics discussed with him was his difficulty in eighth grade Latin in which he was receiving failing marks but Homer stated that he was determined to succeed in it and wished to repeat the work in the ninth grade. Although it was not customary for the principal of this school to allow pupils to repeat college preparatory courses, the counselor made special arrangements to allow Homer to repeat his Latin in the ninth grade. This dispensation was based upon the fact that his IQ was 119, that his vocabulary test score was high, and also because of his intense desire to demonstrate to himself that he could succeed in this type of school work. It appeared at the time that his failure in Latin was due to personality difficulties rather than to lack of ability to do the work.

When the counselor considered with Homer his problems of adjustment to adults and to other students, he professed a lack of concern about them. He stated that he wanted to be a great scientist working alone in his laboratory and that he could get along all right even if he didn't associate with other people. Apparently, his day dreams had been built around the idea of a great "lone-wolf" scientist

who could make great contributions to people even if he did not like them. Some of these ideas had been developed during long periods of reading which were carried on in his attempt to escape "girls who were too silly and boys who were too boisterous."

The counselor had noted that Homer always walked home from school alone and that the other boys ignored him. As an experiment, he asked one of the boys who was well accepted by others to try to make friends with Homer but the experiment was unsuccessful when Homer became suspicious of the other boy's interest in him.

The attempts during the first year to get diagnosis and correction of Homer's physical condition, to assist in the overcoming of academic difficulties and to improve his relations with other people seemed to have been only fairly successful but they provided basic data upon which to work during the next year.

During the ninth grade other pupils in the school seemed to ignore Homer and to give up teasing him. He did not associate with anyone else. In interviews with the counselor, Homer intimated that he disliked Latin, and he continued to be poor in that subject. In his other courses, he received just passing marks. The gym teacher, at the instigation of the counselor, attempted some private intensive posture work with Homer but he was only passively cooperative. The counselor attempted to give Homer some voice modulation exercises, but he did not like the idea and did not carry them out. He did prefer practicing exercises which were arranged by the counselor more than he cared to take the private lessons from a speech teacher with which his mother had threatened him.

Toward the end of the school year the counselor had obtained sufficient rapport with Homer so that he was willing to talk about his own difficulties without too much embarrassment, but there still existed a good deal of reservation on his part. Often times, the counselor thought that he could detect in Homer's attitude a plea to be left alone. An attempt to get him sent to an excellent boys' camp for the summer was rejected.

The counselor learned that Homer continued to day-dream a good deal about being a scientist working alone in a laboratory, or about being an author and writing famous novels. Homer mentioned to the counselor other authors and scientists who were eccentric and the counselor indicated to Homer that many of them were unhappy because of their eccentricities. The counselor also indicated to him that they were great despite their eccentricities and that lack of social adjustment was not necessarily an indication of genius.

During one of the interviews Homer and the counselor had a frank discussion about his recent test scores and school marks. A second

mental test which is broken up into short sections with time limits was administered and a drop of 21 points in IQ from the first score was observed. He made a low score on a clerical aptitude test which requires a high rate of speed and scored only at the average for his grade on an arithmetic test. His inability to work fast and accurately, along with his low marks in academic courses, raised some questions concerning his ability to pursue the college preparatory course successfully. Since Homer's ambitions and his parents' desires for him had not been changed, he would not consider any course other than the college preparatory. He was allowed to elect it even though there was considerable doubt in the counselor's mind about his ability to succeed in it.

At the completion of the ninth grade the counselor felt that he had not yet done very much for Homer and that his problems were almost as serious as they were a year before. There was, however, some progress in that there was an awareness on the part of Homer, and his parents, and his teachers that a problem existed and that there was need for some intensive work on it.

In the tenth grade, Homer had very poor results with the college preparatory course. He was completely unable to do the Latin which his parents had insisted upon, and he finally dropped it. He failed algebra because of his inadequate background in arithmetic and he began to realize for the first time his lack of success in mathematics might be a barrier to a successful career in science. He just managed to get his points in French. This lack of achievement in school work made him feel very much discouraged and hopeless. His mother came to the counselor and begged for help. She said that Homer brooded and withdrew more and more within himself. The counselor pointed out to her that unless a change could be brought in Homer's behavior and appearance, he was limited to an occupation where he must have a minimum amount of contact with other people. It was also indicated that there was considerable doubt concerning his ability to do college work. Because of his determination to get to college, it might be better for his mental health to allow him to attend a college where academic standards were not too exacting and then direct him to semi-skilled publishing or newspaper work in which he now expressed interest. The counselor did nothing more with Homer this year than attempt to alleviate some of the disappointment in his school work and to arrange a course for the following year which would be satisfactory for him. This course included required English, practical chemistry, required history, French, and a repetition of algebra. The choice of algebra for the second time was made in the belief that success in it would be very effective in improving his morale. He had rejected the

choices of shop work because there were "too many people moving around in the shop," and he would not consider an art elective because "I'm no good at that stuff."

During the eleventh grade, he managed to "get by" in all of his subjects, with the exception of Chemistry, which he dropped because he could not understand the problems. He received failing marks and soon lost interest. The fact that he was able to pass in algebra brought back some of the self-confidence which he had lost after entering high school. For his senior year, a simplified course was planned for him to insure graduation. His mother reported that he continued to read extensively. She described him as a "lone-wolf" but said that he was not morose or moody.

Homer began to have more confidence in the counselor and he was more willing to talk to him about his problems without reserve. The counselor attempted to interest Homer in group sports. He became an enthusiastic spectator and followed all the school teams closely and enthusiastically. The counselor also attempted to interest him in other boys and other boys in Homer, but because Homer made no attempt to continue the friendships, none of these associations lasted very long.

In the senior year, Homer and the counselor planned the following program:

1. Homer was to force himself to participate in class discussions and activities.
2. He was to look directly at people when he talked to them instead of hanging his head and averting his eyes.
3. And he was to practice modulating his voice so that the high squeaky sound would be eliminated.

Biweekly checks by the counselor with Homer and his teachers indicated continuous improvement. This improvement was noted on a chart which Homer kept. Some teachers reported that Homer obtained approval for the first time from other students because of his class activity. The other students listened and took issue with him in class discussions, particularly in United States History. Some improvement in his posture was also noted though it was still far from normal.

Homer insisted upon applying for admission to a nearby university and refused to consider any other institution. The counselor felt that this university might be too difficult for him but he did not interfere with Homer's decision. The counselor took him on visits to colleges more suited to Homer's ability but his first choice of colleges was the only one that he would consider. After a conference attended by the admissions officer at that institution, the counselor, and Homer, it was agreed that Homer would be admitted if he made up a unit in

French at some summer school. Arrangements were made for this so that Homer might enter college in the fall but an attempt was made to discourage him from a choice of teaching as a career.

Homer was now intent upon studying journalism, and the counselor had no better suggestions to offer. After Homer completes his training, he might get some type of position on a newspaper or in a publishing house. His senior-year English teachers report that he can write good papers which reflect wide reading experience and that he is a good, methodical worker, but Homer knows that his work is not at a sufficiently high level to justify any optimism concerning his ability to make writing a career.

He is still a "lone-wolf" and still withdraws from people, but his mother now states that, if necessary, he will talk to people and will take the initiative in doing things for himself—something which he would never do before. As far as his social adjustment is concerned, there is little reason to believe that he will change to any extent.

During the summer after Homer's graduation from high school, he wrote the following letter to the counselor:

"I am writing, as you requested, to inform you as to how I spent the summer, and my plans for the fall. I spent a fairly pleasant seven weeks, studying French at summer school. The course was very interesting and I had a very fine teacher who teaches at one of the high schools near here. Being interested in French, I excelled there in every aspect, save social activities. There, as usual, I was the 'proverbial flop.' However, I passed my exam and came out with a B for the course. They gave me every recommendation. This morning I received a letter from the dean giving me full admission to the university. So I am quite satisfied with the way things have turned out.

"Regarding my courses at the university, I am planning on English-History major, and an Educational-Psychology minor. This will fit me to become a teacher, as it will lead to a teacher's certificate. I don't know what kind of a teacher I will make but I don't like business or industry, and teaching is a safe living. Literature, by itself, is very uncertain but a teacher of Literature is sure of his check. I shall prepare myself to teach English and History. I plan to take the following freshman course, English, History of Civilization, Intermediate French, American Government, and Physical Science. There is also a silly requirement about Physical Education, the proverbial bore. It carries no credit, so I shall 'cut it' as often as possible.

"School will start September fourth for me. I am planning to spend the duration of August in Maine. My proverbial bashfulness has not decreased. I shall try some of the social clubs at college.

"In conclusion I want to thank you for all the helpful guidance

which you and your organization have given me during these past five years. I would surely not be entering college had it not been for your aid, and I might not have even graduated from high school. That senior program you chose for me saved the day."

See the follow-up report on Homer six years later in Appendix 4.

EXERCISE 3

The ten cases which follow are presented to illustrate in a brief manner some processes of counseling based upon data obtained from intensive study of individuals. All are actual cases whom the authors have counseled in American public secondary schools.

A. ASSISTING A STUDENT IN CHOICE OF APPROPRIATE COURSES

Allan had attended eleven different private and public schools throughout the country during his elementary school career. His father was a successful engineer. He was determined that his son would follow in that profession. Cooperation between father and school personnel was impossible because the father's attitude toward them was antagonistic and dictatorial. Reasoning, cajoling, and presentation of data by the counselor over a period of five years did not change his attitudes. Although Allan had achieved high scores on intelligence and achievement tests, his academic performance in school was low. He fought school authority and refused to conform to school regulations. He said that he hated his father and his teachers. School was a continuous agonizing experience for him.

At the end of his junior year in high school Allan issued an ultimatum to his family. He refused to continue in school if his father insisted that he attend an engineering college. Because Allan's record in a college-preparatory course was poor and the likelihood of his being admitted to college negligible, the counselor disapproved of the father's plan to make him continue with college-preparatory subjects. After considerable discussion with the counselor, the father agreed to permit Allan to make out his own curriculum for the senior year. He chose a business course, was successful in it, and was no longer a serious behavior problem to his teachers.

Although he did not have the required admission units to enter an undergraduate training course in a local university, Allan was admitted on trial upon the counselor's recommendation. He appeared to be greatly interested in the course and graduated with a good record. Allan is now working in the production department of an advertising agency and is very much satisfied with his job.

B. CHOICE OF COURSES AND CURRICULUMS

Bill made up his mind when he was in the seventh grade to be a physician. His uncle, who practiced medicine, encouraged him in this vocational choice despite the fact that his parents could not afford to send him to college. In counseling interviews during his attendance at senior high school Bill learned much about the study of medicine and about the phases of the occupation available to him as a medical school graduate. He achieved very good grades in high school and, at that time, his vocational choice seemed to be reasonable. His major problem seemed to be one of financing college and medical school by scholarships and summer jobs. In order to earn money for college, he organized a large paper and magazine route with morning, afternoon, and evening deliveries. On Saturdays he worked as a delivery boy for a grocer, and during his summer vacations he operated a tractor and did other heavy work on a farm. Because he was overworked, his physical condition was poor, and he missed much schoolwork, but he always made it up and kept his grades at the honor level.

When Bill was in the ninth grade, he disliked general science. In the tenth grade he was not interested in biology, and in the eleventh grade he liked chemistry least of all his subjects. It was not until Bill reached the twelfth grade that the counselor could get him to consider vocations other than medicine. In that grade, difficulty with physics did more to shake his determination to study medicine than any other single factor. Through a process of elimination with the counselor Bill made a secondary choice of a business career. After graduating from high school with high honors, he obtained a full four-year scholarship at one of the leading universities in the country.

To discover whether or not medicine was the profession for him, he followed the counselor's suggestion of electing chemistry as a premedical tryout during his freshman year. He almost failed in the course and almost lost his scholarship, but the experience convinced him that the medical profession was a poor choice. He then majored in economics and government, graduated summa cum laude, and entered the graduate school of business at the same university. He is now very pleased with his choice, and when he visits the counselor he points out, in a very amusing manner, his ineptness for the practice of medicine.

C. ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR A STUDENT'S FAILURES AND REFERRAL FOR TREATMENT

Caleb seemed to take great pains with his schoolwork, but the results of his efforts were not rewarded by high marks. Teachers liked

him because he was polite, attentive, and well behaved. They expressed genuine sympathy for him when his work was so poor that they felt that they could not give him passing marks. He had repeated the first, fifth and seventh grades, but he did not seem to benefit from the extra work. His parents, who were deeply concerned about his lack of success with academic work, had provided him with tutors from the time that he was in the first grade. He had been examined and tested at a psychoeducational clinic, and the report indicated that he was physically sound and of average intelligence, and had no specific learning disabilities.

Caleb was transferred to the ninth grade without having completed the work of the eighth grade. His parents, teachers, and tutors were unable to discover the reasons for his difficulty, but Caleb carried on as best he could. He said that he liked school, and his parents reported that he spent many hours upon his homework. The counselor and his ninth-grade teachers agreed to analyze and observe his methods of study, his recitations, and his written homework over a period of three weeks. During that time it became obvious that he was emotionally disturbed to the extent that he said his "mind went blank" when he was called upon to recite in class or take a test on materials that he had studied.

With the consent of his parents, Caleb was referred to a psychiatrist and remained under intensive treatment for a period of eighteen months. The counselor and the school personnel worked closely with the psychiatrist in carrying out suggestions for treatment, and Caleb began to get passing marks during his junior and senior years in high school. These achievements required a great deal of effort on his part.

After graduation from high school Caleb attended a radio technician's school and succeeded in passing the courses. During the war he applied for pilot training but was "washed out" at advanced flying training school because of "poor landings." He was then transferred to the job of radio operator in an aircrew and flew twenty-eight missions over Germany. He was wounded twice. At the present time, six years after graduation from high school, he is employed on the sales force of a large radio store, and his performance there suggests that he will become a successful salesman.

D. STIMULATING STUDENTS TO PUT FORTH MORE EFFORT

Dorothy was the only child of parents who were both members of the faculty of a large college of engineering. Because they were both so preoccupied with their teaching and research, they had little time for their daughter. Dorothy had attended private boarding schools

until it was time for her to enter high school, but she was enrolled in a public high school at the time she came to the attention of the counselor. During the first interview with Dorothy the counselor noted that there was some basis for her designation by the other students as a "spoiled, selfish snob." Although she appeared to be capable of doing excellent work in school subjects, her accomplishments were hardly satisfactory, and she acted extremely disdainful of her teachers and classmates. Within three months she was intensely disliked by most of the pupils in the school.

Standard techniques were used by the counselor and teachers to make Dorothy work more effectively, but they did not produce results. During Dorothy's junior year of high school, the counselor noted that she had become very much interested in one of her classmates, James, a wholesome boy of average achievement. He did not particularly care for Dorothy, but he was very friendly toward the counselor and visited him often. When Dorothy realized this relationship, she deliberately (as she stated years later) attempted "to cultivate" the same counselor as a means of gaining James's favor. Perhaps the turning point in the change in the behavior came when the counselor, after much discussion, persuaded Dorothy to help some girls who were having difficulty with algebra. This was her first experience in doing something directly to help someone. She was so successful and so pleased with her group that she frequently asked the counselor to refer more pupils who needed help in algebra. In reality, however, she wanted to do only those things which might make James think more favorably of her. By the time that she graduated, she was in the upper ten per cent of her class in academic studies and was accepted and liked by all her classmates, particularly James.

At the present time, five years after counseling began, Dorothy is in her senior year at college. She and James are engaged and will marry after they graduate.

E. ENCOURAGING A PUPIL TO IMPROVE THE LEVEL OF HIS PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL

James was a well-developed and personable young boy, though he gave the impression of being very shy when speaking to his teachers and counselors. He was in the eighth grade when his parents appealed to the counselors for help because they said their son was not "working up to his ability." The parents were college graduates, very much interested in their only child, and very cooperative with the counselor.

James told the counselor that he disliked school and could see no purpose in making any effort. He said that he did not want to go to college. In conferences with the counselor James expressed interest in

his test scores, and he appeared to be pleased when he was told that he could raise the level of his school performance if he would do the required work. During his spare time he built model airplanes, took long walks, went to the movies and listened to radio serials. He had never expressed any vocational preferences, and his scores on vocational interest tests varied with his moods.

The counselor arranged for tryout courses throughout junior high school and the first year in high school but shop, business, and college preparatory courses were equally boring to him, and he did just enough work to pass them. Throughout this period, subtle efforts of his teachers, counselors, and parents to stimulate him were futile.

During an interview, in which he was considering his eleventh-grade program with the counselor, he stated that he thought he had better prepare for a vocation that did not require too much additional schooling and he asked about careers in drafting. Although he was capable of doing the mathematics required for engineering schools, he preferred courses in mechanical drawing, blueprint reading, and general mathematics. When he was permitted to elect such courses he took his work more seriously and, although he continued to express his dislike for school, he received honor grades in all subjects, with the exception of English. School now had some practical meaning for him, and he believed that he was on his way to prepare for a job after graduation from high school.

The Army claimed him before he was able to get a job and he was given a military occupational specialty rating of mechanic. He spent the duration of the war in motor pools where he changed tires and washed army vehicles.

When he returned to civilian life, he obtained a position in a machine shop where skill in drafting and blueprint reading was required, but which offered little opportunity for advancement. The counselor interviewed James two years after he had been working on this job and found him to be happy and content in his "dead-end" job. He had no plans for improving his status, and he said that he was satisfied, since the position paid him enough to support his wife whom he had married while in the Service. His employer described James as a "steady and satisfactory worker."

F. CHOICE OF AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION FOR POSTHIGH-SCHOOL TRAINING

"The Hunch-Back of Notre Dame" was the name given to Fred by one of his ninth-grade classmates. Fred did not have a deformity of the back, but he walked in a rather stooped position. A birth injury had resulted in a withered arm and hand. These conditions and rather

sharp features produced a very unattractive appearance. Fred was unconcerned about his personal appearance, appeared to be very happy and easygoing in the school situation, and made an excellent adjustment. During his early days in high school both teachers and pupils had a feeling of repulsion when they first met him but his good humor, his seriousness of purpose, and his high level of attainment in school work, won them over. Despite his physical handicap, he became an accomplished pianist and violinist. His performance and skill on both instruments at school assemblies won the respect of the entire student body.

Fred became intensely interested in music, but he was also interested in his academic work. His parents were convinced that he should enroll in a music conservatory but the counselor felt that expert advice was needed about the extent of the limitations which his physical handicap might present to a career in music. The local music teacher felt that he could overcome this handicap with persistence and hard work, but, in order to obtain expert opinion, the counselor urged Fred to visit a famous Institute of Music in Philadelphia, where he would be given an audition. He was advised at that institution that he had reached his limit in music and that his crippled hand would prevent him from developing further techniques on either piano or violin. This experience did not discourage Fred. He was now, however, receptive to the idea that attendance at a college with a strong music department would be a good choice. Over a period of several weeks, college catalogues were studied intently with the counselor, and Fred decided to apply for admission to a university which offered excellent courses in music.

Fred is now a junior (1948) in that college. He is majoring in music and preparing for newspaper work as a music critic. He is still a smiling conscientious youth and he excels in his academic work.

G. FINANCING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

George was a shy but happy sixth-grade boy who did the most outstanding work in his class and attracted considerable attention as the successful conductor of the orchestra in an elementary school. His father was dead, and his mother was forced to do daywork as a cleaning woman to support her four children. Despite the difficult home problems that he met, George maintained straight *A* averages in all his school subjects. The counselor encouraged him to join the band, and by the time he had graduated from the ninth grade he was its business manager. He had organized an efficient and effective recruiting drive to increase the size of the organization.

When he entered the senior high school, George was confronted

with a problem in his choice of courses. His mother wanted him to take a business course and go to work as soon as possible. George felt that his mother was correct, but his older sister and the counselor believed that he could profit from college attendance. His mother argued that she needed financial help as soon as possible and feared that her neighbors and relatives would scoff at her if she allowed him to prepare for college. His elder sister promised to help in the support of the family while he was in school, and the counselor arranged for financial aid from the local welfare department. His mother was still, however, reluctant to let him enroll in the preparatory course. The counselor arranged for a meeting with George, his mother, and the Director of Admissions of a large local university. George's case history was presented to the Director, and he advised the mother that George should attend college. He promised that if his marks continued to be high, there would be scholarships available.

The impression of this visit continued during George's high-school career, and the advice and counsel of the Admissions Director was quoted frequently to the counselor in later interviews.

During attendance at high school George had worked in the afternoons and on Saturdays. He was still shy, and the counselor found it necessary to urge him to take part in extracurricular activities. When he did become involved in a group or organization, he gave much effort and energy to it and he was always elected to positions of leadership. Despite his heavy work load, he become editor-in-chief of the school paper, publicity chairman of the operetta, and business manager of the yearbook. He secured so many advertisements for the yearbook that its cost to seniors was significantly reduced. He maintained a high academic record.

At the end of his senior year in high school George obtained a generous scholarship which provided for tuition, books, and living expenses. It was renewed twice. He is now a junior in college, and, although he continues to be somewhat shy, he no longer needs urging to participate in group activities. He is sought after by his classmates and is recognized as a leader. He plans to apply for a fellowship to a graduate school of public administration after graduation from college.

H. COUNSELING ABOUT VOCATIONAL PLACEMENT AND JOB-HUNTING TECHNIQUES

Helen, at the age of fourteen, was a thin, sallow-complexioned, dreamy-eyed girl with a rather cold, aloof manner. Although she was capable of very high academic performance, her accomplishment was not satisfactory because she was not interested in the offerings of the

school. In both junior and senior high school she claimed that she saw no purpose in her courses, and she constantly complained that "They don't prepare you for anything." She thought that she wanted to be a secretary but, after she had elected typing and shorthand in high school, she changed her mind. After she had eliminated office work as a career, she felt more than ever that high school was of no value to her, and she was determined to leave school and go to work. Her parents insisted that she remain in school until she could graduate.

The counselor suggested that Helen accept a job after school hours as a vocational tryout experience, and this appeared to be a satisfactory compromise to Helen and her parents. Within a period of six months Helen had held part-time jobs in a women's apparel shop, a floral shop and a grocery chain store. Although she enjoyed the work, she decided she did not want to be a salesgirl, a floral designer, or a cashier. Her next part-time position was in a chemical factory where she washed delicate equipment, and she decided, during her senior year, that she ought to elect chemistry to advance her status in the factory. Her employer had suggested that she elect both mathematics and chemistry.

During her senior year Helen's academic work improved markedly, and she took much more interest in school because she felt it helped her in her job. She decided that she wanted further training in this field after high school graduation, and she spent many hours in the guidance office checking over catalogues and files of vocational information. She took the initiative in arranging a conference between her parents and the counselor, and, at this conference, it was decided that a local junior college provided the best type of training for her.

After completing a two-year laboratory technician course in junior college, Helen visited the counselor. She stated that, she was dissatisfied with the working conditions at the chemical plant where she had continued to work on a part-time basis and that she wanted to secure another position. With the counselor's assistance, she placed an advertisement in the local metropolitan papers in which she indicated the type of position desired, and she obtained a very satisfactory position in the research department of a cosmetic company. She has worked on that job for four years, and both she and her employers appear to be entirely satisfied.

I. ASSISTING A PUPIL TO IMPROVE HER PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Jane wore large, strong tortoise-shell glasses which covered much of her small pimply face. Her hair and clothing always seemed in

disarray, and when she was spoken to she appeared bewildered. She was so unattractive in appearance that other children avoided or ignored her. Jane's parents were divorced, and she lived with her maternal grandparents, who gave her little care or attention. She did average work in school, although her scores on tests indicated that she could have raised the level of her performance.

Until a counselor began to work with Jane during her attendance in the tenth grade she had received little personal attention from anyone. It was several months before rapport was established with her, but once she felt that the counselor was really sincere in her willingness to help, she responded with great enthusiasm, and it became increasingly difficult for the counselor to keep their relationship on an impersonal basis. Jane, who hardly knew her own parents, and who disliked her grandparents, lavished her affection on the counselor.

The counselor soon reported great improvements in Jane's appearance and attitude. At the counselor's suggestion, the grandparents purchased glasses and attractive clothing, and Jane learned how to keep herself clean and neat. The counselor taught her how to make friends and develop poise, and the school physician prescribed a diet which helped to clear her complexion.

Six years after graduation from high school, Jane has become a happy, self-reliant, and successful nurse in a large metropolitan hospital. She has many girl friends with whom she participates in recreational activities. She does not have many suitors, but she seems to have made a good social and vocational adjustment.

J. ARRANGING FOR CORRECTION OF A PHYSICAL DEFECT

Kate was the sixth child in a family of eleven children of foreign-born parents. When she first came to the attention of the counselor in junior high school, she was a listless, unhappy child with extremely poor posture and serious nasal obstruction. Kate had few friends. She was often the subject of ridicule by other pupils because of the nasal quality of her speech, and she had developed strong feelings of inferiority. One teacher had suggested that she should seek a domestic job rather than attend high school, and this suggestion served to make her even less confident of her ability.

The counselor arranged for a physical examination to determine the reason for her poor posture and nasal difficulty. Treatment by a physician and a physical education instructor resulted in gradual improvement during her three years in high school. Nothing could be done, however, about the nasal obstruction. After the counselor and the school nurse had made arrangements to have the necessary opera-

tion performed at a free clinic, the parents refused to give their consent.

Although there was serious doubt about Kate's success in a business course, she was permitted to attempt typing and bookkeeping. By virtue of persistent effort, and with some indulgence on the part of her teachers, she passed the course and her morale improved. She now felt superior to her friends in the general course, and she was no longer the subject of their taunts. With wages earned in summer jobs Kate was able to clothe herself as well as other high-school girls.

After graduation Kate was placed by the counselor in the mailing department of a large insurance company where she did unskilled repetitive work, but she liked her job. She has gained much social prestige in her neighborhood because she worked in an office rather than in a factory where most of her friends are employed.

The health officer of the insurance company, after consultation with the counselor, urged Kate to submit to a nasal operation. At her own expense, and without the knowledge of her parents, she did so. The operation was successful, and today Kate appeared to be a happy, well-adjusted young lady with a "steady" boy friend.

Chapter II — General Criteria Governing the Collection of Data for Counseling

IF THE purpose of counseling is to assure that each individual is provided with the best possible circumstances in which to achieve maximum development of his talents, and to find enough satisfaction in doing so that perserverance and contentment are likely, it will be necessary to obtain valid evidence concerning his performances and behavior and the conditions under which they can best be developed. In order to assure that valid information is obtained, the counselor must set up general criteria to govern the processes of collecting and collating his data. Moreover, in setting up such criteria he must be concerned with the selection of information to assist him at the several counseling levels that are determined by the nature of his counselee's problems. The following general description of counseling problems commonly met in schools are presented as guides at this time. More complete illustrations of problems are presented throughout the text and in case records.

Problems of information. The most elementary counseling process is required when the subject's problem is the choice of courses in a school, each of which he can master, or the choice among educational institutions or employment opportunities, each of which he is capable of undertaking with profit. This level of counseling calls for the relatively simple process of providing a student with information, or of referring him to sources that he can investigate. Even this procedure of course, demands that the counselor become familiar with the student's pace in previous performances, the likelihood of his carrying on at that pace, and the kind of experiences provided in the courses, employment opportunities, or educational institutions that are under consideration. It

is frequently a rather routine, straightforward job, but it is probably the most common activity in high school and college counseling.

Elementary procedures for assisting a student by helping him to locate and utilize information are illustrated in the case of David.

During the first semester of his college career, David had achieved *A* grades in English, history, and biology, but he had failed in a course in mathematics required for entrance to the school of commerce. He repeated the course in mathematics and again failed to make a passing grade, although his marks in other courses reached the honors level. By the end of his second semester, David had become discouraged and seriously disturbed about his failures. His father, who wanted his son to take the commerce course to prepare for work in his flourishing business, was also disturbed. Tutoring failed to produce passing marks, and since David was now thoroughly discouraged, there appeared to be no possibility of entering into the type of training which both father and son desired. The counselor was able to point out that most of the types of course that they wanted were also offered to students who majored in economics and that, by judicious selection of electives, David could get almost all the work that he needed without attempting the mathematics course again. With this information provided by the counselor, he planned a program in which he has been very successful.

It should be noted that this solution of a problem was devised to fit a particular person and situation and it must not be assumed that this solution is always, or even usually, the best one for students who have difficulty in particular subject fields. It is presented here merely to show that in specific cases and situations, the counselor may assist a student by providing information enabling him to work out a solution to his problem.

Frequently, however, this seeming elementary process involves more than appears on the surface, and it may have more than ordinary implications in particular cases.

Bob, a ninth-grade boy, was so effective as a magazine salesman that he had become known as "the magazine boy" in the small city in which he lived. He had not, however, done particularly well in school. Test scores indicated that, in general, he could be expected to achieve average marks, but an occasional test performance fell below that level. He came to the counselor with a question about the desirability of planning for a career in law. The counselor pointed out that training for a law career would require three more years of high

school, four of college, and three of law school, ten more years of school. Bob made up his mind quickly. "So long," he said. "Guess I'll stick to my magazines."

Bob did, of course, require more counseling than this brief statement suggests, but the treatment of his immediate problem illustrates one of the simple acts that the counselor is frequently required to perform.

Achievement-analysis problems. At a higher level of complexity, the counselor is required to make more technical analysis of a situation before action is taken. Students may show gross irregularities in achievements in particular courses and even in the same course from time to time. In such cases the counselor will be required to probe with various instruments (tests, interviews, home visits, conferences with teachers) in order to get at the reasons for the irregular performances. Where there is no evidence of neurotic symptoms and no marked deviations from normal behavior, the procedure may be largely psychometric in nature. By use of diagnostic techniques a counselor found that John, who was failing in algebra, had made high scores on mental examinations and tests of achievement in mathematics. His failures in algebra were due to the fact that he could do simple equations without resorting to the laborious, step-by-step, written procedure demanded by his instructor. Conferences with the teacher and with John resulted in compromises in methods and special arrangements for advanced work in mathematics, with the result that passing grades were achieved. James's difficulty was due to his failure to learn the new vocabulary of a course as it was introduced, and Charlie's failure in English was the result of his missing an important unit of work during a period of illness that kept him out of school. Recommendations for such cases required diagnosis of the condition, periods of remedial instruction, and some adjustments in school programs. Procedures for remedial and diagnostic work have been worked out rather thoroughly and, except in rare cases, the techniques are fairly simple and clear-cut.[1]

Simple behavior problems. At still another level the counselor may be required to deal with behavior problems above the neurotic

[1] There are voluminous reports on the treatment of children and youth who have difficulty with specific school subjects. For bibliographies on one subject, see Gray's yearly summaries of reports on investigations in reading in the *Journal of Educational Research.*

level. In such cases the subject is not mentally ill, although he may behave in an unusual manner. He knows why he is behaving thus, and he knows why his actions are directed against certain persons or situations. He has not created any fantasy, and he does not repress or distort his feelings. He can adapt to reality, even if it is an unpleasant, home, school, or community situation, and when those situations are improved, his behavior improves. In such a category was Tommy, whose teachers described him as "crazy" because he seemed "far away" in thought and because he swung one hand in a swooping gesture. The counselor found that Tommy was bored with classwork below his mental level, and that he attempted to escape the boredom of the classroom by thinking about airplanes. He had not realized that his arm movements, which represented swooping planes, were disturbing others, and when it was explained that they were very annoying, he readily agreed to discontinue the practice. When he was given more challenging work to do, the "far-away" look disappeared.

Jack, who bitterly resented his father's dominating manner and the "horsewhippings" that he administered, had no doubts about the cause of his resentment, its extent, or the person against whom it was directed. He challenged anyone in authority and said that he was not going to be "pushed around." When the counselor pointed out to his father that the whippings were futile, and when the father decided to enlist Jack's cooperation instead of using force, the antagonistic attitudes toward father and teachers were significantly lessened. The techniques that must be employed in such cases as these may, at times, become complex and involved. A high degree of skill is required in the collection and interpretation of data, and the counselor's patience, training, and ability to work with persons will be thoroughly taxed.

Complex behavior problems. The most difficult level of counseling is required in dealing with the youth who does not respond to prolonged and careful application of techniques which are commonly effective. Youth who cannot adapt to reality in any form, who engage in self-punishment, and who do not respond to what would ordinarily be desirable changes in their environments are likely to be so disturbed that highly trained specialists may find it necessary to apply treatment over a long period of time.[2] Counse-

[2] See description of work with neurotic children in H. L. Witmer, *Psychiatric Interviews with Children* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1946).

lors must learn to refer such cases to county guidance clinics, university services in child guidance, mental hygiene clinics, or to the resident psychiatric or consulting services which good schools and colleges provide. The following report on *Betty,* who had disturbed her teachers, the principal of the school, and her foster parents, and whose behavior had not improved despite the efforts of each of these persons, was received from the psychiatrist to whom she had been referred.

AN ACTUAL REPORT ON BETTY

Submitted to a Junior High School Principal by a Psychiatrist

(All original constructions have been retained. Minor changes in facts have been made to prevent identification)

Reason for Referral. Betty, age 14-10, was referred by a principal of a Junior High School and by the school nurse. Betty was showing too much attention-seeking behavior in class.

Case History. Betty's parents died when Betty was 7 years of age. Her mother died about two or three months later than her father and the child was alone in the house at the time of the mother's death and witnessed the death of her mother. The child was taken into the home of her uncle and aunt and is the only child in this home. The uncle and aunt are very much attached to her but she has never shown affection for anyone since coming to the home of her uncle and aunt. She has friends both among the boys and girls, but she is not boy crazy. She is upset over the fact that her body has matured early; she is ashamed of her figure; her menstrual history has been irregular and this, coupled with her general chubbiness, might point to a thyroid deficiency or glandular dyscrasia which the family physician is at present looking into. Aside from her inability to talk things over with her uncle and aunt and the possibility that the girl resents it that her own parents died, Betty has never presented any problem at home or at play. At school, however, she has been quite a problem. She is attention seeking, disturbing her classmates and trying to get them to laugh at her misbehavior; she is tardy for her Latin class, comes to school without her books; wears overalls all the time and seems indifferent to the work handed her to do, chews bubble gum quite openly, hiccoughs loudly and frequently, and is abnormally restless. She never created any problem through the first six grades, but has been attention seeking ever since she entered Junior High School. She could do well in her work if she chooses, but she lets it slide and then crams for examinations. Occasionally she has complained of

headaches. She can be very nice when she wishes to be so. She loves babies and she enjoys music. Her I.Q. on the California test was 108.

Interview with Aunt. The aunt said she was afraid that Betty might be expelled from school if she did not check her present attention-seeking behavior. She and her husband are very fond of Betty, and neither wishes to send the child to boarding school. They will see that medical care is carried through, so that if the girl's shape can be altered to become more nearly like that of her classmates, this might be done. They have no complaint to make of her behavior beyond the fact that she does not confide in them and she resents it when they will not let her stay out late or refuse to give her something she desires. They realize that her behavior in school has not been very commendable.

Psychiatric. Betty stated that she remembered her parents very well indeed: both were kind to her and she misses them. Her uncle and aunt could not be finer than they are but long ago both of them lost the spirit of fun and play; both are old maids in that they are over particular about having things neat and clean; they do not understand young folks very well. Their home is home to Betty and she does not want to leave her home. Her allowance is adequate and she does not wish to earn money because her free time is taken up practicing the piano and saxophone. She hopes to become a musician some day and to play in a band. She has as many friends as she desires and dances, skates, skis, and goes to the movies, the youth center and ball games with the gang. In the summer she expects to go to a church camp where her musical talents can be used or developed.

She has had headaches for the past three or four years but only gets them about three or four times a year. She realizes that her behavior has not been acceptable. She says that her classmates cut up just as much as she though sometimes she leads in the cutting up and actually there are only 4 smart alecks in the class of 40, she being one of these 4. She says she has been tardy to class only twice since September, and she sees no reason why in class she cannot talk out of turn and make wise cracks and hiccough just as much as the others do. She certainly wears her overalls no more frequently and chews her bubble gum no more loudly than the rest of the class do. Her hiccoughing may come from the fact that she bolts her food in order to have time to practice or to go places. Her low marks come from the fact that she is graded low because of her misbehavior; she deserves the marks that she gets and does not feel that she has been picked on unfairly. She doubts that the fact that her friends are of a different faith than she has anything to do with her tendency to show off. She does not feel inferior because of the death of her parents nor is she

insecure. Her dreams and daydreams are of having a good time. She has no fears and no worries and wishes no change in things as they are at the present time. She is positive that she will not be flunked out because of misbehavior. It is quite evident, as Betty made the above statements, that she was ashamed of her past behavior and she was somewhat afraid of what might happen if she continued to misbehave. The same bravado which made her a smart aleck in class carried on into the Guidance Center in the statements made above.

Psychological. On the Binet Form L and the Binet Form M, Betty had a mental age of 14-10 and an I.Q. of 98. Her Scatter in the L test was from the 12-year level to the Superior Adult I level; in the M test it ran from 11-year level to the superior adult 2 level. Her successes and failures are very interesting. Her verbal ability was that of a high-school senior or a college student, but her judgment and reasoning and her memory ceased around the 12- or 13-year level. This would explain why the California test gave her an I.Q. of 108 while at the same time she might be doing poorly in high school. Her high verbal ability makes her appear keener than she is. She reads beautifully but cannot remember what she has read or what she has looked at and her reasoning ability is quite decidedly poor. On the Rorschach test she made 18 replies, none pointing to anxiety or tension but several of them pointing to body interest; she would appear to be overconscious of her shape; her ability to organize was exceedingly poor—very decidedly and remarkably poor considering her other abilities.

Summary. Betty shows the behavior of a smart aleck; she pays little attention to her studies and then crams in order to pass examinations. There is no question but that the death of her parents has upset her and that her elderly aunt and uncle have been, by nature, too adult to be companions or pals to her; they are fond of her, but she misses the affection and love she remembers receiving from her own parents. She has been upset since entering junior high school first by the body changes that accompanied her onset of menstruation and second by the fact that she really has come to about the limit of her reasoning ability. She is using attention-seeking behavior to cover up her own feeling of inadequacy.

Recommendation. If the girl's behavior continues, it might be a good idea to place the girl in a boarding school. She does not want to go to boarding school and lose out on musical honors at the end of this school year and lose out on being with her friends. She might be told that at the end of the next six weeks session a report of her behavior is to be given to her parents, and if it is not satisfactory they will send her to the boarding school half of the House of the Good

Shepard to remain there throughout the rest of the school term. This threat might make the child wish to behave; the period that she would be away from home if the threat had to be carried out would be brief enough that the aunt and uncle would not object to its being put into effect. The school is Catholic but the psychiatrist knows of no Protestant school which would accept the child for a six week period of time enabling her to pass this term, while at the boarding school she would be able to do so and her uncle and aunt are not too upset that the school is Catholic; the place could be considered unless some better plan could be made for the girl. This, however, would only meet the symptoms of the girl's behavior as a threat of punishment if she did not conform; it would not meet the cause of misbehavior, the basic cause of insecurity in the home. The aunt is to find something which Betty can do for which she can receive true recognition—she might do all the shopping and cooking this summer; she might learn to make her own clothes; she might raise and sell vegetables or chickens or rabbits—anything that she could do which would bring her an income or make her feel important would meet her need for security. In school, if there were some one subject in which she could gain some recognition for her real worth this might make her have less desire to be clowning. Incidentally, playing the music that others wrote would not be quite enough to meet the girl's needs as it is rather a parrot spirit than building up. She needs to build. If, by any chance, she should become attached to some woman teacher, this might help; she does need some mother substitute; her uncle and aunt are splendid people, but unfortunately they are a little too mature in their outlook on life to entirely meet the girl's need.

Guides in collective data for counseling. In the process of collecting data as a basis for work at any of these levels the counselor will find it necessary to set up some criteria to guide him in the choice of areas of investigation, the tools to be used, and the methods to be utilized. Without such criteria to guide him in the selection of methods and materials, he may collect much useless information and overlook important data. As the counselor gains in experience, he will conclude that there can be no specified set of data-gathering devices that embraces all cases. He will find that none of the many personal history or record forms for the collection of data will be adequate, and that he must make adaptations of such devices to suit particular circumstances. The following criteria are offered as *general* guides to assist in the selection of

data-gathering devices for the study of individuals. *Specific* items will be considered in later chapters.

Criterion One: Consideration of Individual Idiosyncracies

Our first criterion demands that any datum about an individual which assists in the understanding of his behavior must be given due consideration. This criterion is proposed as a caution to the counselor who might otherwise determine the values of data only in proportion to their frequency of appearance in the processes of society. The emphasis in this criterion is upon the use of the word *any*. The counselor who accepts the criterion will pay as much attention to taste sensitivity or to the enjoyment of pictures as he will to the level of development of reading skills if the former are important in understanding any one person. Reversing the thought of the statistician, the counselor will decide that it is because of the scarcity of special skills and appreciations that they are important.[3] He will argue that their frequency in society is less significant than the fact that, when the rare conditions are found and developed within the individual, society is likely to get a happier and perhaps a more constructive member.

The opportunity to develop rare talents may mean, in a particular person, the difference between a contributing member of society and an unhappy ineffective individual, dependent upon it. A counselor cannot, therefore, ignore evidence of skill, talent, weakness or idiosyncracy wherever and whenever he may find it. And he *must* look for it. When he finds it, he must make sure that it can be differentiated in levels of significance of competence, of possible success, and likelihood of productivity. If there is differentiation there must be encouragement for its development.

For mass studies the counselor may be guided by lists of items prepared by many investigators who have considered particular assignments and special conditions. Kelley's list which appears below is excellent for the purposes he had in mind—the classification of men during an emergency. Sacrifices of validity for speed and of individuality for group welfare in a war emergency must be expected as long as we neglect individuals in nonemergency situations,

[3] Kelly, T. L., *Talents and Tasks* (Cambridge: Harvard Education Papers, 1940): "Some *very large number* of callings and some *very large number* of social contacts are modified for better or for worse by one's reading ability but an *insignificant number* of such are modified by taste sensitivity." [Italics ours.]

An Illustrative List of Welfare and Utility Measures[4]

Name of Measure	Weight as a Social Utility Measure	Reliability of the Measure
Sex	20	1.00
Age (all within limits set by draft)	2	.99
Social background as represented by father's occupation, etc. (amenable to fractionization and combination with interest measures)	1	.70
General health as recorded by examining physician	11	.50
Athletic ability as indicated by record of labor and recreational activities	12	.60
Religious, political and social convictions as revealed by questionnaire (amenable to fractionization and combination with interest measures)	1	.30
Attainment level in verbal ability	10	.94
in mathematical ability	6	.90
in spatial relationships	4	.80
in memory	4	.65
The preceding four to be gotten from the part scores on an intelligence test and/or past scholastic records		
Interest in adventure (vs. security)	2	.80
in family life and pleasure	0	.80
in social contacts	0	.80
in routine activities	3	.80
in verbal activities	1	.80
in mathematical activities	1	.80
in spatial relationships	1	.80
in memory activities	1	.80
in things mechanical	1	.80
The preceding nine to be gotten from a single interest test of Strong type		
Leadership, dominance or drive measure, from scholastic, avocational, and vocational record	3	.50
Speed of decision as measured by time taken on interest test	2	.60

[4] T. L. Kelley, *op. cit.*

Scrupulousness and integrity, from form letter sent to previous employers and superiors	4	.40
Character, from same source as preceding	3	.40
Emotional stability, from a test of the Woodworth type	3	.60
	100	

but the counselor must not generalize to the effect that this is always necessary or desirable.

Examination of most lists of items about persons, whether arranged into a personal-history record form or presented as part of a theoretical argument, reveals that they are slanted toward examination of such particular kinds of behavior, as performance in particular school subjects, school or home maladjustments, or mental disturbance.[5] They reflect particular points of view, or retain items which have been included in previous forms regardless of their present utility or difficulty of interpretation. Many have been devised for special investigations and are then offered for general use. Most have used frequency of occurrence as a criterion for inclusion of an item.

In the following brief statements about individuals the reader may observe the effect of rather rare or specialized skills and behavior upon the problem of counseling the individuals who displayed them. Jim, a college freshman whose test scores were superior, was doing work at a very low level. He seemed to lack incentive, his assignments suggested only perfunctory performance, and the usual efforts to stimulate him were not successful. During one counseling session an important item of information which had previously been overlooked was recognized. Jim was more concerned with *weight lifting* than with anything else. He practiced that activity, attended local meetings and national conferences of a weight lifters' organization, and read the organization's publication avidly. His daydreams were concerned with this activity, and his purposes were confused. He could not see how he could use this activity as a career, and he did not want to give it up. Only partial success was achieved in counseling Jim, but it was not until this particular datum was discovered that *any* progress could be made.

[5] See, for example, P. W. Preu, *Outline of Psychiatric Case Study.* (New York: P. B. Hoeber—Harper & Brothers, 1939.)

The case described above presents a rare situation but the counselor will frequently find, if he is prepared to look, that success in dealing with many individuals depends upon the recognition of these very special factors which operate in particular cases. Harry's sudden attitude of superiority toward other students was influenced by the fact that his picture appeared on the front page of a city newspaper when his broken arm was set in a specialized way during a medical experiment.

Betty was the only girl in the school who wore overalls on all occasions, not because she wanted to be contrary, but because she was sensitive about certain pubescent changes in body shape. Billy failed in physics because he was interested in the study of light and spent so much of his spare time in building a telescope that he couldn't get his assignments in physics done. Elson was uncooperative in school because his parents fought at home and did not provide adequate treatment for a stomach condition which caused much pain. These are examples of the influence on behavior of special conditions and situations which are frequently ignored when the counselor attempts to get his data by mass procedures and when he fails to realize that *any* datum about an individual that assists in the understanding of his behavior cannot be ignored.

Most lists of traits and most guidance record forms continue to incorporate items in simple form without space for the interpretation of data that are essential. Beginning counselors usually insist on collecting certain items of information about all their counselees and placing them in the record without interpretation or analysis. They often begin by insisting upon the inclusion of information about the occupations, birthplaces, and birthdates of both parents of a subject.[6] They record such items as "Attorney; born in Norway in 1900" as if these items had real significance in themselves. The naive counselor then goes on to infer that since the counselee's father is an attorney, he will have better than average income and home, that he will be diligent and frugal as Norwegians are reputed to be, and that he will have the characteristics of persons who are forty-eight years of age. When it is pointed out that there is a wide range in earnings of attorneys, in the frugality and diligence of

[6] Items such as these may be necessary for certain statistical and even legal purposes, but the important thing to note is that they are collected for that purpose. They do not, in themselves and without interpretation, provide data about any important characteristic of behavior.

Norwegians, and in the behavior of individuals of any age level, counselors begin to grasp the need for personalization, individualization, and interpretation of their data. Few school records require school personnel to apply these three processes, and few permanent record cards provide space for the results of their application.

The counselor can select a minimum list of items of information to be collected about all subjects whom he intends to counsel. Such a *minimum* list will need supplementation in every case, and the extent of the necessary additions will be recognized as the counselor works with his subjects. He will provide through additional tests, committees of experts who can judge the quality of performances (in art, or writing, or manual skills), referral to authorities in many fields, and with specialized instruments, enough additional data so that thorough information about the individual's particular skills or behavior in various circumstances can be obtained.

Criterion Two: Evaluation of Data

Our second criterion demands that any datum about an individual that is to be used in his guidance must be appraised accurately, fully, and economically. If all measurements, all descriptions, all appraisals of individuals or situations were wholly valid and reliable, or even if all were equally undependable, there would be less need for our second criterion than there now appears to be. And if the use of the several techniques of counseling required approximately the same expenditure of time, money, and effort, it would be unnecessary to stress the third factor in this criterion. The very multiplicity of instruments and processes which are employed in counseling and the wide variance of their dependability and cost require that some general criteria be employed in their selection.

Counselors who may be concerned about the third digit in the reliability coefficient of a standardized test frequently use interviews throughout their whole counseling career without obtaining any evidence of the validity of the information obtained from use of that technique. Administrators who cavil about the cost of tests may sanction a guidance program for a long period of time without requiring a follow-up plan to determine whether the results justify the expenditures involved. A good deal of guidance work is uneconomical simply because it stops short of what it might accom-

plish if slightly more effort were spent to bring it to fruition. The work of many counselors is uneconomical simply because the counselor-client ratio is too high. Fragmentary data about students limit the effectiveness of counseling, and the time allotments provided for guidance functions frequently permit only the collection of fragmentary data.

Educational programs that are narrow, rigid, niggardly, or antiquated make guidance practically futile. Unless the welfare of the individual pupil is made paramount to departmental loyalty or curricular pattern the efforts of the best of counselors will be more or less ineffectual.[7] If the conditions of the school budget or the attitudes of a school staff do not permit the counselor to appraise his work, the guidance program may result in waste of time and funds. If we can depend upon public statements of educators concerning their interest in the individual and their desire for better educational opportunities for him, we may assume that counselors in the future will be given opportunities to prove their worth. If the statements are sound and their need for implementation accepted, the basic changes and reorientations are likely to come with typical American efficiency.

False economy. Although tests may seem to be the most economical way of collecting data, because large groups may be tested at the same time, the procedure can become very uneconomical when it results, as it frequently does, in the accumulation of large masses of uninterpreted data. Too often the counselor finds that by the time the tests are administered and scored and the scores recorded, he has insufficient time for counseling. If he requires that the testing, scoring, and recording be done by teachers as an added duty, he is likely to lose the rapport that is so necessary to a successful counseling program. If he does the scoring himself, he will not have time to do individual work with students. The employment of additional clerks for the routine work or the use of test scoring machines will make the problem less burdensome, but interpretation of scores is still a technical task that requires much of a counselor's time. And, as we shall continuously point out, the need for interpretation of all test scores in terms of the other data is essen-

[7] See Wood, B. D., "The Major Strategy of Guidance," *Educational Record*, October, 1934.

tial.[8] The point to note here is that the accumulation of large masses of test data is not, in itself, an economical process. It becomes so only when it serves in counseling the individual. The authors have found it more economical to start with a small, minimum battery of tests, which is administered to all students, and to add other specialized tests when the occasion for them arises during counseling.

Our criterion of accuracy and completeness requires careful consideration. It will be discussed at length in the study of specific instruments, but it is well to point out at this time that *all* instruments measure inaccurately and that the extent of error must be determined. Predictions of a person's performances must be stated in terms of probability, and some estimate of the likelihood of continued occurrence must be obtained. Accuracy of measurement and probability of successful prediction are functions of the acuity of instruments, the length of time required to obtain data, and the counselor's skill in their use. The counselor who has realized the complexity of the human being and the fallibility of instruments will be properly humble when he makes his judgments. Seldom will he be able to call his job a finished one. Seldom are his data complete and full or his instruments economical, and he must be aware of their limitations. In that awareness there is promise of improvement.

Criterion Three: Appraisal of Cultural Influences

Our third criterion demands that the culture in which the individual is reared be thoroughly examined. Sociologists and psychologists have pointed out that mores may exercise tyrannical compulsions upon a person and determine, within limits that are seldom passed, the possibilities of action.[9] Unless the counselor is aware of these compulsions, he may interpret the behavior of an individual in terms of notions, or fancies, or personal whims, as products of some obscure bodily functions or as just plain "cussed-

[8] See the discussions of tests and other data-collecting devices in Chapter IV. The use of such agencies as the Educational Records Bureau is, at the present time, confined largely to private schools. For the collection of information concerning test performances, such an agency can be very useful and economical.

[9] See the discussion of this matter in the book by J. Dollard, *Criteria for the Life History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935).

ness." He may be misled into interpretations of behavior in terms of simple direct relationships which are tempting in their seeming simplicity but inadequate in their description of the situation.[10] The counselor who has studied cultural backgrounds will not, for example, be satisfied with simple statements, such as those which attribute certain kinds of behavior only to the presence of certain physical characteristics. He will want to know the conditions under which the behavior appeared.

We can see cultural influences more clearly when we have the opportunity to study patterns other than our own. A Japanese woman who *says* that something is *so,* instead of *thinking* that it is so, would vary so far from the common mores of behavior in most Japanese communities that she would be a problem case. If she ventures into higher education, she will meet the scorn and ridicule of those who will think that she is rather queer. When a Japanese husband, who is definitely head of the house, says that the wife will get no new kimono this year, there will be no new kimono, and there will be no tears or arguments about the matter. Education for male Japanese youth above the elementary grades is so highly competitive that the products of the highly selective process often believe that they are superior to the members of the uneducated masses in every respect. The student can multiply examples such as these from many cultures, and when he does so and compares them with his own, he will see the influence of mores upon the behavior of the individual.[11] He will note, of course, that exceptions occur in all such groups, just as he would expect exceptions to occur when any large groups of human beings are studied.

But we need not go so far afield for illustrations. Many readers will remember military experiences in which "blowing one's top" (an expression used to describe the infantile behavior of temper tantrums) with excessive use of profanity was the accepted way of showing one's authority. A teacher in our schools would (and should) be discharged for such activities and language, and a large percentage of workers in industry lose their jobs for just such

[10] Even such simple direct relationship beliefs as those implied in the use of the height-weight tables are now questioned. See Dearborn, W. F., and Rothney, J. W. M., "Basing Weight Standards upon Linear Bodily Dimensions," *Growth,* vol. II, No. 2, 1938.

[11] See Adrian, et al, *Factors Determining Human Behavior* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936).

behavior.[12] A child or youth who behaved in the same way in school would be a "problem child," and his behavior might be attributed to contrariness, willful misbehavior, loss of control, nervous temperament, direct inheritance from a parent, low intelligence quotient, poor training, or a glandular disorder.

Behavior that is sanctioned in one classroom is disapproved in another. One home provides "funnies," murder stories, and sordid drama as a steady diet, while in another home a youth is not allowed to listen to the radio because bad English is used in some of the programs.[13] Delinquency is as natural in some areas of our culture as Sunday-school attendance is in others. Certain homes provide constant stimulation to excitement and desires for luxury, while others provide a dull commonplace miserable environment.[14] Behavior that develops under these varying conditions has too frequently been attributed to personal, rather than cultural, influences.

Influence of subject's environment. As we begin to consider and to become more aware of the influence of mores, we see the need for collecting more information about a subject's environment, and as we do so the basis of interpretation of our data is broadened. Inferiority complexes, formerly thought to be due to some organic inferiority, are now frequently interpreted in terms of the individual's response to the reaction of others toward his behavior. Twenty years ago, studies of delinquency were based upon the correlation with delinquent behavior of glandular disorders, low I.Q., blood chemistry, and shape of head or body. Now such studies are more concerned with the study of the school situations, the neighborhood, and the gang. Ulcers were considered to be purely a medical problem until it was discovered that they could develop from the strain of activities that failed to bring the success they were designed to achieve. Adolescent maladjustments are often due to lack of training for the adolescent period rather than, or in addition to, adolescent endocrine imbalance. We are now less likely to blame the child for failure than we are to examine his school, and we are becoming concerned with readiness, and the problem of getting a student ready, to do the work of the school. If a youth prefers to turn to some other activity when he starts off to school, we ex-

[12] Brewer, J. M. *Education as Guidance* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1933).

[13] See the case of Donald in Chapter V.

[14] See the discussion in Chapter V on home background of counselees.

amine the school and home situation as well as the truant. We are becoming increasingly concerned with the provision of better working conditions in addition to the selection of the right man for the job. All these are generalizations; exceptions do occur, but the trend is clear. We seek the determining factors for many kinds of behavior in the situation *and* within the individual.

But, as we shall see, the instruments for obtaining data about these cultural factors are few, and none is adequate. Consider the difficulty of getting a good measure of a student's home background, the psychological adequacy of a classroom, or the quality of a community with respect to its provisions for the development of children and youth.[15] If we are to study the individual-in-the-situation, we shall need better tools than are now available. Until such tools are developed, counselors must find themselves in the dilemma of knowing that they must study the cultural situation and of admitting that their instruments are inadequate for the purpose. Further discussion of such specific problems and instruments is presented in Chapter V.

Criterion Four: The Use of Longitudinal Data

A fourth criterion demands that longitudinal data be used in the study of the individual. The life of an individual must be considered as a single connected whole, and the events that are the reason for the present study of it have such proper context and sequence that there are probably no isolated parts. There appear to be no sudden delinquencies of the "model boy," no sudden failures or successes, no sudden breakdowns, no sudden attainment of readiness—perhaps no sudden insights. All of these seemingly sudden changes have seriatim and chronological order and though this order may be difficult to draw out it must be done if there is to be real understanding of present behavior and adequate prediction of future activity.

In the study of individuals, longitudinal data may have validity, reliability, and meaning which cross-sectional studies can never contain.[16,17] In this longitudinal process, which requires that data be

[15] Thorndike, E. L., *Your City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1939).

[16] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Scholastic, Social and Economic Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

[17] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1941).

made available on the same person over a period of time, there is none of the quick, jerky, nervous process and inadequacy of sampling of behavior provided by the more common cross-sectional study. But longitudinal studies are so demanding of time and money that they have been avoided by students writing dissertations and by workers who wanted quick publication of results. As a result they have not become popular or plentiful. The busy counselor will find that the collection of longitudinal data is difficult and time-consuming but these are not sufficient reasons for turning to the use of cross-sectional data.

The greater reliability of the longitudinal method and the greater value of increments over single measurements have been shown in convincing matter by Shuttleworth in his treatment of data from the Harvard Growth Study.[18] Other studies in which the value of longitudinal data are shown have been published by Dearborn and Rothney,[16,17] the Commission on School and College Relations of the Progressive Education Association,[19] by Terman,[20] and by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.[21] Many case materials contain longitudinal data, but they are frequently incomplete and inaccurate, since they have been collected "after the fact," and intentional or unintentional bias and faulty memory have reduced their validity.

Importance of individual's past. When we turn to the study of an individual's development over a long period of time, it is often possible to find that certain current modes of behavior (in situations) have been stimulated by past events. Indeed, it may be argued that all stimulators could be found in the past if enough data were available. Even though the current behavior appears to be primarily related to a present circumstance, it is unlikely that any reaction or response to a present situation can be completely divorced from experiences (in situations) that have preceded it. It is probably true that, as we go further back into the person's past, some data lose their efficacy in forecasting behavior, but it is equally

[18] Shuttleworth, F. K., *Sexual Maturation and Physical Growth of Girls* (Washington, D. C., Society for Research in Child Development, 1937).

[19] Chamberlin, D., et al, *Did They Succeed in College?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942).

[20] Terman, L. M., *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1930); and *The Gifted Child Grows Up* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1946).

[21] Learned, W. S., and Wood, B. D., *The Student and His Knowledge,* Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin 29, 1938.

likely that the omission of any event in the study of a life history may result in failure to evaluate certain factors that could make the present behavior meaningful. Stimulating factors may be operating now as they were originally, and the resulting behavior may be similar to previous activity. Behavior may change in form, yet it may be basically stimulated by the original factors. Current behavior may be influenced by the fact that a person remembers the effects of an experience and the behavior that resulted. Anything that has previously influenced a subject's actions is an important datum to secure, irrespective of its present status; for its previous appearance always raises the probability of recurrence. And the counselor must be concerned with probabilities of recurrence. Though he is aware of the possibility of exceptions, he can omit no clew from consideration.

The counselor who decides that there is no need to study the past, because it seems obvious that a boy's problem is caused, for example, by a recent personality clash with a particular teacher overlooks the fact that the boy may have met similar personalities before and may meet them again. What appears to be a casual incident or chance occurrence may be a phase of a long developmental pattern of response to such persons. Thus, the apparently simple remedy of removing him from the particular teacher's classroom may not be an effective means of preparing him for later meetings with foremen, employers, neighbors, or even marriage partners.

The counselor cannot ignore the possibilities of fluctuations in performance levels that have developed during the growth of an individual but large general patterns of development, which appear when averages of large numbers of scores are computed, tend to hide these individual idiosyncrasies. If an individual has gone through a period of retardation, he may be influenced by that fact in spite of his current status. The possible consequences of retardation or failure may be ever before him and may influence many of his acts. And reactions to very successful periods are not likely to be forgotten, even though they occurred many years before the current contact with a counselor. The influence on the individual of his own comparison of present performance to previous performances and the expectation of performances that these have aroused cannot be ignored at any stage in the counseling process. The very

fact of performance consistency (or the lack of it) may be as important as the complete description of any single event, for the discovery of cyclic behavior may predict the next action, if the current position in the cycle can be accurately determined. In the interpretation of that discovery it must always be noted that specific cultural pressures may exert differential effects upon the developing individual.

In the study of patterns of development which led to the present condition there may appear struggles for dominance of certain tendencies within the individual. The college student, who is not sure of his values at the time he makes his choice of a life career, often goes through such a struggle. Shall he go into business to make money, or shall he go into teaching or other social service where money rewards may be meager and, presumably, the personal satisfactions many? Stirred by the enthusiasm of vigorous teachers during his college year, he may develop great interest in social welfare, but, during a summer contact with business and successful businessmen, economic values may forge ahead. The effects of such struggles may be reflected in his behavior in spite of their outcome. A current finding of dominant social values does not entirely eliminate the influence of other dominant social values at some previous time. It may strengthen or weaken the present status of values, depending on the length and vigor of the struggle, the certainty with which a choice was made, and the individual's need to assure himself that his choice is good.

The counselor will not align himself with any of the schools that imply or assert that certain epochs of the growth period are certainly more potent than others in the determination of current behavior. Few who have observed changes in behavior patterns during adolescence will admit that patterns are always permanently set in early infancy. And changes in behavior during adulthood suggest that adolescent trends may vary significantly as growth proceeds.[22] *Old dogs do learn new tricks.* But even where marked changes do occur, it is more likely that the performance of the individual will be better understood and better predictions of future behavior will be made if we obtain the longitudinal rather than the cross-sectional picture.

[22] Thorndike, E. L., *Adult Learning* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

Criterion Five: Continuous Conceptualization Required

Our fifth criterion demands that conceptualization must be continuous as each separately evaluated datum is added in the study of the individual. We may consider that the process of obtaining evidence about a counselee, and working with him on the basis of it, require the following six steps:[23]

1. *Assembling of information.* This step requires the collection of data by all possible methods and from any reasonable source. Note that it allows for the use of both subjective and objective data.
2. *Organizing the data.* This step comprises the process of collating and summarizing the data. It is a continuous process during the study of a person, and it should result in highlighting his individuality.
3. *Stating the problems.* From the results of the first two procedures the counseling problems are outlined.
4. *Planning the procedures.* In this step alternative lines of action are listed, and the probable results of each are considered.
5. *Treatment.* The actions that seem most appropriate are chosen and activity is begun by counselor and counselee.
6. *Follow-up.* The follow-up procedure may require rediagnosis, collection of more data, and restatement of conceptualizations. In many cases it may require only that performance be recorded and arrangements made for further follow-up at a later period.

Patterns of behavior begin to appear as soon as the first data about an individual are obtained. Strengths, weaknesses, and trends in thought and action will come into prominence, and, although they may later appear to have been entirely false initial impressions, they provide preliminary concepts about the individual and suggest

[23] See also Williamson, E. G., and J. G. Darley, *Student Personnel Work: An Outline of Clinical Procedures* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937). This section follows their outline closely.

new areas for exploration. The counselor may find that there is one danger in too early generalization and consequent error and another danger in the possibility that action will be delayed too long while he looks for more data. He will be aware of the possibility of error in either alternative.

As more data about a counselee are obtained, the counselor will move on from preliminary conceptualizations to the process of diagnosis. All diagnoses are tentative, but their degree of uncertainty is a function of the validity of the instruments and the complexity of the subject's problem. In a very few cases the diagnoses will be clear and simple, and the action very clearly defined by the data. Extreme cases of mental deficiency requiring institutional care (to which parents readily assent) are of this kind, and some types of remedial work fall into this category. In most cases that involve personal adjustments, however, the preliminary diagnosis will seldom be clear. Complex problems of cause-and-effect relationships and difficult problems in the interpretation of correlation will be raised. These issues will be discussed at greater length later, but it is sufficient to note here that the counselor will consider his diagnosis as tentative and will always be aware of the possibility that different lines of action may be necessary.

Except in the simplest situations, the counselor will seldom find that there is a clear-cut program of action. He must outline with the counselee several possibilities, consider the probable outcomes, weigh the probabilities, and choose those which offer greatest likelihood of success. In doing so, he may give consideration to experimental studies that suggest the probable successful lines of action for the average and make adaptations of them to the particular case. It is probably better on the average, for example, to remove seriously delinquent children from homes or communities in which every phase of life is a stimulus to continued delinquency; but in a particular case it may be more desirable to attempt to produce a change of attitude than to change the environment.

The follow-up. One of the most serious difficulties in our study of individuals is the lack of follow-up information.[24] A small number of studies of the effects of counseling have been completed but the bulk of cases have not been followed long enough to determine end results and thus provide probabilities that can be used

[24] Rothney, J. W. M., and B. Roens, *The Guidance of American Youth, op. cit.*

in making predictions. The flow of new cases, the ease of filing the old ones, the cost of following the wanderings of individuals, even, perhaps, the inability to face the fact that there must be much failure, and, sometimes, the unwillingness of a subject to go back to a counselor because he feels that he is indebted to him or does not want to have bitter experiences recalled make the follow-up procedure difficult. Another problem arises from the fact that if only one line of action is taken, it is impossible to determine what might have happened had alternative suggestions been acted upon. The man who was classified as a pilot and became one might have been a better navigator had he received training in navigation. The boy who succeeded in passing the chosen medical course might have been a successful engineer.

Throughout all the steps in our fifth criterion the process is one of organization and conceptualization. In each of these steps there are pitfalls for the worker. Of these the most difficult to overcome is that of bias in point in view. Success with one procedure suggests its use in all other cases, until one is in danger of becoming a zealot for a technique and an administrator of the same instrument to all comers and for all purposes. The technique that worked so well is easiest to repeat. The theory that applied so well can become a generalized approach to fit every case. The patterns that emerged so clearly before seem to be repeated on the basis of only partly similar stimuli, and the generalizing effect of the flow of success tends to spread. The counselor must guard constantly against the generalization of concept and remind himself frequently that every case provides its own unique combination of data for conceptualization. Labels have no significance if they are attached to students without this individualizing process. Some newly discovered skill or information, which eluded the counselor when he first began to work with an individual, may change the picture. It frequently happens that, as the counselor obtains more data, he becomes less sure of the action that should follow.

SUMMARY

The five criteria discussed above should guide the counselor in the selection of instruments and techniques for use in the collection of data about an individual. They are minimum criteria to guide a counselor who is planning to collect data or who wishes to

re-evaluate his own data. They are repeated and brought together below to facilitate processes of discussion:

1. *Any datum about an individual that assists in the understanding of his behavior must be given due consideration.*
2. *Any datum about an individual that is to be used in his guidance must be appraised accurately, fully, and economically.*
3. *The culture in which the individual is reared must be thoroughly examined.*
4. *Longitudinal data must be used in the study of the individual.*
5. *Conceptualization must be continuous as each separately evaluated datum is added in the study of the individual.*

It is not anticipated that counselors with different levels of training and experience will agree that the list presented here contains all those criteria which are most important, sufficiently rigorous, adequately inclusive, or sufficiently numerous. It is believed, however, that if even this list were given adequate consideration, the current practices in collection of data for counseling would be greatly improved.

The reader will find that any selection of criteria is a helpful guide in writing case histories and in evaluating those written by others.[25] The twenty questions listed in the first exercise at the end of this chapter have been drawn from the criteria presented above.

READINGS

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[25] See the discussions in G. W. Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1937).

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Kelley, T. L. *Interpretation of Educational Measurements.* Yonkers: World Book Company, 1937. Chapter V.

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Thorndike, E. L. *Adult Learning.* New York: The Macmillian Company, 1928.

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EXERCISE 1

Select a case report from any of the readings given below and criticize it with reference to the following questions. Read the whole case report first and then consider each point separately. The case of Philip Bronson on the following pages may be used if the readings are not available.

1. Are there any serious omissions in the data?
2. Was more than one method employed in the collection of data?
3. Has more than one school of thought been considered in the interpretation of data?
4. Are the sources of all data specified?
5. Have independent judgments been made by tests, judges, raters?
6. Have reference points for statistics been given?
7. Has consideration been given to the possibility of deception by the subject?

8. Is the social setting given in enough detail?
9. Is a description of the family situation presented?
10. Is the genetic story told as far as it is relevant?
11. Has adequate stress been given to present trends of behavior?
12. Are future plans given adequate consideration?
13. Are data presented as evidence when predictions are made?
14. Has due care been exercised in the interpretation of the motivation of the subject?
15. Are there concrete illustrations of general categories?
16. Have censorial terms been used?
17. Is the writing good?
18. Has maximum brevity been sought?
19. Does the opening paragraph set the tone for the study?
20. Do you feel that you know the person when you have finished reading the case study?

Readings for Exercise 1

BLOS, P. *The Adolescent Personality.* New York: Progressive Education Association, 1941.

BENDER, I. E., H. A. IMUS, J. W. M. ROTHNEY. *Motivation and Visual Factors—Individual Studies of College Students.* Hanover, N. H.: Dartmouth College Publications. 1942.

BURTON, A., R. E. HARRIS. *Case Histories in Clinical and Abnormal Psychology.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

ROTHNEY, J. W. M., B. ROENS. *Guidance of American Youth, op. cit.*

SMITHIES, ELSIE M. *Case Studies of Normal Adolescent Girls.* New York: Appleton-Century, 1933.

TRAXLER, A. E. *Guidance in Public Secondary Schools.* New York: Educational Records Bureau, 1939.

EXERCISE 2

Read the following items of information about Jim and then write a report about him. Describe him as you think of him. The items of information about him are similar to those commonly listed on school and college record forms.

1. He is twenty-two years of age.
2. He is of Norwegian descent.
3. His father is an attorney.
4. He is an only child.
5. He is of average height and weight.
6. He is a sophomore at the University of Wisconsin.

7. His score on a standard test of scholastic aptitude was at the 75th percentile.
8. His English Placement Test score was at the 50th percentile.
9. His scores on a personality inventory were average.
10. He has a *C* average in his college work.
11. He works twenty hours a week.
12. He wants to be a lawyer.
13. He likes to play tennis.

After you have completed your report, turn to page 82 and read the additional information about Jim. To what extent do the data presented there change your concept of him? Do records need interpretation?

CASE EXERCISE 2

PHILIP BRONSON*

General Data

Age—22 Height—70 inches Weight—146 pounds

Academic and Test Data

Private Preparatory School—4 years attendance
Position in Preparatory School Class—70th percentile
A.C.E. Psychological Examination—5th percentile
Iowa Silent Reading Test, Comprehension: 1936—3d percentile
1937—6th percentile

Graduate Records Examination in Percentiles (Percentiles computed on basis of Philip's class at Darthmouth College)

Mathematics	7	Physics	3	Chemistry	32	Biology	33
Econ., Gov't., History	5	Literature	25	Fine Arts	6		
Verbal factor	11	*Major Field*	Economics—4th Quartile				

College Grades (Number of courses and grades received in each field)

A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*
(None)	Sociology .2	Sociology 6		
	Pol. sci. 1	Pol. sci. 1		
	History 1	Class. civ. 2		
	Psychology 1	Psychology 3		
		Economics 4	Economics 2	

* This case was abstracted with some minor changes from *Motivation and Visual Factors—Individual Studies of College Students.* Dartmouth College Publications 1942, by I. E. Bender, H. A. Imus, and J. W. M. Rothney. This material was obtained in an experimental situation and hence contains much more data than most counselors will be able to obtain.

English	1	English	2
Soc. sci.	1	Soc. sci.	1
Zoology	2	Zoology	1
Botany	1		
French	4		
Spanish	2		
		Mathematics 2	Mathematics 1

Grade Points by Semesters ($A = 4$, $B = 3$, $C = 2$, $D = 1$)

I 1.6 *II* 1.2 *III* 2.0 *IV* 1.8 *V* 2.0 *VI* 1.8 *VII* 2.0 *VIII* 2.6 Average 1.9 *Major Field*—National Problems, Social and Economic *Grade in Comprehensive Exam. in Senior Year*—*C.*

General Data

Regional Background—Northeastern, Country
Father's Occupation—Business

Special Data

Number of Interviews—5. Number of hours of interview—5
Complete Case Record—125 (pages). Autobiography—44 (pages)
Number of Behavior Description Reports—3
Number of Rating Scale Reports—10
Number of Murray Pictures—2. Rorschach Ink-Blot Test Administered
Thurstone Vocational Interests Allport-Vernon Study of Values

Rank Order	*Rank Order*
1. Athletic	1. Economic and aesthetic equal value
2. Commercial	2. Religious
3. Legal	3. Political
4. Scientific	4. Theoretical and social equal value
5. Descriptive	
6. Biological	
7. Academic	

Other Tests Administered for Experimental Purposes:

Art Judgment Test Record—Meier and Seashore
A-S Reaction Study
Attitude-Interest Analysis Test—Terman and Miles
E-R Situations Study
Humm-Wadsworth Temperament Scale
Inventory of Personal Opinions—Stagner
Minnesota Personal Traits Rating Scale Test—Heidbreder
Neymann-Kohlstedt Diagnostic Test of Introversion-Extroversion

Pressey X-O Tests
Radical-Conservative Test—Murray
Similes Test

Psycho-Portrait. Philip Bronson is the type of person who seems to pull himself along in life by his own bootstraps. Handicapped by apparently insuperable difficulties, he plods stalwartly ahead and succeeds when all the evidence cries out that he should fail. He is far below the college average in mental capacity; his home was broken early in his life, and his childhood was riddled with traumatic experiences. Coming to college in the face of strong family opposition, he was forced to rely upon small grants-in-aid supplemented by his own earnings throughout his four years at Dartmouth. Nor did he feel a strong confidence in himself to compensate for the doubts expressed by members of his family regarding his ability to go through college; he came up "very much afraid" and reported that even during his senior year, "that feeling is still with me—' I can't.' " Nevertheless, he succeeded in winning the respect and encouragement of the Dean for his "conscientiousness" and "serious purpose," and he graduated with a point average in the 32d percentile of his class.

"Pathetic as home." Philip came into the world inauspiciously, following an older brother and sister in a close succession of births. "I came along by mistake," he writes. "I've heard said that my father never did want me." His memories up until the age of six were, however, mostly happy ones, particularly of his companionship with his sister to which he refers as "a very close attachment for each other." At about the age of six, he "began to realize that everything wasn't going well with my mother and father." He arrived home from school one day to find his father striking his mother in anger over something she had done:

"This had a horrible effect upon me. I went out in the yard weeping away, shouting that my father was trying to kill my mother. That event is very clear in my mind and it might well have occurred yesterday."

Following this report in Philip's autobiography is the statement that he began to steal money from his father; it is as though he was aware of some causal relationship between these two events. Although caught and punished, Philip continued to steal and even blamed his brother or sister for "putting him up to it." He reports, also, that in school at this time he "just couldn't do the work" and had to remain behind a year or so. He was afraid of "the neurotic old school marm":

"To be struck by her was the lowest sort of humiliation that I could endure. Just the thought of it upset me emotionally."

In his relations with this teacher, he apparently re-experienced the trauma of seeing his father strike his mother.

The fact that Philip began to attend school at the age when "most of his conflicts started" is probably responsible for some of his later academic difficulties. The fears and anxieties aroused by insecurity at home and aggravated by a lack of sympathetic understanding in school had probably much to do with the difficulty in concentrating and with the serious reading disability which beset Philip throughout his entire school career.

He continues the narrative of his childhood with a detailed account of increasing discord between his parents. His father's unkindness and lack of consideration of his mother shocked him deeply. He recalls no sympathy for his father and now blames the unhappy situation on Mr. Bronson's excessive dependence upon his own parental family. Toward his mother, meanwhile, Philip grew "more affectionate":

"I know I never used to kiss her good-nite, but now I was eager to and wanted to be more close to her." When she began to go out in the evening without Mr. Bronson, Philip "used to lie awake nights waiting for her to come home . and would cry for fear something had happened to her. ." Although he felt fear for his mother, childlike, his unhappiness was caused mostly by the lack of happiness around him and by a sense of doom: "I felt as though all this was going to end." When his father became seriously ill and was taken to a hospital, Philip wept as he wept at all incidents threatening the stability of his small world.

"Even with these conflicts," he writes, "I had a fairly happy time." At least, he continued to enjoy some of the pleasures of home which were denied to him after his mother left when he was ten. What he thinks he missed particularly, as he looks back on the period after her departure, was the privilege of bringing his friends into his home "to eat with me and even stay over night, as much as I liked to." This sociability and hospitality of his home departed with his mother.

Even the process of negotiating the divorce was made unduly distressing for the children who watched from the sidelines. They heard their mother accused of wrongdoing, experienced the pains of gossip and publicity, along with the inevitable sense of helplessness and fear of an uncertain future. Mrs. Bronson left without their knowing where she was going or whether they would ever see her again. For five years, they did not see her and then only against the wishes of their father and his family upon whom they depended financially. Incumbent upon this care was the provision that the children should not associate with their mother.

Soon after his mother left, Philip went away to school, returning

home only for vacations. His father engaged several housekeepers and finally married one of them whom his children disliked intensely. They thought that she "got" their father merely to provide a home for herself and her own two children. Philip says that he learned this from "going into her letters," an act which evinces his lack of respect for the intruder and his feeling that she was putting something over on them. "I used to fight with her continually," he writes, remarking that, during these fights, "she used to berate my mother and be mean in those ways. . . She had it fixed so we wouldn't get any allowance after a while." With his father, too, he used to "fight terribly," although his father was "wonderful at times, and understanding." However, his home was certainly no longer a happy place:

"I remember when I used to eat at Dad's how it was. I was afraid to ask for seconds—I tried to be happy, make conversation, but after a few days, I became a mental wreck and sat there not saying much and eating little."

It is clear why, in answer to the simile word "pathetic," Philip responded "Pathetic as home."

The shift from rebellion to cooperation—the internalization of authority. Philip did not like the little boy who was assigned to show him around the new school, so he gave him "a right to the face." He remembers that he "would get into fights continually" because of nicknames the other boys would try to apply to him: "I was quite unpopular for my antics." It was Philip rather than his older brother who was given the opportunity of going away to school because his father thought he "needed more help." He went as a day pupil, living nearby at the home of an uncle and aunt who were paying for this education and who watched closely over him through friends teaching in the school.

Philip's rebelliousness at this time is explainable not only in terms of the many disturbing experiences within his family, but the strain of adapting to this new way of life was extreme in itself. He had to learn conformity to new high standards of cleanliness and manners: "I needed quite a bit of polishing up." He had not had "the proper preparations" for his schoolwork, which he found difficult even with the constant tutoring of his aunt and uncle. His greatest difficulty was in concentrating. "My mind just wandered," he remarks. He resented the fact that his school activities were systematically reported to his aunt and uncle, who, he thought, "didn't have much confidence in me" for this reason. The security, which was largely denied Philip in his relations with adults, he began to find through the boys at school. After he had been "beaten up a few times" in his many defensive fights, he says, "I learned to take it and like it." He had his first real

"taste of competitive sports, and enjoyed them very much." He always succeeded in making his letter, thus adding to his prestige and self-confidence. After two years at the school, Philip was elected to an office, which, he says, "pleased me." His defiance of authority may have added at first to his popularity. He tells of inviting boys over to his room for a smoke, of lying about cigarettes which were found in his room, and finally of admitting "all." "That was the last time I ever told a lie," he adds. The sympathy of his aunt and of his teachers, the increased security from his friendships, and the gradual improvement in his school work all probably contributed to this denouement of rebellion.

After his graduation from this school, Philip suffered another humiliation by being sent to what he calls a school "for problem boys." By this time, however, he had gained enough self-confidence to make the resolve "to show my uncle and aunt that I could amount to something. . " He had developed the habit of working "conscientiously" and felt mainly handicapped by their lack of confidence and by anxiety about his "home life." "It always remained in my mind," he says, "I used to think about that place . before I went to sleep nights." In this new school Philip reports that he "made a good record," starting off with "*C*'s" and ending with "*B*'s." Again, outstanding success in social and athletic activities must have continued to sustain his self-confidence. The school principal praised Philip as "one of the most stable and reliable boys in school," saying that he had "entirely won the confidence of his fellow students and the faculty." He was warmly recommended to Dartmouth by both his principal and an alumnus, despite the fact that he was ranked only in the middle of his class in ability and just within the upper third in his scholastic achievement.

Philip writes that he "was eager to go to college":

"I wanted to find out why people, as my family, did certain things and acted in certain ways. . I didn't want to be considered as ignorant. . . [I] had as an objective, being considered a cultured person, which I held in high regard."

Going through college "the hard way"—unfortunately, Philip had "taken it for granted" that he would be sent to college, and was, therefore, deeply disappointed when he learned that his relatives "had no idea of sending" him.

"It wasn't so much a matter of sending me as it was the lack of confidence in me. . She [his aunt] told me to go out and see if I could get a job and even doubted that."

He was determined to go to college, nevertheless: "I couldn't think of not going." He consulted with members of the school staff, one of

whom arranged for a Foundation grant, which was supplemented by a small scholarship, by several gifts of money from relatives and by a college job which provided him with his board. All of these relatives, however, made him feel their doubts regarding his ability to remain in college, that is, all except his father, who at this time believed his son "could make a success." At least so Philip thought; but his father gave him only half the money he had promised for the first year and none at all during the second. To Philip's questions, the father replied that he "couldn't give me any money and that he thought that I would have flunked out of college long ago."

Placed on probation during his freshman year, Philip lost his Dartmouth scholarship for the following year, but he still had the Foundation grant, a small amount of money from relatives, the small savings from his summer's work and his board from a tedious menial job. "It was a terrible year for me and I was too unhappy," he says. His grades improved slightly, however, so that the Dean recommended that the Foundation continue its support during Philip's last two years.

Philip worked constantly every summer and nearly every college vacation, leaving college early at Christmas time for a department store job and staying in Hanover over short vacations to earn a few extra dollars. During the academic session, he reports, he worked thirty-two hours a week. His senior year was somewhat eased by a college loan and a small allowance from his uncle, but during his junior year, he "went without breakfast and lived on thirty cents a day." The fact that his grades went down the second semester of each year, except his last, might well be a result of this arduous routine.

It is remarkable enough that Philip should have been able to attain a grade average in the 32d percentile in the face of these financial difficulties. That he could do so with his limited intellectual capacities is even more remarkable. His A.C.E. Examination rating was in the 5th percentile; in rate of comprehension on the Iowa Silent Reading Test, he scored in the 6th percentile. Philip's Graduate Record Examination scores are but little above his A.C.E. rating and in only two fields does he reach the 32d percentile position of his college grades; nor are these courses, chemistry and biology, fields in which he made his highest grades or did the most extensive work. Most of his courses were in the social sciences, and his major was that of national problems; but in the Graduate Record Test of Government, Economics and History, he scored in the lowest decile. These comparisons indicate that Philip could meet specific course requirements but was unable to apply his knowledge in a new test situation.

While no special aptitude is apparent in Philip's record, there is a consistent weakness in mathematics, which he failed in his freshman

year. He expressed no particular enthusiasm for any of his courses, but did remark that he was sorry not to have elected a course in art or music, instead of two courses which he took "for snaps."

As may be expected, the faculty ratings of Philip's abilities are low, yet he is considered highly dependable. A member of the physical education staff makes the following comment which seems to apply to all his work:

"Dependable in practice and interest—with little to show in performance, for his work. His ability . is not sufficient to account for his good work habits and continued interest."

Philip finds satisfactions in his modest way of life. The problem of Philip's continued "interest" in college becomes more puzzling in view of the fact that his external sources of security diminished rather than increased during this period. Having to spend so much time for self-support, he had "little time for other activities." He managed to continue in one sport, but, as a friend notes, "His social life is almost negligible." Three of the five college friends reporting on Philip refer to this fact. Philip was deprived of nearly all the satisfaction he had enjoyed in secondary school from his nonacademic activities.

He also lost most of the meagre security he had derived from his family relationships. Added to the defection of the aunt and uncle who had financed his education up until college, came the betrayal by his father during his sophomore year. His father not only refused Philip money, saying he had expected him to flunk out long before, but he completely destroyed Philip's tenuous faith in him by ignoring his son on his twenty-first birthday when he was home for a vacation. The detail with which Philip describes this incident reveals the depth of the injury he felt. Then, with contrasting brevity, he concludes, "I never did go back and stay for a vacation." He no longer had a "home."

A maternal aunt opened her home to Philip, and he stayed there frequently, but he "had the feeling of imposing on her. " With his brother and sister, he came to feel more and more estranged: "I never do have a good time when I go out with my sister or brother." He had never been very close to his brother, and his brother's persistent intimacy with Mr. Bronson's family made Philip feel still more distant now. The change in attitude toward his sister, his childhood companion, was more serious. She had become "spoiled," he said:

"She went to these private schools and acted different. I can see now she was all muddled up. I like to be more democratic and don't like snobs. . . She won't break down and act naturally. There is something holding her back."

Far from being able to depend upon this older sister for friendship and affection, Philip dislikes her company, yet feels sympathetic and

wants to help her. His brother, too, he would like to help, identifying himself with both of his siblings as fellow victims of an unhappy, "broken home."

As Philip's dependence upon the charity and good will of his father's family diminished, he felt freer to associate with his mother, who had remarried and lived near by. While he found affection with her, he did not, apparently, find strength, for he says, "She has talked to me and I have been able to give her advice." There is no report of her helping him or giving him advice. In her, he saw his own fears and inferiority feelings in a more extreme form:

" . during her early years my mother developed a certain fear—a fear that other people were right and she wrong. . . Her mother told her repeatedly that she was dumb and would never amount to anything to have this jammed down a young one's throat has left an imprint upon her. . I know how she feels in this respect because I have experienced the same thing to a far lesser extent."

The first Mrs. Bronson apparently had been so thoroughly cowed by her husband that even now, after many years of separation, she was "afraid to meet him on the street." She could do little to aid Philip in his search for perspective, except to give him affection. In this she succeeded, if we judge from his sympathetic description of her and from his simile for the word "delightful"—"delightful as a mother."

Philip's interest in obtaining an education does not appear to have been directly influenced by his mother, who had had limited schooling herself. His descriptions of her indicate that she has less regard for "a cultured person" than do Mr. Bronson and his family. The latter, however, did not attend college, and they seemed content that Philip, his brother, and his sister should get no more than a secondary school education. The motivation of showing his aunt and uncle that he could amount to something seems to have died out long before Philip determined to attend college, but he says that, in preparatory school, "I didn't tell them of all my achievements"; he adds, as though in explanation, "They still didn't have confidence in me."

Philip seemed to have lost all desire to "show" anyone else what he could do. Nor does he appear to have felt even normally "puffed up" at his preparatory school "successes":

"I don't think I was too conscious of my position, as I have a strange dislike for people whose cockiness can't be challenged." His ability at college to do without the social prestige which he had previously enjoyed and to persist under great hardship for the modest reward of low grades, indicates that he had come to depend very

little upon social response and that his standards for academic achievement were low. The latter conclusion is borne out by his remarks in an interview that he was perfectly satisfied with what he got from college, that he was proud of having been able to stay and of having attained a *B* in one of his courses. Despite his poor opinion of his own ability, he wants to do the best he can:

"I've put a lot of weight on my studies and if I don't do well I get a low, depressed feeling, and I try awfully hard—sometimes too hard."

In his vocational ambitions, he is characteristically modest, hoping to make his living in an uncle's insurance business, but sure that additional training at night school is necessary for him to succeed. He once thought he would like to be a doctor but realized he was "not intelligent enough."

Philip expressed genuine gratitude toward the people in his preparatory school and college who helped him to continue his education, but he did not look on this help and encouragement as his "just due." Instead, he considered it a matter of good luck that he had "made a hit" with these people. Of one of them, he says, " if he liked you, there wouldn't be anything which he wouldn't do for you. I happened to be one he liked. . . " At no time does he speak of wanting to do well in order to justify their faith in him. His desire to repay the grants given him is further evidence of his independent attitude. Apparently, his achievement was for his own satisfaction alone.

Nor was part of this satisfaction a pleasure in overcoming difficulties. His autobiography and remarks in interview contain no expression of self-pity, nor does he compare himself with those who are more fortunate. When he says that he was unable to accept a fraternity bid for lack of funds, he adds that the boys are, nevertheless, very kind to him and that he is always welcome at their house-parties. To questions on the personality tests, he answers that he "does not think that he has had more than his share of worry" and that "people nearly always treat him right." In contemplating himself and his activities, he apparently takes little thought of the rest of the world, its praise or its blame. He seems simply to look upon himself as he does upon his brother and sister, trying to understand so that he will be happier and better able to make his way. He is aware of this objectivity in himself:

"I think I've changed quite a bit. I think that I've been able to analyze myself better, look at myself more or less objectively."

The aims which he espoused on coming to college were "to find out why people, as my family, did certain things . . being considered as a cultured person." These aims represent his desire for greater knowl-

edge and greater self-respect as instruments with which he can successfully work out an adjustment in life. Apparently, he obtained them to his own satisfaction:

"I've been able to find out things about my family, too. It has broadened me pretty much. Well, before, I had a chip on my shoulder. It made me understand them better, myself and other people, too."

The high cost of "adjustment." Philip thought he had "reached a much finer adjustment," but of the cost to his own emotional integration, he is unaware. The Rorschach diagnosis places him among the most constricted of 93 students tested:

"He represses all tendency to respond emotionally either to the world around him or to promptings from within [fantasy, creative thought]."

Having been subjected for years to uncertainty and disappointment in his relationships with those upon whom he depended for love and security and having been forced to repress the natural anger and aggressive impulses arising from those frustrations because he still felt dependent upon these same people, he has become afraid to respond emotionally to anyone. He is afraid both of further betrayal by the other person and of his own hostile impulses. He tries to repudiate his feelings and to solve his problems on an intellectual plane. He attempts, for example, to understand himself and his family in the light of what he has learned at college. It is too much to expect that he should really feel the tolerance and understanding which he professes to feel toward his father and relatives who have hurt him so deeply. Of his father, he says:

"I know that he believes that I dislike him thoroughly, which is untrue as long as he's happy, I have no grievance."

It is unnatural that he should express no more bitterness and self-pity than he does, no more resentment toward the many college students who were more fortunate than he. His philosophy of adjustment seems to be one of making himself adapt to his difficult world rather than of seeking any adaptation from this world to his own desires. Thus, he has narrowed his interests, reduced his demands, and driven himself like a machine to perform self-assigned tasks. In this process he seems to have transformed much of his conscious anxiety into physical tension and obsessional traits—fears, caution, perseverance, irritability, and distrust.

Physical tension shows in Philip's thin body and lack of facile muscular coordination. He likes excitement, has difficulty sleeping, and loses his appetite easily. Noise, he says, bothers him a great deal when he is trying to think; he complains of having been "in a frustrated

state" when taking a certain quiz, because "the seats were too small, smoke thick, place crowded." On the Pressey X-O Test, he scores high in affectivity, marking, for example, more than the usual number of items that "a person is to be blamed for" and "about which (he has) ever worried or felt nervous." This affectivity is conspicuous in his responses to other psychological tests. Many situations arouse his anger, his pity, or his disgust, according to his responses to the Terman & Miles Attitude-Interest Analysis Test. Automobiles, burglars, lightning cause him "much" fear. On the Humm-Wadsworth Temperament Scale, he is in the 3d quartile of the Normal component, in the 1st of the Manic, and 2d of the Paranoid.

On the Pressey Test, Philip indicates his disapproval of swearing, smoking, betting, chewing, slang; careless, reckless, stupid, shabby, stubborn; drunkard, snob, prostitute; and divorce, war, gossip. Philip's unusual emphasis upon good manners and cleanliness is revealed in this test and seems to represent an obsessive adherence to the "polishing up" he received when he first went away to school. "The habit of cleanliness" which "always remained with [him]" may well symbolize a washing away of the unhappy associations with his early childhood and of guilt feelings connected with his early rebellious traits of sloppy dress, stealing, lying, fighting. This obsessive habit may also be related to present guilt feelings arising from repressed impulses to do some of the many things he considers wrong. He consults his interviewer, for example, about his worry over the possibility that, when he gets into business, he may "drink and drink and drink." He tells of a job he had in a hotel where he discovered "there was a lot of clipping of tips going on": " . I wished to heaven I could get out . . for fear it would drag me into it, which it did eventually do. I held back on the tips. ." The compulsive aspect of Philip's "morality" is revealed by his objectification of the forces stimulating him to break his code. He does not say that "he decided" to hold back on the tips as matter of independent judgment, but that he was "dragged into it." He speaks of being afraid he may "drink and drink" as though talking about some other person over whom he has no control.

Philip's compulsive character is most conspicuously revealed in his method of study while at college. He admits that "I can't study unless I'm under real pressure." His mind still "wanders" as it did when he was a child; his sensitivity to such things as smoke and crowded quarters is in proportion to his distractibility. Underlying the distractibility is his fear of failure:

"I think I know it all, but I know darn well I'll only get a *C* out of it."

His Rorschach responses betray this chronic self-doubt:

"He is afraid above all that he will make a mistake, that he will be unable to understand and meet expectations, and that his status and security will be further dimished by his failure. Any unfamiliar situation where he is not sure of the outcome and has to take a chance is terrifying to him. He does not dare to depart from immediate perceptions of reality, to generalize on the basis of past experience, and to adapt to new situations on that basis."

One of Philip's friends comments on his excessive caution: "Seems that he almost always counts ten before saying anything." His lack of faith in his own judgment makes it frequently impossible for him to distinguish the significant from the insignificant, so that, in his note-taking, he puts down everything. He is afraid to overlook any detail; the remedial reading classes helped him, he said, in "picking out the more important words instead of 'a,' 'and,' 'but,' 'as,' et cetera." His autobiography, which he composed spontaneously and not according to outline, is surfeited with the minutiae of his experiences, following only a vague, chronological pattern. Unable to "think things out in broad general terms," he tries to compensate by extreme conscientiousness; he admits "I try too hard." Both friends and faculty note this trait as outstanding.

Self-consciousness in social relationships; fear and inhibition with girls. Philip's uneasiness in social situations is consistent with his self-consciousness and his fear of giving an emotional response. This self-consciousness and embarrassment are apparent both to himself and his acquaintances. According to an Ascendance-Submission Study and the opinion of friends, Philip tends to be submissive rather than ascendant; but in impersonal, business relationships or in competitive sports, he feels much less fear. His many childhood fights and his athletic successes at private school probably helped to give him more assurance on these occasions. He likes sociability, he likes to talk, and he likes many friends. Evidence of his congeniality in his unusual popularity in secondary school and the fact that friends who reported on him in college all say they like him, in spite of his limited ability to share in social activities. However, his tension, his irritability, his over-conscientiousness and worry about his work, and his fear of intellectual inferiority make him stand apart; and the cynicism and distrust, against which he has tried to guard himself, are evident to the more sensitive of his acquaintances. One comments that Philip's "disillusioning" experiences in his summer job have not been good for him. In the Humm-Wadsworth Temperament Scale, Philip reveals this cynicism in his agreement with the statements that "Most people make friends mainly because friends are likely to be useful" and that "Most

people would not sacrifice an advantage rather than use unfair means to gain it."

Although he prides himself on his tolerance and on not being a "snob," he is nevertheless easily angered or disgusted by the digressions of others from the high standards of self-control and good manners which he upholds. He is angered and disgusted but permits himself no direct expression of these feelings, thus piling up his tension and reinforcing his obsessional traits.

The degree of Philip's emotional withdrawal is perhaps most extreme in his relationships with girls. He is, he says, like his brother who "doesn't care a hoot about them doesn't let himself go when he does go out." Philip's attitude seems to combine a fear that he is not liked and a fear that he will be imposed upon:

"I have a good time. I don't care too much. I mean sex in itself doesn't interest me too much as long as I have a good time. Then at different times I don't see why—I mean why a girl should like to be around with me when maybe she'd like to be with someone else a lot better. [I] can't dance very well. I have the feeling I'm not wanted too much with girls."

One girl with whom he had been having "a good time" he stopped seeing because "I thought we were getting too involved." He has "always guarded against" arousing a girl's interest because he is afraid she would "expect too much, marriage after a while," and he has not found a girl whom he wants to marry. He shows some passivity in his desire for a wife who has the self-confidence and social poise which is lacking in himself, "somebody who can handle herself well in all situations." He does not want someone like his mother who had always the fear "that other people were right and she wrong."

Philip is an unusually democratic and hardworking member of society. Whatever the cost to himself of Philip's mode of adjustment, there are ways in which his social value in a democratic society may be considered higher than that of many of his colleagues. He is unusually liberal and free from prejudice in his sociopolitical beliefs, saying, for example, that he "would be willing to go to a social dance attended by both white and Negro students," that he would not "consider it undesirable to have a Chinese family move in next door." Although his "economic value" is high in the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, he believes that one should "guide one's conduct according to . society as a whole." Regarding military service he says, "I don't particularly like it; however, if I believed our country was in real danger, I'd be 100% for it." The modest demands which he makes upon life, his conviction that he is responsible for his destiny and his

staunch faith in reason and ideals of self-control make him a reliable and cooperative member of society. His ready sympathy, arising from a tendency to identify himself with another's suffering, leads him to his liberal point of view, which would eliminate discrimination, injustice, and cruelty in the world.

It is not surprising to learn that Philip is persevering in his plans to include night-school study along with the job which he holds in his uncle's business, or that he is paying for the three years' course out of his small salary. Nor is it surprising that he says he is enjoying the work "tremendously," although it "keeps me quite busy, and I have to keep my social life at a minimum." If he is fortunate enough to attain some success through his efforts, he may learn to feel greater self-respect and through it more spontaneity and happiness with "people" in whom, as he says, he is "very much interested."

EXERCISE 2 (Continued)

Add the following facts about Jim to those which appeared on page 67.

1. Jim was a seven months' baby.
2. His parents have always lived in America, and they reject the old country.
3. His father is an alcoholic.
4. His two cousins have lived with him all his life.
5. He has broad and deep chest and hips.
6. He is repeating his sophomore year.
7. His score on a second test of scholastic aptitude was at the 50th percentile.
8. He reads rapidly, but his vocabulary is poor.
9. He dislikes all other students and is rejected by them.
10. He makes *A*'s in all his social science courses.
11. He works between the hours of midnight and 5 A.M.
12. He wanted to be an engineer when he first came to the university.
13. He dislikes all contact sports.

Chapter III — Specific Procedures for Study of the Usual Behavior of Counselees and of Significant Deviations

WE HAVE examined the *general* criteria designed to guide us in the collection of data about an individual so that he may be counseled effectively, and we may turn now to the consideration of *specific* items of information which must be obtained for such purposes. The reader will have recognized by this time that the selection of techniques for collecting data are determined by the nature of the problems that each counselee presents. He will realize that an individual may be studied for many different reasons and that these initial reasons may be changed as the counseling proceeds. The boy who is initially referred because of vocational indecision may need, for example, special information about educational and occupational opportunities, advice about the availability of medical services, assistance with a problem of home adjustment, instruction in approved social behavior, or help in solving any of the many problems that youth meets in the process of coming of age.

Although the kind and quantity of data needed to help each counselee will vary from case to case, there appears to be a minimum number of items of information to be collected about each individual in addition to those presented in the initial statement of his problem or the information submitted from the source of referral. Some of them, such as chronological age, will be required largely for legal purposes and will not substantially increase the counselor's knowledge of his client. The remaining items in the list are basic to the understanding of the individual, and their collec-

tion constitutes one of the major tasks in the counseling process. The list follows:

1. Evidence about an individual's usual behavior and significant variations from it. (This is the area commonly designated as "personality." It includes the study of values, interests, habitual methods of solving personal problems, and the area of social adjustability.)[1]
2. Information about a subject's cultural background and experiences.
3. Evidence concerning a counselee's health history and current status.
4. History of a subject's work experiences and the occupational levels attained.
5. Records of performances on tests designed to measure levels of achievement.
6. Reports of academic performances and the educational levels attained.
7. Certain descriptive data required by legal and cultural circumstances.

The selection of items for a list such as the one given above must be made arbitrarily in view of current ignorance concerning human behavior. The list reflects the authors' belief that a counselor must be eclectic in his choice of instruments and procedures rather than be devoted to any one school of thought or theory of behavior.[2] Further, the list is presented as one possible of accom-

[1] The authors are in sympathy with those who maintain that there is much confusion about this area. It appears that many years will be needed to develop the kind of instruments and data-gathering devices that a counselor *really* needs. Meantime, children grow up, youth choose educational or vocational goals, school is kept, and the counselor must do what he can with his acknowledged inadequate tools. See discussions of the problems of personality measurement and description in books such as the following: R. B. Cattell, *Description and Measurement of Personality* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1946); H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941); H. D. Spencer, *Fulcra of Conflict* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1938).

[2] The writers are particularly concerned about the tendency to go overboard on the use of tests. Such testers seem not to realize that measurement theory is far ahead of performance in producing tests. See the discussions by M. May, *Educational Research: Its Nature, Essential Conditions and Controlling Concepts,* American Council on Education, August, 1939.

plishment in common schools rather than primarily as a guide to clinicians or experimentalists. Although the collection of the data proposed in the following pages may seem to be a task beyond the range of most counselors, the data are presented here as an essential minimum. They will frequently require supplementation, but rarely can they be diminished. The arguments for their inclusion here will appear as each item is discussed.

Before we begin to study the techniques for obtaining the information needed about each individual, however, it will be necessary to consider some general problems in methodology.

THE SELECTION OF METHODS FOR THE STUDY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Subjectivity and objectivity. In our daily life, as well as in our more academic descriptions of persons, we find it convenient to use terms that are designed to simplify, make more convenient, clarify, and otherwise make our descriptions more exact. Frequently, the use of such terms results only in misrepresentation, oversimplification, and confusion because they imply an exactness that they do not possess or suggest that certain actions must follow directly and naturally from the descriptive terms.[3] Examination of several such common terms in connection with study of the esoteric language of counseling reveals that many difficulties have arisen from their lack of clarity and the tendency to use them uncritically. Consider, for example, the terms "objective" and "subjective" as they are used in describing measuring instruments.

The previously noted tendency to make all educational procedures seem standardized, scientific, and statistical has obscured the fact that most objective techniques have required a good deal of subjectivity in the process of their construction. An examination of test manuals reveals that the authors have made some subjective judgments in their choice of items. If the authors of the manuals took the items from textbooks, they had to *choose* among many whose authors had, in turn, made *subjective decisions* about the materials that they selected. The authors of tests must have made *judgments* concerning the kind and number of items to be selected, and even if they used statistical criteria to guide them, they had

[3] See Allport, G. W., *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942).

to *decide* which of many criteria they would use. They had to *choose* their scoring procedures and attach values to the items, and, again, if these were also chosen by statistical procedures, they had to make *selections* from many. They made *choices* among criteria against which to validate their tests, and they were required to *decide* how far they would go before they were convinced that the validation was adequate.[4] The objectivity of a test is found in scoring procedures (again derived largely by subjective techniques or subjective choice from objective techniques) that make it possible for two scorers to get the same results. But this objective score must be interpreted subjectively in the light of every individual's circumstances because weightings for items to allow for differences in experiences are not provided. The common procedures of validating one test against another compounds the difficulties mentioned above, and the practice of validating an objective test against a subjective criterion (such as intelligence test scores against school achevement, or personality test scores against ratings) do not avoid the difficulty. The student who is aware of all these problems will not be too easily influenced in selecting techniques by the fact that one technique is said to be objective and the other subjective. Completely objective procedures (except in the very narrow concept of scoring items) for obtaining even a minimum list of items essential for successful counseling procedures are not now available.

Generalization from averages. Counselors should be aware also of the danger of being misled by common generalizations which tend to make them think in terms of *group* characteristics at the time that they should be concerned about *particular* characteristics of the individual with whom they are to work. Such gen-

[4] Note the following statement in D. Wechsler, *The Measurement of Adult Intelligence* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1946), p. 73:

"The first problem that confronts anyone attempting to devise an intelligence scale is that of *deciding* upon the tests that should be included in the battery. This task is not a simple one, for, in addition to the necessity for fulfilling certain statistical criteria, there are a number of general considerations, which, independent of all other factors, restrict one's *choice* of items to a greater or lesser degree. One of these is the *author's defined or implied view* as to the nature of intelligence. Thus if he believes that intelligence involves primarily the ability to perceive logical relations and to use symbols, he is very *likely to favor* tests calling for verbal, arithmetical and, in general, abstract reasoning abilities. If he *believes* intelligence also involves abilities to handle "practical situations," he is very likely to include at least some tests calling for performance and manipulative abilities." [Italics ours]

eralizations are frequently made upon the finding of what is called a *statistically significant difference* between two groups. The term is used by statisticians to indicate that when differences between average scores of groups compared with respect to some measured variable have been found, the differences are not fortuitous. For the purpose of making comparisons between groups, this technique may be very satisfactory; but it can be very misleading, since it suggests to the uncritical reader that the average differences apply to each member of both populations, and that they are of social as well as statistical significance.[5]

The counselor must note that there may be considerable overlapping of the scores of groups whose means are significantly different. Lincoln[6] has shown, for example, that even when the critical ratio is 4 or 5 (truly significant differences in the statistical sense), there may be an overlap of as much as 30 per cent in distributions of scores. There are, for example, significant differences between sex groups in many measurements, but these differences do not prove that an individual of either sex *certainly* has more or less of the characteristic that is measured, even though the *probability* of it is high. Significant differences between the characteristics of age, racial, school, class, and other selected groups have been found, but they do not *guarantee* that any one individual possesses any given amount of the characteristics common to the members of his group. Each of a counselor's subjects must be studied separately, and the amount of each characteristic must be individually assessed, irrespective of the fact that he is a member of a group that is significantly different from another.

Many techniques required in study of complex persons. The reader should be well aware by this time that when he begins to study problems of human behavior, he is getting into the most complex and confusing area of all fields of investigation. Despite this knowledge, he will often read into observed behavior his personal interpretation of the causes of it and the motives that underlie it without sufficient information and understanding to justify his conclusions. He will find that the inhibition of snap judgments about behavior and the motives that lie behind it is one of the most

[5] Tyler, R. W. "What Is Statistical Significance?" *Educational Research Bulletin,* Mar. 4, 1931.

[6] Lincoln, E. A., "The Insignificance of Significant Differences," *The Journal of Experimental Education,* vol. II, No. 3, 1936.

difficult habits to acquire in the process of becoming an effective counselor.

When a counselor has, for good reasons, rejected any one theory as a general explanation of behavior, he finds that none of the other theories provides an exact, clear, and simple guide for the understanding of the many aspects of the behavior that he observes. There are no such guides. Although he examines the voluminous literature of psychology from end to end, he must find only that there are many views expressed, many hypotheses proposed, and many explanations given. As he moves from one to the other, he finds that one proponent of a theory slays the theories of all others and then presents his own. This theory is, in turn, riddled by the researches or the logic of another. If counselors were required to wait for final and conclusive statements concerning the nature and causes of human behavior before they began their work they would find it impossible to start. But start they must. Their counselees cannot wait until all the issues have been resolved.

The counselor must not be misled by the exponents of particular schools of thought concerning the behavior of individuals, because all current interpretations allow for wide margins of error in particular cases.[7] He must be eclectic in his choice among theories because he will find conditions in which any of the many may seem to fit the case. He will not, for example, revert in automatic fashion to interpretations in terms of inheritance unless forced to do so by incontrovertible facts of a particular case. He will recognize compensatory behavior as such when it appears, but he will not read it into every case. He will not assume that the reason for every aggressive act may be found in frustration. He will accept functional autonomy[8] as an explanation only when he finds no evidence that leads him beyond it. And if he cannot catalogue any observed behavior under any of the measurement labels he may find it necessary to work with his materials at the descriptive level. He may even predict that a subject can be expected to act in a certain way under given conditions without knowing why; for, though it is always desirable to know the reason for the behavior,

[7] See Heidbreder, E., *Seven Psychologies* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1933); and C. E. Ragsdale, *Modern Psychologies and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932).

[8] Allport, C. W., *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1937).

the counselor can seldom be sure enough to depend upon it. It is still possible, however, to be effective in his day-to-day procedures while the psychologists are still very busily trying to find out why he is successful.

Eclecticism must also govern the counselor's choice of techniques. The counselor who at this stage in the development of our knowledge of human behavior is committed to the use of a very few techniques or to a single process, cannot work with large numbers of students successfully. He finds it impossible to obtain enough information about certain individuals with any one technique, and, for others, he may find that information, simply and quickly obtained by any method, is inadequate for all counseling purposes. He will remember that his first task is to know the whole unique organization of the individual rather than to tear him apart as is the current practice in psychology. He will, of course, appreciate that some analysis must be made for both counseling and research purposes, but he will not forget that analysis is not the final step in counseling.

As a student becomes acquainted with the literature on human behavior, he cannot help but be impressed by the fact that most of it is concerned with the comparison of individuals. Comparisons are necessary for such purposes as selecting a candidate for a scholarship or a job, but these are not the only reasons for counseling. For some purposes, counselors may want to learn about the behavior of an individual, regardless of the degree to which it is exhibited by other persons. He may, for example, want to compare a counselee's current performances only with respect to his previous performances. He may want to know how one client is adjusting to a particular situation without being concerned about the adjustment of others. He may, at times, want to describe the behavior of a student to a teacher without making any reference to that of other students. Situations in which comparative standings are not important may be met even in the selection among job applicants, or in the admission of students who apply for entrance to educational institutions. Under such conditions he may find that many general research results and conclusions are not particularly valuable aids.

In circumstances such as those noted above it is probably desirable that the counselor start by obtaining descriptions of his clients with respect to certain mutually understood categories of behavior from those persons who have had an opportunity to observe

them in various situations. This procedure is recommended because others are going to base judgments on the descriptions. From many accounts the counselor may make an estimate of the variability of a counselee's behavior and come to some tentative decisions about its modifiability, its tendency to persevere, and the conditions under which perseverence or variation may be expected to occur. And in doing so he will realize that his forecasts will often be in error, since new variables, within and without the individual, may be introduced at any time. He will always be humble about his predictions for he must know that there are yet no instruments which make the forecasting of the more complex forms of human behavior an exact science.

METHODS OF STUDYING BEHAVIOR

Having been cautioned about objectivity, statistical generalization, and too-ready acceptance of any one theory, the student may now consider methods of studying behavior. The following list of procedures is presented as a guide from which selection may be made according to the nature of the problem presented and the amount of time available to work with the subject.[9] Not one of them is adequate when it is used alone, and only the first item on the list can be applied to every student unless the counselor is working under ideal conditions.

1. *Behavior description.*[10] This technique requires the description of behavior of an individual with respect to certain carefully defined characteristics, which are commonly acknowledged to be related to success in education and vocations. Descriptions will be obtained from as many individuals as have had the opportunity to observe the subjects's behavior with respect to the characteristic named and defined. They may be supplemented by anecdotal records and free reports in the form of notes.

2. *Samples of self-chosen performances.* The performances of a subject may be observed in the form, quality, and quantity of drawings, constructions, arrangements, collections, writ-

[9] See Bender, I. E., H. A. Imus, and J. W. M. Rothney, *Motivation and Visual Factors* (Hanover, N. H.: Dartmouth College Publications, 1941), for case materials in which these techniques were used.

[10] Progressive Education Association, *Manual to Accompany the Behavior Description.*

ings, or any other products of an activity that he has chosen without compulsion. The circumstances under which these items are produced must be fully described.

3. *Samples of required performances.* These may be in the form of autobiographies or any other completed assignment in any subject area, performance at a place of employment, or responses to questionnaires. The circumstances under which they were produced must be described.

4. *Results of interviews.* The interviews must have been designed for a purpose. They may be controlled by interpolated questions or by the determinedly neutral attitude of the client-centered counselor. They should be recorded, and analysis of behavior during the interviews should be made immediately after they are completed.

5. *Application of projective techniques.* The counselor will study responses to various degrees of unstructured situations in which free association to words, pictures, music, unfinished stories, or similes are presented to the subject. These techniques will be used sparingly and only by those who can interpret them skillfully. The counselor must realize that such techniques will best be used experimentally. Adequate evidence from longitudinal studies that they are useful in counseling of youth has not yet been presented.

6. *Miscellaneous. In exceptional situations* the common interest inventories and personality questionnaires may be used, and some of the best rating scales may be applied under rigorously controlled conditions. The limitations of such techniques, however, reduce their use to a very minimum. In this category, too, belong all of the many items of information which the counselor may pick up in the day-to-day events of the school and community.

LIMITATIONS OF SHORT-CUT METHODS

The list given above suggests that there are no short cuts to the description and understanding of human behavior such as implied in the use of the personality questionnaire and the interest inventory. The naïveté of those who propose to use only such short cuts is disturbing to many persons who have considered the history

of attempts to understand human behavior, to those who have participated in longitudinal studies, and to those who have thought about the problems of human behavior at even a very superficial level. It should be noted, however, that when the counselor rejects the short cuts to the study of behavior that such devices seem to provide, he has set himself tasks for which there are few proved instruments. The several procedures presented above are proposed to take the place of the short-cut questionnaire and inventories, which are rejected for use in other than very unusual circumstances.[11]

There are both practical and theoretical reasons for rejecting the personality questionnaire, interest inventory, and attitude scale as basic instruments for counseling. The practical reason is simply that they seldom do what they purport to do. The most comprehensive reviews of the literature on personality questionnaires is summarized by two investigators.

We may conclude, therefore, judging from the validity studies on group-questionnaires thus far reported in the literature that there is at best one chance in two that these tests will validly discriminate between *groups* of adjusted and maladjusted individuals, and there is very little indication that they can be safely used to diagnose *individual* cases or to give valid estimations of the personality traits of *specific* respondents. The older, more conventional, and more widely used forms of these tests seem to be, for practical diagnostic purposes, hardly worth the paper on which they are printed.[12]

It is concluded that group-administered paper and pencil personality questionnaires are of dubious value in distinguishing between groups of adjusted and maladjusted individuals and that they are of much less value in the diagnosis of individual adjustment or personality traits.[13]

[11] Interest inventories, personality questionnaires, and attitude scales are grouped for purposes of this critique because most criticisms apply equally to all. They apply, in fact, to any instrument that requires the individual to make a self-inventory.

[12] Ellis, A., "The Validity of Personality Questionnaires," *Psychological Bulletin,* vol. 43, No. 5, 1946.

[13] See also Kornhauser, A., "Replies of Psychologists to a Short Questionnaire on Mental Test Developments, Personality Inventories, and the Rorschach Test," *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* Spring, 1945. Only 15 per cent of a group of psychologists considered to be highly competent in this field rated paper-and-pencil personality inventories as highly or moderately satisfactory.

For some twenty years the "personality testers" have enjoyed a position of great prestige. Currently we find that one author[14] has expressed the thought of many psychologists when he states that the self-inventory "represents the nadir of scientific inventiveness and subtlety" and that "It is certain that the matching of internal questionnaire factors and external behavior factors is systematically more difficult than those who so confidently predict from questionnaires in guidance and personnel work imagine." During the past twenty years these "tests" have become deterrents to thought and inhibitors of research ideas because they have provided plenty of scores to a statistically minded population, and some persons have not deemed it necessary to go beyond those scores. Their lack of value as practical instruments has been noted, however, by those persons who have pondered the complexity of individuals, have done follow-up studies, and have considered some of the following theoretical issues.[15]

Attitudes, feelings, and interests vary greatly in depth, stability, and permanence. Despite these facts a subject is required to respond to the items in the questionnaires in a very limited manner by marking responses which do not allow for these variations. He must answer to items of life-long concern and record superficial snap judgments on things that have been given little consideration in exactly the same manner. He is forced to make a choice among items where there is no real choice or concern, and he may be required to make judgments about terms which he does not understand.[16] He may be forced to respond to test items when he is in particularly optimistic or pessimistic moods, when he is feeling high or low, secure or insecure. And moods would seem to demand more consideration in personality measurement than they do in other forms of testing.

Most paper-and-pencil personality questionnaires and interest

[14] Cattell, R. B., *Description and Measurement of Personality* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1946).

[15] The reader should have copies of the common interest inventories and personality questionnaires, with their manuals, at hand while he reads this section.

[16] Consider for example the high-school student who must react to occupations that he has never studied and with which he has very little familiarity. Consider also the use of such terms as "frequently," "seldom," "usually," and "often." See E. C. Roeber, "A Comparison of Seven Interest Inventories with Respect to Word Usage," *Journal of Educational Research,* September, 1948.

inventories can be faked. Only the most naïve subject can be depended upon to respond as he actually thinks, and even his thinking may be subject to the influences mentioned above. Many subjects respond in the way that they think they ought to respond or in the way that they think will bring the best results, a factor that must be considered when it is proposed to use these instruments with applicants for employment or scholarships. Even when there are no deliberate attempts to deceive, there may be tendencies toward compensation or rationalization of which the subject is not aware and which he might even deny or reject.

The inventories and questionnaires rely on self-judgments, which may be invalid.[17] Even if the judgments were valid from the subject's point of view, however, the counselor must be concerned with the judgments of others about the behavior of individuals in important person-to-person relationships. These instruments could give us, then, even if the responses were not invalidated for reasons stated above, only a partial picture, only one aspect of a complex condition.

It is probably true that most persons are reluctant to tell about themselves. For those few who have such strong feelings and beliefs that they are willing to expound on them, no tests are necessary. The boy who spends his free time at mechanical pursuits, who spends a large proportion of his allowance on mechanical devices, who draws many books about mechanics from the library, and who seeks the company of boys who carry on similar mechanical pursuits, does not need to be tested for mechanical interests. Many of the inventories simply elaborate the obvious in such cases.

Even if these instruments were valid, however, they would not necessarily indicate the reasons for the appearance of the behavior and the situations that elicited it. The behavior that is observed may be considered only as symptomatic without giving any clues about its cause, but when it is given a score, it is suggested that it is fixed and permanent. This suggestion may result in the tendency to do counseling with the individual only as he is, and not as he might be if remediation were applied or his circumstances altered. The boy who is introverted because he is extremely sensitive about

[17] The empirical argument that it does not matter what the responses are so long as responses differentiate groups, puts the study of personality on a very superficial level. The responses provide no answer to the "why" which is so essential to the understanding of an individual.

his poor clothes may, for example, blossom out when he earns enough to dress himself satisfactorily. The permanence that is implied in status scores could be established only by valid records of longitudinal data about behavior, but most personality testers cannot wait for this slow process to accumulate validation data.

Above all, the questionnaires and inventories may be criticized because they suggest that personality study is a simple process. In twenty minutes the personality tester labels conditions that a conscientious counselor might take many days to establish. The personality tester suggests, in his facile use of statistics, that simple addition is the best procedure for collating information about an individual's behavior patterns. He obtains data about one characteristic by forcing into profiles the residuals of other choices. He treats his data as if every characteristic were normally distributed, although social pressures continuously skew such distribution and local mores may distort them. He assumes an atomistic nature of behavior which has not been established, and he lumps the atoms into a total which he names by fiat. The counselor must ask himself whether the understanding of the eternal problems of the behavior of youth seems likely to yield to the application of single instruments of this type.

But if such instruments are rejected, they must be replaced with others (some of which may be subject to the limitations noted above), for the counselor must have some estimates of behavior. He will find that if his counsel is to be good, he must go beyond the level at which the personality questionnaires function. He will use a flexible and varied approach to his problems in the study of behavior and will strive to avoid the error of giving too much weight to any particular theory or data from any one instrument. He will make constant checks on the validity and reliability of any technique (including, of course, the interviews) that he applies. For everything that is said or done he will provide evidence of its basis or present a clear statement of the fact that it is simply a hypothesis. He will strive to be scientific in the true sense of the term, because he will describe his subjects before he takes any action; but he will be aware that the study of human behavior has not yet produced a true, and perhaps unique, science. He will always be very humble and will forever be aware of the limitations of his data. He will be striving to provide as good counsel for every subject as he would for his own son, and he will realize that his counsel will

only be as good as his data about behavior permit. And the collection of such data will require the use of several techniques.

THE METHOD OF BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTION

The basic instrument for the collection of data will take the form of the *Behavior Description.*[18] It provides evidence about the behavior of an individual as it is observed by persons who have had an opportunity to see him in various situations. It is *not* a rating scale. It differs from the common behavior rating scales in the following respects: (1) It does not provide a numerical score or series of scores; (2) it makes no assumption about the desirability of any of the characteristics or any combination of them for any particular individual; (3) it does not encourage comparisons, since it concedes that a pattern of behavior that is satisfactory for one individual can be highly undesirable for another; (4) it makes no false claim to objectivity; (5) it does not assume that evidence concerning a limited group of attitudes, habits, and traits can present a complete picture of the behavior of an individual; (6) it does not attempt to imply motives; (7) it does not encourage generalization beyond what has been observed; (8) it does not suggest that a person *has* certain characteristics, but that he *behaves* in certain ways under the stated circumstances.

The behavior-description method attempts to give those who are studying individuals, particularly students, a common language in which to discuss their development and a short hand method of recording and presenting observations about them to others.[19] The characterization is a description of typical behavior rather than a word or phrase that has different meanings to different persons. It provides for reporting upon behavior of a subject in various situations. It allows for the possibility that differences in the judgment of various observers may prove as significant as the similarities that they report. It admits that there are wide differences in a person's response to different situations and influences, and that, though each reporter makes a correct analysis of his observation, the re-

[18] See the *Manual for the Behavior Description.* This instrument was produced by the Records and Reports Committee of the Progressive Education Association during the Eight Year Study. A modified form of it is contained in the cumulative record forms for schools and colleges distributed by the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

[19] Traxler has called the behavior-description technique an antidote to the personality *measurement* device.

ports may differ greatly. It is not expected that everyone who knows a subject would describe all his characteristics. It must be emphasized that there is no implication of goodness or badness in the use of the term "behavior." It describes an individual's acts, whether they are constructive or otherwise.

The descriptions of students' behavior by observers are expressed by placing appropriate symbols beside carefully defined statements of certain characteristics, by writing notes or answering questions regarding particular attributes, and by writing supplementary paragraphs to complete a description.[20] It is obvious that no list of statements under any heading can be complete enough to describe every possible variation of behavior, but if the symbol is placed beside the statement that most nearly describes the student and the observer writes a note to make fuller explanation, the coverage will be complete enough for one phase of the counselor's study of an individual's behavior. If descriptions can be made over a period of years, they are likely to be more meaningful, since there will be more observers in a greater variety of situations and significant trends of behavior may be disclosed.

Most people seem to dislike the task of making and keeping records. They often regard the process as a clerical job, which requires extra time without extra pay.[21] Yet teachers like to find out things about their pupils and to tell others about them.[22] The counselor who works well with the school faculty can use this desire of teachers to observe and describe other persons so that what is commonly called "gossiping about students" can become the "collecting and collating of valuable information for counseling purposes." He must convince school administrators and parents that time must be provided for making adequate descriptions by occasional shortening of the school day, arranging of certain times during the year when no classes are in session, or by grouping of pupils to give a teacher time to record her observations. He may find this difficult to accomplish because it breaks the tradition that a teacher is doing her job only when she is surrounded by pupils, but it can be done.

[20] See the case of Mary Anderson in the American Council Cumulative Record in Appendix II.

[21] The time must come when secretarial service is provided to assist teachers with records. A dictaphone in the school office would make the recording of anecdotal records a practical procedure.

[22] Hawkes, F. P., "Discussions Panels for Teachers Meetings," *Education*, September, 1939.

SAMPLE BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION OF BEHAVIOR (Made by all those who have had sufficient opportunity to observe the pupil.)
Key to persons making the descriptions below: Ad-Advisor, Ag-Agriculture, Ar-Arts, D-Dramatics, E-English, F-French, G-German, HR-Home Room teacher, HE-Home Economics, L-Latin, M-Mathematics, Mu-Music, NS-Natural Science, SS-Social Science; Others,

	Grade 8	9	10	11	12	
RESPONSIBILITY						
Responsible and Resourceful: Carries Through Whatever is Undertaken, and Also Shows Initiative and Versatility in Accomplishing and Enlarging Upon Undertakings.	SS-M-MU H.R.	M-MU H.R.	SS H.R.	M	M-D	M-D-E H.R.-MU	Apparent decrease in responsibility in ninth grade due to increased assumption of duties out of school so that her assignments were hurriedly done or neglected 11th grade - Class work fairly well done but laboratory exercises neglected seriously.
Conscientious: Completes Without External Compulsion Whatever is Assigned But is Unlikely to Enlarge the Scope of Assignments.	E	E-L		H.R.	H.R.		
Generally Dependable: Usually Carries Through Undertakings, Self-Assumed or Assigned by Others Requiring Only Occasional Reminder or Compulsion.		SS	E-M	E		SS	
Selectively Dependable: Shows High Persistence in Undertakings in Which There is Particular Interest, But is Less Likely to Carry Through Other Assignments.			L	L	E		
Unreliable: Can Be Relied Upon to Complete Undertakings Only When They Are of Moderate Duration or Difficulty and Then Only With Much Prodding and Supervision.					N.S.		
Irresponsible: Cannot Be Relied Upon to Complete Any Undertakings Even When Constantly Prodded and Guided.							
CREATIVENESS							
General: Approaches Whatever He Does With Active Imagination and Originality, So That He Contributes Something That is His Own.	SS-E H.R.	M H.R.	SS H.R.	M	M	E	7th grade - Other pupils say she is "full of ideas" 9th - Much of her art work is now copy but occasionally she does original. 11th - Creativeness best shown in her management of groups.
Specific: Makes Distinctly Original and Significant Contributions in One or More Fields.		AR-E-MU		HR	HR	HR-M-SS	
Promising: Shows a Degree of Creativeness That Indicates the Likelihood of Valuable Original Contribution in Some Field, Although the Contributions Already Made Have Not Proved to Be Particularly Significant.	AR-M-MU		M		E	MU	
Limited: Shows the Desire to Contribute His Own Thinking and Expression to Situations, But His Degree of Imagination and Originality is Not, in General, High Enough to Have Much Influence on His Accomplishments.		L-SS	L-E				
Imitative: Makes Little or No Creative Contributions, Yet Shows Sufficient Imagination to See the Implications in the Creation of Others and to Make Use of Their Ideas or Accomplishments.				L-E			
Unimaginative: Has Given Practically No Evidence of Originality or Creativeness in Imagination or Action.					N.S.		
INFLUENCE							
Controlling: His Influence Habitually Shapes the Opinions, Activities, or Ideals of His Associates.	SS-M H.R.	SS-M-E-MU H.R.	E-L HR	L-M HR	M HR	M-E-MU H.R.	9th - Mary is frequently chosen by others to carry out ideas which she presents. She can win others to her cause by her logic and by her effectiveness in getting things done.
Contributing Influence: His Influence, While Not Controlling, Strongly Affects the Opinions, Activities, or Ideals of His Associates.	E-MU	L	SS-M	E	E-NS	SS	
Varying: His Influence Varies, Having Force When Particular Ability, Skill, Experience or Circumstance Gives it Opportunity or Value.							
Co-Operating: Has No Very Definite Influence on His Associates, But Contributes to Group Thinking and Action Because of Some Discrimination in Regard to Ideas and Leaders.							
Passive: Has No Definite Influence on His Associates, Being Carried Along by the Nearest or Strongest Influence.							
ADJUSTABILITY							
Secure: Appears to Feel Secure in His Social Relationships and is Accepted by the Groups of Which He is a Part.	SS-M-MU-E HR	SS-M-MU-E HR-L	SS-M-E-L HR	M-E-L HR	M-E-NS HR	SS-M-MU-E HR	8th - At ease with any group of students or adults. Described in senior year book as "most popular".
Uncertain: Appears to Have Some Anxiety About His Social Relationships Although He is Accepted by the Groups of Which He is a Part.							
Neutral: Shows the Desire to Have an Established Place in the Group, But is, in General, Treated With Indifference.							
Withdrawn: Withdraws From Others to an Extent That Prevents His Being a Fully Accepted Member of His Group.							
Not Accepted: Has Characteristics of Person or Behavior That Prevent His Being an Accepted Member of His Group.							

The greatest change required in the use of the behavior description method is one of attitude, and this can best be achieved by showing that the use of the observations contributes to the meeting of the objectives of the school.[23]

The following paragraph, taken from the manual for the 1941 Revision of the American Council on Education Cumulative Record Card for Junior and Senior High Schools, outlines procedures that may be used in the making of descriptions:[24]

Instead of requiring a perfunctory rating of personality twice a year, a practice that teachers dislike and if possible avoid, it is proposed that teachers be encouraged to make continuous observations of their pupils with respect to the defined characteristics, and to record their judgments at such times as are decided upon. It is recommended that duplicated sheets of the definitions of characteristics be furnished to the teachers so that they can make their descriptions of the pupils with the definitions before them, and without being influenced by each other's judgments. The judgments can be entered on sheets of class lists with the characteristics used as headings across the top of the page. Use of abbreviations and numbers for types make such a form simple to prepare. All the descriptions should be entered upon the record card, thus making a picture of the pupil as seen by all his teachers. Where there are significant notes accompanying a description they can be entered on the card at the right-hand side of the definitions. If teachers study the form carefully, particularly the definitions of behavior, at the beginning of the school year, and the importance of making the descriptions upon the basis of carefully considered evidence is emphasized, the descriptions are likely to be valid. It should be noted that for most pupils the descriptions made by different teachers should vary considerably because of the differences in the conditions under which the teachers meet them, and the resulting variations in the responses of the pupils. These variations may be as important as the similarities that show a person's most common behavior.

It is frequently said that descriptions obtained in this manner are simply indicators of a student's achievement and that the teacher's observations are reflected in the marks which she assigns. In order to check on this matter studies were made of the relationships between the marks given to a group of pupils and the descriptions of these pupils recorded by their teachers. The results are presented

[23] Ottoson, H. A., and J. W. M. Rothney, "A Practical Reorganization of a Junior High School to Meet Student Needs," *Education,* vol. 63, No. 1, 1942.

[24] Published by the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

in the table below.[25] The student who is aware of the low forecasting efficiency of such coefficients will realize that the teachers' marks did not predict accurately the description of the behavior of the students with respect to the characteristics noted.[26]

Coefficients of Contingency[27]
Behavior Descriptions and Teachers' Marks

Factors	*C*	*N*
Responsibility—mathematics	.69	87
Creativeness—mathematics	.74	88
Social concern—mathematics	.64	88
Serious purpose—mathematics	.73	84
Responsibility—social studies	.74	87
Creativeness—social studies	.61	86
Social concern—social studies	.64	81
Serious purpose—social studies	.68	73
Responsibility—French	.66	74
Creativeness—French	.64	75
Social concern—French	.63	73
Serious purpose—French	.69	71

It has been suggested that the "halo" effect is likely to vitiate the value of behavior descriptions, that if a teacher thinks well of a student she will tend to let that feeling influence all her descriptions of him. The evidence against this "halo" effect is found in the following results.

Coefficients of Contingency between Behavior Descriptions

Factors	*C*	*N*
1. Social adjustability—serious purpose.	.35	1431
2. Responsibility—creativeness	.56	1087
3. Influence—social concern	.63	1445
4. Work habits—serious purpose	.66	1210

[25] These studies were conducted by the senior author at the Beaver County Day School, Chestnut Hill, Mass., and in public schools of Beaver Dam, Wis.

[26] Hull, C. L., *Aptitude Testing* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1928), Chap. 8.

[27] The coefficient of contingency, (C), is a measure of the extent to which the number of cases in each compartment of a table similar to a correlation table varies from the number of cases which might be expected to fall there by pure chance. Though these coefficients are as large as some that are given as evidence of high validity, only the most naïve would conclude that the relationship is high.

If twenty-nine teachers report, over a six-year period, that Mary Anderson appears to feel secure in her social relationships and is accepted by the groups of which she is a member,[28] the counselor has obtained some valuable data about her behavior.[29]

In order to determine the extent to which teachers change their descriptions of behavior, 1697 students were described in January and again in June of the same year by the same teachers. The results indicate that the teachers do change their descriptions as much as five categories when there is a marked variation of the

Changes in Behavior Descriptions, January to June, 1938

Extent of Change in Description	Number of Cases	Percentage of Cases
+5	3	0.2
+4	25	1.5
+3	114	6.7
+2	274	16.1
+1	507	29 9
0	335	19.8
−1	311	18.3
−2	114	6.7
−3	12	0.7
−4	2	0.1
	$N = 1697$	100.0

students' behavior patterns, but that such great changes occur infrequently.[30] Sixty-eight per cent of the descriptions were not changed by more than one category. The variability is of the order that might be expected in any large group of students during a period of six months of school attendance.[31]

Finally a study was made of the descriptions under each of the characteristics to determine whether the descriptions varied signifi-

[28] The point of view here is different from that of the researcher who is seeking pure and independent traits. We are concerned here with the problem of how well she gets along with other persons, and if all these people agree that she does get along well with them, we can use that fact in counseling her.

[29] See the case of Mary Anderson in Appendix II.

[30] For purposes of this study the descriptions were considered as points on a scale. It must be emphasized, however, that they are not used as points in actual practice.

[31] Teachers who provided these descriptions were not aware that a study was to be made of their reports.

cantly from those obtained in previous studies of behavior, and from consideration of theory about the characteristics described. If, for example, a very large proportion of the students had been named as generally creative, we coud be suspicious of the results; and if many had been described as having controlling influence, the categories under this characteristic should be rejected. If in the schools in which this study was made, there had been large numbers of students described as "withdrawn" or "not accepted" by the group, the evidence would have been widely at variance with what had been revealed about the populations by the use of other techniques. The obtained distributions appear on page 103.

Smith[32] has described one way in which the data collected by the behavior-description method may be utilized. From a student's record he was able to give the following analysis of her behavior to a new faculty member who had inquired about the student. Note that though the words may seem rather familiar and the statements rather general, they are derived from a cumulative record of observations made by several persons in many different situations over a period of a year.

This girl is on the whole industrious and responsible. She reaches in some of her work the point where she does not need to be told what to do, but goes beyond the requirements of the teacher in her desire to get as much as she can from the opportunity, and to make any contributions she can to her classes. However, she is at times a little temperamental and some work that she likes less than other kinds may not be so completely done.

She is judged by all her teachers to have a good deal of creativeness and originality. The least favorable judgment given by anybody is that she is promising in this quality, and the highest judgment is that her whole attitude toward everything she does is creative, that she puts into all activities something original.

Her influence in the group is distinctly constructive, and she has a good deal of influence. I am not using the word "leadership," you understand. She has a very strong constructive influence. Her opinions are respected and therefore the class is the better for having that pupil in the group. The one place where that is not strictly true is in the part of the school day given to physical education. She is not particularly vigorous, and therefore does not respond well to that kind

[32] Smith, E. R., "Modernizing Records for Guidance and Transfer," *Educational Record, Supplement* No. 13, January, 1940.

Distribution of Behavior Descriptions

	Behavior Descriptions	Percentage of Descriptions of 8 Teachers in a Private School	Percentage of Descriptions of 18 Teachers in a Public School		
		184 Students, Grades 9 to 12	456 Seventh-Grade Students	620 Eighth-Grade Students	530 Ninth-Grade Students
RESPONSIBILITY	Responsible and resourceful.	12.1	19.7	13.1	18.3
	Conscientious.	39.4	36.0	39.6	37.4
	Generally dependable.	25.5	27.1	17 1	24.1
	Selectively dependable.	14.9	12.4	16.0	12.1
	Unreliable.	6.9	4.3	11.8	6.4
	Irresponsible.	1.2	0.5	2.4	1.7
CREATIVENESS	General....	7.9	13.7	13.2	12.6
	Specific.	12.3	14.3	15.0	6.2
	Promising.	25.4	32.4	26.2	25.7
	Limited.	33.8	29.8	21.9	29.3
	Imitative.	9.7	8.5	17.4	24.7
	Unimaginative.	10.9	1.3	6.3	11.5
INFLUENCE	Controlling	8.0	10.5	13.6	5.7
	Contributing.	23.0	37.8	23.7	24.1
	Varying.	26.7	31.1	27 7	22.3
	Cooperating.	29.3	15.8	23.4	36.4
	Passive..	12.9	4.8	11.6	11.5
ADJUSTABILITY	Secure...	43.2	48.4	52.2	53.4
	Uncertain.	27.4	36.0	23.6	28.8
	Neutral.	17.2	13.0	11.9	11.3
	Withdrawn.	8.9	1.5	8.6	5.7
	Not accepted.	3.3	1.1	3.7	0.8
CONCERN FOR OTHERS	Generally concerned.	22.8	52.4	20.3	46.8
	Selectively concerned.	25.6	25.7	40.0	28.4
	Personal.	26.0	18.4	26.2	19.2
	Inactive.	19.1	2.2	7.6	2.8
	Unconcerned.	6.5	1.3	5.9	2.8
SERIOUS PURPOSE	Purposeful.	27.6			
	Limited.	32.7			
	Potential.	21.3	Not described in public school study		
	Vacillating.	10.6			
	Vague.	7.8			

of activity, so she is likely to drop out of a situation sometimes when she should take part.

She is definitely concerned for the good of her group; that is, she thinks beyond her own selfish interest to a degree that means that her social contribution is a thoughtful one. She is very responsive emotionally. She responds to ideas quite highly, always to beauty of various kinds, and to a degree even to orderliness and to difficulty; that is, she will respond if a difficulty is pointed out to her as one worth overcoming.

She is not physically vigorous, which has to be taken into account in what she is allowed to do or urged to do, but she has a high degree of self-reliance, of assurance in various situations, and she shows good emotional control despite the fact that she is strongly emotional.

This pupil has had serious family unhappiness within a short time and has gone through distinct and powerful emotional upsets. She has controlled herself remarkably, but undoubtedly has suffered somewhat perhaps from overcontrol. She is secure in her social situation, judged of course for her age; that is, she has no apparent feeling of insecurity. She is accepted and has a distinct place in her group.

She is definitely purposeful. She knows what she wants and why she wants it, and is always moving toward something far enough ahead to be a worthwhile long-time purpose.

Her work habits are on the whole quite highly effective, though they differ somewhat in different fields. They are never less than reasonably adequate for a girl of her age.

Many readers may be disturbed by the apparent subjectivity of reports obtained from application of the behavior-description method and by the lack of numerical scores. To such persons it must be pointed out, in the first place, that this method is *only one of the procedures* to be used in the study of behavior, and that data from other sources will be obtained. In the second place, the authors believe, as many others do,[33] that measurement must follow a long period of description and that we have not been long enough in the descriptive phase of the study of behavior to permit the sole use of measurement at this time.[34] The issues of subjectivity

[33] See, for example, Cattell, R. B., *Description and Measurement of Personality* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1946).

[34] It is not implied, of course, that researchers should not attempt to measure behavior. Until they are more successful than they have been up to this time, however, the practicing counselor should remain at the descriptive level.

versus objectivity have been discussed in a previous section of this volume.

PERFORMANCES BY INDIVIDUALS ON ASSIGNMENTS

Students or workers are frequently assigned tasks by teachers and employers, and analysis of responses to such assignments may assist in the understanding of their behavior. It is also possible to obtain valuable information by requiring students to do certain tasks which, although they have other practical values, are specifically designed to provide data for counseling purposes. Much of the evidence about their behavior in the first of these conditions will be reported in the *Behavior Description* discussed above. The data obtained in the second circumstance may consist of analysis of responses to such assignments as the writing of autobiographies, of students' reports on observations of activities, and participation in group researches. Observation of performances when students are given responsibility for the arrangements of social affairs, the production of materials for use in certain courses or units, and the occasions on which they are given various special assignments may also provide pertinent data.

Observation of an individual while he is responding to required activities may reveal vigor or lassitude of response, variation from usual behavior under specific stimulation, the tendency to go beyond minimum requirements, attempts to improvise, reaction to authority, success in working with various groups, and relative degrees of zeal or apathy of response to various activities. If observers of such behavior describe what they have seen by the anecdotal method[35] or, less formally, in occasional conferences with a counselor who makes notations about patterns of behavior, significant data may be obtained about the relative stimulus-value of various experiences. (It is important to note, if the anecdotal record is used, that it must *not* become an extra burden for the teacher. A very effective way to alienate school personnel from counseling programs is to insist on the recording of a certain number of anecdotes on a specific number of subjects in rigidly prescribed form at a stated time.)

The autobiography. One assignment which can be more re-

[35] Jarvie, L. L., and M. Ellingson, *A Handbook on the Anecdotal Behavior Journal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

vealing than many others is the *autobiography*. It is in this assignment that a subject may reveal much about his behavior which he would otherwise keep strictly to himself. If he is given time to arrange and select among his experiences, significant events, which are often overlooked in the interview, may be recalled, and experiences that may not be brought to light by the questionnaire, because the questions do not touch on points which a subject considers to be very important, can be described. The autobiography is under the subject's control, and he decides (even in the topical form) what he shall relate, how he will say it, and how much he will tell about any event. Though there is the possibility of much misinterpretation, many omissions, and deliberate bias in selection of experiences reported, the merits of the autobiography lie primarily in the fact that it comes from within. Allport[30] has stated this point as follows:

> The great merit of an autobiography is that it gives the "inside half" of the life; the half that is hidden from the objectively-minded scientist. To be sure, the inside half is not wholly known even to the autobiographer, and what he knows he may dress up, or prettify, before exposing it to view. And yet the risks of conscious and unconscious deception, while they complicate the scientist's task, in principle may actually enhance the potential of the document.

The use of the autobiography in isolation cannot be recommended as a good data-gathering technique for counseling, but if it is used with caution as an instrument for the study of the "inside half," it can contribute valuable information about the behavior of the individual, and the counselor must become concerned about this "inside half."[37] If description of behavior consisted only of a record of what one *did* the counseling task would be much simpler than it is. If the counselor could assume that if there were no vocalization of conflict, frustration, or disturbing attitudes toward sex and religion, none existed; and that if there were no outward manifestation of belligerency, suffering, and discouragement, none existed, he could predict behavior with a greater degree of success than he now achieves. It is probably due to the acceptance of such naïve assumptions that many predictions are highly ineffective and

[30] Allport, G. W., *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942).

[37] See the case of Donald in Chapter V.

that the forecasting efficiency of large batteries of tests are greatly limited.

The counselee who writes an autobiography is usually concerned with the troubles he has had, the difficulties he has met, and the conflicts he has experienced. In writing freely about these things, he may disclose and elaborate on them in a way that he cannot do in the test situation. His autobiography may reveal what the battery of tests misses and point up important factors that increases the effectiveness of forecasting. In the following autobiography[38] Albert has revealed that he has always been concerned about the attitudes of others toward him, that much of the concern still remains, and that it influences nearly everything he does. Without consideration of this information it would be impossible to provide the counseling that he needed. It is extremely doubtful, however, that it could have been uncovered by the use of any other technique.

Before we appraise the value of the autobiography, however, the student should read the one written by Albert and, after discussion of it, the one by Marion. They were written as assignments in a beginning course in education at a state university. The purpose of the assignment is indicated by the instructions given to the students and presented verbatim below. As the reader examines Albert's report, he should select what he considers to be revealing information about the individual and try to decide if other instruments could have provided the information which they present.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE WRITING OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The purpose of this assignment is to make you aware of the influence of educational processes upon the development of youth by recalling your own educational experiences, bringing them together, and judging their influence in making you the kind of person you are. The questions listed below, which are given for guidance only, should be studied carefully before you begin to write your essay. *Do not answer them as if they were a list of questions for which specific answers are required in the order given.* Although this is primarily an autobiography of your educational career, you may discover that it will not be possible to eliminate other in-

[38] Note that this is a topical autobiography with particular reference to the subjects' educational experiences.

fluences, such as activities at home and in the community. These should, of course, be brought in whenever they help to describe your educational career.

Achievements

1. Did you find certain subjects easier, more interesting or more profitable than others? How would you explain this condition? Were the conditions constant or did they change over a period of years?
2. Did you ever win prizes, receive honors, get selected for positions or offices requiring particular achievements, or in any other way show evidence of outstanding performances or lack of them?
3. Did you ever know what scores you had made on tests of intelligence or scholastic aptitude and what effect did the knowledge of such scores have upon you?
4. Were there any school requirements which you found particularly difficult to meet?
5. Have you found that your achievements changed through out your educational career? Your interests in school subjects?
6. Did you learn to carry difficult tasks through to completion even though you had to sacrifice a great deal to do it? Can you still do it?

Relationships with Teachers and Other Members of School Faculties

1. Were there any teachers or principals whom you think exerted a strong influence upon you either favorably or unfavorably?
2. As you look back on your school career, are your reactions toward teachers pleasantly or unpleasantly toned? Were there any marked exceptions and can you determine why they occurred?
3. Did you ever have any embarrassing experiences in school? What effect did (or do) they have upon you?
4. Did you feel that most of your teachers were really interested in you as a person? Did your parents take part in school and community activities? If so, did it have any influence on you?

Relationship to Companions in School

1. Was your school life, in general, a happy experience?
2. Were there certain pupils who stand out in your memory? If so, for what reasons?
3. Can you explain your choice of companions during your school experience?
4. Do you remember any change in your choice of companions and the reason for it? Were you ever chosen for membership in certain groups and did it please you? Were you ever rejected by any group? If so, how did it affect you?

5. Did you have many friends while at school or have you been the kind of person who had only one or a very small group of friends?

Activities Related to School

1. Did you learn to concentrate on your schoolwork even when there were many other activities to distract you? Can you still do it?
2. What extracurricular activities did you particularly enjoy? Think most profitable?
3. Do you feel that the time spent on these activities was worth while?
4. What attitudes or ideals did you develop from school experiences, church, family, or friends which still influence your philosophy of life?

Counseling

1. Did your teachers frequently act as counselors and guides? Did they talk to you about your ambitions, your interests, your problems?
2. Did anyone help you in making your decision to come to the university? Did you get any assistance in making your vocational decisions?
3. Did your teachers have enough time to give you individual attention?
4. Did you change your vocational choice frequently? If so, can you remember what factors were influencing you?
5. Could you sum up your philosophy of life briefly and indicate the way it has developed? What part has the school played in its development?

EDUCATION'S PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALBERT[39]

Written by a Junior at a State University as an Educational Autobiography

I

With every passing year education is becoming increasingly important in shaping the futures of young people. When the parents of most of us who are at present at college age were young, formal education played a much less significant part in their lives than it does in ours. There was no minimum age at which they were permitted to leave school—many of them went only to the sixth or seventh grade (often not even that far) before leaving school

[39] The writer was a male student at a state university. He was enrolled in the School of Education and was taking a course in the study of children. Paragraphs and lines have been numbered to facilitate discussion. They were not numbered in the student's report. All original constructions and spelling have been retained.

to get a job or to help out at home. Today we not only find children going farther in school, but also educators who are better trained and who are capable and worthy of having a direct influence in the formation of useful citizens from the children in our schools.

II

In looking back over my life, I find that education is among the foremost of the various influences which have played a part in "making me the way I am." It is difficult to decide just when education began its important part. Although my formal education began with my entrance into school in the fall of 1930, I think that its influence was felt in my life even before that time. I began to talk somewhat earlier than the average child, and my four teacher-aunts took advantage of every opportunity to teach me new words. Whether or not I was fortunate in having these four influences I have never been able to decide. My relatives gave me books on most gift-giving occasions, and (so I am told) I was constantly trying to find someone to read to me. As a result of this attention I was able to read most of the childrens' books and to pick out many words in newspapers before I was four. By this time I was considered a "remarkable child."

III

At the age of six I started school in the first grade—there was no kindergarten in our small town at that time. I had gone to school for a short time when I was suddenly "skipped" to the second grade. I was completely taken by surprise. It seems that someone decided that I was too "smart" for the first grade. I have since asked my mother about the situation and have learned that the city superintendent of schools and the first grade teacher had attempted to convince her that I was destined for some terrible fate if I were allowed to continue wasting my time in the first grade. Evidently they succeeded. As I remember it, the situation was rather bewildering to me. I could read fluently by this time—which none of the others could do—but I was also left-handed and had some difficulty with the writing and drawing at first grade level. I doubt whether that one year would have improved my ultimate penmanship much, but it might have helped make it more legible. At any rate, I packed up my few pencils and crayons and toddled into the second grade room, which, to me, seemed filled with horrible strangers. All my friends—the ones with whom I had played during the past few years—were in the first grade. My first few days were spent in scribbling on the board

with yellow chalk (one of my most vivid memories) while I slowly tried to acclimate myself to the more advanced work. Shortly after this I was given my first poem to recite. I must have done fairly well as I was asked to repeat it at several programs. This was the beginning of my career in speaking, which is the only thing for which I received any degree of acclaim during my school days. The second grade teacher was an old family friend. Whether this had anything to do with my skipping the grade or with my subsequent good marks and resulting attitude I don't know. However I soon began to expect to be one of the best in everything in school work (except writing and drawing). There was one time that I cried bitterly (in school) because I had spelled "attic" as "attack" and was downed in a spelling contest. The next years passed uneventfully—although I did one thing which had a lasting effect on my associations during high school. I was rather small and retiring, so I didn't fit in well with the big second-graders. As an alternative to making new friends there, I remained with my old pals from the neighborhood, most of whom were in the first grade. This condition persisted throughout my school life—and it had a definite effect on me as far as my associations with my school mates were concerned.

IV

In the fourth grade I won first place in declamatory competition between the fourth grade and our school and that of the other grade school. This gave me some degree of satisfaction, but failed to make me more aggressive. I think now that perhaps the fact that my father worked away from home, with only brief periodic visits during which we children were so awed that we didn't get to know him at all, may have been a contributing factor in my extremely shy nature. I had no qualms at getting up before an audience to speak, but was at a loss in a group, unless they were my old friends. In the fifth grade came a severe blow. The county nurse discovered that I was myopic and needed glasses. Since I had always been more interested in books than strenuous physical activity, these glassses became an additional reason for my lack of participation in school athletics. I am convinced that some people are better equipped from the start for athletics, however, and I am not one of the better-equipped, so I don't think that I ever consciously used the glasses as an excuse for my abstinence.

V

I wasn't completely un-athletic by any means. I swam, skiied, played a fair game of tennis, hiked, and indulged in most other

childhood games including sandlot baseball, football, and basketball which we played using a hoop fastened to the neighbors' garage. But I was definitely not an athlete—which was one reason for the inferiority feeling which I developed by the time I reached High School.

VI

I suppose I had reached what some refer to as the "sensitive age," although I am not sure whether there is much connection between the advent of puberty and my extreme sensitiveness of what others thought and said. In fact, I had perhaps less outward reason than most fellows to be conscious of puberty commencing. My voice seemed to change abruptly in my first year of High School, and I grew in height quite noticably without being too awkward during the process. Through the 8th grade I had been more or less unconcerned about what people thought and said about me. I had continued winning first places in forensics and getting mostly *A*'s in school work. Under our school system I think that many of us began to be graded largely by reputation rather than always because of the caliber of our work. However, high school (and probably puberty) seemed to bring several situations into a focus which gave me an acute consciousness of others and myself which was anything but helpful in living a normal life. Casual remarks made by various persons were interpreted in my mind as direct insults and slurs. I began to think that I was one of the most unattractive persons in the class; that I was looked down upon because I wasn't an athlete, even though I knew that everyone can't be good in all things; that people resented my good grades to some extent and that when they were nice to me it was only because I might possibly give them some help in tomorrow's test. All of this now seems mighty silly—but it was tragic to me then. I blushed very easily and profusely whenever attention was called to me or whenever I had to walk across the room—even though I still was in forensics and on the debate team and had no hesitancy about getting up in front of the student body to give an oration or a demonstration debate. I was also in the choir and worked on the school paper and year book. My grades still kept on a high level. I was grossly insulted when one teacher dared give *me* a *C*+, which I am sure was well-deserved. This teacher still arouses an unpleasant thought when I think of him, even though I know that he was right. I found most courses easy, although some, such as History and Social Problems (a course dealing with business affairs such as trusts, stocks and bonds, banking, trade problems, etc.), appealed to me very little. I

finished these four long years with a scholastic average one-tenth of a point below that of the salutatorian—even though I did virtually no work outside of school and only enough to "get by" in school. My life revolved around my debate work. Life would have been even more dull without that. I think that if I had properly applied myself or had the proper care in development of study habits, I might have been able to do better. The financial aid of the scholarships I might have won would have meant a great deal to my parents. But it was in vain to mourn my lack of ambition then; I had failed to accomplish the feat. The honor students made speeches at graduation and I again won praise for my speaking. It seems that this continual appearing before audiences and the amount of favorable comment should have given me more confidence in myself than I had. But it didn't seem to have much effect.

VII

In view of what I have learned and accomplished in my life thus far, I think (at the risk of appearing a braggart) that the results of the tests we took are a fairly reasonable indication of my abilities. The apparent results of these abilities is due largely to lack of proper guidance and also a lack of an ambition or aim. The general mental ability indicated by the test result is, I believe, a result of inherited capacities more than anything. My vocabulary scores can be attributed to the considerable amount of reading I have done all my life to my school-teacher-aunts. I have one aunt who, during one of her summer vacations while I was about 12, spent some time each day teaching me a new "-ology." Before the summer was over I had acquired quite a string of "-ologies." The clerical aptitude can be accounted for by my general interests plus the fact that during the time I was in clerical work in the army I found enjoyable the work which others find extremely distasteful. In order to be able to do something really well, an interest is necessary in addition to some ability. The Arithmetic score is a bit lower than the others and is probably due to the fact that I never cared for Mathematics and as a result didn't exert the proper effort to become proficient. It appears to me than anyone who can do a few things well can do well at most things if he applies the proper effort—which can be done only with a degree of interest. It has been my experience that I can a *C* in almost any course if I try at all, and if I like the course and work harder, I can get a better grade.

VIII

My social life in High School left much to be desired. I was odd—there is no denying that. I learned to dance in the 10th grade and danced almost exclusively with wall-flowers from then on. I thought for some reason, even unknown to me, that the better-looking girls wouldn't dance with me because I wasn't good-looking, a star athlete, and a ready wit. My conversations with my own friends were all right, but with any of these supposedly ideal students I froze up. It is no wonder that they soon gave up making any special attempts to win my friendship. I clung to my odd beliefs and persisted in believing that they were paying me attention only for whatever personal gain they could derive in the form of help in school work. I would have secretly given my last dollar to have belonged to *the* elite group. I suppose they might have accepted me had I been in the least friendly. I had my circle of friends—most of them quiet, studious, but always fun on our more tame parties and picnics—but they were not *the* group, so I was never satisfied; and I neither made the best of the situation nor tried to improve it. I had spells of moodiness during which I stayed home and became very cross and bitter because I felt inferior and unwanted. As a result of this I can hardly look back on my High School days as the happiest days of my life, even though there are many occasions I remember with pleasure.

IX

I think that the way I am today is not the result of my High School and elementary education, but rather in spite of it. My major interests which are in the nature of books, music, social life, and mild sports, can of course be accounted for by looking at the way in which I was raised at home and directed in school. I think that all along my teachers, and maybe even my parents, fell somewhat short of the mark in having their proper influence in my life. At no time did any of my teachers try to help me choose a vocation, even though I was one of the few who definitely planned on college. My parents had never been able to go to High School, and had long since decided that their children were to have as much education as they could provide. Somewhere during High School I had discovered through an over-talkative teacher that my IQ was the highest in the class at the time. This fact plus my consistent good marks convinced me that nothing short of the University would satisfy me. Even though I had no aim in life, no idea as to what the University was like, and had so far had diffi-

culty in making acquaintances outside my own group, I made up my mind that it was the University for me. My parents were willing to make the sacrifice—and it was a sacrifice—so I announced my intentions to the superintendent. He gave me a catalog and told me to go home and decide what I was going to take. Just like that. Ah, yes, I had ambitions. I had always wanted to be a doctor—for no logical reason. My grandparents were set on the ministry for me. I couldn't see it. My father was in favor of law. My mother wasn't sure. Having eliminated medicine as too expensive for a poor family to undertake. I decided on Chemical Engineering. I filled out the forms, received my permit to register and started off to the university.

X

When I think back now, I wonder how I could possibly have been the way I was. The change has really been remarkable. I still felt then that people were vitally concerned with what others looked like, etc. On my first blind date, I made the remark that I hoped she was not disappointed to find that her date wasn't handsome. She really put me in my place. I believe that was the turning point which started the ball rolling on the road to improvement. All in all, the people were so friendly, so different from what I had been used to, that I soon began to change my views. I began to realize that looks, money, and athletic prowess were minor matters. People valued you more for what you were. True, there were still some snobs, but they were in the minority. I also discovered that I could no longer get by on my reputation. A *C* which had been the cause of so much grief in High School became a common occurrence. I also discovered that I had *no* study habits. I came to like school so well that I didn't care if I went home for Christmas—my first chance for a vacation due to the distance. But I went. I had begun to smoke and had assumed a more unconcerned manner when walking or talking. I had ceased to worry constantly whether others were looking at me. Some of the old feeling returned when I got home, and I still had some difficulty in talking to the former elite of the class, but I had improved. My aim in life suddenly became to convince them that I wasn't nearly so angelic and meek as they had always thought—that at last they were to see the real me. That mission has long since been accomplished. My succeeding years at the University plus my period in the army have all helped to build in me a sense of confidence, so that by this time I never stop to say to myself, "I wonder if those people are looking at me. They

must be thinking how homely I am." I no longer have difficulty talking to people. In the army were all types of people, and I found that I was able to adjust my conversation and to some extent my personality to fit in with the most of them. Since the war my study habits and grades have improved. This may indicate that I was in reality too immature to have tackled the University after going to a small high school. I have also changed courses—first to pre-med (my childhood ambition) and then, after the army released me, realizing the folly of that course considering my record, finances, and interests, I transferred to education, which is what I think now that I will enjoy most.

XI

It was of much amusement to me to discover in a conversation with a fellow who had been a casual friend in High School days that the majority of the students in High School, and some of the faculty, considered my extreme shyness and sensitiveness to be complete conceit and disdain for all the "inferiors."

XII

Now that I am 22 years of age and have completed three years in the army and nearly that long in college, I feel that I have about reached a point where I am ready to face the world with some degree of assurance. I think that my elementary and high school teachers failed in their duty insofar as doing more than just pouring knowledge into me. Whether or not the University faculty had as much to do with my later development as did the relationships and independence at the University is questionable, but the fact remains that the way I am today is not primarily the result of heredity, nor of the home, but the composite result of these, combined with the knowledge, relationships, and experiences which have been presented to me through the educational media.

Assessing the autobiography. In the study of an autobiography the counselor will look first for characteristics which he can assess dependably. Such factors as the subject's clarity in expressing himself in writing can be so assessed. He may then look for clear-cut evidence concerning the behavior of the individual in various situations, and he will examine the document for verification of hypotheses about the individual obtained from sources other than the subject's own report. He will, when he has completed the study of the autobiography, have few facts but many hunches about the subject's behavior which he will seek to corroborate by further in-

vestigation. After he has analyzed a number of autobiographies, the counselor becomes aware of the fact that the contribution of this technique varies greatly, since it depends upon such factors as the memory of the subject; his achievement in analyzing previous behavior; his tendency to use rationalization, compensation, projection, and other such devices (though observation of these are valuable data in themselves); his power to express himself in writing; the rapport which has been established; and his consequent willingness to report as fully and meaningfully as he can.

With these points in mind we may look again at Albert's autobiography. We note that he expresses himself very effectively. We observe that he tends to use (in writing at least) rather exaggerated and colorful terms when writing about himself and others. The use of such expressions as "horrible strangers," "acute consciousness of self and others," "extreme sensitiveness," "inferior and unwanted," "angelic and meek" *suggest* sensitivity to his own feelings and to those of others.[40] We may note the use of the terms "elite" (italicized by Albert), "snob," and "inferiors" in settings that *suggest* strong class consciousness and the need to check other sources for information on this point. We observe that he begins a description of himself (Par. VIII, line 2) with the statement "at the risk of appearing a braggart," and we find that he chooses to take that risk. We note that he points out many personal weaknesses, but that he hastens to assure us that most were not really serious and that, if they were, he now has them under control. We find that Albert has someone or something to blame when things are not as he thinks they should have been, and that he blames his home, his aunts, and his school principal for his difficulties. We find that he has expressed little interest in a business career even though the clerical work in the army was not as distasteful to him as it was to his colleagues. We may observe variability in expression of interest in various fields but it is always at the professional level. And the instructor who read Albert's autobiography pointed out that he was adept at rephrasing the teacher's words and inserting them at such places as it seemed politic to do so.

We have drawn from Albert's autobiography some *facts* about his use of language, and from those facts we may make some *inferences* about his success in academic work. We have some *indica-*

[40] *Or* perhaps only strong interest in language.

tions of interest, *clews* about his social attitudes, *hints* of his tendency to try to make a good impression, *suggestions* of his awareness of the need to be politic, *clews* about habits of projection and rationalization, and *indications* of acute awareness of the feelings and attitudes of others. We have gathered more material to work with than the usual check lists, with their limited responses to sprawling coverage, can ever provide. We have *notes* to add to our data on performances, *queries* to guide our further quest for information about his behavior, *hints* that we need more "inside" information (obtained in part, perhaps, by projective techniques because we know that he is adept at "covering up"), and some *evidence* concerning the degree of interest expressed in one occupational level.

When we bring all these facts, suggestions, clews, hints, inferences, and evidence together, we find that we have made a good start in learning about this individual. He has given us these things in his own words and in the detail of his own choosing. Without such data we might have missed cues for further action. A subject as aware of others and as suspicious of others as Albert appears to be is not likely to be naïve enough to indict himself on any less subtle instrument.

The reader should now turn to the autobiography of *Marion,* which is presented below, and make an analysis of it. He may look for facts and suggestions about performances, interests, social attitudes, and modes of adjustment. Since Marion is in training for a teaching career, he may find it interesting to consider, as he reads, whether he would want her to be the teacher of his own child or of any child in an American high school.

EDUCATIONAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARION[41]

Written by a Student at a State University

I

There was peace and quiet in the home of my parents for two years after they were married. They said it wasn't true, my mother was silly and didn't know about such things, but I fooled them all (except, of course, Mom and Dad) and arrived into this world just before lunch on a day in April in nineteen twenty-six. I

[41] The writer is a female. She was a junior at a state university and was enrolled in a course in the study of children. Original constructions have been retained.

arrived hungry and with a few exceptions have remained that way for twenty years or more.

II

My Dad's two sisters, his one brother, and my Mom's sister had all brought boys into this world and then came I. In twenty months my sister arrived and we became known as George Calow's boys!

III

I've been a registered overnight guest at a hospital twice since my arrival and both times resulted in a rapid increase in weight. Ah, yes, George Calow's boys were always the tallest and biggest in all of their classes until they entered high school. How I dreaded standing in line for those annual height and weight check-ups that went with the medical examinations every Fall.

IV

None of my subjects in school came any harder or any easier than any others. That must have been the direct result of my home training in eating for example. Mom always insisted that we finish everything on our plates at all meals and all meals took in everything that was edible. We never knew of any reasons for not eating any food. There is a notable exception to this rule. Yours truly though in the grade school had already developed a scientific method of investigation. It was put into operation one evening when we were eating oysters, a favorite dish of my father. For some "strange" reason not a single oyster has entered our household since.

V

To get back to my school subjects and off of my favorite tangent, I might say that I found everything equally difficult to learn, however American History was more interesting to me than most subjects. This again came from an outside influence. My sister and I were very susceptible to winter colds and the folks decided to take us South in February and March whenever we seemed especially low in resistance. Our trips meant enchanting visits to places we had read about in history books and seen pictures of in coloring books. There were Gettysburg, Mount Vernon, Washington, D.C., Frederick, Maryland, Williamsburg, Yorktown, Jamestown, Old Point Comfort, Fort McHenry, St. Augustine, and coming back Atlanta, Chicamaugua, and Galena to name a few. History became very real and close to me at this time.

VI

I liked all of my teachers in grade school mainly because of my loose mouth around home. Any gripes that I had about teachers or fellow students were heard by my folks and somehow they always managed to make me see the other side of the story as well as my own.

VII

There were three teachers who seemed to misunderstand me (in my mind). I chalked two of them up as frustrated band or orchestra leaders and one as an anti-anything old maid. This woman was my art teacher and she was unable to control her emotions. It was my luck never to have any run-ins with her, but others did and I could feel nothing but contempt for her. Later this feeling turned to pity. The last I heard of her she was taking a long rest, and probably screaming, crying, or shouting at someone better able to handle the situation than high school students. In spite of this teacher I liked drawing very much and spent quite a bit of my spare time drawing and painting.

VIII

Another teacher who made quite an impression on me was my Geometry teacher. Everytime I think of Geometry it is impossible to keep from recalling that there are figures and then there are figures. This particular teacher had an interest in both types and girls filled the front and outside rows of his seating arrangements while the boys were put inside this arrangement of lines, curves, and angles. My interest in Geometry sort of waned until I got accustomed to the arrangement and into the subject material.

IX

No teacher exerted any strong influence on me, but each added a little to making me the person I am today.

X

In 1938, I returned from a two months vacation in California and entered high school as a seventh grader. It was two months after the new semester had started and I really had to work to finish up with the rest of the class at the end of the semester. My first day proved to be one of my most embarrassing. My homeroom was in one of the home economics rooms and a hall between the living-room and sewing room led to the regular cooking room and the classroom proper. The first person I saw was a rather stern,

straight-laced appearing girl at the end of the hall. Naturally I took her for the teacher and went right up to introduce myself as the newest addition to her seventh grade homeroom. To my embarrassment she was a student and the teacher was a pretty young girl at the other end of the room. Miss Simpson was very helpful and quieted down the laughter and made me feel at ease. From that time on she was tops with me and was my favorite teacher.

XI

My pet peeve in high school was the subject that turned out to be the only one I ever found harder than others. It was apparatus work in gym. I could see absolutely no sense in straining my overweight body to hand in the form of a birdsnest, climb ropes, do tricks on the parallel bars, or climb ladders while standing straight up. The more I thought about it the harder it became and the less I liked apparatus work. Track work, volleyball, basketball, mat work, and other games appealed to me but oh that apparatus!

XII

All of my teachers as far back as I can recall were interested in us and made an effort to find out our interests and troubles and help us in both. In high school we were treated as equals by our teachers and they were really taken into our confidence whole heartedly. The teachers teased and joked with the students and understandingly took part in extra curricular activities.

XIII

My leadership in school was very limited. I supervised a study hall of seventy students in my last year in high school. Having slightly better grades than the next in line and having luck is about all I can see as reasons for this position. Perhaps I showed plenty of honesty too, because the system was known as Honor Study Hall, and students ran most of the wheels in the system.

XIV

Music lessons and interest in piano helped me get along with playing piano and directing the Glee Club and Chorus in high school. While at a liberal arts college I proctored history examinations during the semester while writing them at the front of the room at a desk on a platform myself. No one cheated anyhow so my work was never hard. I often wondered if I got that special privilege because the instructor didn't trust me and wanted to keep me separate from the rest if I really was to proctor. Guess

I got the task because I had control of the art of brevity in those days.

XV

Students who stand out in my memory are "Stella," an extremely dirty, careless, extremely overweight girl, who was ridiculed by all in the school and through it all kept a big grin on her face and remained as friendly as could be; and a girl who attended a parochial school two blocks from the public school I attended. There was always competition for the sidewalk between the schools and our group walked down the walk in fours and so did they. It so happened that one day I got into quite a battle with one of the girls. Neither of us won, but both of us gave and took plenty. Seven years later some new people moved in next door to our home. The youngest girl in the family turned out to be the girl I had fought back in grade school days. As the story goes, we became the best of friends and often laugh over our earlier meeting.

XVI

Mom and Pappy didn't go in for organized group activity, however they always had their group of friends with whom they had plenty of parties and outings such as large picnics for the whole family, and week-end fishing trips to the Northern part of the state. As a result of this Carol and I never found any incentive to enter group activities of the organized type and find it rather difficult to get into the swing of things on that matter now.

XVII

Another important factor in our avoiding group activities was that we occupied much of our free time practicing piano and vocal lessons, and then playing more music for pleasure. Music took up most of our time when not in actual classrooms.

XVIII

We never were told our scores on aptitude and intelligence tests. For a while my grades were getting too good to suit my father and he decided something else must be losing out because of it. He paid me a dollar every time my report card grades were lower, because he said I should go out and have the fun he had missed because of studying. This really made quite an impression on me and pops up everytime I'm getting slightly lower grades.

XIX

While at the college I concentrated all of my attention on studying, and going to the concerts, other musical activities, and inter class activities (sophs vs. frosh, etc.). This was the main reason for my coming to the University. Once again my father stepped in and decided that if I was determined to put all of my time in on school work, while at college, it might be the school and the environment of a lot of "old maids." He insisted that I transfer to the university and have some fun. One look at my grades will tell anyone that I'm meeting him half-way anyhow.

XX

As is only natural, I choose friends with similar interests or backgrounds. Most of my friends were musically wound up and Carol and I fell right into the pattern of things. I haven't had too many friends who were really close friends because my sister was so close to me and we looked for friendship closest to home. Naturally we found it with each other and have continued in the same manner up to the present. Of course, both of us have had other friends, but we always did the important things together and people thought of us as going together like salt and pepper. When I first entered college my friends were in the same school and they took me away from many things that I normally would have done with Carol. She disliked them and called them snobs.

XXI

Our guidance program at school was well set up and the teachers really put forth effort to help us. Most of the teachers had moved into our community with their families and were closer to us than teachers who travelled from one end of town to the other just to a job. Vocational and personality materials were presented well and counseling was always made easier because of that equal attitude which prevailed.

XXII

While attending college my major was music and I had quite a bit of trouble with ear training. This caused the only change in my vocational plans. When my father decided to send me to the university I lost thirteen music credits and decided to try another field since my ears didn't seem musically in tune with things and I'd probably be miserable trying to struggle through another music course up here.

XXIII

Short tests such as we had can't be regarded as very dependable because of the manner they were given and the reason for taking them. I believe I was high in the clerical test because I pushed myself to hurry through it just for the fun of it. As a result of my musical training my eyes have become accustomed to seeing in patterns and recognizing the slightest error or change in pattern. This helped me in the spatial aptitude test too. Pattern and design whether in numbers, words, music, floral arrangements, or rooms interest me.

XXIV

My standing in vocabulary is about 50 percentile because people with large vocabularies were always put up to ridicule in my early environment. Naturally I never put forth any effort towards developing my vocabulary other than what I was required for different courses.

XXV

When writing the general intelligence tests my percentile rank was lowered because I was very distracted in writing it. Some insects that seem to be peculiar to this city, were falling from the ceiling five–ten at a time and they landed in our hair and on the table around us. I'm sure that without all of that dead stuff landing on my head I could have done much better with the test.

XXVI

As for my rating on the personality test, my views may be rather prejudiced, but I answered the questions as I saw them and not as I thought I should answer them to have a wonderful personality rating according to these positively dangerous run-of-the-mill personality rating tests. Can you guess my rating—in the lower ten percent of the group.

XXVII

I cannot attribute any part of my general test showing or my philosophy of life directly to school. Every part of what I think and do is a result of a complex set of influences, from my home, friends, teachers fellow students, and my physical standing. Nothing that I do can be wholly due to any one thing because I'm a complex being living in a complex environment and any product in my way of living and thinking is a result of a complex variety of influences.

XXVIII

I believe that everyone should learn a little about everything so that they can easily fit into any social environment and not feel lost. We should learn about people, what they have done, what they believe, and form our own opinions and ideas from this mass of material. Room should always remain for any new ideas or a change in ideas.

XXIX

The culture we live in has many faults but so have the people living in it and all other cultures. It is the best for me and I am resolved to make the best of it and make myself and others happy in it.

XXX

I believe in a God and a life after death, but I don't believe it is necessary for everyone to believe it. Formalized religion as it is today is too close to that "filthy green stuff" and I definitely don't approve of the arrangement. Formal religion today is merely another social activity like dancing, musical activities, and other social gatherings; and the churches today have a tendency to pull the level of religion down to a time payment loan.

XXXI

When I was very young I went to many different churches and learned a little about each one and the beliefs of the people who attended them. Parents in my estimation have no right to give a child their religion. A child should learn about all churches and learn by experience. When becoming fifteen or so is early enough to think about being associated with one for reasons of marriage and funerals. No person should ever get into the rut of attending only one church, because something as important as beliefs regarding life in general should be taught from all angles and with all views if the world is ever to reach the level of understanding which would result in a peaceful world.

XXXII

Government should be taught to all students by practical experience too. This won't be as real to them as religion because instead of actually going to the governments and taking part in them they will be playing government and copying real ones. This too should be close enough to them to give them an understanding of how people live throughout the world.

XXXIII

Sex should be brought into the open and have that fascinating veil of mystery removed. It should be given a place equal to eating and sleeping in the minds of the people. I don't believe we should go as far as to allow adolescents to shop around for mates as soon as they become pubescent because that would cut down the age level of those attending school and would bring humans too close to the animal state and would cut down the use of the mind as it is used today. Since we are the only things on this earth with a mind to use we would be missing our calling not to do so.

XXXIV

Well, there I am, my ideas, and many of my activities and as that oft-quoted writer has said: much ado about nothing.

SELF-CHOSEN ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUALS

Twelve years ago the senior author wrote and published the following statement:[42]

In order to know in which places interest is likely to be exhibited, it is essential that we observe the behavior of individuals, record our observations, combine them into some sort of *measuring device,* and evaluate their significance in relation to alleged outcomes of the educational process. The need for recording, *scaling,* and *evaluating* interests becomes apparent to critical readers of educational literature, for the word "interest" has many connotations derived by various authors who use it to justify certain existing educational procedures and by others who wish to promulgate some new educational device or theory. [Italics added recently.]

At that time the author had been led by enthusiasts for measurements and statistics to the belief that if he scored many responses to many items from many persons, manipulated them in complex formulas and correlated them with figures elaborately derived from teacher's marks, he would be able to predict the academic success of secondary-school boys. Despite the fact that he took more precautions than are usual in such studies, the results were negative. Negative, it appears now, despite the fact that the correlation coefficients were as large as many that are commonly reported with great

[42] Rothney, J. W. M., "Interests of Public Secondary School Boys," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* November, 1937.

confidence as indicating that there are significant relationships between variables.

Interest inventories. Notwithstanding the lack of convincing evidence from longitudinal data about its value in counseling, the interest inventory has currently become popular and is now one of the most common tools in the counselor's kit. It seems logical to say that a student's interest should be considered in choosing his courses or his occupation, and it seems very proper to say that those interests should be measured. Since interest inventories may be obtained rather cheaply, since their administration is simple (even interesting when the subject punches holes with a gadget), since they *seem* to save a great deal of effort and time, and since the scores which they provide can be drawn up into attractive profiles and *seem* to bear the weight of authority—what could be better than to administer an interest inventory to every student in the school?

Let us look for a moment, however, at the items one finds in the common interest test. In one such test[43] the subject must choose among such groups of items as the following:

A. Build bird houses.
B. Write articles about birds.
C. Draw sketches of birds.

By punching one of these three choices the student has raised his score for either mechanical, literary, or artistic interests whether or not he has recently (or ever) thought about birds, houses, articles, or sketches. And if by chance or circumstances he has spent many years in the scientific study of bird life, there is no place for him to indicate the strong interest that has been developed. Again, he can contribute to an artistic, scientific, or mechanical interest score by choosing among these items in the same test:

A. Take a course in sketching.
B. Take a course in biology.
C. Take a course in metal working.

Even though the last thing he may want to do is to take any kind of course, there is no way in which he can indicate his feelings on the matter. And if he did, there is no place provided to indicate

[43] Kuder Preference Record, Science Research Associates, 1700 Prairie Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

that he wants any particular course in these areas or in the care of animals, or crop rotation, or beekeeping. No way to avoid making a choice, though! The directions state, "Please make your choices for every group even though the decisions may be hard to make."

In still other tests[44] a subject is required to reveal his interest in occupations by marking symbols indicating only like, indifference, or dislike to items such as the following:

Accountant	L I D	Fat men	L I D
Astronomer	L I D		

He may not know the meaning of the terms, may want to express *very, very strong* interests in or exceedingly strong dislikes for them, may never have experienced them, may want to express strong interest in something which is not mentioned, or may prefer to keep an interest in some activity as a purely avocational pursuit, but there is no way for him to express such feelings on the inventory.

Responses to such items as the above are weighted, tabulated, and put into profiles, and dominant areas of interests are derived from them. Authors of such tests suggest that the scores will be useful for certain purposes, as described below:

The specific uses of the *Kuder Preference Record*[45] for vocational guidance are said to be:

a. Pointing out vocations with which the student may not be familiar but which involve activities of the type for which he has expressed preference. Such vocations deserve to be considered in the light of measures of ability.
b. Checking on whether a person's choice of an occupation is consistent with the type of thing he ordinarily prefers to do. If the choice has not been made on the basis of familiarity with the occupation in question, the choice may be a poor one. Sometimes an adolescent makes a choice because he admires a person in the occupation chosen, or because the occupation is being chosen by friends, or because it is one which involves much prestige for adolescents. A check on such choices is desirable before preparation for a vocation is so far advanced that a choice can not be easily changed.

[44] Strong Vocational Interest Blank, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, Calif.

[45] Kuder Preference Record, *op. cit.*

We have considered earlier the objections to all such self-inventory devices (in previous pages), but it may be well to point out again the following: (1) vocabulary difficulties;[40] (2) problems caused by lack of familiarity with items or great unevenness in familiarity with the items from which a subject must choose; (3) no opportunity for discrimination with respect to intensity of like, indifference, or dislike; (4) deliberate or unconscious denial of an interest; (5) faking of responses; (6) superficiality of items for even slightly sophisticated high-school and college youth; (7) no way to evaluate the influence of intelligence upon the judgments that are offered; (8) doubtful statistical procedures by which one field of interest must appear to be low because others are high; (9) and various other difficulties which even high-school students recognize. The counselor who uses such inventories as his only method of securing data about interests, despite these difficulties, runs a serious risk of being misled and of misleading his counselees. And the excuse that the lack of time prevents the more thorough study of a student's interests will hardly do. There is no evidence that a pace that requires the use of questionable data is ever satisfactory.

Observation of behavior. The alternative to the administration of such tests and inventories is the collection of evidence about what a student chooses to do when he is not directed by requirements or assignments, and the observation of his behavior when he is free to choose among opportunities presented by local situations.[47] The alternative requires that the counselor observe the manner in which a student spends his allowance; selects among reading materials; joins clubs; chooses, when he has freedom of choice, among activities or within an activity (such as in art or writing); spends time in observation of occupations and activities; selects among part-time job opportunities; makes visits; chooses electives in the school program, selects companions; and states his ambitions.

The chief difference between data obtained by these methods and data obtained by inventory of interests lies in the fact that

[46] See, for example, Roeber, E. C., "A Comparison of Seven Interest Inventories with Respect to Word Usage," *Journal of Educational Research*, September, 1948.

[47] Local situations may, of course, be expanded by visits, motion pictures, reading, and reports of other persons.

they represent actions, rather than verbalizations.[48] They require experience, or at least some familiarity with the item to which the subject responds. They are more likely to bring reality than speculation, and they are the result of considered choices among such actions as the person has had the opportunity to make. The chief disadvantages are the limitations of local situations in providing enough opportunities for choice or exploration, the fact that the experiences may be rather superficial, the pressures which (though not always apparent) may be operating to limit choices, and the difficulty of devising satisfactory techniques for the collection of data. Some of these advantages and disadvantages apply to all the items suggested for collection above, but many of the difficulties can be avoided by utilizing ingenuity in the development of local resources.

Good English teachers keep cumulative records of the reading interests of their students and use checking devices to see that any book reported as read has actually been read. The librarian's records provide evidence concerning the subjects' choice of books among those which the library offers. It is more difficult to check on certain kinds of reading that the student hesitates to report about, but the constant reader of pulp and lurid drama cannot long hide his choices when the other data about the individual, which a counselor should have, have been obtained.

Information about membership in clubs can easily be obtained from lists of club members or by observation, and information about the choice of companions needs no elaborate collecting devices. Topics chosen for reports to any class can be recorded by the teacher. Art work may reveal genuine interests of students. When employment conditions are not too stringent and choices are available, the selection of part-time, Saturday, and vacation work may yield some information about interests. And if choice of electives is limited, requests for others may be significant in revealing preferences.

[48] Compare lists of items collected as the result of questioning students on what they have done as shown in J. W. M. Rothney, "Interests of Secondary School Boys," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* November, 1937, with the activities in interest inventories which do not contain items within the subjects' experiences in their lists of items. The counselor will, of course, realize that all forms of behavior, including that of speech, and of action too, need to be verified. Observed behaviors of the action type are not always what they appear to the observer.

Locally constructed interest inventory. Despite what has been said above about the lack of value of published interest inventories, it is possible to use a locally constructed form with some profit if adequate checks are provided. If the student is fully aware that the counselor may question him on any activity that he reports, attempts to deceive can be reduced, and if enough rapport has been achieved, so that the student is convinced of the value of the counseling program, conscious attempts at deception may be eliminated. If the items are selected so that there is some local reference, and if the results are discussed with the counselees, difficulties in the interpretation of the items may be avoided. If the subject is given the opportunity to indicate that he has had no experience with an item, the response can be more meaningful than it would be if he were forced to indicate a preference without knowledge of it.

Since the administration of the local inventory is to be followed by an interview, the student can be encouraged to indicate that he is not certain about an item, and his uncertainties can be discussed in conference. Furthermore, if the local inventory is repeated at fairly frequent intervals, if it is carefully checked, and if it is interpreted in the light of other information, it may provide valuable data concerning interests.

In the construction of an inventory for local use, care must be exercised to see that the subjects really understand what they are required to do. A set of directions, similar to those presented below, can be drawn up, and the subjects should be permitted to ask any questions about any direction or any item. They should be encouraged to write comments about any specific items on the inventory and to indicate those about which they have any strong feelings by underlining their responses. These points of special emphasis may be used as cues for further study in particular cases and may provide subjects for discussion in counseling interviews.

SAMPLE OF A LOCALLY CONSTRUCTED INTEREST INVENTORY

The purpose of this exercise is to learn about your activities with various things and persons. Listed below are many of these. Opposite each one are the four letters L, I, D, U.

L means like
I means indifferent

D means dislike
U means unknown

If you like an item, make a circle around the L.
If you don't care one way or the other about an item, make a circle around the I.
If you dislike it, make a circle around the D.
If you *don't know what the item is,* or if you *have never done the activity* that is mentioned, make a circle around the U.

Examples:

Eating ice cream	(L)	I	D	U
Sharpening a pencil	L	(I)	D	U
Getting punished	L	I	(D)	U
Solving problems in calculus	L	I	D	(U)
Coefficients of alienation	L	I	D	(U)

You will have plenty of time, but work carefully. Mark every item. There are no right answers. After you have finished go back and underline any item that you like or dislike *very much. At the end of the sheet there is space for you to write anything you want to say about any of the items.* Write as much as you want. At the next interview the counselor will talk to you about the items you have marked.

1. The band concert at City Park	L	I	D	U
2. The part you played in the school play	L	I	D	U
3. Watching the bricklayer build the new school	L	I	D	U
4. The lecture on atomic energy	L	I	D	U
5. The halloween dance	L	I	D	U
6. Reading the book on the work of a printer	L	I	D	U
7. The new course in homemaking	L	I	D	U

RESPONSES OF INDIVIDUALS TO PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

Projective techniques have not yet been widely used by school counselors despite their potentialities for disclosing those aspects of a subject's behavior which are not revealed by more direct instruments. Until very recently the use of these techniques has been confined largely to the psychological laboratory, the clinic, and experimental situations. Although many agree that these techniques have not yet been developed to the point where they can be used for practical purposes, there is some reason to believe that the

counselor who is fully aware of their limitations can use them with some profit. If he uses them at all, however, he will use them only as delicate clinical instruments to probe into areas that his common devices fail to reach. He will maintain an experimental attitude toward them and will *never* use the results without supplementary information about the individual.

The nature of projective techniques is shown in Murray's discussion of the Thematic Appreception Test.[49] He says:

> The purpose of this procedure is to stimulate literary creativity and thereby evoke fantasies that reveal covert and unconscious complexes. The test is based on the well-recognized fact that when a person interprets an ambiguous social situation, he is apt to expose his own personality as much as the phenomenon to which he is attending.

The following statement by Sanford[50] further illustrates the purpose of the procedure:

> The method is designed to penetrate somewhat below the peripheral personality and to disclose latent needs, images, and sentiments which the subject would be unwilling or unable to embody in direct cummunication.

The usual procedure in the use of projective techniques is to present a stimulus in the form of a story, picture, word, or ink blot and to urge the subject to respond to it in any way that he chooses. There are, of course, no right or wrong reactions, and it should be made clear to the subject that there are no "good" and "bad" responses. Although elaborate scoring schemes have been set up for some of the tests, the counselor should consider them as not yet sufficiently developed for practical use in school counseling.[51] He should interpret a subject's responses as *possible* evidence of needs which underlie the surface behavior, as *potential* indicators of interests which are not revealed by more direct procedures, and as *probable* evidence of his subject's willingness to express himself when he is free to make his own responses to the stimuli.

[49] Murray, H. A., et al., *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938).

[50] Sanford, E. N., *Thematic Apperception Test: Directions for Administration and Scoring*, Harvard Psychological Clinic, Cambridge, Mass.

[51] Cattell, R. B., *Description and Measurement of Personality* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1946), pp. 463 ff.

Few counselors have had training in the use of the Rorschach[52] test or other projective techniques that employ elaborate scoring and administrative procedures, and few will be able to use them. They may, however, devise their own tests by selecting pictures of men at various kinds of work, students at various activities, and persons of the subject's own status engaged in various social affairs. The subject's response can be observed with respect to enthusiasm, apathy, the language used, and the extent to which he identifies himself with the situation. The counselor may also prepare a list of similes[53] that allow reference to certain areas (home, school, sports, companions, and others) and insert them among lists of nondiscriminative words. He may then observe the subject's reaction in terms of hesitancy, choice of response, and tendency to vary from common associations. These reactions may provide suggestions for next steps in counseling.

In proposing that projective techniques may be used with some profit by the counselor, there is no implication that the principles and procedures of the standardized projective techniques are necessarily valid or the resulting classifications applicable to school counseling problems. It is believed that reaction to situations, in which the response is not immediately obvious, may reveal some facts about the individual that are not apparent to observers of a subject during his daily activities. They *may* provide, as it has been suggested that the autobiography does, a means of getting some information about the "inner self." As in the case of all new procedures, the counselor is advised that projective techniques must be used with the utmost caution. At the present stage of their development their use should be restricted to experimental use and to the purpose of supplementing other data.

Rothney and Hansen[54] have shown the way in which locally developed projective methods may be used to uncover attitudes which are suppressed under direct measurement. Children who had

[52] Pistrowski, Z. Q., "On the Rorschach Method and Its Application in Organic Disturbances of the Central Nervous System," *Rorschach Research Exchange,* Vol. I. Complete bibliographical references on work with the Rorschach would fill many pages.

[53] Note the responses of Philip Bronson to the expression "as pathetic as" in his case record in Chapter II.

[54] Rothney, J. W. M., and M. H. Hansen, "Evaluation of Radio Instruction in Inter-Cultural Relations," *Journal of Experimental Education,* December, 1947.

expressed favorable attitudes toward others, regardless of the color of their skin, were asked to comment about a picture of a classroom with pupils of mixed races, and

> One boy referred to the picture by saying, "Look at the nigger's hand. It sure is black, looks almost like its dirty." This comment evoked laughter on the part of his friends. This same boy called attention to the colored girl in the center of the picture. The comment was something like this: "Ha, look at the white teeth in the nigger in the middle! "

Another boy in this group revealed his attitudes toward rural residents in the following report about a picture that portrayed a humble country school:

> One of the boys responded by saying that the teacher looked dumb. He also felt that the students were definitely of the "hayseed" type. When the examiner asked why he thought so he replied, "Well, I visited a country school one time and the teacher didn't know the speed of light."

The examples given above have been presented to illustrate the manner in which the counselor may apply the principle of projective techniques in an informal way with locally produced material. By doing so, he can escape involvement in the elaborate administration and scoring procedures which the standardized procedures demand, but which do not promise commensurate rewards at this stage of their development. When used in combination with the other techniques discussed in this chapter, this material may provide valuable supplementary data about the behavior of youth.

RESPONSES OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE INTERVIEW

The interview is certainly the instrument most commonly employed by counselors; probably the technique that is scorned most by the rigorous scientist; theoretically the device that has most *potential* value for counselors when it is used expertly; and practically the most essential of all steps used in the counseling process. There is no likelihood in the foreseeable future of counseling that any technique will replace the face-to-face personalized interview, and if its maximum potentialities are utilized, there seems to be no reason why such replacement should be attempted. If the interview

is to be effective, as it can be, however, there are certain conditions and procedures that must be employed.

Much of the scorn that is heaped upon the technique of interviews is derived from the observation that the interviews frequently become friendly visits which have no defined objectives, follow no plan, resolve no issues, result in no positive action, and lack the exactness that test scores seem to provide. If the above statements describe them adequately, the interviews cannot be effective, and the scorn is fully deserved. If the interviews achieve only what is better and more economically achieved by some other techniques, they should be discontinued. Ineffective interviews can negate the value of other parts of the counseling program and can reduce it to a mere superficial gesture toward the solving of important problems. On the other hand, the expertly handled interview can become the procedure by which the results of other activities are supplemented, correlated, and pointed toward achievement of the goals of the counseling process.

The interview may be used for any of several purposes, but *a* purpose it must have. It may be *introductory, fact finding, evaluative, informative,* or *therapeutic* in nature, and its use for any of these purposes should be clearly recognized by the counselor and his subjects. When it is designed for a particular purpose, and the techniques which have been developed to fulfill such purposes are utilized expertly, the interview is still the best instrument that the counselor can employ.

Introductory interviews. The first interview with a subject should be designed for the purpose of getting mutually acquainted and building rapport, so that following conferences and procedures will be welcomed and appreciated. The counselor may, in this first meeting, introduce himself, state the purpose of the interview, and advise the subject about the procedures that will be used later. He may give his subject mimeographed statements similar to the following samples, in which the procedures and purposes of counseling are presented. This statement, and one which has been written especially for parents, may be taken home to parents to enlist parental interest and cooperation. It may serve to allay fears of parents which arise from the notion that their child has been singled out for special study. (The subjects of a counseling program should be selected initially from several achievement levels, lest the rumor be

spread about the school and community that only retarded or "problem" children are counseled.)

The first interview will be devoted to a discussion of these mimeographed statements, so that no doubt remains in the subject's

To the Student:

The tests and interviews which you are going to take will help the counselors to help you to find out the things that you can do best. Because of the competition that exists in the world of work today, it is important for you to find what things you can do well in order to develop them to your best possible advantage. As a result of all these tests and interviews, the counselors hope to advise you about various kinds of work and study. It is their purpose to aid you in learning more about your own strong points and to help you to make the best of your opportunities.

mind about its purposes. His questions must be answered frankly, fully, and completely. The short, ten-to-fifteen-minute introductory interview may end with an invitation to the subject to drop in at

To Parents of Students (to be taken home by the student):

The purpose of this study is to help you and your children find out the things that they can do best and to encourage their development along those lines to the fullest extent possible. This is done by a careful study of each individual over a period of years and by administering the best tests available. These tests have no bearing or influence on school marks. The testing and examining which is provided in this study would cost approximately $25.00 annually if given by a private guidance clinic.

All pupils in the junior and senior high schools have been selected for study. The request of any parent to have his son or daughter withdrawn will be given immediate consideration. Parents' wishes are always considered first.

The work is being done by counselors with close cooperation of all other school personnel, and no important decisions concerning any pupil are made without consulting, and without the approval of, school authorities and parents.

Parents are encouraged to consult with the counselors and it is hoped that at least one interview can be arranged each year with all parents. Appointments may be made by pupils or by telephoning the secretary of the school.

any time, with making a second appointment, with informing him about the time of the next conference, or with setting the date of the first administration of tests or of any other procedures that are to follow.

The counselor will make notes about this introductory interview *after* the subject has left the conference room. Only in exceptional cases will there be much to record, but there may be short notes on general appearance, obviously unusual behavior, speech, or manner, and suggestions for further investigation. Only in very exceptional emergency situations will the counselor take or recommend action on the basis of data obtained in the introductory interview, since there will usually be too little information to justify action. The objectives of the introductory interview will have been achieved if the student feels that he knows the counselor, knows the purposes of the counseling program, and looks favorably enough upon both to want to participate in the activities that are to follow.

Occasionally, action, recommendations, and preliminary judgments may be required after the first interview because there is a pressing problem that needs immediate attention. Action or judgments made in such situations must be considered as tentative, incomplete, and generally unsatisfactory. These emergency situations should be avoided whenever possible, and the counselor should not place his whole program in jeopardy by failure in what are usually well-publicized emergencies, about which he has too little information. He must frequently, however, respond to the demands of administrators, and failure to meet that demand may *occasionally* entail more potential damage to his program than that of quick action with a particular subject.

Fact-finding interviews. The nature of the interviews that follow the introductory session will vary according to the characteristics of the individual and the problems which he presents, but the introductory session will usually be followed by a *fact-finding* session. Here the counselor attempts to obtain information that cannot be obtained by use of the more standardized techniques, or he tries to supplement the data about the individual that have been collected by other methods. The counselor will prepare for this second interview by studying the subject's record and by listing the questions that the second interview is designed to answer. It may be necessary to insert these questions at strategic points in a general conversation if it is thought that they may be too disturbing to the

subject, or if there is danger that he may resent direct and continuous questions about any condition or experience.

The fact-finding interviews may be designed to discover the intensity of a counselee's attitudes toward persons and situations which he cannot or will not reveal in writing or in response to formalized questions which do not allow for indications of strong feelings. A student may hesitate to put in writing his great dislike of a teacher or subject and the injustices that he thinks are being imposed upon him, but he may, when rapport has been established, talk freely about them to a counselor. Under such conditions the counselor may elicit valuable information about personal matters, school events, and family affairs which do not appear on public records. The interview method allows for following through on statements to which answers are not clear-cut and permits a search for the feelings underlying them. It may reveal interests that had not previously been noted, and it may allow the counselor to determine their strength and their source. It can be used to obtain information concerning relationships with other persons and about activities that are carried out with them.

The following fact-finding interview was held with Peter during his first year at a state university. The interviewer had counseled Peter over a five-year high-school career, and he had arranged this conference to determine the extent to which an early interest in public service had been continued. He also wanted to assess Peter's attitudes toward the counseling that he had experienced. Although some of the questions, particularly the last two, are not worded well and some of the answers are vague, the reading of this report may illustrate the effectiveness of the interview in getting beneath superficial expressions, its flexibility in getting at the strength of a subject's chief interests (see the italicized items), and his attitude toward the counseling in which he had participated.

AN INTERVIEW WITH PETER[55]

During the second semester of his first year at a State University, Peter was interviewed by one of the former counselors who is now a staff member at that institution. The interview, which was

[55] Peter was one of the subjects of the Harvard Guidance Study. He had been counseled regularly since he attended the eighth grade. At an early age he had indicated a strong desire to study political science as preparation for a career as a politician. The underlined statements are associated with facts of known importance in Peter's previous history.

recorded by a stenographer in shorthand, is presented below (C for counselor, P for Peter).

C: Have you heard from the father and family lately?
P: Yes, I had a letter from father last week. *He is very interested in my work.*
C: I remember having a talk with you about that back in ninth grade and at the time he was thinking of sending you to_____ Latin School, but then he decided later he didn't want to do that. Did that please you?
P: Yes, I think I did as well to go to_____High.
C: Well, here are several questions we can run through slowly. There may be many that you can't or won't want to answer. We just are trying to follow through to check a few items. Did you understand what we were trying to do in the counseling when you were in school?
P: Yes.
C: What is your general reaction to this kind of thing [counseling] when you look back on it? Was it worthwhile, considering all the time you spent during high school?
P: Well, do you mean my classes or my activities?
C: What is your feeling about the counseling? Would you like to see that sort of thing in all high schools?
P: Surely, I think it would be a big help to most of the students.
C: So many of those coming to the University have not talked about their plans with anyone, and one of our ideas was to have you fellows think about this sort of thing. Why did you pick this particular school or college? Do you remember why you came to the University?
P: *I was undecided for quite a while. I sent out for bulletins from several schools before coming.* One of the reasons for making my choice was that you were up here and I would have the advantage of knowing someone on the faculty and I would have further advantage of knowing someone out here.
C: When did you make up your mind?
P: As a Senior. My father had to be convinced. The counselor thought this would be the best place.
C: What persons or organizations, if any, helped you in selecting your school?
P: *I think it was mostly the counselor.*
C: What courses are you taking, and why?
P: This year, do you mean? I'm taking English.
C: Do you know why? Is it required?
P: I had to take it anyway. I'm also taking English History.

C: Do you know why you are taking that course?
P: *To get background for political science.*
C: That would provide a good background, wouldn't it?
P: It's about the best you can get, I guess, particularly in this country. I'm also taking Modern European History. The first semester I was taking Ancient History and found I was devoting more time to it than any other course I had. In one exam I got a 91 and I got a C in the course. If you went by the mark I got on the final, it would probably have been a D. The second semester would be devoted to Roman History, so I thought English History would be better.
C: And your other courses?
P: Physical Geography.
C: Do you know why you chose that?
P: Because I need twenty science credits.
C: Do you know why you took Geography rather than chemistry?
P: Because I can study it much easier.
C: Is there any relationship between your interest in political science and studying geography?
P: Well, there is very little since we might study population distribution, but that is only the last three weeks of the year, so it doesn't amount to much, so I don't think there is much.
C: Why did you select Freshman Forum? [This forum was led by a political scientist]
P: You advised me to and I thought it would be of useful information and I might as well use it to fill out the course.
C: Are you in R.O.T.C.?
P: Yes, that's compulsory.
C: Are you satisfied with all these courses?
P: Well, all except my Physical Geography and R.O.T.C. I am not too much set on.
C: You are not very keen on these courses? Why not?
P: Physical Geography in the first place isn't in my line. I am not especially interested in science. The R.O.T.C., well I had much rather join the Marines or something like that—wait until you get out of college and devote full time to it. We don't get much done three times a week. Nobody takes it seriously.
C: What more could the high school have done to prepare you for school or college work and activities you are now undertaking? As you look back, what more could the high school have done?
P: Well, that is hard to say, except that in some of our courses it seems that there was *a wide gap, especially in English, where the high school ends and the college begins.* I think they could have filled that out better. Let me think there is another

one. There are many things like that. There is a big difference in getting adjusted to college work.

C: There is certainly more work, as you say. Could the high school have done anything about it, do you think?

P: No, I don't think so. Living at home and being with the other fellows in the neighborhood. We usually played football. *We didn't devote much time to studies.* Sometimes I study in the afternoons and I never did at home, and never on Sunday, but now I do here. There are so many diversions going on.

C: What high school subjects were the most valuable to you?

P: My History and English, I guess.

C: Do you know why?

P: Well, I learned more from them than the other courses. I know that most history is the same. It seems more like reviewing and it gives me a start for college work.

C: You feel your high school course in history was worthwhile?

P: Yes, I do. They don't go as deeply as here.

C: What courses were of least value or interest to you?

P: This is personal, but *I would say the languages and mathematics.*

C: As I remember, you didn't care much about either one of those.

P: I guess that was the reason I didn't take them. Up here I am not taking either of them. I won't have to take them. *I am going to take courses in philosophy so I won't have to take them.* There was an idea that mathematics would help people think, but I heard in many of those lectures in Freshman Forum that it is an old idea.

C: It doesn't necessarily help you to think. Especially the way in which you took them?

P: No, *I didn't care and I didn't try.*

C: What abilities have you which are now enabling you to do well in your studies?

P: *Interest, I think, in government would help me to do well in History.* I am interested in different historical figures like Gladstone.

C: I remember meeting you one day on the subway going into Boston. You were going to some forum or lecture on political matters.

P: I used to go to them frequently. I have an autograph collection.

C: I should like very much to see it. Whose autographs do you have?

P: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mackenzie King, Wilkie, from governors down.

C: Is your uncle still a political figure?

P: He ran once again and was defeated. I never knew him though. We went there once.

C: What limitations do you have which prevent your doing better? Do you have any weaknesses?

P: *One is I have difficulty in concentrating and getting straight at the subject* and I am also *somewhat of a slow reader.* That is a handicap in history, especially.
C: On one of the reading tests you were very slow. On the others you were very good. Did you know that when you were in ninth grade you had as good a vocabulary record as the average freshman in this University? Did anyone ever tell you that? Your vocabulary in the tenth grade was as good as the average university freshman.
P: Yes.
C: That must be helpful. Do you have much trouble with vocabulary?
P: I made a habit now of looking up words I don't know in the dictionary. I'm sorry I didn't acquire it before.
C: How much time do you usually spend on your studies?
P: Well, that depends. Usually enough for the assignments.
C: Could you estimate that in hours per week or per day?
P: Hours per day—about three.
C: Is that enough?
P: I don't think so. No. I think I should do more. There are some things I didn't figure on when I came up here. I didn't think there would be so many distractions. That is the biggest reason.
C: Do you think you are studying effectively?
P: For the studying I do, yes.
C: What are three ways in which you most frequently spend your time (not including studying)? In the order of amount of time spent.
P: Well, we *often get into bull sessions,* and another one
C: Could you guess about the time per week?
P: I imagine it adds up. Then we have a *ping pong table* and I play about three-fourths of an hour every day on that.
C: Are you good at it?
P: Not too good. The first semester there was checkers and now it's ping pong. And, let's see now . .
C: A third activity, not including studying.
P: Well, during the winter *I usually go skating as often as I can Now I usually go out walking.*
C: So you could say outdoor sports? Do you spend much time on them?
P: Not an awful lot.
C: To what clubs and organizations in school and outside do you belong?
P: I had a membership in the YMCA, but I had to stop it because I didn't have time.
C: To what others do you belong?
P: Well, *I am on two committees in student government.*

C: What are they?
P: One is the *Public Relations Committee* and the other is one I am not sure I can do. It's Freshman Orientation. I am not sure at all.
C: Are there any others? Have you joined any clubs since you left?
P: There is another committee I am planning on being on—*Wages and Hours Committee.*
C: That will be good training.
P: Yes, *I took those because I thought I would get more out of them than social dancing and so forth.*
C: How did you come to know about those?
P: Those I went out to look for, and I knew some fellows. I belong to a fraternity. I'm going to live there next year. It's a social fraternity.
C: When I went to a certain college they didn't allow fraternities and I could not join one. Do you like the idea?
P: I like it very much. Mr. _____ who used to be principal of Junior High West talked with me. I hadn't seen him for a year or two. He sent them (the fraternity) a letter. He was in one down at Amherst. They rushed me in. I went to a few others, but since I thought there was a housing problem, I thought it would be wise to join it.
C: What other leisure time activities would you like to follow if you could?
P: I would like to enter debating. I probably will next year.
C: I hope you will get into it. You can do that well. It is related closely to political science. If you can spend your various interests in government areas, I think you can do better.
P: *The biggest problem is to educate the public to know who are the best candidates.*
C: Do you work during the summer?
P: Last summer I worked most of the time in a large grocery market. This summer I will be working in a bank in Boston at twenty dollars a week as a messenger or a clerk.
C: How did you get that?
P: I went there last year. I wasn't too satisfied with the job I had. It was too late to get another job so I looked around for some anyway. The manager there gave me an application and told me to send it in.
C: What did you do at the grocery market?
P: I was a clerk. It was part time. They hire very few on full time, almost all part time. It was about six weeks of work.
C: How did you get that job?
P: I looked around and tried for it.

C: Just went yourself?
P: Yes.
C: Personal application, I should say. Do you know when?
P: Some time in June. I got thirty-four cents an hour. I got in all about thirty-six dollars.
C: Did you save it?
P: Yes, to use up here. *Some I got playing a trumpet.* I saved up to ninety dollars.
C: Was the experience of any value to you in any way except in the money you earned?
P: That is hard to say. Maybe I appreciate the value of money in a fashion. I am not sure that it has done much good. *If I have a pocket full of money I still spend it.*
C: Did it give you any insight into how other people work?
P: Yes, that was of the most value.
C: Insight into employment?
P: Yes.
C: Are you finding your total expenses at college greater than or less than you expected?
P: Greater than.
C: How much money does a person like yourself need to have yearly to meet your obligations?
P: That is excluding board, room and tuition?
C: Including that?
P: Including that, then I am not sure. Somewhere around $900 or so.
C: That's about $25 a week for everything then?
P: I have a plan whereby I might be able to get out of the $200 tuition a year. The state legislature is able to send two fellows from a state. *I know one of the two legislators here.*
C: How did you come to know him?
P: *I joined a Progressive Club at the beginning of the year.* I have just obtained a membership.
C: You met him and he might get you a scholarship. Can he do it?
P: I am going to see him about it.
C: How long do you expect to continue your education?
P: Well, that depends. If I can get through into the branch of service where I can be—if I am drafted, I can't then.
C: Did you plan to take a seven year course—a three year law course?
P: No, I would take two years of college and three of law. You can do a law course in two years working during the summer. I am not sure. It's pretty hard to say.

C: Do you want to do all your work at this University?
P: That is another thing I am not sure of. I wouldn't take my law course here, but either at Boston University or Harvard.
C: For what occupation are you now preparing?
P: *I am still thinking of a lawyer.*
C: With what in mind?
P: *Public Service.*
C: You used to say you wanted to be a politician.
P: Yes, that's the same.
C: How would you go about finding a job in this field?
P: Law is different. [Report not clear.]
C: Do you remember some of the persons who went to school with you? Well, in many cases they are going right into work. [Several in the high-school class were named.]
P: It's okay, but if you can go to college, it is best to go to college.
C: In case you have to leave school, where would you seek work?
P: I am not sure. I couldn't do much. I haven't taken any work to fit me for any type of job.
C: But, of course, you could go into a bank. What did you learn about choosing a vocation in high school? Did you learn anything in your courses about vocations?
P: *Well, my vocational choice was made before I ever went to high school.*
C: Did you read any of the pamphlets that we had around the Guidance Office?
P: Oh, yes.
C: In the course of your study did you discuss occupations? You did in junior high school, but did you in senior high?
P: I am not sure. No, I don't think so. Not much anyway.
C: Could the high school have done anything to give you better preparation?
P: They didn't do much.
C: What are the kinds of work you would strongly object to doing? Are there any?
P: Possibly, yes. The kind of job I had last year, any kind of job like that.
C: Any clerical job?
P: *Yes, I don't think I would be interested in business.*
C: Do you know why?
P: You mean that would be the worst thing? *It would be too much the same thing day in and day out.*
C: Your dad does that kind of work. Does he find it monotonous?
P: No, he likes it. My brother does too. He is going to business school and he is going to a certain Catholic college next year. He will be

graduating on the three year plan and then he will go to Harvard Business School. He will go into the same work as my father.

C: Do you size yourself up as being entirely satisfied, taking things as they come?

P: *Entirely satisfied.*

C: What type of problems are you coming up against these days?

P: Hmmmm-mm

C: One is your difficulty in concentration. Are there any others?

P: Let me see . not that I can think of.

C: To whom would you go for help in meeting these problems? Have you found any person on the campus you would go to?

P: Well, up here. [To the previous counselor who is now on the staff of the University.]

C: To me?

P: Yes. M-hmmm.

C: You always know you are welcome here. On the whole, do you feel you chose the right school?

P: M-hmm. Yes.

C: Why?

P: *I think it is a liberal university.* They have an excellent faculty here and it isn't too expensive. Then *it is a change from home and you are living in a different part of the country and different environment.*

C: That is important. You were sort of glad to get away?

P: Yes, I like a change. I think it is worthwhile. *I don't think I would have been smart to go to school and stay at home.*

C: I know your father had the feeling that he would have liked to have you around.

P: He gave me my choice. He let me pick out the University. When we explained, he gave up the idea of keeping me at home. Next my brother will be away too. *I told him I thought that there would be so much he would miss if he lived at home that the advantage at a college near home wouldn't make up for it.*

C: And he took your advice?

P: Well, I don't know, but I was allowed to choose to come here.

C: What did you enjoy most in high school?

P: Well, the people I met and the friends I made. I think everything about it was pretty good.

C: I remember you were pretty sour about French.

P: Yes, I had difficulty in some of those, but outside of those few subjects I didn't like very much, everything was all right.

C: What we admired most was the way you didn't get worried at all.

P: I got lambasted in some of those classes, but

C: What did you dislike most?
P: *I was not too potent in some of those subjects and the teachers let me know about it.*
C: What subjects?
P: *Mathematics and language. I think that is the big advantage of a university. If you don't know it, they just don't bother about it and in high school they try to make a fool of you in front of everybody else.*
C: Those are all of the official questions we wanted. We wanted to check with the people we had seen before and see if the people are better satisfied than those who didn't get much help. In a sense, that is closely related to political science. The whole problem of a happy population is all tied up with this kind of thing. So far it is turning out that most of them are coming along pretty well. There are a few of the fellows you probably remember—David—and Homer. [These were former high-school classmates. Homer's case history is reported in the first chapter.]
P.: Well, I don't wonder. Homer ————, I am not sure what was the matter with him. I think he should have been sent to an academy where he could have been given physical education and mental straightening out. What is he doing this year?
C: He went to a university. He went against our advice, but his mother insisted and he went. I haven't talked to the other counselor as to how he is doing.
P: I know that. I had been in some of his classes and he had been pulled through. He didn't know he was pulled through.
C: Have you met anyone around here who is like him?
P: Well, there is one. He is not here this semester. Richard _____ was the most unusual person I have ever met. It seemed that he had a physical handicap. He just wasn't built right; he didn't associate with people. It was as though he had been alone all of the time. The other fellows used to kid him along. He flunked out with about the worst record here at this university, 2 *F*'s and 2 *D*'s.
C: You are pretty well satisfied with things at present?
P: Oh, yes, very well satisfied.
C: And your reaction to the whole question of taking tests and counseling is favorable?
P: Oh yes, *I think it is a very good thing. I think it should be up to every high school to have it.*

[Final courtesies were not recorded. Twelve years after initial counseling, Peter was a senior in a law school and he did part-time teaching in the department of political science. He served in the armed forces. He is still determined to enter politics.]

Evaluative interviews. Some interviews require the counselor to make appraisals of a subject's achievements, attitudes, or personality characteristics with respect to such matters as fitness for a position, promotion, or training opportunity. If such interviews are to be effective, a clear definition of the characteristics must be attempted, the kinds of information that the interviewer is seeking must be indicated, and the methods by which the information is to be obtained must be carefully considered. If the interviewer is to escape the common tendency to get away from the purpose of the interview, lost in generalities or deluged by extraneous data, guides to the conduct of the interview must be established.

In a study of the behavior of students in a teacher-training program the members of a research committee[56] attempted to determine the value of interviews in contributing to the description of the students with respect to the characteristics listed below:

Sociability (social sensitivity, quality of relations with others, effect of personality on others, conversational ability, and power to communicate ideas to others).

Work habits (efficiency in daily work, ability and tendency to work long and hard, ability to organize time and effort, energy, and drive).

Motivation and values.

Initiative, originality, and creativity.

After thorough discussion of these categories and the way in which supplementary information about them could be obtained from interviews,[57] a series of sixty-one questions were drawn up by the committee. The interviewers asked these questions to stimulate discussion by the students, and after the replies had been given to each question, the students were encouraged to elaborate on

[56] This study was conducted by a Teacher Personnel Research Committee, at the University of Wisconsin composed of A. S. Barr, J. W. M. Rothney, and G. N. Mackenzie (Chairman). Some of the results of this experiment are reported in L. J. Lins, "The Prediction of Teaching Efficiency," *Journal of Experimental Education,* vol. 15, 1946.

[57] Information about the subjects was also obtained by use of questionnaires, autobiographies, high-school and college records, reports of instructors, and tests.

their answers as long as they chose to do so. Interviewers were allowed to encourage students to talk by asking additional questions and by making comments at any time.[58] Sample questions are listed below.[59]

1. Do you have a large number of friends?
2. How many intimate friends have you?
3. Are your relationships with other students generally pleasurable?
4. What traits do you dislike most in others?
5. In what chief ways do you differ from other persons of your age?
6. Is marriage an essential part of your plan of life? If not, why not?
7. What would you like to be doing five years from now?
8. If something prevents you from teaching, what will your second choice be?

A microphone was placed in sight of the students, and the interviews were recorded verbatim. The responses of one subject in one of three sessions are presented below.

COUNSELOR'S INTERVIEW WITH JANE*

(Key questions are in italics. Formalities of introduction are not reported here.)

M: Jane, how many *intimate friends* have you?
J: About four or five.
M: Are they mostly people you've met in college? Or were any of them classmates in high school too?
J: About two or three of them are, and the others I've met since starting to college.
M: *Do you enjoy being with older people, say over 30?*
J: Yes, I like older people.
M: Why?
J: I get a lot of ideas from them. I think that's about the only reason.
M: Do you carry on many activities with older people?
J: Well, church activities are mostly with older people—more older than younger.
M: I wonder why.

[58] The use of such terms as "large number" and "intimate" is legitimate in the interview but not in the questionnaire. The interviewer can determine, for example, what interpretation the subject puts on such terms.

[59] Compare with those in Bender, Imus, and Rothney, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

J: So do I. That's one of the main faults with churches. They need a lot of younger people.
M: What are your church activities, Jane?
J: I'm church secretary, in the choir, altar guild, and so forth.
M: Did your interests carry over from high school?
J: My family is actively interested also. Church work has been part of my life and has carried over from high school.
M: Are your religious and other activities pleasurable?
J: Yes, they are.
M: *Do you get great pleasure from being with your friends?*
J: Well, there are just a few people that I don't like.
M: Do you know what kind they are?
J: Well, it may be that people annoy me because I have an inferiority complex, and they make me feel worse.
M: Do you know things which especially make you feel inferior?
J: Well, I can't think of anything at the moment.
M: When you say there are only a few people that you don't enjoy, can you think of any kinds of people—certain kinds of students?
J: People who go out mostly for social activities and don't enjoy studying.
M: Does that prejudice you against them?
J: Well, I get to like them when I know them better.
M: *What traits do you dislike most in others?*
J: People who are conceited and who think that they know everything. And that's about all I guess.
M: That's the trait you dislike. Any others?
J: I like people who have an interesting background and who have something to talk about.
M: What things do you dislike? You like people with that kind of background, but *what traits in people do you dislike?* You've given a good example in people who are conceited.
J: That's the main thing. Then, too, all people who loaf a great deal —another form of conceit. Or those who like to show off their knowledge.
M: Are you thinking of certain people when you say that? Any one in particular?
J: Yes.
M: Well, here's an example of something. *Do you get annoyed when people keep you waiting?*
J: I usually keep them waiting, so I can't complain.
M: Well, if someone says he'll meet you at eight and doesn't show up until eight-thirty, would you be annoyed?
J: That doesn't bother me, but it would if he didn't turn up at all.
M: Have you learned to expect people to be late?

J: Yes, that's it.
M: Does it bother you when students are late?
J: No.
M: *Do you get annoyed with people who propose plans that differ from yours?*
J: It depends on the plans. If they want to do something I don't like to do, it does. But if I like the idea it's all right.
M: Generally you don't get annoyed?
J: No.
M: What do you do in a case like this? You suggest something, and then everyone says no.
J: I argue it out with them.
M: Are you good at that?
J: Yes. I've argued a lot in school discussions.
M: *Do you feel you have any serious faults?*
J: Yes.
M: Can you think of any?
J: I'm inclined to be very serious and also get angry very fast.
M: Are there any others?
J: My parents could think of a lot of others. I fight with my sister and that's a bad trait.
M: That's a normal trait. We all do that.
J: And that's about all, I guess.
M: Are you working on the improvement of any of them?
J: I'm working on my "sister problem," I guess you'd call it.
M: Is she older?
J: No, younger.
M: What's the main issue?
J: Well, we're absolutely different. I've never seen two people so much unalike. She's social-minded, and I like serious things. But we have different angles.
M: Is there any way to account for that marked difference?
J: No. My friends have remarked about it too. I don't know why it is.
M: You've been brought up in the same home with similar environment?
J: Well, Ann is father's favorite and I'm my mother's favorite.
M: Are there just two of you?
J: Yes, but we've had relatives with us off and on. An older cousin stayed with us for four or five years so she's practically like a sister.
M: Are the faults that we were talking about ones that someone has told to you? Are they a source of disagreement between you and your sister? Is that one source of difficulty?

J: Arguing with my sister is not so much a source of difficulty as getting angry I think.
M: What do you do then? Stamp on the floor and throw things?
J: No. I go up to my room instead of stamping my feet.
M: *Do you plan what your schedule is to be—what work you're trying to get done?*
J: I try to plan work, make outlines and so on to get it done.
M: Do you get everything done the way it's planned?
J: There's a lot more work than there is time to get it done.
M: That's always the trouble. What do you do for school work particularly?
J: I try to plan that and get it done.
M: Do you do well?
J: A 2.5. [This is a grade point average between *A* and *B*.]
M: Then you must be efficient in getting work planned. What other things do you plan? Clothes? Recreation?
J: I like to plan so that's why I do.
M: Do you outline courses and outline for exams?
J: I haven't been doing it. I tried it last semester though and it works better.
M: *Are you the sort of person who schedules time?*
J: I have a schedule at home.
M: That's good. Then you may be generally an efficient person. Is that true of your relatives?
J: I got it from a cousin who stayed with us. I admire efficiency in people.
M: Have you seen efficiency in operation? Have you had contact with persons or firms?
J: Yes.
M: Well, at work or play do you concentrate for long periods or shift your attention quickly?
J: I like to shift. I can concentrate for a period—short period and get things done that way.
M: Can you concentrate when you have to—say for a long paper, for example?
J: I think so.
M: Well, you'd know better than anyone else. If a long job comes, say for a whole evening, can you handle it?
J: Yes.
M: *Do you have as much energy as your friends?*
J: I do at school but not at home. I guess I wear myself out at school.
M: Would you say much more energy than your friends have?
J: I wouldn't say much more. About the same I should say.

M: And then when you get home, is there a slump?
J: I guess it's spring fever. [The interview was held in March.]
M: Do you get tired easily?
J: Yes.
M: How would you define easily? How long before you get tired?
J: I get sleepy more easily than tired. I need a lot of sleep at night. In emergencies I even sleep during the day. My work takes a lot out of me. It seems I need more sleep than my friends. I usually have to go to bed at nine or ten.
M: And then sleep till seven?
J: Yes, about ten-thirty is a good bedtime.
M: Does this happen to you much when concentrating?
J: It does once in a while when I'm reading something that's dismal and not very interesting.
M: But would you really say that you're the type of person that tires easily compared to friends or other people you know? Are you the kind of person of whom others would say, "She tires easily"?
J: No.
M: *What do you daydream about?*
J: Oh, of greatness and lots of things.
M: Do you do much of it?
J: No, not much.
M: Sometimes, I suppose. When you do, what sort of things?
J: Oh, clothes.
M: Of being dressed up in fine clothes?
J: Well, planning new outfits and so on. Planning my room and things I've read or what's happened during the day.
M: *Do you daydream of the future?*
J: No, not much. More of the present.
M: Well, what about the past? Do you daydream about such things? Do you usually dream much about what's happened?
J: Nothing in the past—more in the future, I guess.
M: No use crying over spilt milk, is that it? Not regretting what you've done for example?
J: I often regret it, but not much can be done about it anyway.
M: Well, is there anything else that comes up in your daydreaming? We all do it.
J: Not that I can think of right now.
M: Is there anything that recurs or happens frequently?
J: No. I do think of things I would like very much to do in the future. Be famous what I'd do and so forth.
M: Any particular form of fame?
J: Yes, I'd like to be a writer.
M: You can think of yourself—name in headlines and so on?

J: Yes.
M: Does that reflect an ambition to succeed, to travel, and be famous?
J: It seems too far off to be an ambition.
M: Do you think of particular persons you have heard of, say Dorothy Thomas? She's traveled over Europe and so on. Do you have a person of that kind in mind?
J: Not exactly. I admire them but never particularly think of them.
M: Do you think of yourself?
J: Yes, that's more like it.
M: Well, traveling is a common daydream.
J: Yes, it's quite common.
M: Most of us think of it. Well, anything else that comes out?
J: No, not now.
M: *What do you worry about?*
J: Oh, my parents, money, the future and occasionally I worry about classes but not very much.
M: What do you worry about in your parents? Health?
J: Yes, health and their future.
M: Is there something in particular? Are they unhealthy?
J: My mother's been ill lately.
M: You can expect more of that as they get older. Is it a serious worry?
J: Quite a bit, yes. My parents are older than most of my friends' are. I suppose I should expect that.
M: Does it interfere with your efficiency?
J: It did more so when I was in high school when mother was sick.
M: Well, we must take it in stride. Is she better now?
J: Yes.
M: Are you having a struggle to get through?
J: Yes. I usually work for what I get.
M: Do you work long hours?
J: No. The hours aren't nearly as long as some of my friends put in, but I have to work.
M: You don't feel worried?
J: For myself no, but for my parents I would say yes.
M: When you say "the future" what about that?
J: Right now I'm not sure what I want to do.
M: In your choice of teaching as an occupation for example? In your other interview did the counselor ask you why you chose teaching?
J: Yes.
M: But you feel unsettled?
J: Yes. I don't know exactly what I want to teach.
M: When you say teacher does the war situation affect you? [The

interview was held in spring of 1942.]

J: It stimulates me because jobs are better now.

M: I won't worry you more by suggesting the depression to come. You say that classes don't worry you?

J: No. But in one class I didn't like the teacher. [Section omitted.]

M: *What are your outstanding characteristics?*

J: That's a hard question for me.

M: There's no intimation that what we are asking for is necessarily bad or good. There's a young lady by the name of Jane, what's outstanding about her?

J: From an obvious viewpoint?

M: What distinguishes you from all the other girls?

J: Just characteristics?

M: Yes, or whatever you want to put in.

J: I suppose that I like serious discussions so much, arguments. I like my work and school very much. What other types would you want?

M: I think that's all we could expect. What do you think are outstanding characteristics? Well, I could give you one suggestion or example: The fact that you're a 2.5 is outstanding. Most people don't do that. I've chosen that illustration of scholarship. Is there anything in you as a person?

J: I admire characteristics like truth, loyalty, and so on. I try to follow one person whom I have as a model.

M: Do you have someone now?

J: Not as much now as when I was in high school. I admired my cousin then.

M: Well, *in what chief ways does it seem you differ from other persons of your age?*

J: I don't think I go out quite as much for the social side as most of my friends. Is that what you mean?

M: Yes. Does your height bother you? You're quite short.

J: Well, I worry about the future and chances for promotion. But I'd rather be small.

M: I don't think it need bother you. A short girl whom we both know is teaching in a Junior High School and she is a fine teacher. If anything I think she's a shorter than you are. Then, too, there are occupations which require short people—such as airline stewardesses. Does your height bother you at all?

J: No, but being short bothers my father.

M: Is he bothered about himself?

J: Yes, but about me too.

M: What does he do?

J: He's an engineer. I think he feels it's a handicap. He's about as tall as I am.
M: *What men or women, living or dead, do you greatly admire?*
J: I greatly admire my mother, my cousin, the King and Queen of England.
M: Present King and Queen?
J: Yes.
M: Would you include Edward and Wally?
J: No. I think it's because my parents were Canadian. Oh, also Jane Addams. I used to admire Lindbergh but that has sort of passed.
M: Do you know why you admire these people particularly? Is there any reason why you admire these people you've mentioned?
J: Well, they've seen what they wanted and gone after it and made a success.
M: Do you think of yourself as that sort of person?
J: I'd like to be.
M: *If you've ever tried to formulate your philosophy of life, how would you describe it?*
J: I hate to say right out. It would be easier to write it.
M: What would you say?
J: Well, being charitable, interested in human beings and their problems, helping the underdog—things like that. The main thing anyway is taking an interest in the world around you.
M: Is there, in that description, a picture of yourself? Do you think of yourself as an instrument for helping others than yourself—self-sacrifice to some extent?
J: Yes. If I knew what I was going after, but if I didn't as right now when I have no goal, I'd go after it and when I found it, I'd do what I could to help.
M: Do you think you might have a change of philosophy, and help yourself more than others?
J: That's very apt to be, but I admire people who sacrifice themselves for others.
M: Is it a rather strong urge?
J: Yes.
M: That's interesting. Has it affected your thinking about a career at all—say to become a nurse in a backward community where you'd sacrifice much and not get much pay?
J: I thought I could do a lot of that in teaching. People don't look so much for it but it should be done.
M: Then your main philosophy is helping others?
J: Yes.
M: Have you ever sat down and tried to formulate it?

J: No. Maybe I'll take a couple months out in the summer and try it. It takes time.
M: Yes, it's developing through experience. Well, that's all we've time for. [Stenographers did not record the final courtesies.][60]

Three separate interviews with Jane similar to the one given above were held, and the three interviewers then pooled their evaluations of her with respect to the characteristics which they had selected for appraisal. The combined judgments were then collated with data obtained from other sources, and a prediction of her success as a teacher was recorded. After she had entered the teaching profession, an evaluation of her effectiveness was made. The results of the investigation are reported in the study by Lins noted above.[60]

Enough studies of evaluative interviews,[61] similar to the one described above, suggest that they may be a valuable tool for the counselor if the purposes are clearly stated, if standards have been set, and if the interviewer can keep to the point. It begins to appear that the evaluative interview has been established as a permanent instrument in the counseling process.

Informative interviews. A counselee may be interviewed for the purpose of *informing* him about data that have been obtained from other sources, of providing information to answer questions that he has raised, or of passing on some decision that has been made about him by a person in a position of authority. The counselor may also inform a student about such matters as his performance on tests and their interpretation, the acceptance or rejection of an application for a position or for admission to post graduate training, the decision of a board, principal, or specialist concern-

[60] This is one of a series of three interviews recorded in shorthand by stenographers who listened to the interview in an adjoining room through earphones attached to a recording apparatus. Jane was shown the microphone. She was told that everything that was said was to be recorded. The microphone was placed on the table between the interviewer and subject, but it was covered with a light box. The interview has been edited only enough to prevent identification of the subject.

[61] See Newman, S. H., et al, "The Reliability of the Interview Method in an Officer Candidate Evaluation Program," *The American Psychologist,* April, 1946; Bender, I. E., H. A. Imus, J. W. M. Rothney, *op. cit.;* Rothney, J. W. M., and B. A. Roens, *op. cit.;* Witmer, H. L., *Psychiatric Interviews with Children* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1946); Merton, R. K., and P. L. Kendall, "The Focussed Interview," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 51, 1946, and many others in many areas.

ing his success in an examination, or a ruling to allow or deny him special permission for requested action.

There appears to be no general agreement about the advisability of informing a subject about his performance on tests, but many counselors have found that their counsel is more likely to be effective if the student is so informed. When the counselor tells a student that his score on a test is a year higher or lower than what would be expected of a person of his age, he is usually putting into technical terms what the subject already suspects. If a student is told that this scores on a mathematics test are low, it is not usually a surprise announcement. Hundreds of the candidates for classification as navigator or bombardier in the Air Corps testing program seldom[62] indicated surprise when they were told about their performance on tests. The information given to the subject in such cases, since it frequently verifies the person's own appraisals, makes the next step in the counseling process more effective. When it does not verify them, the *informative* interview may become a fact-finding or, at times, even a therapeutic conference.

The observation of a subject when he has been given certain kinds of information may reveal a great deal about his reaction to success or failure. Some respond by creating an alibi or using one that has already been manufactured. (In the Air Corps testing program the most common alibi of cadets who had not passed the tests was that of "bad eyes," despite the fact that sound medical evidence to indicate that their eyes were in good condition was available.) A few individuals may attack the source of information as being invalid and undependable. Some appear to take the news in good grace and request information concerning alternative lines of action, but others may respond by tears, violent language, pleading, and even the offering of bribes to the informer. In such situations the counselor may obtain hints concerning habitual modes of response to discouragement or to difficult situations, the tendency to resort to alibi, habits of compensation, projection and rationalization, reversion to infantile behavior, attempts to use the power of wealth or influence, and the habit of "taking it." On the other

[62] The senior author was required to advise several hundred Air Corps cadets that they had not succeeded in passing tests and would not, therefore, be permitted to go on to training in the specialized fields that they had elected. Although the situation was a military position where military procedures were insisted upon, normal behavior often broke through the army conventionality.

hand, when information that is passed on to the subject in the informative interview is encouraging or complimentary, the counselor may get some information about habitual response to success. Such responses vary from the calm and composed shrug of the individual who has complete confidence in himself, the sigh of relief from those who have previously experienced failure and know that they have escaped it this time, the explosive comment from those who find that pressure has been released, and the exultant shout of the person who has enjoyed the competition, won the game, and now seeks new obstacles to overcome.

Treatment interviews. Finally, interviews may be used for *therapeutic* purposes. The therapeutic procedure may vary from that in which the counselor simply acts as a listener, and occasionally as a stimulator of responses, to the situation in which he becomes a tutor or (in some other way) becomes a very active participant in a learning situation. Both situations, and all their intermediate phases, provide excellent opportunities to observe the behavior of individuals. When the student is airing a gripe or pleading for assistance, when he is describing the need for revision of the school curriculum to provide for his particular needs, or when he is being given special assistance in the development of adequate study habits, the counselor is in a strategic position to observe and describe his behavior.

Only in rare cases is a condition requiring remedial treatment for a school subject uncomplicated by other factors. A freshman who came to a counselor initially to seek assistance in his course in German was found to be very much disturbed about another matter. He had entered the university despite his parents' insistence that a small religious college would serve his purposes better. Worried by the fact that he had gone against the wishes of his parents and the fact that his attendance at the university was putting a strain on the family's financial resources, he had been determined to justify his choice by making a good record, and he had done so in all his courses except German. As his marks became worse, his worry increased, and both marks and mental health reached low levels. In this case remedial sessions became therapeutic interviews, and it was not until the worry about his choice had lessened that his marks improved.

Nondirective approach. Up to this point the discussion of interviewing has suggested that it will be largely of the directive type.

There has been no intent to slight the nondirective approach. The experienced counselor should be well aware of the fact that both types, as well as many variations and mixtures of each, are required when dealing with the variety of problems that he meets in his day to day work. The nondirective approach appears to have developed as a protest against the activities of counselors who were too direct, too positive, and too lacking in appreciation of the potentialities of their counselees to adapt and adjust when given limited encouragement and assistance. The various controversies that have arisen about the relative merits of directive and nondirective[63] counseling seem to revolve around the degree of direction provided by the counselor. There are few proponents of the extremes among those who have studied the merits of each and practiced both, but the counselor should be aware of the major issues involved.

The two extremes, insofar as the counselor's role is concerned, may be summarized in the following manner. In the highly directive procedure the control and direction of the interview rests with a counselor who has superior resources with which to diagnose and evaluate the problem and direct the action toward an adequate solution of the client's problems. The other requires that the relationship should be completely nondirective with respect to the counselor. The argument for the latter method is that it respects the autonomy of the client, is more effective and more democratic, and places the responsibility for the understanding of the problems and their solution upon the client because the individual has enormous capacity for adaptation and adjustment. The primary aim of nondirective counseling is said to be that of releasing those forces within an individual which drive him toward growth, maturity, and positive health.

The terms "directive" and "nondirective" are used in many writings more or less synonymously with counselor-centered and

[63] Rogers, C. R., "Counseling," *Review of Educational Research,* vol. 15, April, 1945; Rogers, C. R., *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942); Rogers, C. R., "Tools for the Guidance Worker" *Frontier Thinking in Guidance,* J. R. Yale, (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1945); Thorne, F. C., "A Critique of Non-directive Methods of Psychotherapy," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* vol. 39, October, 1944; Snyder, W. V., "The Present Status of Psychotherapeutic Counseling," *Psychological Bulletin,* vol. 44, July, 1947; Hahn, M. E., and W. F. Kendall, "Some Comments in Defense of 'Non-nondirective' Counseling" *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* vol. 11, March–April, 1947.

client-centered, respectively. Wrenn,[04] however, claims that client-centeredness has been used with varying degrees of emphasis by counselors for generations. His interpretation is that it is a counseling approach that is adjusted to the needs of the client, and therefore it may be either directive or nondirective. The individual counselee is the determining factor in its degree of directiveness. Notwithstanding this distinction, any reference to client-centeredness in the discussion that follows will mean nondirective counseling.

The counselor-directed interview takes place after the counselor has reviewed all possible information concerning the counselee. This information may be developed through contacts with friends, relatives, parents, physician, and other concerned parties. Test scores, behavior descriptions, school grades, and other school records are sources of information. All available physical, psychological, social, and other facts must be gathered and utilized. To be effective, the counselor must have wide knowledge and skill in such fields as psychology, education, and sociology, in order to diagnose and interpret the client's problems. He must be especially adept at handling such difficulties as emotional resistance to the truth when it is unpleasant. Moreover, he must have at hand solutions for the client's problems that he can present and the client follow.[03]

During an interview of the completely directive type, the counselor and counselee follow a well-defined, counselor-made plan. What the client thinks about himself, his experiences, the problems he faces, and the possible solutions enter into the discussion objectively only so far as it fits the pre-established plan of the counselor. The diagnosis and interpretation of the client's problems, their presentation, and the decisions as to solution are all functions of the counselor. The counselee's position is strictly that of recipient who is willing to accept the omniscience of the counselor and acts according to his directions. In this relationship the counselor who has directed the entire proceedings assumes responsibility for any outcomes directly related to his own recommendations.

In the strictly nondirective interview the counselee takes the lead in the discussion. The counselor merely reflects and subtly identifies the attitudes, thoughts, and any emotional responses of the clients. The counselor may only repeat or paraphrase into clearer or more easily understood terms the responses of the client.

[04] Wrenn, C. G., "Client-Centered Counseling," *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* vol. 6, No. 4, 1946.

The counselor does not project into the situation any of his own judgments, evaluations, diagnoses, or solutions. He does not question, probe, analyze, interpret, advise, suggest, or coerce. The counselor's entire effort is concentrated on making it possible for the client to achieve the deepest understanding of himself, of his problems, and of the best possible solutions. The counselor at all times attempts to provide an accepting, uncritical, atmosphere in which the client can work through his problem in his own way.

This working-through process on the part of the client is said to follow three phases. First, there is a period of emotional release. As the client realizes that he is in a safe atmosphere, he proceeds to unburden himself, pouring forth deeper and deeper attitudes regarding himself and conditions outside himself. This process really constitutes an emotional catharsis, which results in the next phase of self-understanding and insight into his problems. Only through this elimination of pent-up emotions is greater understanding possible. This understanding may be manifested through verbal symbols, through changed reactions, or both. Spontaneity, vitality, and depth of insight develop during this phase. The state of greater self-understanding and insight is followed by the third phase of changed attitudes, new goals, and the visualization of choices, the making of decisions, and development of real self-confidence in his selection of a proper course of action.[63]

In this brief summary the two most divergent views of the counseling process have been presented. The approach of most counselors will lie somewhere between these two extremes. Wrenn[65] suggests the possibility that client-centeredness in counseling falls along a continuum of emphasis, that some counselors may invariably use an extreme of counselor-centeredness or client-centeredness, whereas others may do so only under certain conditions. He suggests that a great deal of counseling falls at other points than the extremes of the continuum. The authors of this volume prefer to accept this point of view. Other students of the problem propose that, in the final analysis, both concepts must be validated against various problems presented by the client and that the validation of both must await definitive experimental evidence.

This lack of experimental evidence concerning the value of the several methods of therapeutic interviewing should inhibit the

[65] Wrenn, C. G., *op. cit.*

counselor when he is tempted to commit himself to the use of any one method. He should keep in mind the following statement made by Wischner and McKinney[66] after they had reviewed current literature on counseling:

However, since there has been an introduction of new methods without adequate evaluation of the old, it would seem desirable to take stock. Proper evaluation of technics can result only from the application of recognized research methods. The non-directive technic has stimulated work in this direction. One must be careful to avoid confusion of technic with theory. Success or lack of success, as measured by progress criteria may have little relation to basic theoretical formulations and more connected with specific technics and personal relationships which are themselves as yet not too well defined. For the ultimate development of a scientific understanding of the counseling process, what is needed is research which considers not only variables related to technic but also variables which are likely to lead to general formulations concerning the counseling process which may eventually be related to the existing body of psychological knowledge.

General problems of interviewing. Since the interview must be a flexible instrument which allows for adaptation to the circumstances and the personnel involved, it is impossible to draw up a rigid set of rules for its use. The following suggestions are generally useful, but they apply only to those situations in which there is no marked variation from the usual. The counselor will modify them to suit the occasion and may even find it desirable to change his plan as an interview proceeds.

In general it is better to dispense with the taking of notes during an interview because it may interfere with concentration on the subject's behavior, may make his responses difficult to follow, and may inhibit him. If a complete record is desired, it may be necessary to conceal a microphone in the room.[67] In still other cases the microphone or recorder may be shown to the subjects.[68] The senior author has had experience with the use of the microphone

[66] Wischner, G. J., and F. McKinney, "Counseling," *Review of Educational Research,* vol. 18, April, 1948.

[67] This procedure was used in the interviews with the subjects in the study reported by Bender, Imus, and Rothney, *op. cit.*

[68] When good rapport has been established, the microphone does not appear to inhibit subjects. The risk that a hidden microphone may be discovered and that rapport may be lost appears not worth the advantage that secrecy provides.

under both circumstances, and he has found that the latter technique is most effective. In the interviewing of college students (as in the case of Jane, reported previously), he has used the procedure of putting the microphone on the desk, showing it to the subject, and telling the subject that the complete interview was to be recorded. The microphone was then covered but remained on the table. After the interviews the students were asked if the microphone had disturbed them, and the usual response was that it had not. Many subjects reported that they had forgotten all about it. In cases where good rapport has been established, as in the case of Peter, whose interview is reported in detail above, a stenographer may sit and take the notes without disturbing the subject. Where no record is made and no complete notes kept, the counselor may tell the subject occasionally that he is writing down something that he considers to be very important. In general, however, the interview will proceed better if no notes are kept. A summary must, however, be written *immediately after* the interview because forgetting takes place quickly.[60]

The interviewer must not put on a pose. Youth are quick to recognize a forced or artificial manner, and few counselors can "put on an act" consistently enough to make it seem real to the subject. Attitudes of disapproval or approval must not be evident, and the forcing of language to get down to the same level as a subject should not be practiced. The counselor may be as serious as the occasion demands, but he should not resent jokes on the part of his subject nor refrain from using his own if they help to illustrate a point or increase rapport. He should make it clear that he respects the feelings and judgments of his subject even though he may not agree with them or feel that they are justified. He must realize that the subject is studying him at the same time as he is observing his subject, and that the conclusions which each one draws about the other will partly determine the success of future counseling processes. If the subject decides that the counselor is just another potential critic who may give him a poor mark or someone who is going to try to make him over without his consent, the necessary rapport will seldom be established.

The subject must be informed of the purpose of the interview. If he asks about the purpose directly, he should receive a frank and

[60] Sarbin, T. R., "Case Notes in Student Counseling," *Report of Meeting of the American College Personnel Association*, 1940.

truthful answer. If the subject knows that the counselor has learned of some of his failings or of some recent indiscretion, it will be well to postpone discussion of the matter until the subject is ready to discuss it.[70] When he is ready, he will bring up the matter himself by asking questions directly or by referring to it incidentally while discussing something else so that he may note the response of the counselor. If the response indicates an understanding of the problem and not too much bias based upon reports from secondary sources, the subject is more likely to proceed with the discussion of the problem. Except in unusual situations, it is better to start where the subject wants to begin and to build from that base. The loss of time that this procedure may seem to entail will be saved when rapport has been well established.

Validity of data obtained from interviews is always suspect because the results are contained in judgments made by one person. There is no known way to validate, in the true statistical sense, the evidence that an interviewer gets from the facial expressions, tone of voice, or the set of the body of a subject. If a counselor reports that a subject seemed ill at ease, took a belligerent attitude, seemed disturbed when certain topics were discussed, or blushed noticeably at the mention of some experience, there is no final criterion against which his judgment can be validated. If the interviewer's background has been broad and his training extensive, however, he often learns to observe such reactions and to use them as supplementary evidence to get effective shadings of his other data.

MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES OF DATA ABOUT INDIVIDUALS

In addition to the information about a subject's behavior obtained through application of the techniques described above, the counselor may collect data from several miscellaneous sources. Among these are newspaper reports about the individual or his family, records of participation in community affairs, written or art work submitted to school papers or other publications, letters and diaries, collections kept, reports from persons who have applied remedial treatment (as in speech or reading), descriptions by employers, responses to follow-up questionnaires, and medical records,

[70] See the discussion on this problem in H. L. Witmer, *Psychiatric Interviews with Children* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1946).

other than those kept by the school, concerning accidents or illnesses and their treatment.

Data obtained from such sources may be drawn up into a convenient dossier arranged in chronological order.[71] An isolated newspaper clipping in itself may seem unimportant, but when it is considered in relation to other data, it may disclose reasons for behavior that might otherwise have remained obscure. A sudden and unexplained spurt of industry by a high-school student, for example, became explicable when a counselor learned that her family had been visited by a famous woman who had surmounted many difficulties and who developed a high degree of skill in the encouragement of others to do likewise. The publication of a high-school boy's picture surrounded by a group of doctors who were watching a demonstration of the setting of his broken arm by a new technique helped to explain his sudden "blossoming out" from extreme reticence in the presence of others, his sudden choice of a new occupational objective (medicine), and his new determination to work toward it.

Special remedial teachers, because they deal with individual or small groups, have opportunities to observe students in a manner that is seldom available to classroom teachers or counselors. The remedial teachers may observe the subject's response to difficulties, his reactions to success or failure, and the variability of such responses. If the counselor has discussed an individual who is undergoing treatment with a remedial teacher and has suggested methods of making observations and reports, the teacher's reports on his behavior can frequently become a useful part of the student's record.

The follow-up procedures described later in this volume form an essential part of counselor's work. In addition to their value in public relations programs, in suggestions for curricular revision, and in the evaluation of a counseling program, they reveal the extent to which the behavior of a subject tends to carry over beyond the period in which he was studied by the counselor. These procedures may thus provide evidence of the counselor's success in predicting later behavior and achievement. The follow-up questionnaires presented in Chapter VI were developed for use in the Har-

[71] Complete dossiers on a group of Dartmouth students averaged 125 pages in length. See Bender, Imus, and Rothney, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

vard Guidance Study[72] and are partial revisions of the forms used in the Harvard Growth Study[73] They were used in an interview setting to determine the extent to which certain characteristic modes of responding to paper-and-pencil techniques had been carried on beyond the high-school years, and it permitted the determination of the effectiveness of the Study in meeting its objectives.

The inclusion of a miscellaneous category for data about behavior is intended primarily to emphasize the fact that the counselor must always be alert to the possibilities of obtaining information from any source and at any time. Too often counselors become so involved in standardized procedures and routine administration of particular techniques that they tend to overlook valuable data.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have been concerned with the procurement of data about an individual with respect to his usual behavior and significant variations from it, the area commonly described as personality. It had been noted earlier, of course, that the separation of this section from the others was made only for convenience in discussion, and that the contents of this chapter could not have real meaning if factors such as academic record, health, and social background discussed in other chapters of this volume, were not considered in relation to them. In this chapter, we have attempted to point out that there are no short-cuts, such as those implied in the use of inventories and questionnaires, in the study of the behavior of an individual. We have suggested that the counselor will seek information about the overt behavior of his counselees from other persons in the well-defined terms of the behavior description. He will follow that procedure by using the subtler methods of the autobiography and projective techniques to get more information about the "inside half" of the individual. He will question his subjects and let them talk out their problems in the various types of interview situations, and he will use locally constructed inventories and questionnaires to assist in such processes. And finally, he will always be alert to the possibility of obtaining valuable information

[72] Rothney, J. W. M., and B. A. Roens, *Guidance of American Youth, op. cit.*

[73] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Scholastic, Social and Economic Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

from many miscellaneous sources. In a later chapter we shall be concerned with procedures for collating all the information that the counselor has obtained about the individual and for putting it to work in his service.

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EXERCISE 1

Read the following autobiography written by a tenth-grade boy. From study of his report, answer the following questions:

1. What facts do you have about him of which you feel sure?
2. What information would you need to verify some of his

statements before you would feel certain about them? How would you get the information?

3. What cues, hints, and suggestions about his interests, personal adjustments, social attitudes, sense of humor, and physical characteristics do you have?

After you have written your report on the above problems, prepare a list of questions that you would ask him in interviews designed to obtain more facts about him and to make an evaluation of his behavior.

Autobiography Written by a Tenth-Grade Boy in a Wisconsin High School

(All original spellings and constructions have been retained.)

I. My Ancestors

To begin with, I must tell what my nationality is. I am a mixture of German, Pennsylvania Dutch, English and French, with no particular nationality predominating.

I shall be brutally frank. I have no famous ancestors. None of my forebears came over on the "mayflower." There were no kings (or even dukes, lords, or earls) in my family. I don't have any famous ancestors at all.

To be sure Crandall, Beaumont, and Garrison are all family names, and there have been famous people bearing all these names (Prudence, Charles Henry, Lionel S., and many more Crandalls, Sir Francis Beaumont, and William L. Garrison), but I don't have too much reason to claim these as relatives. I can assume them in an emergency though, if need be.

Most of my ancestors came over from Europe during the years 1840 to 1870. The Crandalls, however, may date back to the Revolution. I don't claim any ancestors as pioneers, though some of them were of the earliest families to arrive in Wisconsin.

My father was born in Amden, Wis. about the turn of the century. My mother was born in Wilonsin, Wis. a few months later. After a happy childhood, they both attended Samson State Teachers' College.

They met there in due time became engaged. They were married in Chicago, Ill. After that they settled down in Jonesville, Wis., where my father worked in the Y.M.C.A.

II. Jonesville

One day in September, 1929, a momentous event occurred. I was born! I came into this world at 11:00 A.M., September 14,

1929, at the hospital in Jonesville. I weighed all of 7 pounds, 11 oz. (I was very fat when I was a baby, but I am certainly not fat now.) I was named Joseph Beaumont Crandall. In about 10 days I was allowed to go home.

I do not remember anything about life in Jonesville. When I was about 6 or 8 months old I began to take interest in books (pictures only, of course which I have held to this day.

I was baptised at the Jonesville Congregational Church, by Rev. Smith. I created quite a little diversion by crying during the prayer, as all babies do when in church to be baptised.

While in Jonesville I lived in two houses, so I had to go through the confusion of moving day. The back yards of the houses adjoined, however, so the move was accomplished with a minimum of difficulty.

At the age of 11 months I learned to talk (?). I said Ma-ma, Da-da, Ba (for baby, meaning myself) and Duh (for duck). I became fond of birds, as I still am, and called every bird from Humming-bird to Ostrich a duck.

I spent my first Christmas with my Grandparents at Wilonsin. No doubt it was a great occasion but I don't remember it (naturally).

I also don't remember my first birthday, though I suppose my parents made a fuss over me.

The depression was raging at this time, and my father lost his job because of it. Fortunately he soon got a job in the Rocktown Y.M.C.A., and so after living in Jonesville for about a year. I was forced to move to Rocktown.

III. First Years in Rocktown

We moved to Rocktown and established ourselves in a four-family apartment on East End Ave., Rocktown's main Street. It was conveniently close to the Y.M.C.A. and the business section of town.

I can't remember too much about this place and the other people who lived there. One family was the Smith family. Mr. Smith was fond of carpentry and could be heard pounding at all hours of day and night. When I was older Mrs. Smith shocked me no end, because she wore shoes with no toes to them, and painted her toenails red. There was also Betty Smith, about whom I shall speak again.

In one of the apartments lived a woman with two Pekingese dogs. I do not remember the third person (or people) at all.

As yet, since I was so fat and lazy (now I am only lazy), I had not learned to walk. When I was 22 months old, however, I finally took my first steps, and eventually mastered the art.

Naturally, after learning to walk, I ran away. One of the neighbor girls, coming home from an errand down-town, found me goin west, several blocks from home. She rescued me, and after I was tied up for several days, I lost the desire to run away.

Rocktown has a great many Negroes, and I once embarrassed by mother no end by staring hard at a Negro woman, pointing to her, and asking, "What's that?" The Negroes in Rocktown were very sensitive, and were likely to attack anybody who made insulting remarks about them, so I suppose Mother may have been a little frightened.

One January morning, when the thermometer stood at 20 degrees below zero, my parents were awakened by a pounding at the door. Someone said, "The house is on fire, and the roof's going to collapse any minute. Grab your baby and run." They did.

Vast confusion was around, and as a result my mother dropped my father's pay envelope. Fortunately some honest person found it and returned it to her.

My father was well-drenched in spray from the fire-hoses, and this froze on him. It must have been very unpleasant.

At last we reached the neighbors, and then I woke up. I had slept through all the previous excitement.

The fire was eventually put out, and since our apartment was probably damaged the least, we moved in without delay. The damage was soon repaired, and life became normal again.

Some time or other, my first love-affair (!) began. It was with Betty Smith, the girl upstairs, who was only a few months older than I. We sat together on the swing in the back-yard, and held our teddy-bears; or picked dandelion boquets, or else we stared curiously at the old lady next door, but that was as far as it ever went.

We lived across from the park, and when I was small I went over to it with my mother. Later I spent a good deal of time there with the neighborhood gang. This was led by a girl named Eleanor, and we spent a good deal of time climbing on the park bandstand. The older members also put in a great deal of time trying to get Betty and me to climb on dangerous places, play with worms, eat the berries of an unknown bush, and other risky things.

While we lived here I saw circus parades and soon became afraid of clowns. I also became afraid of people wearing glasses. We had several adventures with tramps, and an especially noteworthy one occurred when a tramp ate a meal on our front steps.

Mother was mortified, and thereafter explicitly told all tramps to come to the back door. However, I never seemed to be afraid of tramps.

When I was about 3 years old, we decided to leave the apartment, and so we moved to Washington Ave. and a larger place.

IV. Growing Up

We soon became established in our new apartment. We lived upstairs and there was a tire shop downstairs, but it did not disturb us unduly. The cemetery was right behind our house.

The reason we moved was because we needed more room, and the reason we needed more room was because an addition to the family was expected.

And so, on June 12, 1934, my sister Ruth was born. I was not particularly excited, even after visiting her in the hospital, though no doubt her other relatives were.

The next two years were quite uneventful. I made friends with other children in the neighborhood, especially Donna Mae Rosseyn (I'm sure I don't know if that is spelled right).

I got a tricycle, and after learning to ride, I no doubt became a menace to innocent pedestrians. Tricycle-riding small children are really dangerous, since they always demand the right-of-way.

In these interesting pursuits I spent about two years.

V. School!

One day in September, 1934, I entered school. I became one of a small and happy group in the morning kindergarten, at school.

I was not afraid to go to school, but, rather, I enjoyed it. Of course, there was not much work in kindergarten.

Our group built a model "train" out of blocks and paper, and since it seated the whole class, it provided a great deal of pleasure.

We also enjoyed such pleasures as sliding, singing (?), drawing, cooking (yes, we actually made applesauce), making models (I still have an oatmeal-box train somewhere) and gardening (lettuce and radishes, both of which actually grow.).

At the end of the year I was promoted to first grade, and ever since then school has been work.

In first grade I learned to read, but since I had had some instruction by my mother, this was not difficult. I have memorized the first several pages of the first reader, to wit: "Dick. See Dick. See Dick run. Jane. See Jane. See Jane Run. Baby.

See Baby. See Baby run. Run, Baby, run." throughout the year we followed this family (including Mother, Father, and, I believe a pet of some kind) through many fascinating adventures.

I soon learned to like reading and dislike Arithmetic, which is still true.

While in kindergarten and first grade I played in a band. I played "rhythm sticks", two sticks to be pounded together in time with the music. How I envied those distinguished musicians, the drum and cymbal players.

In Kindergarten we had a circus, and the band played in uniforms. It was a great affair with everybody in kindergarten participating. In the first grade, however, the band did not give any "concerts."

At the end of the year, I was promoted to second grade.

VI. From Second to Fourth

Second grade was not much harder than first, but I do not think I liked it as well. I began to be even less fond of arithmetic.

It was then that it was discovered that I had bad eyes, and so I got my first pair of glasses. I was very proud of them, but my mother was very unhappy.

Third grade meant graduation, so to speak, for third grade was on the second floor. In third grade I studied geography for the first time, and I enjoyed it.

The third grade teacher, Miss Hansen, was a fat and rather crabby teacher, who tried desperately to play the piano, and never succeeded. She was fond of tying paper towels around the mouths of talkative students, and tying especially wicked children to their chairs.

When in third grade I was in a chorus (the whole grade was in it, else I would probably never have made it). We climbed up on a platform on the junior high school stage, and sang a few songs. Our proud parents applauded thunderously, and we were made happy.

Then came fourth grade, and I was in another performance. The entire school presented a cantata, and the fourth-graders were supposed to be Dutch.

Attired in a queer but interesting Dutch costume, I, with a number of other people, got up on the stage and waved my arms around in a Dutch windmill dance. It was thrilling to me, but probably much less so to the audience.

During this period I suffered through a good many diseases. I had German measles, red measles, whooping cough, and many colds. I did not have mumps, and since I had previously been

jabbed in the arm with a needle, I didn't have any danger of getting smallpox or diphtheria.

One exciting adventure (though it didn't affect me) occurred when a car crashed into the house next door. I heard it all and was vastly excited, though I was not able to see it until the wreckage and body were removed.

During this period I made friends with John Green, who, as I now know, was a very questionable sort of person. He was also the only boy in third grade to wear leggings.

And so the happy years passed by in such pursuits as climbing trees in the Vacant Lot, feeding the cemetery squirrels, walking out to the creek viaduct, and so forth.

I became fond of at least two girls during these years. One was Jean Cromwell who did not share the feelings, and the other was Inez Frailey. She was from the country, and, having braids and freckles, was the typical country hick type, but I liked her, and she returned the liking, so I was satisfied.

Just before I entered Fifth grade, we decided to move, and so we moved a few blocks away.

VII. Last Years in Rocktown

The new area into which we moved might be noted for its abundance of children. A number of these, led by Carol Brown, the neighborhood brat, prepared a hole in the back yard, which they covered with boards in the hope that when I walked on the boards they would give way, and I would fall. My sister revealed the plot, and anyway, the hole wasn't more than 6 inches deep.

In fifth grade I was part of a large group which danced the minuet at a public performance. It was very enjoyable to me, and actually rated an encore!

It was about this time when I learned to ride a bicycle. It was a slow and hard process, but there was a dead-end street just back of our house on which I practiced in comparative freedom from spectators.

I soon learned to balance but turning was difficult. On one occasion I failed completely to turn. I lost control and was only stopped by a mass of shrubbery.

Eventually, however, and after many mishaps I learned how to turn, start, and stop, and my father, sister, and I enjoyed many bicycle trips.

Sixth grade was uneventful, since I did nothing unusual at all. I did enjoy studying science, which really appeared in sixth grade for the first time.

During this period I first became interested in birds and began keeping a bird list. That interest has grown ever since then.

One day in August, 1942, it was revealed that my father had been hired as a teacher in Raleigh, Wisconsin, and that we must move there soon. After a whirlwind of packing (less than a week), we moved from Rocktown, and I haven't been back there since.

VIII. Raleigh

My mother, sister, and I lived with my grandparents in Wilonsin for two weeks; then we moved to Raleigh, since we had found a house.

I entered the seventh grade and soon settled down to a normal life. I made friends, joined school clubs (Audubon, dramatics, science) and soon became used to it.

I was in a dramatics club production, being one of the thieves in "Ali Baba." I said almost nothing.

I joined the church and also the Boy Scouts, but I did not remain too long in the scouts.

During the summer we lived at a Bible Institute, where my father worked. Here I became interested in botany, and made a collection of pressed tree leaves. My bird list also thrived. I tried, but in vain, to learn to swim, but I did learn to row a boat. (I still can't swim.)

Nothing much happened in eighth grade except that I learned to dislike manual training.

That summer we were again at the Bible Institute. Toward the end of the summer my interest in botany revived, and has been going strong ever since. I also develop insuperable aversion to noisy people.

A numbers of things happened in ninth grade. I had my first date, with Doris Duncan. I took part in a number of band concerts, which were my first public performance since seventh grade. At the end of the year I graduated with a very solemn ceremony, but I cannot see that it was really so serious.

After another summer at the Bible Institute, I entered Senior High. It is not so impressive as some people would like to believe. I also got my first job that year, working for a man who makes botanical equipment.

This brings me up to the present time, and since I have had no more life, I cannot write any more.

EXERCISE 2

The following statements were made on an *application for admission* form by a man who wanted to enroll in the freshman class

of a state university. What *clews* about the individual would a counselor have to begin the counseling process?

(All original constructions and spellings have been retained.)

1. Have you made adequate financial arrangements for your first year in college?	You bet.
2. List high-school courses which were dropped before the end of the semester: give year in each case and reason for dropping.	I don't drop anything. What is worth having is worth keeping.
3. Which of your school activities do you intend to continue in college?	Swimming if it does not conflict with classes and study.
4. State influences that led you to desire to come to this institution.	I should have access to the best the state has to offer.
5. In the following space and on the next page write (1) a paragraph indicating your purpose in attending college.	

High school education is still a 'poor relation' to college or university. If one completes high school and is still interested in more education, he received the best and most intensive phase of it at the highest level. It is too bad that the thin milk is served to high school students while the cream is at the top of the bottle. Perhaps this is unjust to high school students. I know I found this unjust. Let Harvard and N.E.A. dream of homogenized education, redistribution of academic wealth. I can't wait longer, and I can't beat it. So I shall join the opposition and hobnob with the more affluent relative.

(2) If more than three months have elapsed since the time of your graduation, let one paragraph of this statement deal with your experience and activities since that time.

High school valedictorians, one and all, assume that the day after graduation one begins an induction into life. For many the day after is just that. But budget and depression joined forces in '33 to move the induction-into-life-ritual a full two weeks ahead of schedule and undercut the whole problem and pedagogical plague—how to make the world real to a hothouse clientele. The rich leather yearbooks donned paper covers too, in the same forced "growth" of that lean period. It molded tastes too. I read Everett Dean Martin's book, *The Meaning of a Liberal Education,* and Robert Hutchin's analysis. But I also read Emerson and Whitman, Dewey, Freud, some of these coming within my ken while in high school. If these were no more

formal education, I would substitute an improvised version. I took up welding and typing, too. The practical and the theoretical must meet on common ground. I wrote propaganda and engaged in a few hunger marches, participated in a few of the youth Congress movements all to insure that we, the victims, would not be victimized willingly and stupidly by a blind economic force. I worked on farms, on railroad gangs, public work-projects and wherever an honest dollar might be turned up. The education I got outside of high school was better than I knew—even college is only another step toward a goal that seems to look brighter and better as it reaches more and more distant away from me—one good try seems all that's needed to close the gap. But thirteen years ago the picture looked the same.

(3) Write briefly on any experiences (travel, employment, friendship, etc.) that have had important effects upon your development and have led to important decisions with reference to your plans for the future.

I fell under the spell of that New York, Sinbad, Halliburton, shortly after leaving high school. Most people never break the apron strings that tie one to an introverted self. Those who do, however, learn that adventure springs from the simplest of formulas—merely keep moving and even Parnassus is within reach. I had a bicycle and I was unemployed, and I did want to see the Mark Twain country. This simple key, borrowed temporarily from Halliburton, was more than enough. The trip itself taught me a lesson I have not forgotten. The Halliburtons are not out of reach of anybody, nor are magic carpets, as the farther realms within man's mind.

(4) Write a paragraph indicating which of all the things you have accomplished either in or out of school has given you the greatest personal satisfaction.

The greatest personal satisfaction I have had came from a trivial accident. I was swimming and intensely concentrated in working some "bugs" out of my stroke. I did notice another fellow who seemed wrapped in the same pursuit. He seemed pretty well at home in the water, too—but he was far away. There would be no danger of crossing each other's lanes. Well, it happened. It was a head-on collision. Alfonse-and-Gaston apologies followed, soon flowered into complements, then introductions into our circles and the finest of mutual-admiration societies. How rarely one literally strikes up a friendship. And how nice to belong to a society where compliments, truths and half-truths are all used for making one feel good—and how accidental!

Chapter IV—The Study of Test, Academic, and Work Performances of Counselees

BEFORE we begin our study of the use of mental tests in counseling, it will be necessary to consider several general problems arising from the theory and practice of testing.[1] The first problem arises from the labels that are attached to tests since the matching of test names, their contents, and the definitions of traits which they purport to measure, is a difficult task for a technician and a hopeless one for a novice. Traditional language usage, and lack of clarity in the naming of tests have produced a situation in which the label on a test reveals very little concerning its form, content, structure, or possible use.[2]

Certain testing terms have traditionally been used together. Thus, testers speak of clerical, mechanical, musical, and (more recently) scholastic *aptitude,* but they also use the term mental *abilities,* academic *achievement,* and subject-field *performance* or *prognosis.* And if this were not difficulty enough, there is so little consistency in the use of test labels that we find such terms as mathemetical *aptitude* and clerical *ability,* and frequently the same instrument is described as both a test of *mental ability* and a *scholastic-aptitude* test. The implications in the use of such terms is, of course, that they are distinct types of measurement and produce scores that can be used in diverse ways and for different purposes.

Many users of tests do not appreciate the fact that the label on the test is derived from the *use* to which the test is to be put

[1] See M. A. May in Chapter III of the Monograph *Educational Research* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1936), and the discussions in Chapters 1 to 3 of Crawford and Burnham's *Forecasting College Achievement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

[2] See the criteria for the evaluation of tests in a later section of this chapter.

rather than from significant differences in the testing process. It should be noted that in all tests we *measure achievement* (performance) on selected items and *infer* the *aptitude*. If we intend to use a test for the appraisal of present status we customarily label it an *achievement* test. If we intend to predict future performance from it, we label it an *aptitude, ability,* or *prognosis* test. Thus, the tests are labeled in terms of the use to which the scores are put rather than in terms of fundamental differences in the nature of the testing activity or the function measured. If the counselor is fully aware of this phenomenon, he is not likely to develop too great faith in the discriminative powers of tests, nor will he attribute to tests some magical, mysterious, and vaguely defined powers which they do not possess. The same caution applies, of course, to all other techniques used in the study of individuals.

Rulon[3] has pointed out some of the problems and some of the implications for counseling that result from failure to clarify our definitions. He notes first:

> There appears to be relatively complete confusion as to whether ability and aptitude are things which are changing or things which do not change. Certain aptitudes are goals to be attained, while others are determiners of goals. We try to make choices on the basis of some abilities, and we try to develop certain other abilities such as to get along with people and to use the scientific method. We even speak of developing the *ability* to read. We believe that if a person cannot be a good stenographer easily, we should encourage him to be something else. But we believe that if a person cannot be a good citizen easily, then we should accept the responsibility of developing him into a good citizen *anyway*. Clearly the concept of achievement in relation to ability needs clarification, and we should decide more definitely what should be done about individual aptitudes. We need a ready answer to the inquirer who may ask, "Why don't you improve the aptitudes you find this individual deficient in? In the case of legal aptitude why not develop it, just as we try to develop social aptitudes?" [Italics are the writer's.]

Rulon[3] goes on to point out that lack of clarity in definition of terms makes a very great difference in actual counseling procedures. He writes:

[3] Rulon, P. J., "On the Concepts of Growth and Ability," *Harvard Educational Review,* vol. 17 No. 1 (Winter), 1947.

Here is a case stated in two ways by two different educational workers. One says, "We have many cases of discrepancies between ability and ambition in one way or another: either more ambition than ability or more ability than ambition." The other worker says, "Here is a boy who has failed all his academic work throughout the grammar grades, and is now failing in all his academic subjects in the junior high school, and yet he says his plans are to go into a bookish occupation after college training."

These two workers agree that they are presenting the same educational problem in different words. Let us see what the ambiguous *entity concept* of ability will lead us to in this case. We call the boy in and say, "Johnny, your ambitions and your ability do not jibe." The boy must not be expected to be very happy about this, nor very much enlightened.

Now let us see to what the *consistent performance* definition of ability leads us. We say to the boy, "Johnny, you know what your record is and what you have said your plans are. Now I want you to consider these things in relation to each other, and I want you to do something about them. You can do one of three things as I see it. You can change your level of performance, you can change your plans, or you can expect to have lots of trouble. Your performance is not consistent with your plans." [Italics are the writer's.]

If school personnel will heed warnings such as those given by Rulon, there will be less confusion about the value of tests in the counseling process. There will be less criticism of students because they are "not working up to their ability" and more understanding of that curious phenomenon, the boy who is "working beyond his ability." There will be less tendency to attach labels to students and assume that they have been permanently classified. There will be more realization that test scores do not, in themselves, provide sufficient data for counseling and more appreciation of the fact that they do not *automatically* determine the action that a counselor or his client should take.

It should be noted further that the selection of tests, the interpretation of scores, and the application of results in counseling combine to form a much more complex process than is generally realized. Cattell[4] has pointed this out in no uncertain terms. He writes:

[4] Cattell, R. B., *Description and Measurement of Personality* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1946), p. 10.

There is no mistake more costly than the assumption that vocational-guidance experts, educators, industrial psychologists, personnel workers, and psychiatrists can intelligently utilize the results of psychological tests without fully understanding the theory on which they are based. One of the comic spectacles of our generation is the rise of a body of practicing psychologists who are prepared to give momentous advice on personality, and who claim and believe that theirs is a new, superior, and entirely scientific profession, but who insist at the same time, that they shall not be asked to learn anything more complicated than simple addition and the drawing of test profiles and who lose patience at once with any text which attempts to disentangle the complex interaction of factors in the organic unity and developmental history of personality. *They wish to direct the lives of others with almost godlike insight, but without the effort of reasoning necessary even for adjusting the mechanism of a wheelbarrow.* Parenthetically, one may add that the practicing psychologist needs to be of a mental caliber and a profundity of training which exceed those of the medical practitioner as much as the adjustments of the total organism to a living society exceed in complexity the merely physiological adjustments of the organism.

The theoretical framework which can deal with all individual differences of personality, and the prediction of their consequences in relation to occupations, educational systems, clinical therapeutic influences, and social life generally, cannot be simple. [Italic ours.]

ABILITY AND APTITUDE TESTS

With the above cautions in mind we may now consider the use in counseling of tests which are commonly labeled "intelligence," "mental ability," or "scholastic aptitude." There is at present no clear-cut, incontrovertible evidence concerning the structure of the mind and, currently, no definite and dependable proof of the presence or absence of general or special abilities. In view of such facts, the counselor must proceed as best he can without this proof and use those instruments which, in his ignorance, seem best for his purposes. In some counseling situations it will be desirable to administer a general basic mental test, such as the Binet[5] or Wechsler-Bellevue.[6] Additional specific tests may be used as they are suggested by the results obtained from the general test and from other

[5] Terman, L. M., and M. Merrill, *Measuring Intelligence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937).

[6] Wechsler, D., *Measurement of Adult Intelligence* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1946).

leads which develop in the process of counseling. Acceptance of a developmental viewpoint of intelligence[7] suggests, however, that the need for differential measures increases as the subjects grow older and as specialized opportunity, training, and interest begin to exert their influence.[8]

The following reports, written by a counselor after he had observed three subjects during the administration of tests of so-called "general mental ability," indicate the extent to which the scores from individual mental tests can contribute to the understanding of individuals and suggest next steps in the counseling process.

John's I.Q. of—places him among the upper ten per cent of the population in the type of performance measured by the tests. He tried very hard and his desire to succeed was shown by repeated questions concerning the correctness of his answers. He did exceedingly well on all the items which required use of figures and nonverbal material, but performed only at average levels for his age on verbal material. Further testing should be done to determine if these are real differences. He was an alert interesting boy who spoke very freely about himself and his many activities. He is left-handed. Frequent eye-blinking suggests examination of his ocular condition and investigation of situations which may provide too much emotional stimulation. He should do the work of his grade satisfactorily.

Jane's I.Q. of—places her in the lower five per cent of the population in the type of performance measured by this test. She tried hard and failed often but did not seem to care whether or not she passed the tests. She failed to respond to praise and encouragement and seemed to be very glad when the testing was ended. Her attention wandered frequently and many responses seemed to be unrelated to the tasks which she was required to do. She asked for many repetitions of directions. She may have difficulty in hearing and investigation of this matter should be made. She has a decided squint and presents a generally unattractive appearance. We suggest that she be given a thorough examination to determine whether classification of mental deficiency should be made.

Paul's I.Q. of—places him in the upper two per cent of the population in the type of performance measured by this test. He passed many items four years beyond what is expected of a boy of his age and he did all kinds of items on this scale with equal facility. He took

[7] Garrett, H. E., "A Developmental Theory of Intelligence," *The American Psychologist,* September, 1946.

[8] Crawford, A. B., and R. S. Burnham, *Forecasting College Achievement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

the test as a challenging game and the tester feels that his score represents his best performance. The behavior problems which this boy presents may be due to the fact that fifth grade work is not challenging enough for him. Achievement tests should be administered to determine his grade level and, if it is high, promotion to the junior high school should be considered.[9]

The general mental test. The general mental test score is one of the measures that a counselor must have,[10] but, at the same time, there is not much that he can do with it. From this score he can determine within wide limits the educability of an individual in regular academic channels where there is a minimum of adaptation to individual differences and where curricular coverage is deemed more important than such adaptation. The test score may suggest general occupational areas for which he can undertake training. And within broad ranges, the re-educability of the person who is having certain kinds of behavior difficulties may be estimated from test scores. Where appeals can be made to intellectualization of the problem, as in the following case, the test score may be of some value.[11]

This writer would never have known that a certain student in a large class suffered from strong feelings of inferiority, from feelings of insecurity and from delusions that people were watching him as he walked along the street—and that these feelings were making him a very inefficient and very unhappy person—had not that student in a very mild manner expressed his desire to get an experiment completed by making a stylus maze. The construction of the maze in the writer's office provided an opportunity to study the individual, to learn about the peculiarities noted above, and to discover that the student had achieved superior scores in mathematics and on a gen-

[9] Common usage has been followed in the application of such terms as "IQ," "mental age," "percentile," "probable" or "standard error," and "norms" throughout this section. Students who are not familiar with such usage may be referred to texts on educational and psychological measurement. The volume by E. A. Lincoln and L. Workman, *Testing and the Use of Test Results* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935) will be helpful to beginners, and the discussions and definitions presented by E. B. Greene in his *Measurements of Human Behavior* (Odyssey Press, 1941) may be examined with profit.

[10] Traxler has suggested that it is unlikely that any more mental tests yielding only one score will be produced. See A. E. Traxler, "Evaluation of Methods of Individual Appraisal in Counseling," *Occupations,* November, 1947.

[11] Adapted from Rothney, J. W. M., "The First Course in Psychology as a Guidance Project," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* vol. XIX, No. 4, 1935.

eral intelligence test. As a result of the discovery of the difficulties and as a result of their treatment on the intellectual level of which he was capable the student regained self-confidence, to the extent that he asked questions, even argued, in his classes. His mathematical interest was utilized by teaching him several simple statistical procedures, and the reputation that he developed as the school statistician gave him more self-confidence than he had achieved for many years.

The score on a general mental test may suggest the limits of reasonable occupational choices because it may indicate the amount of training that the student can undertake with profit. It will not determine the possession of a good bedside manner, but it may indicate the probability of passing the courses in a medical school and the possibility of success on entrance examinations for such institutions. It may be helpful in making a choice among the educational institutions that the student can attend, and it may indicate the advisability of applying for a scholarship. It may suggest that a student's academic load be reduced or increased, but its utility for this purpose will require a high degree of familiarity with procedures in the institution under consideration. And all of these suggested uses will require shrewd balancing of the evidence about consistency of performance and the demands of the school. Some very weak students graduate from institutions of high standards and some very brilliant students graduate from, but learn little in, the same places.[12]

The counselor may start his testing program with the I.Q., the mental age, or the percentile, but he will not finish with it. He will consider it as merely one datum of limited utility, but one that is indispensable because it may be possible to make satisfactory judgments concerning the issues indicated above with the aid of such information. He is less likely to be misled by the glib boy who appears to be intelligent or by the reticent one who appears to be dull, than he would be if his judgment were unsupported by test scores. But in using any test, he will always observe its limitations. He will remember that mental test scores *do vary* from year to year;[13] that they are *not* personality indicators; that general tests are *not* designed to provide reliable evidence of special abilities or

[12] Learned, W. S., and B. D. Wood, *The Student and His Knowledge* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1938).

[13] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1941).

disabilities; that they are *not* valid measures of fitness for particular occupations; and that they must *not* be used independently of other measures or evidence.

Special achievement tests. As the child goes beyond the elementary-school level, the counselor will begin to depend more on tests of special achievement than upon a so-called "test of general mental ability" because differential effects of experiences, rates of development, and opportunities to learn produce significant inequalities in achievement. It is then possible to begin to think more meaningfully of verbal factors, numerical factors, spatial orientations, and mechanical performances. These will not, of course, have been overlooked at any time that they have appeared, but, as increasing specialization is demanded by occupations and curriculums of higher-educational institutions, they will assume more importance. Special subject measurements may be substituted for general mental ability tests at any level[14] if the individuals have no physical defects or unusual environmental conditions; but they are not generally used, because the general mental tests are fairly adequate in normal situations and are much more economical in time and cost. Moreover, the general test has reached a level of acceptability and respectability that no other series of tests has yet attained in public schools, and many comparative and reference data to aid in interpretation of scores are available. Beyond the elementary-school period, however, there is little reason for using the general mental test, except in selective employment practices where a single test is administered or in other situations where time permits administration of only one test. It should also be noted that the general mental test is a device for taking small *samples* of performances in many areas.[15] If it is possible to get more than a sample, every effort should be made to do so.

It is of course possible that a student does not work as efficiently at some tasks as he might because he has had faulty training, his learning has been insufficiently motivated, or he has developed unsatisfactory habits of work which result in low test scores. Persons

[14] As Kelley has pointed out, the community of function between the mental test and a general achievement test is approximately 90 per cent. See the discussion of these matters in his *Interpretation of Educational Measurements* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1927).

[15] Note the high correlation between the scores on the vocabulary section of the Binet test and the total score on the test. See L. M. Terman, and M. Merrill, *Measuring Intelligence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937).

may perform ineffectively on tests for any of a number of reasons; because they have developed habits of resorting to formulas in solving problems; because they have refused to accept situations as problems; and because they have avoided problems or have developed the habit of making emotional, rather than intellectual, attacks on problems. (This does not imply that one cannot perform well when emotionally sitmulated.)

Any individual of any age may find it more satisfying to fall in line and do as others do than to think a problem through alone and follow it with independent action. Many superior youth have found it easier to drift with the group than to tread a lonely and more difficult path. Few youth find it worth while to fight alone when going along with the gang is so much "the thing to do." Schools are usually set up so that the superior student who follows the lockstep of the crowd will have little difficulty, and many activities in society are planned so that departure from the "regular" is difficult. In such situations it is not unusual to get low mental test scores from persons whose behavior has suggested that their scores would be high. "Keep up with the Joneses," "Do as the Romans do," "Follow the beaten path" are common statements which emphasize that it is better to stay in line. The counselor will, when he finds disparities between test performances and other behavior, look for explanations in his subjects' responses to environment and experience.[10] When he finds these disparities, he may have a hint about next steps in counseling which differ from those steps required with a person who resists such influences. At all times the counselor will remember that test scores do not *guarantee* that the measured performance is a typical performance.

The generalization given immediately above raises a serious problem in testing. We know that the only way to get evidence about performance is to measure achievement on selected tasks, but we also know that inferences from the score may be seriously in error. The person who has responded to problems by putting forth less than maximum effort or who has habitually attacked a problem emotionally may achieve, upon measurement, less than average performance. It is dangerous, however, to infer that his performances will *always* be at that low level. In order to avoid error of

[10] See Hull, C. L., *Aptitude Testing* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1927), Chap. VI.

inference, it is necessary to interpret test scores in terms of the individual's habitual modes of response, but since statistical tables for such interpretations are not provided in test manuals, the counselor is forced into subjective treatment of an objective measurement. He may find it necessary to get evidence of performance under better teaching and training conditions before he can be sure that his judgments about an individual are valid.

Records of the performances of a counselee in all curricular areas over a period of years may, when they are combined with a series of test scores, provide indispensable data for counseling purposes. We may estimate the merits and limitations of such combined records and scores in the counseling of a boy during his six years of attendance at junior and senior high schools.

TEST SCORES AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENTS

We may begin by examining the actual academic record of Paul, a boy in a typical American high school, as he progressed through the grades and observe the manner in which interpretations vary as new data from marks and tests are added. Paul's seventh-grade record follows:

Subject Area	Grade 7
Practical Arts.	*B*
Drawing	*A*
Music.	*B*
English.	*B*
Grammar	*C*
Spelling.	*A*
Arithmetic.	*B*
Hygiene.	*A*
Social Studies.	*B*
Physical Education.	*B*
Penmanship.	*C*

The following interpretations of the record *might* be made:

1. There are no real differences in performance in the various subject fields represented. The apparent differences are due to variability in the marking standards of his teachers.
2. He is less interested in achieving good marks in grammar and penmanship and puts forth less effort in these subjects.
3. Spelling, drawing, and hygiene are intrinsically more interesting to him and he puts forth more effort in these areas.
4. He is a bright boy who does less than he could do in most subjects.
5. He is rather dull, but, by strenuous effort, he achieves better than average performance.
6. He is a rather pleasant person whom teachers like and whom they tend to mark in a favorable manner.
7. He has marked special "aptitude" for drawing.

Now we may examine the combined record of the seventh and eighth grades.

Subject Area	Grades	
	7	8
Practical Arts.	*B*	*B*
Drawing.	*A*	*A*
Music.	*B*	*B*
English.	*B*	*B*
Grammar	*C*	*B*
Spelling	*A*	*B*
Latin.	—	*C*
Arithmetic.	*B*	*C*
Hygiene.	*A*	*A*
Social Studies.	*B*	*B*
Physical Education.	*B*	*B*
Penmanship.	*C*	—

Here again we may consider such interpretations as the following: The reader may, of course, want to add others and reject any of those given.

1. Differences in subject-field ratings are due to differences in teachers' standards rather than to differences in the boy's performance.
2. Latin is too difficult for a boy as dull as Paul.
3. Low marks in Latin are due to poor background in grammar as shown by seventh-grade performance in that subject.
4. He lacks the "capacity" to achieve to his usual level in arithmetic.
5. He finds arithmetic and Latin less interesting than his other subjects.
6. Hygiene and drawing are intrinsically more interesting to him than any other subject.
7. Hygiene and drawing are taught in such an interesting manner that he puts forth more effort in those subjects.

When the marks for the three years of junior high school are tabulated, further interpretations may be made. Consider the following record for the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades.

Subject Area	Grades		
	7	8	9
Practical Arts.	*B*	*B*	—
Music.	*B*	*B*	—
Drawing	*A*	*A*	*B*
English.	*B*	*B*	*B*
Grammar	*C*	*B*	*B*
Latin.	—	*C*	*C*
Arithmetic.	*B*	*C*	—
Algebra.	—	—	*B*
Hygiene.	*A*	*A*	—
General Science.	—	—	*B*
Social Studies.	*B*	*B*	*B*
Physical Education.	*B*	*B*	*B*
Penmanship	*C*	—	—

Now Paul has moved on to the senior high school, and we may examine his four-year record at the *end* of the tenth grade.

Since Paul is going to enter senior high school at the end of this year and since he must, at this time, make a decision concerning the choice of courses (to be sure of obtaining enough credits if he wishes to go to college), the record must be examined carefully to obtain the best possible interpretation. With this in mind the following possibilities must be considered:

1. Any differences in marks are due to the unreliability of the marking system rather than differences within the individual.

Subject Area	Grades			
	7	8	9	10
Practical Arts.	*B*	*B*	—	—
Drawing	*A*	*A*	*B*	—
Music.	*B*	*B*	—	—
English.	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
Grammar	*C*	*B*	*B*	—
Spelling.	*A*	*B*	—	—
Latin.	—	*C*	*C*	—
French.	—	—	—	*C*
Arithmetic.	*B*	*C*	—	—
Algebra.	—	—	*B*	—
Geometry	—	—	—	*C*
Hygiene.	*A*	*A*	—	—
General Science.	—	—	*B*	—
Social Studies.	*B*	*B*	*B*	—
Ancient History	—	—	—	*C*
Physical Education.	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
Penmanship	*C*	—	—	—

2. The teachers have decided that he can do average work, and he gets average grades regardless of accomplishment.
3. Latin makes too great intellectual demands on this boy's limited capacity.
4. The teacher of Latin has failed to arouse Paul so that he performs to the limit of his "capacity."
5. He has annoyed the Latin teacher so that his low grades reflect unacceptable behavior rather than poor performance.
6. The boy has decided that a *B* average is good enough and does not attempt to do any more than is necessary to reach that level.
7. If he can do *B* work at this level, he will be able to do college work.
8. Paul does not try hard enough.

The courses taken in the tenth grade were required in the college-preparatory curriculum which Paul had elected. He was now in a senior high school where none of the teachers knew his junior high-school performance. His record had been sent on from the junior high school, but it was retained in the school office so that the teachers were not influenced by his previous performances. We may consider such interpretations as the following:

1. Any differences between marks are artifacts due to difference in marking standards.
2. There is now evidence that the boy lacks "aptitude" for learning foreign languages.
3. Paul has too many outside activities to permit due attention to his studies.
4. He lacks "ability" to handle the spatial materials involved in geometry.
5. The subject matter of ancient history is not interesting to him.
6. Paul is just not bright enough to handle the course in which he is enrolled.
7. Paul does not put forth enough effort.

By the time Paul reaches his junior year in high school, planning for his postschool career should be coming to fruition. If he wants to continue training beyond high school, his marks may now determine whether he will be accepted as a student. Let us examine the record with this point in mind because he has stated that he

wants to enter an occupation which requires college and postgraduate training.

Subject Area	Grades				
	7	8	9	10	11
Practical Arts.	*B*	*B*	—	—	—
Drawing.	*A*	*A*	*B*	—	—
Music.	*B*	*B*	—	—	—
English.	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
Grammar	*C*	*B*	*B*	—	—
Spelling.	*A*	*B*	—	—	—
Latin.	—	*C*	*C*	—	—
French.	—	—	—	*C*	*D*
Arithmetic.	*B*	*C*	—	—	—
Algebra.	—	—	*B*	—	*D*
Geometry	—	—	—	*C*	—
General Science.	—	—	*B*	—	—
Hygiene.	*A*	*A*	—	—	—
Social Studies.	*B*	*B*	*B*	—	—
Ancient History	—	—	—	*C*	—
Modern History	—	—	—	—	*B*
Physical Education.	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
Penmanship.	*C*	—	—	—	—

The following interpretations could be proposed:

1. Apparent differences in performances are due to differences in marking standards.
2. Paul does not put forth equal amounts of effort in each of the subject fields.
3. He has a special "disability" in the field of mathematics.
4. He has little "aptitude" for foreign languages.
5. He has not tried as hard in senior high school as he did in junior high.

6. He is not bright enough to succeed in a college-preparatory course.
7. He should not plan to go to college.
8. He should change his vocational choice.
9. If he worked as hard as he could, he should succeed in the curriculum in which he is enrolled.
10. He should enter into training in the practical arts, since he has done better work in that field.
11. (The reader may add many others)

At the end of his senior year Paul had made the record presented below.

Subject Area	Grades					
	7	8	9	10	11	12
Practical Arts.	*B*	*B*	—	—	—	—
Drawing.	*A*	*A*	*B*	—	—	—
Music.	*B*	*B*	—	—	—	—
English.	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
Grammar.	*C*	*B*	*B*	—	—	—
Spelling.	*A*	*B*	—	—	—	—
Latin.	—	*C*	*C*	—	—	—
French.	—	—	—	*C*	*D*	*C*
Arithmetic.	*B*	*C*	—	—	—	—
Algebra.	—	—	*B*	—	*D*	—
Geometry	—	—	—	*C*	—	—
General Science.	—	—	*B*	—	—	—
Hygiene.	*A*	*A*	—	—	—	—
Chemistry	—	—	—	—	—	*C*
Social Studies.	*B*	*B*	*B*	—	—	—
Ancient History	—	—	—	*C*	—	—
Modern History	—	—	—	—	*B*	—
American History	—	—	—	—	—	*B*
Physical Education.	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
Penmanship.	*C*	—	—	—	—	—

Before we can interpret this six-year record adequately, we must obtain answers to all the questions that have been raised previously. It is clear that the academic record does not provide answers to such questions but merely presents more problems to be solved. If we are to solve them, we must turn to other sources of information. Among such sources are the distribution of marks of each teacher who has graded him, the attitudes of his teachers toward marking policies, and their comments about the boy. We shall also want to know about Paul's attitude toward school, his aims, his interests, his health, his own evaluation of what is worth expenditure of effort, and his scores on tests.

Let us now examine the test scores achieved by Paul over the same six-year period as that for which we have presented the school record. We may study the performance for each year separately and then study the complete six-year record of marks and test scores.

While he attended the seventh grade, Paul took four tests. Unfortunately no tests were administered in the areas of the arts, grammar, spelling, physical education, and penmanship. Though no specific test scores in hygiene and social studies are reported, we know that these subjects require large amounts of textbook reading. The test of reading skills that has been administered enables us (if it is valid) to see that he has not been handicapped in these areas by reading deficiency. The arithmetic test score may indicate that his mark was what might have been expected of a student who had worked to his "capacity" in that field.

The score on the group mental test is so low that we might interpret the school marks as indicating very great effort on the part of a pupil who was limited in "capacity" to do school work, who was particularly handicapped, thereby, in the more analytic processes of grammar, and who excelled only in the memory processes of spelling as that subject was taught in this school. These interpretations are, however, questionable when we see the results obtained on the more dependable Stanford-Binet. If we accept the score obtained on the latter test as more representative of his true score, we may interpret the marks to indicate that he was particularly well motivated in spelling, moderately motivated in other subjects, and so poorly motivated in grammar that he did not put forth enough effort.

Subject Area	Grade 7	
	Marks	Test Scores
Practical Arts.	*B*	—
Drawing.	*A*	—
Music.	*B*	—
English.	*B*	Reading-test score high
Grammar.	*C*	—
Spelling.	*A*	—
Arithmetic.	*B*	Average
Hygiene.	*A*	—
Social Studies.	*B*	—
Physical Education.	*B*	—
Penmanship.	*C*	—
Group Test of Mental Ability (I.Q.)	—	92
Stanford-Binet (I.Q.).	—	115

(Throughout this section of the record, subject-field test scores are reported as *high* if they are in the upper third of the distribution for his class, *average* if in the middle, and *low* if in the bottom third of the scores of his class.)

With all these data have we yet anything but hypotheses? Can we really help Paul to make such decisions as are required at this time? Shall he elect a foreign language, for example? Or shall he elect the science which is his only other option?

The usual answer to such questions is that more data are needed, more evidence required. Questioning of his teachers revealed that they thought he was working as hard as other members of his group. The counselor discovered that he had very definite vocational goals and that his family situation was very satisfactory in terms of economic circumstances and psychological satisfactions. With this additional information, we may now consider the eighth-grade academic and test record reported on the following page:

Subject Area	Grade 7		Grade 8	
	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores
Practical Arts.	*B*	—	*B*	Mechanical- and spatial-test scores average
Drawing.	*A*	—	*A*	
Music.	*B*	—	*B*	—
English.	*B*	Reading high	*B*	Reading high, but vocabulary average
Grammar	*C*	—	*B*	
Spelling.	*A*	—	*B*	—
Latin.	—	—	*C*	—
Arithmetic.	*B*	Average	*C*	Average
Hygiene.	*A*	—	*A*	—
Social Studies.	*B*	—	*B*	—
Physical Education.	*B*	—	*B*	—
Penmanship.	*C*	—		
Group Test of Mental Ability	—	I.Q. 92	—	108
Stanford-Binet.	—	I.Q. 115	—	—

At the end of his eighth school year Paul reported to the counselor that his father wanted him to leave public school to attend a private school. This school enforces rigorous academic standards and has an excellent record in preparing boys for several eastern colleges with very high entrance requirements. At this time Paul had taken ten tests and had achieved the academic record presented above. In view of the superior Binet score and the marks obtained in the eighth grade, should the counselor have encouraged the boy to make the change? Should he have pointed out the advantages and disadvantages and let the father decide? Would it make any difference if the boy said

that he did not want to go to the private school? Or is there enough valid evidence on which such a decision could be made at this time?

Paul remained in the public junior high school. During his year in the ninth grade he achieved the academic record and test performances indicated below. It will be noted that we now have fifteen test scores and thirty marks for him. He will enter the senior high school at the end of this year and important decisions must be made about his choice of subjects for the following year. What counsel should be given?

Subject Area	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9	
	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores
Practical Arts	*B*	—	*B*	Mechanical & spatial scores average	—	Spatial scores average
Drawing	*A*	—	*A*		*B*	
Music	*B*	—	*B*	—	—	—
English	*B*	Reading high	*B*	Reading high, but vocabulary average	*B*	Reading high
Grammar	*C*	—	*B*		*B*	—
Spelling	*A*	—	*B*	—	—	—
Latin	—	—	*C*	—	*C*	—
Arithmetic	*B*	Average	*C*	Average	—	—
Algebra	—	—	—	—	*B*	Average
Hygiene	*A*	—	*A*	—	—	—
General Science	—	—	—	—	*B*	—
Social Studies	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*	—
Physical Education	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*	—
Penmanship	*C*	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical Test						Average
Group Test of Mental Ability	—	I.Q. 92	—	I.Q. 108	—	I.Q. 10
Stanford-Binet	—	I.Q. 115	—	—	—	—

Referring to the possible interpretations presented above when only the academic record was available, will the test scores make any of the interpretations more acceptable? Is he a "bright" boy? Has he special "disabilities"? Should he elect the college-preparatory curriculum? Should he continue his vocational choice, which requires college and graduate training? Is there enough evidence yet? Have fifteen test scores provided the answers to such questions?

The records for the first year of senior high school presented on the following page indicate that Paul has failed to make marks acceptable for college certification in three of his subjects. To the fifteen tests scores which he had taken previously, six have been added. One mental-test score has reached the level achieved on the Stanford-Binet four years earlier. Could this indicate that he is growing mentally again after a lapse? Does it mean that he did not put much effort into his test performances while he was in the eighth and ninth grades? Does it mean that the tests given during that period were invalid? Does it merely mean that he is getting test wise? Have the test scores eliminated any of the interpretations that were offered when he academic record alone was presented? And have any of the questions about future plans been answered now that twenty-one tests have been administered?

Two failures are noted in the eleventh-grade record presented on page 201, and in one of these subjects, algebra, there is an average test score. The mental-test score remains high, and we may begin to eliminate some of the guesses about the reasons for his failure to achieve at a higher level. Study of consistency of performance in English can be made from the record attained over a five-year period. But we still have the problems of helping this boy to decide about postschool plans. There is now no hope of certification for college in four courses, despite the fact that he has achieved average scores on his objective tests. He was still determined, and his family continued to urge him, to continue in his plans to go to college and to enter the occupation that he had chosen. We have evidence from twenty-seven objective tests[17] and five years of academic performance. What action should be taken now?

In the final chart on page 202 the complete test and academic records over the six years of junior and senior high school are presented. Thirty-two test scores and forty-five final course grades have been recorded, and the general pattern appears to be as follows:

[17] It should be noted that some of tests were administered for research purposes. It is ordinarily unnecessary to continue testing in the same area (as in the spatial tests above) for four consecutive years.

Subject Area	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10	
	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores
Practical Arts.	*B*	—	*B*	Mechanical &		Spatial	—	Spatial
Drawing.	*A*	—	*A*	spatial scores	*B*	scores	—	scores
Music.	*B*	—	*B*	average	—	average	—	average
English.	*B*	Reading	*B*	Reading	*B*	Reading	*B*	Vocabulary
Grammar.	*C*	high	*B*	high, but	*B*	high	—	high, but
Spelling.	*A*		*B*	vocabulary average	—		—	reading low
Latin.	—		*C*		*C*		—	
French.	—		—		—		*C*	
Arithmetic.	*B*	Average	*C*	Average	—		—	
Algebra.	—		—		*B*	Average		
Geometry	—		—		—		*C*	Average
Hygiene.	*A*		*A*		—		—	
General Science.	—		—		*B*		—	
Social Studies.	*B*		*B*		*B*		—	
Ancient History	—		—		—		*C*	
Physical Education.	*B*		*B*		*B*		*B*	
Penmanship	*C*		—		—		—	
Clerical Test.						Average		High
Group Test of Mental Ability, I.Q.		92		108		103		116
Stanford-Binet, I.Q.		115						

Subject Area	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11	
	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores
Practical Arts	*B*		*B*	Mechanical	—	Spatial	—	Spatial	—	Spatial
Drawing	*A*		*A*	& spatial	*B*	score	—	score	—	score
Music	*B*		*B*	scores average	—	average	—	average	—	average
English	*B*	Reading	*B*	Reading	*B*	Reading	*B*	Vocabulary	*B*	Reading
Grammar	*C*	high	*B*	high but	*B*	high	—	high but	—	and vo-
Spelling	*A*		*B*	vocabulary low	—		—	reading low	—	cabulary high
Latin	—		*C*		*C*		—		—	
French	—		—		—		*C*		*D*	
Arithmetic	*B*	Average	*C*	Average	—		—		—	
Algebra	—		—		*B*	Average	—	Average	*D*	Average
Geometry	—		—		—		*C*		—	
Hygiene	*A*		*A*		—		—		—	
General Science	—		—		*B*		—		—	
Social Studies	*B*		*B*		*B*		—		—	
Ancient History	—		—		—		*C*		—	
Modern History	—		—		—		—		*B*	
Physical Education	*B*		*B*		*B*		*B*		*B*	
Penmanship	*C*		—		—		—		—	
Clerical Test						Average		High		High
Group Test of Mental Ability, I.Q.		92		108		103		116		116
Stanford-Binet, I.Q.		115								

Subject Area	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12	
	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores	Marks	Test Scores
Practical Arts	*B*	—	*B*	Mechanical & spatial scores average	—	Spatial score average	—	Spatial score average	—	Spatial score average	—	Spatial score average
Drawing	*A*	—	*A*		*B*		—		—		—	
Music	*B*	—	*B*		—		—		—		—	
English	*B*	Reading high	*B*	Reading high, but vocabulary low	*B*	Reading high	*B*	Vocabulary high, but reading low	*B*	Reading and vocabulary high	*B*	Vocabulary average, but reading high
Grammar	*C*		*B*		*B*		—		—		—	
Spelling	*A*	—	*B*		—	—	—		—		—	
Latin	—	—	*C*	—	*C*		—		—		—	
French	—	—	—	—	—		*C*		*D*		*C*	
Arithmetic	*B*	Average	*C*	Average	—		—		—		—	
Algebra	—	—	—	—	*B*	Average	—	Average	*D*	Average	—	
Geometry	—	—	—	—	—		*C*		—		—	
Hygiene	*A*	—	*A*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
General Science	—	—	—	—	*B*		—		—		—	
Chemistry	—	—	—	—	—		—		—		*C*	
Social Studies	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*		—		—		—	
Ancient History	—	—	—	—	—		*C*		—		—	
Modern History	—	—	—	—	—		—		*B*		—	
American History	—	—	—	—	—		—		—		*B*	
Physical Education	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*	—	*B*	—
Penmanship	*C*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical		—		—		Average		High		High		Average
Group Test of Mental Ability. I.Q.		92		108		103		116		116		121
Stanford-Binet, I.Q.		115										

Practical Arts (Junior High School Only). Two grades of *A* and five of *B* level. All tests scores fall in the middle third of the distribution of scores of his group.

English. Consistent performance of *B* level in English, with the exception of an *A* in spelling and a *C* in grammar in the seventh grade. In five of six reading tests he scored in the upper third of his group, and in two of four vocabulary tests he achieved high scores.

Foreign Language. Five of six marks were at the *C* level and one mark was a *D*. (Locally constructed tests were administered by teachers in this area, but they are not recorded here. Scores on such tests were used in assigning marks.)

Mathematics. The record consists of two *B*'s, two *C*'s, and one *D*. Five of five test scores fell in the middle third of the distribution of scores of his group.

Science. Two *A*'s in hygiene, a *B* in general science, and a *C* in chemistry. No special tests in this area were administered.

Social Studies. Five of six marks are at the *B* level, and one is a *C*.

Physical Education. All marks are at the *B* level.

Group Tests of Mental Ability. Intelligence quotients are 92, 108, 103, 116, 116, 121.

Stanford-Binet. Intelligence quotient 115.

Scores on Tests for Clerical Workers. Two are high and two are average.

With the above record available, what sort of counseling can be given to this senior high school student and his parents? It can now be told that Paul had demonstrated interest in political science ever since he had entered the seventh grade, and he insisted that he would, at some time, become governor of the state in which he resided. He was very active in student government, attended public forums in political issues (he was often the only high-school student in attendance), collected autobiographies of famous political leaders and statesmen, and read political news avidly.

Despite the efforts of counselors, teachers, and parents to stimulate him to make marks that would permit certification for college,

he achieved only the record presented above. What should have been done during his school years and what counsel should be offered during his senior year?[18]

Paul's case has been presented at this point to demonstrate the relationship of mental testing, discussed briefly above, to the problems of counseling in the area of academic achievement. We may now turn to a discussion of that area.

MARKS AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS IN APPRAISALS OF INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL PERFORMANCES

Teachers' marks. A great deal has been written about the lack of reliability and validity of teachers' marks, but they are still the coin of the realm of education. They are still the measure of success, the keys that open the door of educational institutions for entrance and for exit. They are still demanded by educators as the first evidence of achievement, and most parents still use them as indicators of success, in spite of the additional data that appear on new-type report cards. In view of these circumstances the counselor cannot ignore the teachers' marks, although he may be fully aware of their limitations. As things now stand in educational institutions, most marks must be considered as unreliable, invalid, and indispensable.

Before the counselor can utilize marks for any purpose, however, he must be familiar with the situations in which they are used and the beliefs and capabilities of the persons who assign them. School-to-school and person-to-person variation may result in marks that are meaningless. Some marks are the product of carefully recorded performance over a period of time, and these are likely to be better than others because they indicate that the student has presented evidence of *sustained* effort with respect to the areas covered.[19] Other marks may provide evidence concerning selective development of interests. All such evidence may be vitiated, however, by the point of view of the teacher who marked the student. In many cases the marks may simply give official permission to forget what has been learned in a course.

Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe the marking procedures of teachers has learned that some are certain that students need a poor mark at the beginning of the year to show them

[18] Paul's case has been presented at such length because it is typical of the problems presented to counsellors.

[19] Smith, E. R., and Tyler, R. W., *Appraising and Recording Student Progress* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1942):

that schoolwork is earnest and real. Even the best performances are not rewarded with the highest possible marks, because some teachers believe that their students might feel that their course is too easy. In the same school there may be teachers who believe that high marks should be given as stimuli to further accomplishment. And neither of the marks given by these teachers could be interpreted as valid measures of student performance. It is well known, also, that teachers are susceptible to blandishments, errors of judgment, and even neglect. Only long familiarity with teachers and school situations and careful treatment of distributions of marks will enable the counselor to make the marks useful for counseling purposes.

If the counselor is familiar with certain statistical procedures, he can transmute the marks to quantitative expressions and reduce the errors produced by differences in marking standards.[20] The principle involved in this procedure is simply that more positive values will be given to high marks that appear less frequently and more negative values will be given to rare low marks. (If a teacher seldom gives a failing mark, it may mean that when she does so, the student has done *very* badly.) The marks may be expressed as deviations from the mean of the whole group by considering each letter-grade classification as representing a proportion of a normal distribution.[21] The mean of the porportion is found, the distance of this mean from the mean of the whole group in terms of the standard deviation is computed, and this value is given to the letter-grade classification. Multiplication of this value by 10 to eliminate decimals will then provide numerical values for marks, such as the following, for each teacher in a high school. These figures may indicate, as in the above example, that a *B* mark is twice as hard to get from the English teacher as it is from the instructor of geome-

	A Value	*B* Value	*C* Value	*D* Value	*E* Value
English....	24	10	—4	—17	—25
Latin....	15	6	—1	— 8	—17
Geometry.	16	5	—2	— 9	—16

[20] Rothney, J. W. M., "Interests of Public Secondary School Boys," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* November, 1937.

[21] Kelley, T. L., *Statistical Method* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1924). Some violence must be done to the theory used here. Marks are seldom distributed normally and school procedures are such that they frequently force away from normality.

try, and that an *E* in Latin occurs with the same frequency as a *D* in English. If there are great variations in teachers' marks at different times during the school term (some teachers grade their papers very hard at first and then release the pressure, whereas others reverse the process), it may be necessary to work out numerical scores for each marking period. This process is practical only where there is continuity in teaching personnel and the counselor is well acquainted with the local situation.

But even if the counselor has evidence concerning the distribution of marks in all local situations, he is still plagued by the fact that he must interpret records that come from different school systems and from persons with greatly varying points of view concerning performances in school. Consider, for example, the points of view represented by the teachers who made the following actual comments about Jack.

Comments about Jack by His Eighth-Grade Teachers

Home Room. "Jack does not apply himself in home room. He never has anything to do. I have moved his seat to the front of the room, and I have to insist on his getting some work to do every time he is in home room."

Mathematics 8B. "Jack has not been doing his daily work this semester, and so it has been necessary for me to have him come at 3:20 several afternoons in order to make it up. He has also developed a bad habit of whispering in class just lately."

Geography 8B. "Jack seems to be the kind of boy who works only under pressure. He can do good thinking and does at times, but much of the time he does not put forth enough effort to do his best. His hand-work is very slovenly. He has some good friends among the boys but with others is irritable and unfriendly. This may be because he is teased, but if so, I do not see any of that in the classroom. I like Jack very much because he seems very honest and immature, as if he needed mothering."

Science 8B. "Jack has improved considerably since I put him in the front of the room by himself. I have had no behavior problem with him except that he preferred to play rather than work. He is very courteous to me and willing to do anything except book work. He seems mentally lazy but not physically lazy."

Manual Arts 8B. "Jack does not seem to have his mind on his work, does not pay attention, and seems unable to concentrate his mentality or efforts. He does not seem to understand what courtesy means or how to be courteous. He interrupts continually

during class demonstrations. He seems to be rather emotionally unstable and talks continually. I have spent considerable time with him using different methods with the idea of having him attempt to apply himself to no avail."

Physical Education. "Jack's behavior is average, and he never causes any trouble aside from his belief in the freedom of speech. He is well liked by the boys, is a fair worker, and always appears to be at peace with the world."

Reports such as these indicate the need for intensive work by the counselor to obtain marks that are more analytic and more meaningful. He may sharpen up the marking process by stimulating the school faculty to use forms such as the following sample developed by the Records and Reports Committee of the Progressive Education Association[22] in the Eight Year Study,[23] or by encouraging the teachers to define the objectives of their courses more clearly and to mark upon the accomplishment of the objectives. It seems unlikely that we shall dispense with marking systems in the immediate future, and the counselor must utilize them as long as they retain the importance they have achieved in American educational institutions. It will be necessary, then, to employ such procedures as those suggested above to make the marks more meaningful.

Particular problems of determining the value of marks, which have been given by teachers whose standards are variable, whose attitudes toward pupils are unknown, and the reliability of whose tests have not been established, are raised when the counselor is required to work with "cold" data. The employment manager or counselor of college freshmen who is forced to use secondary records from various schools may be misled by marks that tell him very little concerning the actual performances of the particular student.[24] At such times he is glad to turn to tests regardless of their

[22] Smith, E. R., and R. W. Tyler, *Appraising and Recording Student Progress* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942).

[23] Aiken, H., *The Story of the Eight Year Study* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941).

[24] Notwithstanding all the limitations outlined in the text, the counselor must note that marks are still the best predicter of marks. This is especially true if the student intends to go on to an institution similar to the one which he is currently attending. But marks have little value at the employment office when there are large numbers of unemployed. See W. F. Dearborn, and J. W. M. Rothney, *Scholastic, Social, and Economic Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

TEACHER'S REPORT

Pupil's Name _____ Date _____

(This form is to be used by teachers in recording information for use in preparing Reports of Progress to be sent to parents, and for inclusion in the pupil's file.)

Teacher _____ Subject _____ Grade _____

	is outstanding	is above usual	is at usual stage	is below usual	is seriously below usual
SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING THE SPECIFIC PURPOSES OF COURSE (These include understanding and appreciation as well as skills, techniques and essential information.)					
PROGRESS IN LEARNING HOW TO THINK					
EFFECTIVENESS IN COMMUNICATING IDEAS: ORAL					
WRITTEN					
ACTIVE CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF THE GROUP					
GENERAL HABITS OF WORK					

(Check the following only if seriously below an acceptable standard.)

Accuracy in following directions		Persistence in completing work		
Efficient use of time and energy		Thoughtful participation in discussion		
Neatness and Orderliness		Conscientiousness of effort		
Self-reliance		Reading		

GENERAL COMMENT: This section may be used to comment on significant interests, limitations, contributions, general cooperation for the objectives of the school, and, particularly, advice to pupils and parents as to how they can cooperate in overcoming any weakness indicated

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEXT YEAR (check the description which applies)

This pupil seems, in this subject

———Likely to profit by continuing it.

———Able to complete the course but with question of the value of continuing it for another year.

———Likely to be unsuccessful in completing the course.

———(for upper classes only) To show promise for continuing the work successfully at an advanced institution.

limitations. The use of standardized achievement tests is discussed in the following section.

Selection of achievement tests. Since school marks provide so little dependable information about school performances for counseling purposes, it is necessary to supplement them with data from achievement tests. In the measurement of achievement the test movement has obtained highest validity, but no tests are foolproof and they do not always give dependable results in the hands of the most expert counselors. The most carefully built and adequately standardized tests have many bad features: they still present difficulties in interpretation; they usually require only temporary visual suspension of textbook materials; they ignore important outcomes of education in order to get simplicity of scoring;[25] and they often fail to sample the materials that the student has covered extensively. Against these limitations must be laid their contributions of reliability, objectivity, and the provision of norms for comparative purposes. Used with caution they may provide a valuable supplement to the evidence contained in teachers' reports.

Selection of suitable achievement tests is a technical process which requires considerable knowledge of the techniques used in their construction and standardization. The fact that a test is widely advertised is not a guarantee that it is good or that it will meet the requirements of a particular situation. High reliability coefficients alone do not certify to the efficiency of the test in measuring the outcomes of the particular program of studies in which the student has been enrolled. Presentation of elaborate norms does not guarantee that a test will be useful in appraising the achievement of the particular individual who is to be counseled.

Information about tests should be kept in the reference file, which is an essential part of a counselor's equipment. Evidence about the tests that appear to be most usable should be available from manuals, from published reports by those who have used the tests and from yearbooks[20] which contain critical reviews of measure-

[25] Educators must become concerned that the schools do not lose their main objectives. Students must not be led to believe that mastery of a subject is demonstrated by selecting one of three possible answers. "Multiple-choice" education is not enough. As scoring techniques become more effective real objectives of education may be missed unless skill in making tests is advanced as much as the development of mechanical devices for scoring them.

[20] Buros, O. K., *Mental Measurements Yearbooks* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, various years since 1938).

ments. Such information will need periodic revision as new data are obtained. The following types of information and evidence about tests should be sought, and no test should be used unless this information is provided.

1. *General Facts*
   Title and designated function of the test
   Author and publisher
   Cost
2. *Validity*
   Evidence that the test measures what it purports to measure
3. *Reliability*
   Evidence about the consistency with which the test measures what it measures
4. *Norms*
   Information about the kinds, range, and representativeness of published norms.
5. *Administration and Scoring*
   Information about the completeness and intelligibility of directions and the time required to administer and score the test.
6. *Mechanical Considerations*
   Information about the typography, makeup, packing, size, and complexity of the test.
7. *Applicability to the Local Conditions*
   Information about the extent to which materials in the local curriculums are covered in the test.[27]

General facts. The first item on the list is important in selecting a test because the reputation for technical competence of authors and publishers is often helpful in assessing the worth of an instrument, and because the cost must always be considered in relation to the dependability and potential utility of the test results. The use of cheap tests is seldom economical.

Validity. Though inadequacy in any of the criteria presented above requires the counselor to reject the test, the most crucial item

[27] The list is based in part on one prepared for class discussions by Prof. P. J. Rulon of Harvard University.

is that of *validity*. A test of arithmetic problem solving in which the items demand reading performances above the level of the subjects to whom it is administered may be a valid reading test but a highly invalid test of achievement in arithmetic. A test that contains terms that are not employed by the teachers in a particular school may not be valid for the pupils in that institution. A vocabulary test that requires the student to select one of several given definitions of words may not indicate whether he can use the words properly when he writes. A test does not carry validity with it to all situations or for all persons in any situation, and the evidence of validity presented in the test manual must be sufficient to indicate that the test is, or is not, suitable for a local situation. If such evidence is not presented, or if it is inadequate, there is no need to consider the test further.

In the use of tests for counseling we are concerned about a particular pupil's performance in a particular area of study.[28] If a counselee is one of those students who is intent primarily on applying what he learns, he may not see the need of memorizing all the facts as they are presented. The common tests that require simple selection among factual items will not be valid for him. If we are concerned about his *performance* in English composition, the objective tests of English will not provide a valid measure of his competence. If our subject has missed, through absence or change in schools, some of the materials in the test, it ceases to be a valid test for him, and if he is a brilliant student who can go through the ceiling of the test, the measurement will not be valid. If the counselor proposes to use achievement tests, it will be necessary to consider all these factors and some additional ones. The evidence about the validity of an achievement test is usually presented in terms of averages of large groups, and the counselor must therefore interpret and reinterpret test scores in the light of what he knows about the particular individual with whom he is working.

At the age of 16-0, *Harry* had achieved an arithmetic age of 14-4 on a standardized test of arithmetic. This score meant that he was retarded one year and eight months in that subject. On the basis of such findings the following kinds of interpretations are suggested:

[28] Hawkes, H. E., E. F. Lindquist, C. R. Mann, *The Construction and Use of Achievement Examinations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), Chaps. I, II, III, IX.

1. He has not profited at the usual rate from instruction in arithmetic, and it can be inferred, therefrom, that he will continue to proceed in that subject at a slow rate.
2. He should be given remedial treatment.
3. He should be guided out of further educational or vocational activities which require the use of arithmetic.
4. He has a special disability in mathematics.
5. He is not very intelligent. (The reader may add others.)

But Harry grew up in a home where his father frequently said, "I went to school for only four years and I get along all right without that stuff." And Harry admired his father. Harry attended twelve different schools in nine years, because his father's occupation required frequent changes of residence, and his training in mathematics was desultory. He missed large blocks of formal instruction in all school subjects. On reading tests Harry was retarded two years, although he made an average score on the Stanford-Binet. In view of these facts the counselor must conclude that the arithmetic test, though it was highly valid for youth with normal experiences, was not valid for Harry. His, it must be pointed out, was not just a low score on a valid test. It was the product of the application of a testing procedure that was invalid for *him*.

In the selection of an achievement test for youth who have had near normal experiences, the counselor will set up standards to guide him in determining whether a test is valid enough for his purpose. He will study the attempts of the author of the test to control vocabulary levels; to obtain a qualitatively adequate and numerically sufficient sample of items from the age and grade levels at which the test is to be used; and to assure himself that enough experimentation has been done to establish these facts. If the author's evidence of the validity of test scores lies in their correlation with scores of some other test, the counselor must examine the criterion test to see that it is satisfactory on the points noted above. If the evidence is insufficient on any of these counts, the tests must not be used. If the evidence is satisfactory he may then continue with the following criteria.

Reliability. Evidence concerning the *reliability* of a test has often been obscured by the use of so much esoteric verbiage and statistical formulas that many persons who use the tests fail to recognize the common-sense concept of reliability. Persons who are

familiar with the need for a checker of weights and measures in the shops of the town often overlook the need for similar checking of a test. Individuals who repeat the measurements that they make in the activities of everyday life frequently fail to see the relationship between this process and that of demanding that a test be reliable. Teachers of science who are meticulous about the consistency with which their laboratory instruments measure from one time to the next do not always see the need for applying similar processes to the examinations which they administer to their students.

Reliability coefficients do not, in themselves, tell us what we want to know about the consistency with which a test measures what it purports to measure. If we know the reliability coefficient and the distribution of scores on a test, we can compute the extent to which the test score is likely to be in error.[20] We can then study the size of the error in terms of the total range of scores and the use to which the test scores are to be put. From study of such errors we can determine whether the test is reliable enough for our use. If our problem is that of determining the best grade placement for a student, we shall be concerned with the size of the error in terms of grade levels. If a boy who is a candidate for placement in the ninth-grade mathematics class makes a test score at the ninth-grade level, this placement problem might be solved if the test were reliable. (It is not assumed, of course, that any such decision would be made solely on the basis of test scores.) If the reliability of the test is so low that the error is as large as six months, the measurement would be too crude for the purpose it was intended to serve. Where a cut-off score is used in determining acceptability for a position, as in Civil Service examinations and in situations where competition is close, it is necessary to use a test with high reliability, since a test with large errors may result in the apparent differentiation of two individuals whose potential performances are not significantly different. It *could* result in the selection of the least capable applicant.

It should be evident to the counselor that the reliability demanded of a test will be determined by the purpose for which it was administered. If the counseling of an individual with respect to

[20] Some test manuals do indicate the probable or standard errors of measurement.

some important decision is to be made, there must be a minimum of error, and therefore a high coefficient of reliability is demanded. Where group averages are concerned, larger errors of measurement may be tolerated. There is no valid argument, however, for the use of an unreliable instrument in dealing with either individuals or groups, and tests that result in scores with large errors should be eliminated from the counselor's file. Counselors as a group should insist that all authors of tests persevere long enough in the construction of tests to assure high reliability.

Norms. *Norms* for tests are usually given in terms of ages, grades, and percentile positions in a group or in terms of deviations from averages of certain actual or theoretical populations. The essential features of a test with good norms is that it has been administered to large groups of representative subjects at the level at which the test is to be used, and that the computations have provided enough clearly defined steps or intervals to permit an individual's score to be interpreted meaningfully. For counseling purposes, norms should provide many reference points and measures of deviations from these points, but these points must not be interpreted as standards that all students are expected to attain. Guides to their interpretation, when a student's score deviates from the average, should be provided.

Most achievement-test manuals indicate that the norms for the test were obtained by computing the averages or percentile positions of the scores of samples of several thousand subjects. In order to get an adequate sampling, the scores of subjects of widely varying degrees of scholastic performance in subject areas and in various types of schools and communities are averaged.[30] The usual central point in arithmetic test norms is therefore the product of students who are assumed to have average scholastic aptitude, average arithmetic experience, and average quality and length of instruction in the average school and average community.

Norms, however, do not provide information on the extent to which each of these factors has contributed to a score and the interpretations that are necessary if the student has had other than average scholastic opportunities or has enjoyed other than average experience in schools or communities. This omission is not a particularly serious problem if one is concerned with large groups where

[30] Separate norms for public and private schools are provided for some tests.

these factors may tend to "cancel out" the influence of differential experiences. If one thinks of education as a process of getting each subject up to the same level, if there is competition for a position where knowledge of specific subject matter is essential, and if selection rather than counseling is the important task, the general norms may be adequate. But when a counselor sits down with a student, he is concerned with the score on the test and, more specifically, with the *reason* why the score is low or high.

Tests do not provide weights to be attached to such factors as the quality of instruction, the kind of school, home, and community experiences to which a subject has been exposed, the amount of effort that has been expended by the student at various times in his career,[31] the fact that an ocular disability was not corrected until he had experienced repeated frustrations in that subject field, the quality of the textbooks used, and many other factors which may have influenced his performance on the test. If such factors as these have been negative in their influence, we may expect the score to be below (or even, sometimes, above) average, but the test gives us no guide as to how much variation from the average we should expect to obtain. It is possible that this low score is a high score *for the student* in view of the opportunities he has had. For counseling purposes we must be concerned about the difference between low scores *in general* and low scores *of individuals*. It may, for a particular individual, mean the difference between recommending remedial treatment or discouragement of further study in a particular field. Of two students who achieved the same low score on a mathematics test, one might be given special assistance in that field as a preparation for engineering, while another might be discouraged from entering the same field because it requires so much mathematics.

It is probable that when the testing movement comes of age, test manuals will provide such statements as these: "The following factors contribute to the achievement of certain scores on this test. They contribute to those scores in the given proportions." This statement will be followed with a weighting of such variables as quality of instruction and textbooks, amount of time spent on the subjects, scores on scholastic-aptitude tests, interest or motivation, and the physical condition of the student. Until such time, how-

[31] See the case of Philip Bronson in Chap. II.

ever, the counselor must collect as complete data as possible upon his subjects and attempt subjective weighting of test results upon such bases.

When a test score has been obtained and compared with the norms, the difficult job of interpretation has just begun, for, in addition to the factors noted above, there are problems of individual values that must be considered. A student may, for example, obtain a high score on a test at too much expense to himself in terms of social adjustability (other students call him a "grind") or in deprivation of opportunity for experiences in a field of greater ultimate value to him. Achievement of the high test score may have resulted in the development of undesirable attitudes toward all learning and in the setting of the habit of substituting visual memory for more functional learning.

The interpretation of norms presented above has been pushed far beyond what it is reasonable to expect from authors of tests during the infancy of the test movement, and we cannot expect that the data needed by counselors will soon be forthcoming. But the implication should be clear. All achievement-test scores, and especially single test scores, must be used and interpreted with great caution. They cannot be used without the clarification that results from extensive additional examination of a student's background and performances as they are revealed by intensive study with other techniques.

Administration and scoring. There is no possible excuse for the distribution of tests that do not provide clear, simple, and precise instructions for administration and scoring. The counselor must call for assistance from teachers in administration of tests and on clerks for scoring them[32] and since these persons may not be trained in the use of tests and measurements, serious errors may result if instructions are not clear. Dependable test results cannot be obtained unless the tester has been thoroughly schooled in actual test administration. Clerks cannot be depended upon to score tests accurately unless they are thoroughly trained and rigidly supervised and their work continuously sampled and checked for accuracy.[33]

[32] The very fact of objectivity of a test is reason enough to reject the theory that teachers will learn much about their pupils by scoring their tests.

[33] The electric scoring machine is, of course, the most efficient and accurate way in which to score tests. As tests and testing are improved and as their potential contribution to education is realized, the electric scoring machine will become as much a part of school equipment as the clerk's typewriter.

Authors of most of the newer tests have considered these needs and have provided clear directions for both administration and scoring. Failure to provide such information is reason enough for rejection of an otherwise suitable test.

Mechanical considerations. In general, the longer the test, the more valid it is likely to be, since the sampling of the field is likely to be more adequate. Counselors can usually arrange periods in which they can test the whole school population simultaneously or make arrangements for teachers to administer tests during regular class time. If flexibility in the school day can be arranged, the length of the test is not an important criterion in making the choice, but if it is not possible, it may be necessary to select tests that are so timed that they will fit into the regular school periods. Most modern tests are timed in such a way that no serious loss of validity should result in doing so. Scoring directions and techniques that require too much time may be reason enough for rejection of a test. Selection of a test principally because it contains one of the rapid self-scoring devices, however, cannot be justified.

Applicability to local conditions. Since standardized tests are designed to serve populations of large areas it is not always possible to provide a good fit to the local curriculum. Indeed, there is still danger that the widespread use of standardized tests will tend to straight-jacket the curriculum as completely as college-entrance requirements or the state-required textbook ever did. There is always the possibility that teachers will tend to teach for the test, which becomes the local measuring rod, and there is always the temptation to rate teachers upon their students' performance on that examination, irrespective of the differences in previous academic opportunities of the members of their classes. There is still, too, the possibility of inhibition of experimental efforts on the part of teachers whose researches require less or different coverage of the common curriculum and the discouragement, too, of those who are concerned with the achievement of objectives other than an exhibition of the information required by particular tests. When teaching practices vary from the mode, and when tests are obviously not suited to the local curriculum, the counselor should reject them. If a test develops such fear of flunking that students memorize the text on which the test is based, and if it encourages the freezing of a student's first confused impressions, it will have little use for counseling purposes other than, perhaps, providing information concern-

ing a student's probability of admission to another institution where similar procedures and tests are used.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED BY THE INDIVIDUAL

Educational level, as it is usually recorded on school reports, has little significance or importance in furthering a counselor's appraisal of a counselee. To say that a student is in the eighth grade, has graduated from high school, or is in his second year of school is almost a meaningless statement unless supporting data are provided. Academic standing, without its history, has become increasingly less valuable in counseling as (1) promotion, graduation, and entrance standards have changed; (2) the number of subject-field combinations in the curriculum have increased; and (3) increased consideration has been given to outcomes of training other than for memory of text materials. It is quite possible to find students of similar achievements at various school levels, and it is not unusual to find individuals who are about to graduate from a school with lesser achievements than those who still have many years to go. Much pertinent information on this point has been presented by Learned and Hawkes[34] in reports of their experiments and in the data collected by Learned and Wood.[35]

The comparisons that follow illustrate differences in development and achievement found at any educational level in public schools:

	Individual A	*Individual B*
Grade	About to enter 10th grade	About to graduate
Age	Underage for grade	Overage for grade
Mental Age	Sixteen years, nine months	Fifteen years, two months
Physical	Average for age—good health; plays tennis and baseball with average competence	Average for age—fair health; is an onlooker rather than a participant

[34] Learned, W. S., and A. L. Hawkes, "An Experiment in Responsible Learning," Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching *Bull* 31, 1940.

[35] Learned, W. S., and B. D. Wood, "The Student and His Knowledge," Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching *Bull* 29, 1938.

Social	Cooperative at home and school; is a positive influence in the school; no problem to his teachers	Highly suggestible; not a leader; apathetic; follows the crowd; not a serious behavior problem
School Record	*B*'s and *C*'s	*C*'s and *D*'s, but satisfactory for graduation
English	Test score is average for 12th grade	Test score is below average for 9th grade
Reading	Handles difficult material with fair competence; good reading habits	Difficult material has little meaning for him; reading habits inferior to those of *A*
Language	Good sentence sense; observes conventions well; style immature; spoken English free from gross errors	Sentence sense weak; misspells common words; faulty grammar; ideas not well organized; spoken English slovenly
Mathematics	Excellent for work taken	Knows more mathematics than *A* but is inaccurate
Social Studies	Test score is average for *11th* grade	Test score is average for *10th* grade
Science	Excellent in general science	Low score on general science; scored at 30th percentile of class in chemistry
French	In only one year of study he exceeds 40% of three-year group	Took it one year, failed, and dropped the course
Commerce	None	Work in typing and bookkeeping slovenly and inaccurate; passed final examination
Out-of-School Activities	Helps at father's store; works with tools; collects stamps	Pin boy in bowling alley; no hobbies
Individual *B* graduates.		Individual *A* has three more years. What does graduation mean?

A statement of educational status alone is almost useless for counseling purposes. It must be supplemented by additional data,

such as chronological age, number of grades repeated or skipped, actual performance on objective tests, attitude of the individual and his parents toward education, and a health record. A record of retardation in school permits many interpretations based upon current situations, opportunities, standards, physical characteristics, and personal attitudes, and acceleration is subject to the same possibilities of interpretation when data are added to the record.

Occasionally, a statement of educational status may indicate the possibility of future academic achievement, and difficulties in interpretation of status are reduced when an institution publishes the results of the administration of tests to its students. The odds that a senior at Harvard University will make a higher score on academic tests than the average American of the same age are high. It is not absolutely certain, however, and supplementary evidence will be needed.

There are occasions when educational status is an important single item, in spite of the lack of supplementary information. Certain Civil Service positions demand that an applicant must be a high-school graduate, and still others require that candidates for jobs be graduates of an approved four-year college. Professional organizations require graduation from law schools, medical schools, certified accounting courses, and others. It is illegal in such cases for a person to make untrue statements about his education, and that is reason enough for the demand that the counselor collect and verify this datum. It is chiefly, then, for such legal reasons that a verified statement of educational status must be obtained rather than because it adds significantly to the understanding of a counselee's current academic achievements or the prediction of occupational accomplishments.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK EXPERIENCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Studies reveal that the ranges of test performances of persons in any occupation are wide.[36] So much overlapping in measurements obtained from members of occupational groups is found that there is no guarantee that your plumber would make lower scores on common mental tests than your doctor or lawyer, al-

[36] Lorge, I., and R. Blau, "Broad Occupational Groupings by Intelligence Levels," *Occupations,* vol. XX, 1942.

though the *probability* in general is that he will do so.[37] Your dentist may have been well below the average of his graduating class in finger dexterity and manual skills, whereas your lawyer may have been superior in such processes to more than half of the members of the professional school attended by your dentist.[38] Membership in an occupational group does not (except within wide limits) denote certainty of accomplishments as much as it indicates the chance influences operating at the time that the vocational choice was made. Many influences, such as the following, may have determined unsatisfactory choices of a vocation:

1. Limited information about the occupation. (Many students say that they want to become naval architects or medical technologists without any appreciation of the training required for such occupations.)
2. Glamour. Doctor and motion-picture actor have high prestige value.
3. Mystery. Electrical engineering has mysterious connotations for adolescents.
4. Admiration. Teachers may be appreciated and students desire to be like them.
5. Proximity. Father is a lawyer.
6. Ambition. Governor or president or statesman are considered to be high attainments.
7. Suggestion. Friends, relatives, or advertisements of street or environment may stimulate students to seek certain jobs.
8. Morbid analysis of oneself.
9. Fear of failure.
10. Underestimation of one's "abilities."
11. Conceit or overestimation of one's level of performances in specific areas.
12. Belief in wrong methods of succeeding in an occupation as given by various books and advertisements.

[37] Terman, L. M., "Vocational Successes of Intellectually Gifted Individuals," *Occupations,* vol. XX, 1942.

[38] Hull, C. L., *Aptitude Tests* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1928), p. 46.

13. Pressure of economic conditions or family financial situation.
14. Bad advice from misinformed persons.

Our occupational society is, however, stratified. Doctors and dentists are at socially different levels, and both are usually at different strata than the bricklayer or the blacksmith, irrespective of their incomes.[30] Teachers have a peculiar status as servants and, at the same time, as leaders. Farmers are separated from city dwellers despite the fact that many factors have operated recently to raise the socioeconomic status of farmers. Racial groups are separated from others even when they work in the same institution. It is traditional modes of social classification, the prestige of education, and the accumulation of wealth, however, which differentiate large groups of members of these social levels rather than their skills or performances. Nothing more than the fact that they have met the legal requirements for education may have distinguished your CPA from your bookkeeper or your teacher from your milkman, before they received special training. When the occupation of a counselee or his parents is noted in a case history, there cannot be automatically, then, an interpretation beyond the meeting of legal (a license to practice medicine, for example) qualifications. A listing of the occupation of a client or his parents may provide *leads* to the counselor in terms of legal status, extent of education, and social standing, but these are only leads. They may or may not indicate particular skills and superior or inferior accomplishments. The counselor must begin with probabilities, but he will not stop with them. He will go beyond the probable condition to the particular case.

Influence of work experience. Work experience may have influenced an individual in three important ways: (1) It may have given him some estimate of his own skills and probable accomplishments. (2) He may have learned certain facts about the demands of certain occupations and the problems of adjustment that he will meet in them. (3) It may have given him some insight into the world of everyday work and the problems and opportunities in certain occupations. A high-school boy who has had work experience is more likely than those who have not to be aware of the need

[30] Deeg, M. E., and D. G. Paterson, "Changes in Social Status of Occupations," *Occupations,* vol. XXV, No. 4, January, 1947.

for making a wise choice of a career, and the evidence is clear that the boy who has worked while he attended school is more likely to find a job when there are many persons unemployed.[40] The boy who has seen his father's occupation at first hand by working with him may, or may not, be sufficiently informed about it to know whether he wants to choose it for his career. The leads offered by work experience and occupation are worth following by the counselor, but they do not offer adequate evidence upon which a final decision can be made because sampling of the range of occupational world has been too limited and, for most youth, the time sample too short. Good vocational choices probably depend on more than work experience. The following items should be considered:

1. Experience in doing sample tasks similar to those required in occupations. (Care must be taken, however, to see that he has received more than a small sample of work under artificial situations.)
2. Information about occupations through broad curricular experiences, classes in occupations, reading, and observation.
3. Study of the relation of one's own past performances (through various forms of measurement and description) to occupational needs.

Part-time employment. The value of part-time employment as a tryout experience is frequently overestimated by counselors. Few of the real problems associated with full time occupational careers can be appreciated by the youth who holds a part-time job: the possible monotony of years of work, the problems of making his wage provide for all his needs, the frequently impersonal situations of the factory as compared to those in the school, the problems raised by demands of industrial organizations, the knowledge that the loss of the job may imply complete loss of a means of livelihood, the appreciation of the fact that he is at the bottom of the occupational ladder, and the realization of what is needed to move up in the promotion scheme. All these factors may not be given enough consideration by the boy on a part-time job. The lad who works in the grocery store after school and on Saturday frequently escapes

[40] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Scholastic, Social and Economic Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

the effects of a full work week. He usually knows that his parents will supplement his income and provide subsistance if he loses his current job and generally realizes that his work status is temporary.

These differences between full and part-time work can be so great that occasional jobs may fail to provide adequate tryouts for the real thing. At their worst they may actually provide misleading information and develop unsound attitudes. At their best they can provide only a partial picture of the world of work. The counselor will not, therefore, assume that the lad who insists upon choosing an occupation upon the basis of experiences in part-time jobs has made the best possible choice. When the job is not too demanding of time from school and recreational opportunities, and where the family financial condition permits it, work experience in several occupations is usually desirable. And it may assist the youth to narrow down the range of choices among vocations. The experience must always, however, be supplemented by considerable reading and instruction concerning the vocation that is being considered as a life career.

Occupations require more from the individual than skills. The job wisdom and social understandings that are part of an occupation may be completely missed in any period of part-time work. The boy who has worked at the lower levels of any trade or business, since he must start at the beginning tasks, may not have been inducted into many of the important aspects of the job at higher levels. The new chore boy is seldom given the dangerous or most complex assignments, and since he has not usually had the opportunity to learn what is required for safety and success at the higher levels, he may find only after he has entered the occupation on a full-time basis that the higher requirements of the full-time employee are beyond his capacity. The more complete social understandings of the job, which require intelligent behavior and study of circumstances with respect to such social factors as labor-management relationships, may be quite beyond the ken of the boy who escaped their influence as a minor employee. The carriers of newspapers cannot be expected to learn enough from their duties to know the newspaper business, nor can the Saturday clerk get more than a slight inkling of what is involved in retail merchandising.

Nothing that has been said about part-time employment is intended to suggest that it is an undesirable experience. The growing program of work experience for school credit should, if care-

fully worked out and guarded against misuse by employers and students, provide excellent data for the counselor and useful training for the youth. All that has been said above is intended to indicate that great care must be taken in the interpretation of its effect upon the person. Skills, information, and attitudes may or may not have been acquired or developed to the point where they influence the behavior of the individual in any given manner. If they have been developed or acquired, their influence may or may not be important in determining next steps in the counseling process. The extent to which these skills, information, and attitudes will be weighed in taking these steps depends upon their relationships to data collected by other means and from other sources. They will usually supplement rather than direct the process.

Prediction of success. Prediction of success in any occupation is very difficult. In the process of constructing tests to do so, it has become common practice to measure the characteristics of members of occupational groups, and then measure trainees in, or applicants for, positions in such groups, to determine the extent to which they exhibit similar characteristics. This technique neglects the possibility that the members of an occupation may have acquired the characteristics that distinguish them from persons in general during their period of training for it and even during the period in which they have worked at the occupation. It has not been proved—and it cannot be assumed—that the trained member of an occupation is the same individual who, some years before, began training for that job. Nor is the present applicant certain to retain the characteristics that he now exhibits over the training and initial working periods. The counselor must, then, obtain some information on the influence of training for, and practice in, an occupation before he can rely on tests to provide valid pretraining evidence of occupational fitness. He must be very cautious about the use of scores obtained from such inventories as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and similar devices which are based upon data obtained from graduates of training programs or from practitioners in any field.[41] Longitudinal studies of the characteristics of individuals before, during, and after occupational training periods are essential, but not enough of these have been completed to assure the counselor that a person's characteristics will remain con-

[41] Strong, E. K., *Vocational Interests of Men and Women* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943).

stant enough to warrant a high degree of optimism about success in forecasting later occupational performances.

SUMMARY

In this chapter an attempt has been made to avoid the common debates concerning the nature of so-called "mental abilities" and the many controversies about inherent aptitudes, partly because they are rather fully recounted in many other books, and partly because it seems futile for counselors to join in such controversies until more research results are available. There does appear to be a current swing away from the general mental test but the counselor who plans to follow the trend must be disappointed with the instruments which have been designed to replace them.[42] In view of this unfortunate situation and in the light of the questions raised by those who have considered the semantics involved in test interpretation, it is suggested that the counselor will depend largely on carefully selected achievement tests, and that when he uses tests that have other labels, he must not forget that he is still measuring achievement. If he makes inferences from the scores derived from such tests, he must always remember that they are inferences that need substantiation by evidence obtained from many sources. He will find that his test scores answer few questions completely and solve few problems.[43] But he will not reject them in summary fashion as he must reject the personality tests. The leads, hints, suggestions, and cues obtained from achievement-test scores are much more likely to be fruitful than those from personality questionnaires and interest inventories.

It has been suggested in this chapter that the counselor must

[42] See, for example, the new tests of *Primary Mental Abilities* published by Science Research Associates. The verbal factor is simply an old-fashioned vocabulary test and the number factor, despite its high-sounding label, is simply a test of performance in checking addition columns. There is no evidence of follow-up to indicate whether subjects who took the tests have entered, or been successful in training for, the occupations which, it is suggested, require these abilities. And the grouping of occupations seems strange to anyone who has considered, for example, the difference between the demands of the occupation of writer and radio comedian. If counselors are to be expected to take such new tests seriously, much more information about their value in actual counseling situations must be provided.

[43] An excellent list of test publishers is presented on p. 525 of B. D. Wood and R. Haefner, *Measuring and Guiding Individual Growth* (New York: Silver Burdett Co., 1946).

use teachers' marks in the counseling process despite the fact that they are frequently unreliable and invalid. Their value will be increased if the counselor knows the conditions under which they have been assigned, if he has helped the teachers to make analyses of student performances, and if he has encouraged them to make supplementary comments about pupils' behavior. It has been suggested that teachers' marks supplemented by a battery of achievement tests and (occasionally) tests of special skills will provide the basic data for estimating the probable later achievements of students when such data are combined with the information obtained with techniques described in other chapters of this volume. It has been suggested that the counselor may find the so-called "tests of mental maturity" of limited value except under special circumstances, but it is indicated that the practice of *mass administration* of "I.Q. tests" in the secondary school is no longer justified. It has been demonstrated that statements of academic level and occupational experience provide limited evidence concerning counselees' current accomplishments or probable performances, and it has been suggested that their effect upon particular subjects must be analyzed. Throughout the chapter the fact that tests have not yet been developed to the point where scores indicate automatically the fitness of an individual for any particular educational opportunity or occupational experience has been stressed.

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EXERCISE 1

Adapted from Tests Used in the Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association

Read the following paragraph and then answer the thirteen questions that follow. Do not discuss them until you have finished. Work quickly.

A Statement on Work Experience

The following statement is condensed from an advertisement which appeared in a large metropolitan newspaper: "After six to eight years of schooling, supplemented by church and home training, the average American boy begins to form some ideas about his future and arrives at the time in his life when he needs some practical job experience. Without such practical work experience, the learning he secures in school is likely to be superficial and useless. A regular duty to perform, a supervised activity with personal advantages, and a chance to see at first-hand how a large business enterprise operates will best prepare a boy to become a well educated and productive citizen. The newspapers of America are furnishing this kind of experience to thousands of boys." A group of students, after discussing this statement, decided that *as a result of their experiences, newsboys will be more responsible, productive, and thrifty citizens than boys without such experiences.*

Statements: Use *A* if you are inclined to accept the statements,

B if you are uncertain about them, and *C* if you are inclined to reject them.

1. If job experience is to make school learning mean more to a boy, it must involve regular responsibilities, personal advantages, and an opportunity to see business at first hand.
2. Even though a person is well educated, he may be extravagant and irresponsible.
3. When the average boy graduates from elementary school, he begins to think about his future and form some ideas of his own.
4. The school, the church, and the home can provide experiences with the same values which boys sometimes get from employment in an established business concern.
5. The experiences of newsboys offer them, more than other kinds of work, opportunities to assume responsibilities with personal advantages and to see business life at first hand.
6. When a boy starts to think for himself, some practical job experience will help make his school learning mean more to him.
7. There are many stories about boys who sold papers and later became very successful businessmen.
8. Employment in an established business concern will provide a boy with valuable experience which he could not receive in the school, the church, or the home.
9. Boys should have more educational experiences in some other type of work than in selling newspapers.
10. Work that involves regular responsibilities with personal advantages and an opportunity to see at first hand how a large business enterprise operates will make a boy a well-educated and productive citizen.
11. Publishers of newspapers are against child-labor legislation.
12. Well-educated people are usually more responsible and more thrifty than poorly educated people.
13. The experiences of newsboys encourage irresponsibility which often leads to delinquency and crime in later life.

After the questions have been answered, the class may be divided into small groups and each item discussed. Particular attention should be paid to the language used, and the implications contained in each statement. Note, for example, that question 3 implies that a boy does not begin "to think about his future and form some ideas of his own" until he graduates from elementary school.

Following the discussion period, students may check the statements a second time and note the changes which have resulted from the discussion.

EXERCISE 2

Indicate your response to the newspaper article cited below by writing a letter to its author. You may refute or substantiate the arguments in his article by the presentation of data, by logical reasoning, or by both.

THE TEST FAILS

It isn't any secret that we live in a changing world. We are rather well accustomed to the collapse of old standards, and we have learned how to adapt ourselves to the disappearance of the pet theories of our grandfathers. But when one of our new cure-all formulas shows signs of cracking, we are apt to feel rather badly puzzled.

For a good many years the "I.Q." test has been an article of faith in the modern credo. This test, you know, is supposed to grade a person's intellectual capacity as precisely as a fruit packer grades so many oranges. Psychologists and their converts swear by it.

It has been used on school children, soldiers, industrial workers, criminals and other people who can't defend themselves from the onslaught of the faddists, and its proponents have neatly classified thousands of human beings as "brilliant," "normal" or "below par" and have slept soundly in the serene belief that the last word had been said.

But the "I.Q." doesn't always seem to work out right.

A. S. Smith, superintendent of schools in Rocktown, points to an experience in a certain high school recently.

An "I.Q." test was given there not long ago. One boy got a high mark of 145, which meant that he was very brilliant. Another got a low of 70, which means that he was right down on the edge of feeblemindedness.

Then the pupils were given an examination in geometry. The exceptionally brilliant pupil and the utter dumbbell both got the same mark—75, a passing grade.

Nor is that all.

Two students whose "I.Q." ratings were less than 100—and any psychologist will tell you that means they aren't over-bright—got grades of 90 in the examination. None of the four highest "I.Q." pupils got a better grade than 80; one of them wound up with a 65. The two lowest grades given in the examination were received by pupils with intelligence ratings of 105 and 107, respectively. The

average grade for the 10 dullest pupils—based on their "I.Q." ratings—was 82; the average for the 10 brightest, based on the same ratings, was 76.

All of this seems to indicate pretty conclusively that the "I.Q." test doesn't even come close to being as accurate a gauge of a person's intelligence as it is supposed to. And perhaps it is about time that we stopped paying very much attention to it.

EXERCISE 3

Criticize the following report of a teacher with respect to its value for counseling.

SAMPLE REPORT FROM AN EIGHTH GRADE TEACHER

Barbara

AGE	13-10
MENTAL DEVELOPMENT	Eighth grade test IQ—130—Mental age 18 years. (Seventh grade test IQ—140.)
Comment:	"*When Barbara works she can show the power which these tests seem to indicate.*"
READING	Reading equivalent to junior in high school. She "loves" to read. Vocabulary exceptionally high—at tenth grade level.
ARITHMETIC	Barbara's test scores are at the 75th percentile of the group in which she has been working.
SPECIAL SKILLS	Barbara is very facile in her use of language. She expresses herself in a highly effective manner orally, and her written English is clear and precise.

GENERAL HABITS OF WORK

(*The following are checked only if below an acceptable standard.*)

Accuracy in following directions		Persistence in completing work	✓
Efficient use of time and energy		Thoughtful participation in discussion	
Neatness and orderliness		Conscientiousness of effort	
Self-reliance			

BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL	Barbara is a chatty, friendly, sociable girl who likes to keep things moving. She works only when she feels like it and often fails to pay attention in class. Her behavior is mischievous rather than malicious. She finds it difficult to fit into routine class work. She doesn't do homework regularly because she finds so many other interesting things to do. The librarian has excluded her from the library several times for talking.
HEALTH	No defects discovered in school examination. Parents provide adequate dental and medical care.

MARKS

ARTS —Foods *B*
LANGUAGE —English *B*, French *A*
SCIENCE—*A* —Arithmetic *A*
SOCIAL STUDIES—*B*

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FOLLOWING YEAR

Watch for occasional slumps in Barbara's performance after periods of good work. These come when she finds the work too easy. If she is provided with supplementary (*not* just additional) work she will keep busy. Let her work and talk frequently with small committee groups. Forcing Barbara into routine may result in rebellion or loss of desirable personality characteristics. Advise that she be given courses which will really challenge her. Probably college preparatory curriculum in ninth grade will do this most effectively.

Chapter V—Appraisal of Home Backgrounds, Health, and Other Information about Counselees

HOME BACKGROUNDS

THE experienced counselor will not be misled by descriptions of a student's background in such terms as "He comes from a good home," "He lives in a good neighborhood," or similar statements which imply that residence in a home that rates high on a socioeconomic scale guarantees a good environment for a youth. Adequate financial support for youth, provision of recreation areas and equipment, and even expressed interest in the welfare of children do not assure that certain parents are capable of assisting youth in the problems that develop in the process of coming of age, nor that they have the knowledge needed to understand and assist their children, the willingness to use such information as they do possess, or the sound attitudes toward youth that are so essential if they are to develop to their fullest.

Eric came from a home where money was spent lavishly, but probably not wisely. His home was in a fine residential neighborhood where excellent opportunities for play and a surplus of excellent equipment were provided. Both of Eric's parents were much too busy to spend time with him and his life was regulated by a number of maids of various mental and moral levels. The routine that the maids set up became monotonous to Eric and he soon devised many ways of annoying them. When they reacted vigorously enough to his provocative behavior, he complained to his parents and the maids were dismissed. He soon became expert in the mangement of adults, and he learned that he could achieve any result that he desired if he persisted in annoying them.

When Eric went to school, the teachers were just additional

"hired help" whom he enjoyed "managing." By the time Eric reached the age of twelve, he had not chosen to learn to read. He had taken only as much schoolwork as he had wanted to, and he had adjusted to only such rules as he considered acceptable. When he came to a psychoeducational clinic for examination, he considered the psychometrist to be another maid, and he used his favorite annoying device of plastering chewing gum in her hair. After several months of intensive individual treatment, it became possible to live with Eric, but this was not achieved until all the resources of clinic personnel had been utilized, considerable retraining of parents had been accomplished, and the cooperation of teachers who had previously considered him hopeless had been obtained. But Eric came from what was described as an excellent home in a fine part of the city. The socioeconomic status was superior, the psychological condition atrocious. Though Eric's case may seem somewhat extreme, it indicates the validity of the general statement that adequacy of a home cannot be measured on any scale of socioeconomic status yet devised. Information concerning the size of a home, its geographic location, and the quality of the plumbing must be supplemented by information about the attitudes and atmosphere that are maintained within it.

The extent to which attitudes developed in "good" homes may create difficult problems in counseling is illustrated further in the case of Dick. The senior author, acting as a tutor for Dick during the summer, was attempting to get him ready for the next year in a private secondary school. During one of the frequent rest periods, which Dick arranged, both tutor and student were swinging golf clubs in an idle manner until Dick suddenly decided that he wanted to take some real practice strokes. He secured a half-dozen new golf balls, set them up on tees, and proceeded to hit each one with well-tutored strokes into the neighboring woods. When the tutor indicated that the balls should be retrieved, Dick rejected the suggestion with the statement that, "They're too hard to find and there's lots more where they come from. My old man's got plenty of them." The attitude revealed by this incident was rather typical of his feelings toward everything of a material nature. There was plenty of everything for him, and he was unconcerned about the amount of it that was wasted. Dick's attitude was developed in what was usually described as "a fine home."

If this attitude from "a fine home" is contrasted with those of

Philip Bronson whose complete case record is presented in Chapter II, it will be obvious to the counselor that no safe generalization concerning parental attitudes toward a youth can be deduced from surface description of his home. He will decide that it is necessary to look for attitudes *directly* rather than to assume their absence or presence upon the basis of information supplied by general statements about social backgrounds in terms of their plumbing and paint.

Home description. A measuring scale that encourages, and makes provision for, the description of a home in terms of factors other than material possessions was developed (in part by the senior author) to meet the demands of the director of an investigation into the reasons for pupil failures in many elementary schools in Massachusetts. It is presented in full below to indicate some of the items of information about a home which these investigators believed essential in order to obtain sufficient information about their pupils. Many of the items of the scale are similar to those used in the older socioeconomic scales,[1] but many of them demand more attention to analyses of the attitudes and atmosphere of the home than the older scales required.

Consideration of one item of the scale may indicate the nature of the thinking of those who arranged the items. In addition to the usual single statement about parental income, the reader will note that a question is to be asked about whether that income is "steady." The reason for the inclusion of the additional question becomes clear when it is revealed that the income of many workers is obtained in one lump sum at the time that a single cash crop is sold. In some areas it is common practice to go on a spending spree, to live in luxury for a short period of time, and to live at minimum or lower subsistence levels for the remaining months of the year. It is possible, therefore, to get a response to the question about income that seems to indicate that sufficient compensation for adequate maintenance of a home at a fairly high standard has been received. A simple statement about total annual income, without further questioning, may fail to reveal that the "sufficient" income is spread over two months of luxury and ten of deprivation. The investigator who does not go beyond broad general statements of socioeconomic status may fail to appreciate that fact.

[1] See the Sims Socio-Economic Scale published by the Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Indiana.

HOME DESCRIPTION SCALE

Developed for the Research Learning Project, Division of Child Hygiene, Department of Public Health, Massachusetts

Father's Name_____ Date_____
last first

Section Farming___ Industrial___ Commercial___ Others___
Single home___ Apartment___ Tenement___ Itinerants___

Town_____ Recorder's Name_____

Children's Names (Eldest first)

Name	*Age*	*Name*	*Age*

Physical:

	Superior	Adequate	Inferior	Very inferior	Basis for judgment
1. Cleanliness					
2. Orderliness					
3. Furnishings					
4. Ventilation					
5. Light					
6. Heating					

No. living in home___ No. of rooms___ No. of sleeping rooms___
Auto___ Running water___ Bathtub___ Plumbing___ Telephone ___ Radio___ Rent per week___ Own home___ Indicate any special circumstances_____

Dental care: Never___ When needed___ Once a year___ Oftener ___ Only school care___

Medical care: Never___ When needed___ Once a year___ Oftener ___ Only school care___

Vacations (indicate frequency and type):_____

Servants: None___ One part time___ One or more full time___ Work_____

Parents' education (Mother) E H C S (Father) E H C S

Language spoken at home_____

School visits: How often (Father)?___ How often (Mother)?___

Parents belong to clubs or other organizations (Mo)___ (Fa)___

Parents attend educational lectures or courses?_____

Mother How often?_____ *Father* How often?_____

Estimated parental income (Fa)_____ (Mo)_____ Total _____ Steady?_____ Other sources_____

Parental occupation (Fa)_____ (Mo)_____

(If broken home: which parent at home?_____Divorce_____
Separation_____Death_____) Comments_____
What kind of books and magazines are read in the home?

Adventure	Western	Detective	Love	Fiction
Historical	Novels	History	Travel	Science
Biography	Poetry and	Essays	Plays	School Books

Add others_____
What magazines are taken regularly?_____
What newspapers are taken regularly?_____
What radio programs are regularly listened to?_____
Indicate frequency of attendance at movies, sporting events, etc.
_____

Frequency of parties: At home_____Others_____
Do children participate?_____Have their own?_____How often?_____
How many hours sleep do children have?_____
What home duties do children have?_____
Do children take lessons in music?_____Dancing?_____Others?_____
Do children belong to clubs?_____Names_____
Who helps children with homework?_____
Parents' comments on eating habits:_____
_____

Is diet adequate: Min.?_____Mod.?_____Lib.?_____
Restricted?_____
Comments on diet:_____
_____

What evidence have you been able to obtain concerning the following? From whom was the information obtained? Do you believe that the evidence is very dependable? Not dependable? (If not dependable, why not?)

(a) Who does most of family disciplining?_____
(b) Is the child the favorite of father?_____Mother?_____
(c) Any evidence that the child is the least liked?_____
(d) Does family make alibis for the child?_____
(e) How does he get along with brothers and sisters?_____
(f) Do parents make comparisons, favorable?_____Unfavorable?_____What?_____
(g) Do parents consider him "nervous"?_____
(h) Is there some relative whose relationship is very important to the child?_____In what way?_____
(i) How does child spend spare time?_____
(j) Does he talk much?_____What about?_____
(k) Is he a happy child?_____

Parental attitudes. Counselors must not be misled by statements of parents concerning their interest in children or even by their public activities in child-welfare movements. The fact that a boy's mother is president of the local parent-teacher association is not valid evidence that she is interested in the welfare of parents, teachers, children, or schools. It may simply provide for her a social occasion, an opportunity to acquire social recognition, an escape from an undesirable home situation, or a steppingstone to further social or political office. It is not implied that most, or even many, parent-teacher association workers are so disposed, but the condition is common enough in community organizations that the counselor must not be misled by titles, memberships, or a bustle of seeming socially constructive activity. The counselor will go beyond them to see whether the expressed interest is genuine and well informed, and whether the public utterances reflect any degree of good home care for the particular youth with whom he is working.

The counselor who heeds the admonition that he must become aware of the parents goals for his son, as well as those of the son, will soon be tempted to divide parents into two groups. The members of the first group will be those who seem to argue that their sons should do what they did because, they imply, "We went through it and see what a success it made of us."[2] The second group will consist of those parents who say, or imply, "We missed that experience and we have been sorry about it ever since. No child of ours is going to miss it and meet the difficulties we have had." No such clear-cut classification of parents is, of course, possible, for there are others who do not give any indication that they care what their children do, still others who subscribe to the "Let them make their own bed" theory, and others who hold various combinations of such beliefs. In most cases, however, the counselor will find that parents have rather pronounced views concerning the potentialities of their children and what ought to be done about them.[3] He will find that many adaptations are required to suit the circumstances.

Parents continue to confuse such occupations as electrician and electrical engineer in terms of the amount of training required, performances needed, and job opportunities. When this confusion occurs, it is usually necessary to begin the slow process of teaching the

[2] See the case of Donald at the end of this chapter.
[3] See the report on Priscilla at the end of this chapter.

parents about both the boy and the job, and it may require several years of concentrated effort to change their ambitions to have the boy graduate from Massachusetts Institute of Technology to that of earning a diploma at the local trade school, or vice versa. Such steps are not likely to be taken as the results of one interview, nor is the acquisition of knowledge about the difference in requirements of membership in a symphony orchestra and dance band an easy task for many parents. Such changes may require intensive work with the student, his parents, and his teachers, and use of information collected over a full school career.

Many teachers who have been taught to appreciate the value of learning about the conditions in which their pupils live can provide valuable information about them to the counselor. The following description of the conditions under which an adolescent girl lived was provided by a teacher of home economics to a counselor when he began to work with the girl. The reader may not agree that all of the background information given by this teacher was essential, but there can be little doubt that she has indicated some of the major problems in this case, and has expressed a willingness to help in their solution. The counselor cannot afford to neglect such assistance.

BONNY

A Report by a Teacher of Home Economics in a Junior High School

In order to understand the following case study properly, it seems necessary to present first, the unusual family background of the child involved, since it has played such a vital part in creating the existing problem. It also seems worthy to note how the many agencies and services of a public school system may be integrated to guard and protect the welfare of every public school child and the community as well.

Bonny's mother, an orphan, was brought up on a farm by people at whose hands she suffered extreme cruelty. She was made to do very hard work, which lowered her resistance and caused tuberculosis. Hoping to escape her unhappy surroundings, she married, while very young, a man who treated her worse than she had been treated at home. He left her with two children to support and without resources. She managed to get along by doing many kinds of hard work until the two children were nearly grown up. At this time she was weakened by tuberculosis and, feeling herself no longer able

to go out and do the type of work she had been doing, she obtained a position as a housekeeper for a family in a neighboring town.

The family permitted her to keep only the younger child (Bonny) with her and she appealed to the State to take custody of the older child. In this new home, Bonny's mother met with the first real kindness she had ever known. A son of the household, several years her senior, married her in spite of his knowledge of her background and made a pleasant home for the entire family near this city.

During this time Bonny's mother was growing steadily worse, and the expense of her medical treatment caused the family to lose their home and move to this city where they were residing when this study took place. Bonny and her sister entered school, but in a short time the older one, then fifteen, asked for a permit to leave school since her mother's increasing illness demanded full-time care. This request was investigated by the supervisor of attendance and the school nurse. It was found that the mother and the older sister were suffering from tuberculosis. Both mother and daughter were placed in a sanatorium.

When the mother was committed to the hospital, the state supervisor investigated the case. There was a question as to whether it would be advisable to allow Bonny to continue to live alone with a man who was not her own father. Finding him to be a man of the utmost integrity, and willing to do anything that he could so that he might be allowed to keep a home, it was decided to let Bonny remain with him for the present.

Bonny first attracted attention as needing special guidance and study because of the sudden change in behavior in the ninth grade from that which she had exhibited in the eighth. From a girl who was most interested in the study of home-making and who did very good work, she became uncontrollable. She seemed far more interested in how she looked and in entertaining her classmates than in the work which formerly interested her so much. I wondered if anything could be done to prevent Bonny from developing in this undesirable way. She was not an academic problem and her work was still good. Since, however, character training is a major objective of junior high school education, and the major objective of home economics education, I felt that both she and I were failing in this respect.

The counselors found that Bonny's I.Q. score is 100. Her health is good but she stutters slightly and lacks self-confidence. The difficulty at present is that she is abnormally interested in romance for a girl of her age. She reads such magazines as *True Story, True Confessions,* and *Love Stories.* She is in constant association with boys. She dreams of her ambition to become an airplane hostess, and she

states quite frankly that she hopes it will culminate in marriage with someone met en route.

At present Bonny is living alone with her stepfather whose work demands that he leave before she gets home from school, and he does not return until 1:30 or 2:00 A.M. This leaves Bonny entirely on her own when school closes at 3:30 to follow any pursuits she may desire. Her father is kind to her and gives her money to spend, but I am sure he does not know of her association with boys until late at night. He would be most cooperative if informed of the grave danger of her present situation, but his absence from home gives him little opportunity to exert the necessary parental influence in this case.

The visitor from the State Department will probably take the case over and see that this home condition is remedied but, while she is with us, haven't we a moral and social obligation to help this girl all we can now? She loves sports but never goes out for them since she feels that her teachers have a poor opinion of her and dislike her generally, and that she would get unsatisfactory marks and not be allowed to play on teams anyway. Can't we somehow develop her interest in more wholesome leisure activities, encourage her to go out for sports, direct her reading tastes toward something she will enjoy and, at the same time, be worthwhile? Someone must help fill the tremendous gap in this young girl's life. To be sure you may argue that there may be many others with equally bad home conditions that we don't know of, but we *do* know about this girl and cannot ignore her real need of our help.

HEALTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The counselor must have evidence about the health of his counselees when he is making an appraisal of their current behavior, when he is analyzing the factors that have influenced it in the past, and when he is trying to ensure that adequate consideration will be given to health in his subject's plans for the future. Despite the fact that the value of health records is generally conceded to be great, there is evidence that too few of them are obtained and that too little use is made of those which are available. A rather typical situation is reported by a counselor who found on health cards, which were kept apart from other cumulative records, that a notation of suspected tuberculosis had been entered on the health record of a high-school girl for three successive years without any evidence of action upon the entry. Until severe illness or very unusual and obvious evidence of inadequate development appears, it is frequently very common practice to ignore the health record.

Counselors not health specialists. Counselors are not well enough informed about health problems to question the entries on a medical report. They must accept what is reported by the medical specialist just as they will expect physicians to accept what they, as specialists in counseling, report. They can encourage the subject to seek the best possible advice when a health problem arises, and if local practitioners cannot provide it, they can work with them in arranging referral to authorities at large medical centers and providing lay descriptions of symptoms which have appeared in school situations. When they find, for example, that a stubborn case of reading difficulty persists, despite the fact that common tests show that each eye singly meets minimum vision standards, they can refer the subject for a test of the way in which his eyes function together, as they must in reading.[4] At the same time they may find it necessary to obtain advice about the presence of rare ocular deviations which local devices have not disclosed.

Under certain circumstances a counselor may be required to work with subjects whose problems seem to derive from unsatisfactory health conditions despite the fact that medical authorities have made negative reports. On one occasion, for example, a counselor was called upon to assist in the treatment of a boy in the eighth grade who often slept in class, who was extremely listless in all school activities, and who seemed to be undervitalized. After some study of the boy's behavior, the counselor suggested to his mother that the boy should be examined by the family physician. A negative report was received, and there appeared to be no physical cause of his listless behavior. He was labeled a "lazy" boy by his teachers, and their efforts to stimulate him were futile.

Evidence contained in reports submitted by teachers, however, indicated that something must be wrong and that some action must be taken. Interviews revealed that he was a carrier boy on two paper routes. The first of these two lucrative jobs began at half-past five in the morning and the second at half-past four in the afternoon. His parents did not need the money that he earned, but they had encouraged him to do the work because they thought that it provided good training, and they praised him for his industry. They had been firmly convinced for some time that his

[4] For descriptions of complete ocular examinations see I. Bender, H. A. Imus, and J. W. M. Rothney, *Motivation and Visual Factors* (Hanover, N. H., Dartmouth College Publications, 1931).

diligence was evidence of sound character, but more recently they had become concerned about his lack of success at school. Investigations by the counselor revealed that the boy had expanded his routes so effectively that there was no time for breakfast between five-thirty and the time that school opened in the morning and that after school was dismissed, he did not have time for the usual play activities. He was tired and very hungry in the morning, and appeared to be thoroughly exhausted at night, but the medical examination had not disclosed these conditions because his mother had permitted him to sleep late on the day on which he was taken to the physician. When the counselor's analysis of the situation was presented to the parents, they readily approved the recommendations that the evening paper routes be discontinued, and that the boy be provided with a nourishing mid-morning lunch. Under these circumstances the listless behavior soon disappeared, and the label "lazy" was soon dropped. The counselor had made a contribution to the welfare of a student after the problem had been originally presented as a matter for medical authorities.

Varying effects of physical conditions. Counselors must learn that health and physical conditions may be so variable in their effects that specific kinds of behavior can rarely be predicted upon the evidence presented in a health report. Students respond to visual difficulties, for example, in a manner consistent with their prevailing modes of adjustment, and visual conditions cannot be considered apart from the individual's motivational structure. The differential effects of visual handicaps are illustrated in the cases of two college students described by Bender, Imus, and Rothney in the following statement:[5]

> Both students had visual defects. Each wore a correction which brought his eyes very near to normal. Both were within the upper third of their class in scholastic average. *Dillon* majored in English with its extensive reading requirements, studying even beyond his immediate assignments in both literature and philosophy. *Cutler,* majoring in chemistry-zoology, had fewer reading assignments, but had much laboratory work; he did not go beyond his assignments. *Dillon* participated in many extra-curricular activities, *Cutler* in practically none. From intensive studies of the individuals themselves, a significant difference appeared in their value and energies. Springing from the nature of *Dillon's* personality pattern a tremendous drive

[5] Bender, I., H. A. Imus, and J. W. M. Rothney, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

developed which was determined to express itself in creative writing and criticism—work of high quality. Dillon strove for facility of expression, and energy was released chiefly to achieve such a value. His visual defects, like others, were obstacles to be overcome in the attainment of his purposes. From Cutler's peculiar personality pattern, on the other hand, there emerged a happy-go-lucky façade with a fatalistic acceptance of his feelings of helplessness underneath; and these feelings exacted a toll of much energy. He was confused about his values; he yearned to be intellectual but constantly feared failure. "If I had perfect eyesight," he wrote, "my scholastic record would have been no different." In his case, the correction of his visual defects could not be expected to make any difference in his purposes.

It appears that visual factors, even those of extreme degree, do not necessarily cause maladjustment.[6] They may, however, provide incentives to compensation, alibis for failures, and induce other modes of behavior, depending upon the characteristics of the individual. It is this kind of observation that leads Allport to write:

We often hear extravagant claims for the importance of posture, speech, diet, hearing, teeth, tonsils, allergy or somato-type in the shaping of personality. The personal document can have the merit of keeping the specialist from riding his hobby too hard and of showing how physical factors are, in the last analysis, *embedded* in the total life of the subject.

The counselor should remember these statements when he is examining the health record of an individual. Like all other records, they need interpretation and supplementation.

Use of screening devices. There has grown up in public schools and colleges, particularly as a result of the emphasis upon remedial reading, a tendency to take over some functions that properly belong to health departments. The practice of "screening" for physical defects, particularly of hearing and vision, has grown to alarming proportions. The attitude of those who use such tests seems to be that until some practicable means can be found for the examination of every child by a qualified eye specialist, it will be necessary to utilize some procedure in the schools to screen out those who need particular attention. Although one may be in sympathy with this impatience and unwillingness to await development of ideal conditions, it does seem necessary to bear in mind that attempts to

[6] Allport, G. W., *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942), p. 45.

"screen" cases may result in selecting too many students for specialist's examination (so many, indeed, that it seems that all cases should have been sent to specialists without the intermediate screening step), and allowing many of those who need special assistance to be overlooked. The careful study of the vision-screening device, commonly known as the "telebinocular,[7] by Oak and Sloane (in which the senior author participated) led them to the following conclusions:[8]

> The study points to the fact that the telebinocular tests sort out too many children for practical purposes and also that they miss children who need to be referred for ocular attention. The question posed at the beginning of the study, "Does the vision testing material, as it is dispensed to and used by schools, serve to screen out the children who should be referred to an eye specialist?" is answered in the negative.

The counselor who insists upon the use of the best obtainable instruments will look at all health-screening devices with suspicion. In any case, where a health condition or physical defect appears to be significant, he will demand more information about it than current screening devices provide.

Health problems met by the counselor. Rothney and Roens[9] have described the problems in health that counselors frequently meet in public-school situations. They selected ten students, only one of which was chosen because she represented a particular type of health condition, and described the problems with which they had to deal in counseling these individuals. One of the ten had no organic disorders, according to the report of an examining physician, but his posture was so bad that he appeared to be suffering from a physical disability. Another lad had visual difficulties and was significantly underweight for one of his body build, and another had defective vision in one eye and almost failed to graduate with his class because he contracted pneumonia during his senior

[7] Betts Visual Sensation and Perception Tests, DB series, Keystone View Company, Meadville, Pa.

[8] Oak, L., and A. E. Sloane, "The Betts Visual Sensation and Perception Tests," *Archives of Ophthalmology,* vol. 22, November, 1939.

[9] Rothney, J. W. M., and B. A. Roens, *Guidance of American Youth,* op. cit.

year. One boy had stomach disorders, and the counselor was required to arrange for treatment at reduced cost in a special clinic after his mother's home remedies had not proved effective.

The health and appearance of one girl improved after a part-time job was obtained where the employer demanded that she eat two good meals a day, and after a suitor with whom she had frequent "dates" was drafted, so that she no longer stayed up late. A second girl developed such a severe case of rheumatism in her legs and neuritis in her arms that she missed thirty-one days of school during her senior year. One girl refused to wear her glasses because she thought they detracted from her appearance, and another suffered from an incurable state of underdevelopment of one limb resulting from an attack of infantile paralysis. During her senior year, one girl's illness seriously interfered with the plans she had made for postschool education, and another girl found, almost too late, that her visual condition precluded her entrance into the vocation which she had chosen.

The health problems noted above are samples of those which the counselor meets in public schools. They raise such questions as these: Should students who have missed large segments of schoolwork in their senior year be permitted to graduate with their classes, and what effect will a delay have on postschool plans which they have worked out with the counselor? What can be done to encourage a high-school girl to wear the glasses that her physician says she needs? How can a youth with a permanent impairment be stimulated to work up to, but not beyond, the limits imposed by it? And how can the tendency to do too much for him out of sympathy for his condition be avoided? How much work or other activity can this student safely carry in view of his physical condition, and in what respects does a health impairment limit the choice of certain vocations?

There are few conditions for which specific actions of the counselor, always with the advice of a physician, can be recommended. In most circumstances the solutions to the problems can be reached only when careful consideration is given to many factors within the individual and among the situations that the individual meets. The following extracts from the reports of counselors who have worked with such problems illustrate some of the procedures.[10]

[10] Rothney, J. W. M., and B. A. Roens, *op. cit.*

Treatment of *Elson's* health problem required recognition by the counselor of the inadequacy of home treatments, and the making of arrangements for professional treatment at reduced cost. Without such arrangements there could be no effective counseling for this boy. Beaten down by lack of reward for his efforts in school and neglected and abused at home, his morale was reduced to a very low ebb when physical pain was added to the complex. No specialist in health, the counselor was confronted with a health problem which limited the effectiveness of his procedures, and it was necessary to arrange for medical treatment to remove the limitations.

Mollie persisted in her decision to discard her glasses, because she thought that they detracted from her appearance, regardless of advice from parents, counselor, and oculist. Since her visual condition was not a vital matter it seemed best to drop the issue in the hope that she would realize the importance of taking care of her vision after she had found her man.

Mary's counseling required the careful balancing of activities so that she could carry on fully up to, but not beyond, the limits imposed by her physical condition.

These authors indicate that similar health problems required vastly different forms of treatment, depending upon the attitudes that each subject had previously developed toward his condition, the physicians' statements about the possibility of correcting it, the amount of cooperation obtained from parents and school personnel, and the subject's interests, ambitions, and previous performances.

Health records for counseling. Probably the greatest need of the counselor in his work with subjects who have health problems is the statement by a competent medical authority concerning the limits within which the students' educational and vocational plans are practicable. At the present time there seems to be little exact information concerning such matters, but, as medical specialists increase their knowledge about the vocational implications of their findings, they may improve their contributions to counseling by reporting them in terms of indications and contra-indications so that counselors will know what an individual may safely undertake. The information may then be used, not merely to keep a youth from work or training situations in which he is likely to fail, but to direct him toward those in which there is greatest chance of success.

It seems likely that the school health record of the future will be more helpful to the counselor than those which are currently in use. The Statewide Committee on School Health Services and the School Health Committee of the Wisconsin State Medical Society[11] suggests, for example, that the physician keep the record which has commonly been placed in the school file (and which no one but a nurse or physician is likely to understand), and send on to the teacher or counselor only those recommendations which stem from it. Instead, then, of having an incomprehensible document, the counselor may have the specialists' answers to such questions as these:

Is pupil capable of carrying a full program of school work?	Yes__ No__
Should there be restrictions on up- and downstairs travel?	Yes__ No__
Is special seating recommended?	Yes__ No__
Would special exercises help to improve posture?	Yes__ No__
Do you advise supplementary in-between-meal feeding?	Yes__ No__
Does pupil have irremediable defects?	Yes__ No__
Is there any evidence of emotional upset?	Yes__ No__

The physician is also asked to write a report on "physical findings which are of significance to the school." He is further asked to make a classification for physical-education activity on a five-point scale in which the terms are partly defined and to answer the following questions concerning recommendations for the parents as a basis for school-home contacts:

Is the present food intake adequate?	Yes__ No__
If not, what changes are advised?	Yes__ No__
Is more rest needed?	Yes__ No__
Do you recommend curtailment of extra-curricular activities?	Yes__ No__
Should work at home be restricted?	Yes__ No__
Should a work permit be issued for pupil, if requested?	Yes__ No__

Specific remarks concerning the need for specific dental, psychiatric, medical, or surgical care are also recorded by the physician, and school personnel are asked to be specific in their comments about the checks to be made upon such matters.

[11] "Guides for Better School Health. School Health Examinations," *Bulletin* 8, The State Department of Public Instruction, Madison, Wis., 1947.

If school records of this kind are maintained, and if, as information is added concerning the health requirements of certain occupations, it can be incorporated into the records which a counselor needs, health data can be used much more effectively than it commonly is in public educational institutions. In the meantime the counselor must work for the improvement of school records, avoid automatic behavior interpretations of health conditions, spurn the use of screening devices, cooperate in the collection of evidence about health conditions, assist in the processes of referral of special cases, and encourage school personnel and parents to ensure that the recommendations of specialists are carried out.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SEX AND AGE DIFFERENCES

Sex. The extent and significance of sex differences are currently much less common subjects of research than they were during the first decades of educational and psychological experimentation, but the counselor must not conclude that they are of less importance. The counselor must be constantly aware of the special problems of differences between the sexes[12] with respect to physical development, cultural requirements, and, particularly, ultimate vocational objectives. He will, however, note that the generalizations that apply to sex groups in general do not necessarily apply to the particular individual with whom he is working.

For some time the senior author has obtained the response of college juniors enrolled in the first course in a teacher-training program to two questions. The first one is stated as follows: "If things go just as would like them, what would you like to be doing five years from today?" The second question is the same as the first, except that "ten years" is substituted for the "five years" of the first question. Tabulation of the responses of some 300 juniors to these questions is presented below to indicate the difference between sex groups. Study of the figures on the following page indicate that only 21 and 6 per cent, respectively, of the women want to remain as teachers five and ten years beyond their junior year in college, while 73 and 74 per cent, of the men want to continue in the profession for those periods. Among the women, 59 per cent want to be mar-

[12] Lincoln, E. A., *Sex Differences in the Growth of Public School Children.* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938); Shuttleworth, F. K., *Sexual Maturation and the Physical Growth of Girls* (Washington, D.C., 1937). Society for Research in Child Development.

ried within a five-year period, and 80 per cent have the same goal within ten years. The women expect that marriage will end their professional careers. Such differences as these raise important issues in counseling.[13]

	Five Years from Date		Ten Years from Date	
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Married.	(Not mentioned)	59	(Not mentioned)	80
Teaching.	73	21	74	6
Traveling.....	3	5	2	2
Miscellaneous occupations..	24	15	24	12

Questions concerning the advisability of entering upon a program of graduate study are raised by young women who are contemplating marriage, and queries about relative merits of curricular choices must be considered with those who state that they want a minimum of professional courses ("Since I'm going to teach only two years") and more general education. The counselor will find also that he must consider similar attitudes in placement of young women. The opportunity to meet eligible men may outweigh many other considerations when a young woman is choosing among employment opportunities. Consider, for example, the following report on Mary presented by Rothney and Roens:

Five years after *Mary* had graduated from the secretarial school, and eleven years after the first counseling, the counselor interviewed her and obtained the following information.

Mary admitted that she had experienced some doubts about her choice of training for secretarial work while she was engaged in it, but had finally decided that it was a good choice. When pressed for

[13] The following statement was written by a girl in the eleventh grade of a public high school:
"I don't know what I want to be after I leave school. I have thought of many things that interest me yet I can't make up my mind. Some have drawbacks such as, going to college. It takes money and that would mean working before going and probably working my way through college. I find I have to work fairly hard for my grades and if I would have to spend much time working outside of school work I am not sure I could make the grade. If I should get through college and carry on in this chosen vocation would the wages I earn be enough to refund the time energy and money I had put into a further education. I hope some day not too far in the future to marry and raise a family. If I do so before too long my job would of course be sacrificed and so again would not pay.

the reason why she thought so she said, "My aim in life was to get married and have a family as soon as I could find the right man." She felt that college training would have delayed and perhaps prevented the social activities which she considered to be necessary in the preparation for marriage.

After completion of the secretarial course she was offered several positions, and, in order to make a good choice, she listed five in order of desirability, interviewed the five employers, discussed the pros and cons with her parents and a new high school counselor, and finally accepted a position as secretary to a professor of law. *Her choice of this position was influenced in part by the opportunity it provided to meet a number of eligible young men.* She worked at that position for three years, liked it very much, and was rated as an excellent secretary by her employer.

During the war years Mary was an active volunteer worker in soldiers' canteens. At one of these she met a soldier to whom she was married with full approval of her parents, after an engagement of one year. She resigned from her position to keep house for her husband who now operates a small business in a suburb of Boston. She is now (in 1947) the mother of one child and considers herself to be very fortunate to have "a wonderful husband and baby."[14]

Differences in local and general cultural requirements for the sexes may be observed in many situations despite the frequently-noted reduction of restrictions for women, and the increase in number of activities which are common to both groups. Regulation of women by prescription of hours of freedom in the college dormitory and of acceptable behavior in social situations, for example, emphasizes that the fact that the counselor of young women must meet problems that differ in amount and complexity from those that are met by the counselor of young men. In view of such differences it is probably desirable that counselee and counselor should be of the same sex. If counselors are well trained and if they are highly skilled, they may work with members of the other sex at the junior and senior high school levels, but the closer the counselor's experience has been to that of his subject, the more likelihood there

[14] The cumulative report on Mary is presented in the sample record of the American Council on Education, which appears in the appendix. Mary's record was obtained in a five-year study of counseling. (See Rothney and Roens, *op. cit.*) Note that Mary had decided while she was in the seventh grade that she "wanted to go to college and then get married." Though she appeared to alter that plan, the goal of marriage, was never changed.

is that he will interpret the information about him in an effective manner.

The counselor of either sex must, however, be aware of the dangers involved in the acceptance of common generalizations about sex differences. Studies of such inaccurately measured characteristics as emotional responsiveness, neuroticism, dependence, and the whole gamut of personality characteristics do not yet show, beyond any reasonable doubt, that *each* young woman possesses more of these characteristics than many young men.[15] Even where sex differences seem to have been well established, as, for example, in manipulative skills, the counselor may find that a particular subject varies significantly from the usual pattern. Indeed, he may find it completely reversed.

In the literature of sex differences there has been much straining in attempts to draw out implications of the findings of the observed differences. It has been pointed out frequently that girls reach sexual maturity earlier than boys and that social problems arise from that condition. Many persons have commented upon differences in behavior of girls and boys at the junior high school level, but in making interpretations of these observed phenomena there is a tendency to overlook the fact that many cultural influences tend to offset the effects of actual physical differences. Home training of a particular adolescent may produce behavior that varies from that which is typical of his sex group. And it is that *particular difference* with which the counselor must deal, not the average obtained from the study of many persons. The counselor will not neglect the experimentally established differences between the sexes with respect to any characteristic, but he will use them primarily as a base from which he will launch his individualized investigations.

Chronological age. Perhaps the most common question asked of a child, after he has been asked his name, is "How old are you?" When we have his answer, we begin immediately to make our own interpretations. We say he is big for his age, smart or dull for his age, well developed or puny for his age, and later, of course, well-preserved for *her* age. Since few lay persons have studied the problems raised by the wide range of characteristics of persons of the

[15] Terman, L. M., et al, *Sex and Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936).

same chronologic age," they find the observed diversity surprising, pleasing, or shocking depending upon the mental set before the information was obtained or upon the degree to which experience has taught caution. All are not as well informed as this small bespectacled boy from Boston:[17]

A kindly lady leaned over and asked him tactfully, "How old are you, my little boy?" He removed his horn-rimmed spectacles and reflectively wiped them. "My psychological age, madam, is 12 years; my social age is 8 years; my moral age is 10 years; my anatomical and physiological ages are both 7 years; but I have not been apprised of my chronological age. It is a matter of relative unimportance." Thereupon he restored his horn-rimmed spectacles.

Chronological age has, however, become a common measure of development. Rulon[18] has indicated the extent to which we allow chronological age to be the determiner of expectations when we are considering the development of children. His statement follows:

We know that chronological age is closely related (during certain childhood years) with various kinds of performance. Our educational programs are founded upon the belief that certain abilities increase with increase in chronological age in the individual. Chronological age is apparently one of the concomitants of ability. And just as we try to get children's achievements "to come up to the level of their abilities," so we feel responsible for bringing the child's achievement up to the level of his chronological age. In the case of chronological age we do not accept, and our colleagues do not impose on us, any responsibility for developing it in a child in which it seems to be too low! Instead we allow chronological age to be the determiner and we make some other adjustment befitting it.

We have permitted this factor of chronological age to determine many of our practices in dealing with children and youth. The child starts school when he is six, and he votes at twenty-one. With age as the determiner, he can be drafted to fight for his country before he may vote. Decision to hold trials for misconduct in adult

[16] See the variability of development in age groups reported by W. F. Dearborn, and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1941).

[17] Quoted by Arnold Gesell in "The Growth Process," *Understanding the Child,* October, 1935.

[18] Rulon, P. J., "On the Concepts of Growth and Ability," *Harvard Educational Review,* Winter, 1947.

or juvenile courts is made upon the basis of age, and many employment and educational opportunities are limited to persons who have reached stated chronological ages. The presence of these legal stipulations, however, more than the evidence of commonality of characteristics of persons within age groups, requires the counselor to secure and verify a statement of each subject's chronological age.

It is necessary to point out to counselors, however, that a verified statement of age is unimportant (other than for legal reasons) only within certain reasonable ranges. Certainly the treatment of an infant may differ from that of a school child, and counseling with a high-school student may differ from that with an adult who must earn his own livelihood. An individual's age does not determine the possession of specific characteristics within a period of several years and even, in some cases, over a long period of time (both infants and adults, for example, can indulge in temper tantrums), but cultural factors operate to influence the kind of counseling that can be done within certain age levels with reasonable expectation of success. Although there is little difference between the observed behavior of an elementary-school child and a high-school boy, the counselor must consider, for example, the desirability of the latter's leaving school while in the case of the former such a proposal might be as absurd as it is illegal.

Experience. There is always the factor of experience to be considered. Extreme mental differences may make age factors of little importance in the evaluation of many kinds of experience, but when these are not present, the fact that the individual has lived longer will usually mean that he has met more people, has been exposed to more social pressures and liberties, has developed greater language facility, has experimented (perhaps without full awareness of experimentation) more in attempts at management of his environment, and has developed more variable modes of responding to situations which arise from day to day. But these conditions require that the counselor must not *assume* that certain characteristics will be present in a person of a given age. He must *find out* if they have been developed in each case.

To offset the generalizations that laymen make about the relation of age to behavior, the counselor must become acquainted with some of the findings of psychologists so that he may use them in planning his procedures. There is no longer any doubt about the fact that adults can continue to learn long after the usual period

of formal schooling,[19] and there is considerable evidence to the effect that scores on intelligence tests continue to increase much beyond that period of later adolescence which has frequently been reported to be the period of terminal growth.[20] These findings mean that the counselor may plan programs for the education of parents and adult groups. Further, he can do some planning with a student concerning postschool education, which permits better current adjustments than could be made if he were certain that the termination of a subject's formal schooling meant the completion of his education. Again, of course, the counselor will not let the apparent strength of the generalizations about adult intelligence and learning blind him to the possibility that the particular subject with whom he is working may be one of these persons who will not continue his education beyond the period of formal schooling.

The counselor must obtain and *verify* the chronological age of all his counselees for his own protection when legal matters are involved.[21] He will, however, make no inferences about the characteristics of his subjects on the basis of this datum, and, except within wide limits, he will find it of much less value than its frequent mention suggests.

SUMMARY

In this chapter certain sample problems in the collection and interpretation of data about counselees' home backgrounds and health have been presented, and some of the problems raised by sex and age differences among student groups have been discussed. It has been indicated that counselors must go beyond the usual description of homes in terms of socioeconomic status if they are to understand the psychological atmosphere in which their counselees have been reared and in which they currently live. Procedures for collecting such information have been presented, and suggestions for work with teachers and parents on problems of parental attitudes have been discussed.

[19] Thorndike, E. L., *Adult Learning,* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

[20] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development,* (Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1941). See the Harvard Growth Study curve, p. 215 of that volume.

[21] On certain occasions a counselor may be required to testify about a counselee's age. Since parents and youth have been known to falsify ages (to get work permits, for example) the counselor must protect himself by demanding verification of such statements.

The need for knowledge about counselees' health history and status has been stressed, and the need for interpretation of this information in terms of indications and contra-indications for counseling have been noted. It has been suggested that the counselor must not attempt the role of a specialist in this area. Methods by which he can encourage proper referral to specialists and supplement their efforts have been indicated. The counselor's role in the health problem was interpreted to be that of stimulating the collection and use of health records, the avoidance of automatic and personal interpretations of health conditions, the discouragement of the use of popular but questionable screening devices, and the encouragement of counselees, parents, and school personnel to ensure that specialists' recommedations are followed. It has been suggested that there is still much to be learned concerning the implications of health conditions for educational and vocational fitness.

Special problems in the collection and collation of data for counseling which arise from sex and age-group differences have been illustrated, and certain cautions concerning the interpretation of such data have been noted. Stress has been laid upon the danger of assuming that the individual counselee possesses the characteristics of the average of his age or sex group, and the need for consideration of the particular local circumstances that may produce behavior markedly different from the particular group of which the counselee is a part has been emphasized. It has been indicated that familiarity with the generalizations about sex and age groups which research has established is essential so that the counselor will have a sound base from which to launch his individualized study of *each* counselee. The need for verification of records by the counselor when legal matters are involved has been noted.

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EXERCISE

Indicate your reaction to the following statement concerning the relation of home and community conditions to the occurrence of delinquency.

You have heard discussions of the slums, those miasmic swamps that menace lives, not only of those who dwell in them, but also of those who dwell beyond their borders. Picture yourself a restless, growing boy in your "teens," living in one of the cold-water tenements (in New York), the American-born son of poor immigrant parents, for example. The family flat is poorly furnished, overcrowded, cold in winter and stifling hot in summer. There are three kids for every bed and two adults for every chair. Your parents are worn out with insufficient food and long hours of work. They find solace in a scuttle or two of beer every evening, and relief from tension in the quarrels which the beer engenders. They talk their native tongue and understand hardly a work of English. You are American, proudly so. You do not know the language of the old country and are contemptuous of it, and of your parents who speak it.

Evening comes—you don't worry about your homework because you plan to play truant tomorrow. You go out into the streets, your playground. The public school in your neighborhood is dark; it costs

too much to pay an evening janitor to keep it open. The gymnasium is dark—the auditorium with its movie machine is dark—the shop where you were developing an interest in electricity is dark.

But the Elite Bar, on the corner, is not dark. Through the window you can see Limpy Louis, who has just beaten the rap on a burglary charge for the twentieth time, setting up the drinks for the house. In the place across the street Big Charlie, the policy-slip racketeer, is talking business at a corner table—his Packard Roadster stands outside. Down the block a cellar club caters to a clientele that never earned an honest dollar.

Your wants are simple, but there is no money at home to satisfy them. Even the 10-cent movie is out—there are no extra dimes in your house. You meet Jimmie on the corner, and he suggests that you both hook a ride on the rear of a truck up to Blanc Street. There you meet some of the boys you were swimming with off an East River dock last Saturday—and you go to their clubhouse—a cellar room in a vacated tenement—and hear the plans for a foray on a store that closes early. You are so far from home that all the cops seem strangers to you, and you go in on it. The job is pulled off successfully, the petty loot is disposed of to a fence, the proceeds are divided and you go home with $2—untold wealth—in your pocket, and on your lips the ready excuse that you have been over at Hymie's house. Your father beats you, because his father beat him when he was a boy, but he doesn't learn about the $2.

And thus—as naturally as that—is the boy started on the road to juvenile delinquency and adult crime.*

CASE EXERCISES

PRISCILLA

Priscilla scored well above average on scholastic-aptitude tests, but she was sociable rather than scholarly in interests. She wanted to satisfy her father's ambitions for her, but she did not seem fitted on the basis of temperament or academic performance to enter the institution to which he was determined to send her.

On most tests, Priscilla's scores placed her on the border line between middle and upper third of her group. With but one exception, her tests of scholastic aptitude indicated a level high enough to ensure success in college work if she was willing to work. Her best scores were achieved in tests of spatial facility and of speed and ac-

* Commissioner McCormick of New York City, in the New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 13, 1936, as reported by E. D. Partridge in *Social Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938). Permission to reproduce this statement granted by the New York Herald Tribune.

curacy in clerical work. Some weakness in vocabulary and reading speed and comprehension was indicated. In Grade XII, although her score on the Cooperative General Achievement Test in mathematics was low, the Q-score on the Thurstone Psychological Examination suggested that she could perform satisfactorily in mathematics and science in college. The unevenness of some of her scores over a five-year period supplemented the counselor's impression that her interest and application varied on different tests from year to year.

Priscilla's father was an accountant. He was a high-school graduate who worked hard to achieve success in a financial organization and was determined that his daughter's education would assure her of professional skill and social prestige. He was a precise, strong-willed person. He expected his daughter to compensate for his own failure to attend Harvard College. Priscilla's mother was a pleasant-mannered, smartly dressed, rather matronly person, a former teacher, who showed considerable insight into Priscilla's characteristics. She was unable to convince the father that his ambitions might have to be modified to take these into account, and there was considerable disagreement over the amount of discipline desirable to keep Priscilla working up to capacity. The mother's lack of interest in her husband's religious beliefs was an underlying factor in family disagreement. Priscilla seemed on friendly, affectionate terms with both parents. She treated differences of opinion with her father as insurmountable obstacles which were a nuisance but not worth worrying about.

The home rated high on the Sims Socio-Economic Scale. It was a comfortable and well-furnished single house in one of the most prosperous residential districts. Business difficulties limited the family's income during most of the time that Priscilla was in high school and made it impossible for her to afford college at more than commuting distance.

Priscilla was always a bouncing, cheery, healthy-looking girl. She told the counselor that "I've had perfect attendance in high school. I never have anything wrong with me—didn't even have to lose my tonsils or adenoids." No defects were recorded on the reports of the school physician after he had conducted a routine physical examination.

Priscilla kept busy at sports, indoor games, knitting or crocheting, reading, listening to the radio, or just talking on the telephone with her many friends. She read half a dozen magazines and two or three books a month when there was "nothing more interesting to do." She was usually with a number of girls, talking and laughing (she even did so in class, to the annoyance of her teachers), and when she did settle down to study, it was with an air of conscious virtue. For five years she was a Girl Scout. She was enthusiastic until she

achieved First Class standing, and then she lost interest and dropped out. She participated in sports and made the class basketball and tennis teams in high school. She did enough backstage work on plays to get her points for Dramatic Club in her senior year. She had occasional dates, but was more likely to spend her time with her group of girls.

For three days a week during her senior year and during all the following summer, she took care of the children of a friend of the family. She liked the work because she liked those particular children.

Priscilla's vocational choices, with the reasons which she gave, are indicated below.

Grade 8	(1) Secretary	"Always thought it would be fun"
	(2) Artist	Loved drawing, but gave up this ambition when she found she could "do only copy work and make neat notebooks"
Grade 9	Undecided	Mother thought her too casual about schoolwork to be destined for a scholarly profession. Father thought teaching the only desirable goal for a girl. Priscilla was confused by their pressures
Grade 10	(1) Undecided	She was anxious to make a decision, but was confused and needed help. She
	(2) Possibly a secretary	was beginning to feel she did not have the patience or self-confidence to become a teacher
Grade 11	(1) Business	She was curious about the jobs into which secretarial work might lead.
	(2) Government work	This was a vague interest, which, upon discussion, appeared to mean social or welfare work, but proved to be only a passing fancy
Grade 12	Medical secretary	"I want to be more than just a clerk and this would be a kind of job where I could have a lot to do with people and nothing to do with math"

When first seen in the eighth grade, Priscilla appeared to the counselor to be a friendly, talkative young girl who told readily of her interests and activities. She was an *A* student except in English, drawing, and practical arts. Her Stanford Achievement Test scores gave her a grade equivalent of nine and age equivalent of fifteen before she was thirteen years old. She had scored exceptionally

high in the language and arithmetic sections of the test. She had been on the Honor Roll almost constantly during her school career, and it was likely that the intelligence quotient of 133 which she had achieved was a valid measure.

Priscilla listed many interests and activities. She had been taking piano lessons for three years and appeared to be doing well. She had taken dancing lessons and had done so well that she began to consider dancing as a career. She had been a Girl Scout for some time and had done almost everything Girl Scouts are required to do. She had a collection of "samples" obtained by answering advertisements in magazines. Her interests and activities were so many that she found it difficult to get time to do her assignments.

She said that she would like to be a secretary. It seemed to the counselor that she was capable of entering an occupation which demanded more training or, at least, of attaining an exceptionally high grade in secretarial work. She did suggest that she might want to train for a teaching career in a foreign language. Since she had not given a great deal of consideration to any vocational choice, and since there seemed to be no marked directional tendency, it seemed well for her to continue as she was doing and postpone making a vocational choice till a later time.

In the ninth grade she began to think more about her vocational choice when she was required to select electives for high school. She would have preferred to enroll in courses in the fine and practical arts, but, owing to strong pressure from her father to prepare for teaching, she elected a college-preparatory program with Latin. This program left no room for more practical subjects. She was still so busy outside with sports, photography, gardening, and all the things she did with her girl friends that she was hard pressed to do her assignments, and her marks began to show the effects of her neglect of her studies. She agreed with her family that the school work must always be done first. It became apparent to her mother and to the counselor that Priscilla's home study was just a chore to get out of the way so that she could carry on her other activities.

Priscilla's attitudes toward school were probably responsible for the decrease in the quality of her work in such cumulative subjects as French and Latin in grade ten. She did assignments faithfully, but she did not seem to master the grammar involved in translation from English into the other language despite the use of study aids suggested by teacher and counselor. She was handicapped also by the appearance of lack of confidence in speaking before large classes in the senior high school after she had left the protection of the group with whom she had studied previously. Oral English was a special ordeal for her, and it was a whole year before she really began to

enjoy class recitations again. In talking about this matter with the counselor, she indicated that in spite of her father's urgings she did not want to take training for the teaching profession. The counselor praised her achievement in English and social studies, suggested that she include another history course for her eleventh-grade elective, agreed to the dropping of Latin at the end of the year, and suggested that she concentrate on a lighter program in her junior year as a real tryout of the possibility of succeeding in college work regardless of her vocational goal.

During her year in the eleventh grade, as the quality of her work improved steadily, she continued to be conscientious, but she did not do assignments with enthusiasm. She complained, in a friendly but definite fashion, about heavy home assignments, strict teachers, favoritism in marking, unfair exams, and failure to get the marks that she thought she deserved. Although her manner showed no real concern about passing her courses, she worried about them and on questionnaires, such as the Thurstone Personality Schedule and interest inventories, her responses suggested distress about failure to excel in school. She was still somewhat self-conscious about reciting in class, but she was happier now that she was better acquainted with the members of her classes. She gave no indication of genuine interest in the kind of liberal-arts education available in the top ranking women's colleges toward which her father was directing her. Since her only interest in preparaing for Radcliffe College was to please her parents, various other schools and colleges were suggested for investigation. General readings on occupations were suggested to her, and these were followed by detailed discussions of positions in teaching, in secretarial work, and in related jobs in business, industry, and government service. In the case of secretarial work, executive positions to which secretarial jobs might be a steppingstone were stressed. She remained interested in all suggestions but uncertain about her choice. She was still casual and open in manner. She remained an engaging youngster with a twinkle in her eyes, well groomed, with a becoming curly coiffure. She continued her resolutions to show her father and mother just how much she could accomplish, and she expressed her attitude toward them by saying, "Mother and I would like to have me go away to a good, small coeducational college, or even stay here and go to a secretarial school and then become a secretary—but it's father you'll have to convince."

Father could not be convinced (during the interview that the counselor finally held with him while Priscilla was in her senior year of high school) that his daughter was anything but lazy, or that she should consider any other college than Radcliffe "on my money." The latter statement was pertinent because, at one point, Priscilla came

to the counselor for suggestions on how she could work her way through a business school. The counselor continued to provide information on more appropriate schools and colleges. The most appropriate seemed to be a near-by university's College of Practical Arts and Letters, but her father would not consider it. Priscilla and her mother accompanied the counselor on a visit to the Registrar at Radcliffe, who warned her that admission was very doubtful and that it would depend entirely on results of the College Entrance Examination Board examinations. She prepared to take these examinations despite the warnings from all except one of her teachers and, although she tried hard, she failed in the chemistry exam completely and did too poorly on others to be accepted by two neighboring colleges. Her application to enter a local junior college was accepted, but her father refused to let her attend.

On the day that colleges opened, she enrolled in a secretarial course in a neighboring university with enough academic electives to satisfy her father. She did very satisfactory work there and was delighted with the combination of practical and academic subjects. She enjoyed participation in the extracurricular activities at the university. Her only regret was her definite failure to secure admission to Radcliffe College after she had tried so hard. She said, "I feel funny every time I go by the buildings." She has definite plans to enter into personnel work by way of a secretarial job in the personnel office of a factory.

DONALD

Donald was referred to a counselor by his father who was disturbed because his son was not achieving the high level in school he thought desirable, and because he had observed that Donald was now less obedient than he had formerly been. The father was a professional man whose occupation required a high level of performance in language, and he was determined that Donald would follow in his profession.

The counselor went into the matter of Donald's interests by means of tests and long interviews. Donald indicated little interest in mechanical matters, in art work, in fact in any manipulative activity or in social affairs. His strong interests, as expressed in tests, were literary and academic. In the interviews a little probing seemed to indicate that Donald was conforming to prescription rather than expressing his own preferences.

He lived in a most unusual home situation. He had not attended the movies for a year, and his family did not allow a radio in the home because they thought he would learn poor English from it. Donald seemed to accept the parental dictates on these issues, but it was

easy to see that he was not too pleased about them. Most of his statements seemed to be repetitions of what he had been told by his parents. He hid his own feelings, except when he was caught off guard, and in these situations his own wishes in such matters came out. As soon as he had done so, however, he caught himself and followed through with statements which obviously came from his parents. He first said that he intended to enter his father's occupation, but he admitted later that he would not do so under any circumstances.

He had made only two friends since coming to this city, and he said that he did not care very much about them. He disliked competitive sports because they involved body contact, and to a group of regular adolescents he was considered a "sissy." He did carry on solitary outdoor activities, such as skiing and skating, but even in these activities the counselor had the feeling that he did them because he had been told that they were good for him.

School Situation. David's analysis and criticism of the curriculum to which he was exposed sounded very much like the criticism which progressive educators aim at the usual high-school curriculum. He had been required to read, in the common unsatisfactory school manner, one of Shakespeare's plays. He had read it himself three times, had seen it acted, and knew it well. As a result, he was so bored in class that he made very little effort, and it was possible to see how he would disturb a teacher so that she would give him a bad mark in the subject regardless of his accomplishment in it. His criticisms and analysis of the classes in his other subjects were very illuminating, and it could be seen that he had done a great deal of thinking about the materials in those classes—much more than most students had. As a result of this thinking, he found little value in his courses and did not put forth his best efforts.

Interpretation of Test Scores. Donald's performance on the Binet test indicated superior development. Performance was at almost the same level throughout all the items in tests, except in vocabulary, where he made a superior score and in the reasoning with unfamiliar materials where the score was below his general average. This performance indicated that Donald could do very well on problems in which he could be tutored, but not so well in new material. His vocabulary score was at the level for superior college freshmen and was approximately 10 points higher than the average score made by freshmen at the University of Wisconsin. This verbal facility seemed to be Donald's strong point. The Paper Form-Board Test, which purports to measure a sort of nonverbal performance usually called "spatial relations," yielded a score slightly higher than the average for his age, and there appeared to be no fundamental reason why he should not do well in geometry. His mathematics score

was 98 out of a possible 130. No particular strong or weak points were observed, and his performance was about average for boys of his age. This meant, of course, that there was also no reason why he should not have succeeded in the ordinary high-school mathematics. The speed-of-reading test and the clerical test indicated that Donald was a very slow worker. This lack of speed seemed to be an important factor in his lack of success because he admitted that he found it difficult to finish assignments and examinations in the usual time.

With only the data given above, and with pressure on the part of the parents to get immediate action, what recommendations should a counselor make? What additional data are needed?

Chapter VI—The Application of Data to the Solution of Individual Problems

PROBLEMS IN THE COLLATION OF DATA

THE process of putting the data from all the sources discussed in previous chapters into usable form must be continuous throughout the whole period of counseling. And the process is one that cannot be carried out successfully by an amateur. It requires painstaking and meticulous study of each datum separately, a study of the relationships among data obtained from separate sources, rejection of those items which are not sufficiently validated, and the organization of all the pertinent and dependable data into a portrait of the individual upon which action can be taken.[1] The amount of responsibility involved in the process of collating data so that there will be a minimum of error in action will be appreciated by the counselor who feels that the counsel given to each of his subjects should be as good as he would want for his own child. And the counseling cannot be better than the data upon which it proceeds.

If human behavior were always simple, always direct, and absolutely stable, it might be possible to prepare a case history which permitted the drawing of a master plan to be followed throughout the whole counseling period. The diversity, complexity, and instability of human behavior, however, make it necessary to obtain a moving picture rather than a series of snapshots of an individual. As a person grows under instruction, counseling, and experience,

[1] The procedure used by Bender, Imus, and Rothney in their individual studies of college students as reported in *Motivation and Visual Factors* (Hanover, N.H., Dartmouth College Publications, 1941) resulted in individual psychoportraits of average length of 13 pages. These were condensed from dossiers averaging 125 closely typewritten pages.

new patterns of behavior begin to appear, and, as they do so, the counselor must add to his previous conceptualizations of the person, revise his previous estimates, reconsider previous plans, and weigh the probable outcomes of new proposals for action. Although the amount and number of revisions of conceptualizations and plans may vary from person to person, the counselor will usually find that at least one revision per year will be required if his subjects' records are to be of value.

At some remote time it may be possible to put numerical values on each datum in a case record and apply statistical techniques to the items so that the relationship of results from the application of many techniques may be computed. Contingency coefficients or some new methods may then reveal the degree of relationship among data collected from many sources, and they may be useful in describing the extent to which one series of findings is verified by others. It may sometimes become possible to develop a forecasting technique that serves the same purpose for the individual as the regression equation does for groups.[2] At the present time, however, such techniques are entirely in the realm of experimentation.[3] Currently, they offer nothing for the practicing counselor other than a suggestion that he examine his data for relationships and trends so that he may improve his techniques. There is no incontrovertible evidence yet available which indicates that the counselor can substitute statistical manipulation of his data on a single case for the skill in interpretation that he has gained from experience in the study of individuals and the study of their postcounseling performances.

Psychographs. The most common method of combining data about an individual is the profile, or psychograph. Though this technique produces fine charts and beautiful curves which seem to indicate high validity, and though it appears to highlight individual idiosyncrasies, its limitations soon become obvious when materials other than test scores for clearly defined and separated areas of subject matter are used. When, as in a subject field, it is assumed that the higher the score is, the better it is; when all sources of data

[2] Kelley, T. L., *Interpretation of Educational Measurements* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1938). See especially his chapter on the measurement of individual idiosyncrasy.

[3] See Baldwin, A. L., "The Statistical Analysis of the Structure of a Single Personality," *Psychological Bulletin,* vol. 37, 1940.

are equally reliable; and when it is assumed that the separate scores are independent of all others, the profile may be a very effective technique for portraying the characteristics of the individual. But the counselor must be concerned at times with traits in which neither very high nor very low scores are desirable.[4] It is possible, of course, to adjust the scores to fit them into graphic patterns but, in doing so, the implications of middle-zone scores are likely to be lost. Further, as Allport[5] has pointed out, the psychograph may conceal the qualitative balance between two or more traits. He says:

> A person whose profile dips in "ascendance" and rises in "expansion" has not shown merely low standing in one trait and high in another. There is a resultant blend in his behavior colored also by other co-existing traits, that eludes the psychograph completely. Discouraging as this discovery it, it follows inevitably from the false assumption that personality is the sum-total of plottings of scores on common variables.

Allport's statement was made with respect to the profiling of personality measures. The problem becomes even greater when the counselor attempts to incorporate data from several sources and various areas into a summary graph. Valuable as the profiles may be for the comparisons of individuals with respect to test scores in academic subject fields, it offers little promise for the collation of all the data about an individual which is necessary for counseling purposes.[6]

Suggestions for collation of data about an individual. The task of putting data together in an experimental laboratory has been well stated by Murray[7] as follows: "By the observation of many parts one finally arrives at a synthetic conception of the whole, and then, having grasped the latter one can re-interpret and understand the former." The task of the practicing counselor is one of observation of many parts, arriving at a synthetic conception

[4] See, for example, the categories in the Behavior Description in the appendix.

[5] Allport, G. W., *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1937), p. 404.

[6] A poll of educators' opinion on the issue of graphs versus tables in reporting academic test scores made by the senior author for the Records and Reports Committee of the Progressive Education Association indicated that a large majority preferred tables.

[7] Murray, H. A., *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938).

of the whole person and then (realizing the inadequacy of his conception while he is under pressure to get results!) do something about them.

The following report about Fay is presented here to suggest a method by which the counselor can combine his data from several sources into a report that will be more meaningful than a psychograph to school personnel, parents, and potential employers. The information about Fay was obtained from three 30-minute interviews, from an educational autobiography which she wrote as an assignment for a course in education, from observation of her during her class periods in that course, and from watching her while she painted a mural in a child development center. She had filled out a questionnaire covering her previous education, activities, and family background, and records of her academic achievement were available.

The study of Fay was made to determine her potential effectiveness as a teacher, and consequently, there are many references to her personal adjustment, her general social attitudes, her response to other persons, her outlook toward the future, and her attitudes toward education and children. The nine paragraphs of this report contain a condensation of several hundred fragmentary pieces of evidence obtained from the sources indicated above. Fay's behavior characteristics have not been classified into closely knit categories but the reader should read the report about her with these questions in mind: "Does she have the necessary personal characteristics for success as a teacher of art in a public school? Would you want her as a teacher of your child?"

It should be noted that no attempt has been made to rate this young woman or to make an appraisal of her behavior. There would be no objections to making such ratings or appraisals after the reader had studied all the sources of data and had then read the descriptive paragraphs which follow.

FAY

	Source
Fay seeks out opportunities to work with children, likes them, observes them, and shows sympathy with their problems. She feels that the school should reform children and "tone some of them down."	*Observation* *Records* *Interviews*

Fay has had some difficulties with contemporaries because she thought that they did not come up to her standards or belong to her set. She observes her fellow students closely and frequently comments about them, although she admits that nobody understands other people very well. She joins groups of her contemporaries and has been elected to offices twice during her college career. She likes to be with others, has a small group of intimate friends who seek her company, and she says that she likes everybody. She goes out with boys and has a "wonderful time until they get too personal." She maintains a measure of independence from others and makes her own study conditions. She makes better than average grades.

Autobiography
Observation
Interviews
Records
Observation
Interviews
Interviews
Interview
Records

Fay loves to join in conversation. Good food and good talk make a fine evening for her. She would rather talk than play games. She is thrilled at new ideas, especially if they are concerned with social problems. She likes to read, attend plays and concerts, do art work, and "tear around over the weekend with others."

Observation
Interview
Records
Observation
Interview

Although Fay says she does not like to study, and although she says that she cannot study well, she has shown that she can settle down and do a good piece of work when she wants to. She says that she is not efficient in planning and finishing work because her interests are too many and varied. She does some day-dreaming but thinks everyone does so. She accepts and carries through activity assignments and neglects some of her school work. She may sometimes give the impression of being scatterbrained, but she has her eyes on certain goals.

Interview
Records
Observation
Interview
Observation
Observation
Interviews
Records

Fay would like to combine her vocation and avocation by teaching art in a university. She would like, at the same time, to be a wife and mother in a "comfortable, well-designed home." She came to college to prepare herself for such a career, and her plans fit in well with those of her parents who have provided complete financial support. She has liked college so much that she would like to continue beyond the bachelor's degree. Five years from now she would like to be "teaching in a university

Questionnaire
Interviews
Records
Interviews
Autobiography

or illustrating Ogden Nash's books," and she would like to continue doing so while she is raising a family.	*Interviews*
Fay has an idealized "vision" of a teacher. She has liked nearly all her teachers and she appraises their good qualities in terms of their interest in students, scientific spirit, sincerity, liberal attitudes, and informality. She comments upon teachers' fitness for their work, particularly with respect to age and training for the profession. Her relationships with teachers have left her with a favorable attitude toward them, and she wants to be like the better teachers she has met.	*Written reports* *Autobiography* *Interviews* *Interviews* *Autobiography* *Interviews*
Although Fay says she has "no call to inform the world," she is much concerned about social problems and she would consider social work, involving the dissemination of propaganda as a second choice for a vocation. Her ideas about politics, property, government, rewards for performance, religion, and treatment of minority groups, although slightly conflicting at times, could be described as generally liberal. She has enjoyed and still enjoys discussions about social problems. She is somewhat disturbed, and occasionally becomes belligerent, about what she thinks are restrictions upon freedom of speech in America and particularly in the school. She believes that American high schools are doing a pretty good job under restricting conditions, and she insists that she is going to remain an optimist about the future of America. She says that she is going to remain open-minded and try to teach tolerance and open-mindedness. She appears to be seeking some balance in her views and says that she knows enough to agree with people of influence. Her scores in history and tests of knowledge of current social problems place her in the upper third of her group.	*Autobiography* *Questionnaire* *Interviews* *Autobiography* *Observation* *Observation* *Interviews* *Interviews* *Observation* *Interviews* *Tests*
When Fay cannot avoid situations in which there is conflict, she maintains poise even under stress. Doubts about her ability to develop and maintain a professional attitude bother her greatly. She gripes about problem situations and then either "carries on" or sits down and writes letters to her parents or friends. Occasionally, she refuses to	*Observation* *Interviews* *Interviews*

think or worry about problems because she is afraid that she will become emotionally upset and not be able to do anything about them. She says she	*Interviews*
has been lucky in her personal relationships, but she admits that she has avoided situations where she might be "pushed around." She avoids many	*Autobiography*
larger problems by refusing to think about them, and she has a hard time making up her mind about little things.	*Interviews*
Fay says she is in good health and that she	*Questionnaire*
possesses lots of energy and vitality. Observers verify	*Records*
the latter part of that statement. She wears glasses,	*Observation*
has dark hair, and is near the average in height	*Observation*
and build. She is much concerned about the choice of clothes, cleanliness of mind and body, poise,	*Records*
grace, and the impression that she makes upon	*Interviews*
others. She is of Russian-Jewish descent.[8]	*Records*

The method of collating data illustrated above in the case of Fay may be very disturbing to some readers. They may object to it because the language is too general, because there are no charts and few statistics, and because it presents no departure from methods that have been used for many years in writing reports about individuals. To such critics we can only point out that the source of all statements has been indicated and that the counselor or any other person may go to the original material if he wishes to interpret or reinterpret the descriptions given. Even if he does not wish to read the original documents, it would seem more satisfactory to make ratings on appraisals after reading the condensed report than to have them presented originally in terms of profiles of adjustment, sociability, work habits, and such terms as commonly appear in rating scales.[9] A potential employer or admissions officer of an educational institution can place his own value upon the report and obtain clews from it which he can investigate further in

[8] The senior author has found that many persons approve of Fay until they read the last line. After they have done so, interesting intercultural attitudes often appear, and reconceptualizations often vary significantly from the originals.

[9] The problem of selecting particular items for report from the many that have been obtained is not, of course, solved by the procedure reported here. Neither is it solved when the usual methods of profiled ratings and measurements are used. Some selective process is always used. The excellence of the selection will depend largely upon the skill of the investigator in defining his objectives before he begins to collect his data.

an interview. He is not required to accept scale values or numerical evaluations which someone else has devised and which may differ significantly from his own.

PUTTING DATA TO WORK TO SERVE THE INDIVIDUAL

General procedures. When the *experimenter* in the laboratory has collected, collated, and interpreted his data, he publishes the results and his task is completed. When the *counselor* has collected data about his subject he has just begun his work for he must put them to use by taking some action, by seeing that others take action, or, less frequently, by reaching the conclusion that no action is necessary.[10] Counseling is a practical job which permits no escape to an ivory tower and, too seldom, no opportunity to theorize about the data that have been obtained. Faced with the task of assisting hundreds of young people to adjust, to adapt, to choose, to rechoose, and to succeed, he can rarely allow himself the luxury of collecting data in the belief that they may be interesting and valuable even if no practical use of them is ever made.

As a result of the counselor's work, there will be a change in his subject's behavior or his status and, at times, a change in both. In any case some progress must be made toward answering the questions which the subject has raised or which the counselor has suggested to him. In order to accomplish these purposes the counselor must devise, borrow, improvise, and adapt various procedures to utilize data so that they will bring better understanding to the complex situations which appear in even the most commonplace counseling tasks.[11] Some *samples* of the methods that have been used successfully are listed below.[12]

[10] See the discussion of this point of view in the article by C. M. Louttit, "The Nature of Clinical Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin,* vol. 36, No. 5, 1939.

[11] Readers will recognize in these actions the reflection of various psychological theories and several points of view about the duties of the counselor. As we have pointed out previously, the counselor who sticks to any *one* of these theories or systems is just refusing to face the fact of the complexity of human beings and the extreme variability of conditions to which they are exposed.

[12] The case studies presented thoughout this volume illustrate the use of many of the methods. Some of them have been used with considerable success in the Harvard Guidance Study. They are described in J. W. M. Rothney and B. A. Roens, *Guidance of American Youth,* op. cit.

1. Students who are indulging in so many extracurricular activities that their schoolwork suffers may be asked to list these activities in order of preference. During conferences with the counselor, the least preferred activities may be eliminated.
2. Counselees who do not respond well to the efforts of counselors and other school personnel may occasionally be assisted by arranging for their association with volunteer business or professional men in the city. A "Big Brother" committee can be formed in any community.[13]
3. Students who exhibit extreme types of behavior but who have similar interests may be brought together in a sort of "buddy" system to help each other. Thus, a very shy girl and a girl described by her teachers as obnoxiously bold who are both interested in music may be brought together, told why the counselor has done so, and encouraged to help each other. Frequent checks are necessary to see if the contacts are maintained and if they are helpful.
4. Subjects may be assisted in difficulties that arise from doubts about their own performances by frank discussion of what tests reveal about their strengths and weaknesses. Exact numbers need not be given, but interpretations in thirds, quarters, or even tenths of a class distribution may be used effectively.
5. Counselees may be helped by giving them opportunities to talk about their problems to a counselor who simply listens to them, encourages them to talk, and asks them to state and restate the issues involved.
6. Information about development in childhood and adolescence may be interpreted to assist parents who are confused about their children's behavior. Knowledge of the fact that there is no relationship between the timing of the preadolescent growth spurt and physical size at maturity,[14] for example, may help to alleviate the worries of both par-

[13] See Fornwalt, R. J., "Problem Boy: A Case Study in Delinquency," *School and Society,* Nov. 23, 1946.

[14] See Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942).

ents and children who are disturbed about very rapid pre-adolescent spurts in growth or make curious interpretations of such phenomena.

7. The cumulative records of students may be interpreted to parents. At times this procedure results in the scaling down of too ambitious parental plans, and in raising them where the performances of youth warrant it. Alternative lines of action should be explored with such parents.

8. Opportunities for students to play significant and useful roles in classes, schools, or communities may be arranged with the cooperation of parents, teachers, and principals.

9. Transfers from one school to another, or from one class to another in the same school, may be arranged. All the subjects and the adult personnel involved in the transfers should be prepared for the changes by instruction, reports, and conferences. "Blind" transfers, in the hope that a new situation will automatically result in changed behavior, are seldom effective.

10. Information concerning scholarship and contest opportunities may be made available to school personnel, parents, and pupils. Every school should maintain an up-to-date file concerning such opportunities.

11. Readings in certain areas may be recommended.[15] These may be books or pamphlets about occupations and educational institutions, acceptable modes of deportment, "how to study" materials, descriptions of behavior of certain groups, and various self-help materials.

12. Tryout experiences for students in many fields of study, in occupations, and in tasks requiring special skills may be arranged.

13. Visits to various persons and places for purposes of observation, interview, and consultation may be arranged. In the

[15] See, for example, the following books: Betz, B., *Your Manners Are* Showing (New York, Grosset and Dunlap Inc., 1946); Ruch, F., G. N. Mackenzie, and Margaret McClean, *People Are Important* (Chicago, Scott Foresman, 1941); Taylor, K. W., *Do Adolescents Need Parents?* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1938); Keliher, A., *Life and Growth* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1938); Fedder, R., *A Girl Grows Up* (New York, McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1948).

study of local occupational opportunities, for example, committees of students who are interested in specific vocations may visit a local place of business, observe the practices in it, consult employees or employers, request that the person who was interviewed come to the school to talk to a class about the vocation, and devise with their classmates the questions that will be asked during a discussion period. With increased bus service available to many schools, it is now possible to make many visits to potential places of employment and to educational institutions. Such visits, if they are to be effective, must be preceded and followed by carefully planned preparation and discussion.

14. Occasionally a student may be removed from regular classes for various lengths of time or at regularly scheduled periods, so that he may participate in substitute experiences.
    a. A student may be given the opportunity to work on projects that cut across regular subject-matter areas. See, for example, the work on machines done by Roy in the description of his work which appears below. He studied history by investigating the development of machines, wrote his English themes about them, learned much science by investigating the processing of metals used in machines, and reviewed mathematics by using them in machine-shop situations. A part-time job was obtained for him in a factory where he operated and provided maintenance for a machine.

    b. Correspondence and self-teaching courses may be provided for a student whose special needs are not met by the common school curriculums. The success of such courses provided by the United States Armed Forces Institute for members of the armed forces suggest that students may profit greatly from them.

    c. Intensive special tutoring may assist a student who has missed much of the regular schoolwork because of illness, or who has particular difficulties in certain subjects.

d. School credit may be given to students for work experience in the community.

e. School routines may be modified to fit particular home circumstances. A girl, who came to a small high school unwashed and foul-smelling because she did not have time to complete the process of cleaning up after milking fourteen cows before she came to school, was permitted to absent herself from the first home-room period in the morning so that she could be well-prepared for the second. This permission was granted only after a thorough study of her home situation and conferences with her parents. Failure to make the concession for the first period would have meant withdrawal of the girl from school by her parents who insisted that her services were needed at that time, or continued rejection of her by other students who objected to the odors and her disordered appearance.

15. Students may be referred to specialists for various examinations and treatment. Referral may be made to such experts within a school or college as those in remedial reading, to experts in outside agencies, such as the psychoeducational clinics at universities, state rehabilitation agencies, county mental-health centers, or to private practitioners, such as psychiatrists or psychologists. Referrals, with the cooperation of local physicians, may be made to specialists in various fields of medicine. In general, clinics or other special agencies that provide diagnosis without treatment should be avoided. Referrals should not be made to private guidance agencies which do not utilize records of previous performances of their clients.

Specific procedures illustrated. At times the counselor may be required to work out with a counselee, or with others, suggestions of action for him, for his parents, and for the personnel of the school. These are most likely to be effective if they are drawn up with each person separately, a carbon copy made, and the carbon given to the individuals who are concerned. At the time when the

suggestions are made, a second appointment is scheduled, and it is made clear that checks will be made upon the action which was planned. In the following case of Roy, an eleventh-grade boy who had been involved in many conduct difficulties in school, who showed rather marked tendencies toward delinquency, and who "loved" machines, the following suggestions for action were drawn up separately in conference with Roy, with his parents, and with the principal of the school. Each was given a carbon copy, and periodic checks were made to see if the suggestions had been carried out.[16] The action in this particular case was so effective that even the students in the school remarked upon the improvement in Roy's behavior. During the period of one year he changed from the school's leading troublemaker to one of its best citizens. It must be noted that the plans applied *only* to Roy's case. They might be wholly unsatisfactory for other students and even for Roy under other conditions.

ROY

Plans for Parental Action Drawn Up by the Counselor and Roy's Parents

(Reasons for the don't's had been explained to the parents. Partial explanations are added in brackets.)

1. *Don't* call him Junior. Call him Roy. [Roy resented the implications of childishness in the name "Junior."]
2. *Don't* compare him with Jimmie. [Younger brother.] *Don't* show Jimmie's pictures when Roy is present. [Parents had often made odious comparisons between Roy and Jimmie.]
3. Praise him for the skillful work he does in the school shop. [Roy had begun to doubt that anyone would appreciate anything that he did.]
4. Encourage football participation. Go to the games, and praise him when he is successful.
5. Take the pressure off the boy. Stop *nagging*. Overlook all minor difficulties for the time being. *Try not to scold once between now and the end of the term.*
6. Boys of this age usually prefer companions of their own age at the movies rather than their parents. Don't force your presence upon him. [His parents had decided to go with him when he went out so that they could watch him.]

[16] This procedure was carried out in a small high school in Wisconsin. *Roy* had been given up by his teachers as "hopeless," and the principal was ready to expel him from school upon his next infraction of the rules.

7. Don't insist on college attendance or imply that it is essential. Let him know that attendance at a mechanics institute might be possible after he finishes high school.
8. A good deal of Roy's difficulty appears to be due to the fact that you have been *trying too hard* to get him to do what you consider to be the right thing. Stop prodding him. It's going to be difficult to do this but the success of the plan depends on it.

Plans for Action by Personnel of the School Drawn Up by the Principal and the Counselor

1. See that Roy knows exactly why he is doing what he is required to do in school this year and next. This means that the planning of his program must be done with him and that he be told why certain subjects are offered and required.
2. Provide for a review of elementary arithmetic through a project which has meaning to him. Shop or drawing might provide the opportunity. [This was provided through his work in general shop.]
3. Give him a great deal of information about mechanical vocations and provide sources that he can investigate.
4. If he can get a part-time job, give him school credit for time spent on the job.
5. A project which cuts across regular curricular lines should be drawn up so that he will not be required to attend all regular classes. [A project on machines was arranged and he wrote and spoke about machines in his English classes, studied the history of machines as a major project in his history class, did mathematics related to his shop assignments, and spent two periods a day in the school shop.
6. Whenever you try to force this boy you can expect him to fight back and react in a way which is described as stubborn or determined. He won't "be pushed around" by anyone but will respond to pleasant treatment. [Teachers agreed to try this and they were very pleased with Roy's response.]

Plans for Action by Roy Worked Out with the Counselor

1. Try to finish school without any more trouble this year so that the principal and teachers will let you plan a better program for next year. [This suggestion was made after many interviews with Roy and after he saw that the counselor did not want to "push him around." The effect of his behavior on teacher's attitudes was thoroughly discussed.)

2. Try for one week (at a time) to do better schoolwork. It can be done. [Roy's test scores were interpreted for him, and this procedure eliminated many doubts which he had about himself. He had begun to think that people were right when they called him "dumb."]
3. Work at the canning factory this summer. Save half your pay for next year and spend the rest for a trip. [Roy was sure that he wanted to travel. A bus trip to the northern part of the state was arranged after he had worked for six weeks and he enjoyed the opportunity to get away from home for a short period.]
4. Draw up a plan of study for next year and present it to the principal with a statement that you think you can carry it out without difficulty if he will give you the trial. [Note program described above.]

Roy's case is not presented here as an ideal solution to any problem other than his. The plans made here were drawn up after careful study of *him,* of *his parents,* and of the personnel of the school which he attended. They were intended to apply *only to him,* and their effectiveness is shown by his improvement in behavior in school and in his postschool career. If any of the conditions in school or community or home had been different, or if Roy had been other than the kind of person he was, the plans might not have been effective. Roy was a fellow who really needed a friend, someone who did not scold, prod, or blame. It should be noted that much of the work was verbal and that the suggestions to him did not vary greatly from those which had been given to him by others. The chief difference was in the attitude of the counselor who had recognized the fact that Roy had not gone beyond that level where verbalization becomes ineffective.

Cooperation of many persons required. The procedures that have been outlined above require active participation of many persons within the school and community.[17] They demand that such persons understand the objectives of the counseling process and that they accept or devise some basic guiding statements such as

[17] Procedures for obtaining active participation of school and community personnel have been described in F. P. Hawkes, "Panel Discussion for Teachers Meetings," *Education,* September, 1939, and follow-up procedures after participation has been secured are reported in H. A. Ottoson, and J. W. M. Rothney, "A Practical Reorganization of a Junior High School to Meet Students' Needs," *Education,* November, 1942.

those presented below. The statements are likely to be better understood if they are produced by faculty members themselves rather than handed down by others. The following items may provide a basis for initial discussions about school and community practices and procedures in providing for the needs of youths:

1. The school program and administration should be flexible enough to allow for adjustment to individual differences.
2. It should be possible to arrange a core curriculum for any student whose case justifies such a measure even though the school as a whole does not use the core-curriculum plan.
3. Schools need to provide a wider range of pupil experiences than they commonly do.
4. Courses and curriculums should be elective to meet students' needs. Number of years of school experience is not a satisfactory determiner of need of a particular course or experience.
5. All students do not need to attend school all day each day that the school is open.
6. Most school programs should not be dominated by college entrance requirements.
7. There is need for instruction at the high-school level for family life—marriage, child care, and training.
8. Opportunities for learning manual and mechanical skills should be provided and more work in fine and practical arts should be offered in public high schools.
9. Remedial instruction should be available to each child whenever it is necessary.
10. The school should have, or work closely with, a placement bureau.
11. Students should be allowed to do in-service training. They may be permitted to work in part-time jobs about the town.
12. There should be someone directly responsible for teaching about personal problems, including simple psychology and family relationships.
13. Counseling about extra-curricular activities should be provided. Some students carry too heavy loads. Others never enter any activity.
14. Courses should be set up in such a way that bright pupils can learn at their speed and slow pupils follow at their's.

15. The purposes that a student has developed must be considered in the planning of his program of work.
16. Students should be taught to recognize their handicaps and counseled in methods to overcome or compensate for them.
17. Certain faculty members should have special training along particular lines and should be available for special help when called upon by other members of the faculty.
18. Since many students' problems are the result of unsatisfactory home conditions, some program of adult education is required.
19. Absolute honesty and frankness in dealing with parents about their children's problems are necessary.
20. The school should have a good working relationship with such community agencies as the juvenile court and the youth council.
21. Students should be given much responsibility for their own plans and behavior.
22. Tests and measurements by themselves do not necessarily give a complete picture of the individual, nor are they always dependable.
23. School marks tell parents and counselors relatively little about the individual and should not be accepted as the sole evidence of successful student development.
24. Case histories of each child from kindergarten through high school must be made available and must be kept up to date.
25. Teachers need to know their pupils well. In order to do so, some of the following changes in common school practices are recommended:
    a. Small classes must be organized.
    b. Time for home visits or conferences with parents should be arranged.
    c. Conference rooms and time to use them should be made available.
    d. Opportunity to secure advice from specialists (medical, speech, reading, etc.) in diagnosis of difficulties should be arranged.
    e. A good system of accessible cumulative records must be developed, and time should be arranged so that teachers may compile and use them. They should include
       (1) Informal records of actions of pupils.

(2) Adequate test records.
(3) Reports of interviews.
(4) Data on home background.
(5) Data about scholastic performance expressed in terms other than marks.
(6) History and present status of behavior development.
(7) A continuous record of developing interests.
(8) The reader may add others.

26. School personnel and parents should accept the statement that honest labor performed to the best of one's ability is worthy of commendation, whether the work be in the shops or offices, factories or farms.

APPRAISAL OF RESULTS OF STUDY AND COUNSELING OF INDIVIDUALS

Problems of appraisal. Despite the fact that counseling is becoming generally recognized as an essential part of the educational process, and despite the rapid growth in numbers of persons who are employed for that purpose, evidence about the value of counseling is meager. A bibliography of those studies which are rigorous enough in design and broad enough in scope to produce conclusive evidence of the value of counseling programs could be presented in less than a page of print. As Williamson[18] has pointed out in the following paragraph, the appraisal of counseling has been woefully neglected.

Very few evaluation studies have been made upon the adequacy of the total counseling process. These few studies have been restricted for the most part to vocational guidance. In the areas of mental hygiene, financial problems and health there have been practically no evaluation studies reported. Many counselors speak of vague objectives concerning the development of personality, but no one knows the efficacy of the techniques used. Here again the validity of the present techniques is assumed, and few counselors worry about the need for dependable evidence of their validity.

The reasons for failure to provide adequate evidence about the value of counseling may be found in the difficulty of making appraisals and the lack of incentive for doing so, in the expense, and

[18] Williamson, E. G., *How to Counsel Students* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939).

in the failure to appreciate the value of follow-up studies in revising current practice and developing good programs of public relations. These reasons are discussed below.

1. *It is difficult to obtain valid measures of the results of counseling.* The aims of counselors are frequently expressed in such generalizations as "the assistance of youth in the making of satisfactory educational, vocational and social adjustments." Accomplishment of objectives stated so broadly and vaguely is extremely difficult to measure. What appears to be a satisfactory educational adjustment for one person may simply mean that he has decided that conformity in all phases of a school or college program results in fewer conflicts with teachers or administrators, and that further attempts on his part to tread beyond the beaten paths of the average student are likely to be futile. Job satisfaction,[19] which has not yet been measured satisfactorily, may be expressed when the individual is at less than potential achievement levels; it may mean resignation to circumstances, a statement of compensatory feelings, or simply the result of a rationalization process. Data about wages do not allow for the fact that persons may be willing to work at low levels because job satisfaction is high or because a lower beginning wage promises a higher ceiling.

Social adjustments must vary with individuals and with circumstances. Who can determine with certainty that in any particular case a divorce, legal separation, or other breaking of family ties is undesirable? Does evidence of treatment by a psychiatrist mean always that there is lack of adjustment, or simply that the individual, by going to him, has made a good adjustment? Could the fact that an individual does not participate in social affairs indicate only that he is making a good temporary adjustment to more personal matters?

These are merely samples of the problems that inhibit those counselors who have recognized the need for appraisal of their work. When the counselors have accepted the facts of individuality and the wide range of behavior which may be satisfactory for any person in view of his circumstances, the complexity of the problems which they must meet in appraising their clients' success makes their solution appear impossible. Inhibited by the complexity of the

[19] See the biennial reviews of research on job satisfaction in *Occupations—The Vocational Guidance Journal.* The most recent review by T. Hand, R. Hoppock, and P. J. Zlatchen, may be found in *Occupations,* April, 1948.

tasks that must be performed, they are prone to overlook the fact that measurable criteria can be set up for large groups. The appraisal of counselees' performances with respect to these criteria can produce evidence about the *general* value of counseling regardless of the fact that many individuals within counseled groups may not meet the general criteria. It is probably true, for example, that *most* counselees will profit from continuing in some postschool training, although *many* may not. Even the crude measures of job satisfaction that are available may provide valuable data about the success of groups in general, on the average, and on the whole, and if a counselor finds that his counselees are generally more satisfied than students who have not been counseled, he has taken one step forward in the justification of his position. And since he cannot ignore the fact that our society does measure success in part by financial gain, the evidence that his counselees receive higher average wages than others may be presented as partial justification of counseling.

2. *The optimum time for application of measures of success of counseling is difficult to determine.* Even if adequate measures are devised, despite the difficulties mentioned in (1), above, there are always differences of opinion concerning the time or times at which they should be used. Counselors speak about "preparation for life" and "preparation for life careers," but one may ask if they really mean what these words imply. If these terms are taken literally, the measures of success must be applied continually, and nothing short of evidence of success throughout a whole life could be adequate. If they mean less than a whole lifetime, what fraction of it must be considered? Shall we assume that, if a boy is successful in his first position in the year after he leaves school, the counseling has been successful? If so, what can be said if four years later it is found that he does not meet even the minimum levels that have been established?[20] Should not the counseling, in addition to the other experiences offered by the school, have prepared the counselee to cope successfully with the new problems he could have been expected to meet during those four years? Can successful placement in a first position be the end of the counseling process?

[20] See the case reports in J. W. M. Rothney, and B. A. Roens, *op. cit.* Some counselees who appeared to have been counseled well according to estimates obtained during the first year after graduation from high school were found to be in serious difficulties four years later.

It appears likely that the difficulties posed by questions such as these have inhibited those persons who might otherwise have attempted to make studies of the effectiveness of their work. If, despite these difficulties, counselors are to make such studies, the implication is clear. They must define their objectives in part at least in terms of the time intervals at which they expect to apply the measures of effectiveness agreed upon when the counseling process was begun. (This obligation is, of course, one that all educators might consider with profit.) If schools and colleges are going to take credit for the success of their graduates half a century after graduation, they should also accept the responsibility for those who have failed during the same periods. If they set time limits within which they are absolved of blame for failures, the same limits should be applied to those who succeed.

3. *Appraisal of counseling is an expensive procedure.* Follow-up procedures require time and financial support. Working under the pressures of large numbers of students and short school days and school years, counselors frequently think that they will accomplish more if they devote their efforts to their current counselees than if they work with those persons whose cards have been filed and whose absence makes their study seem less urgent. Postponing the day of reckoning, which must come as more demands are made for appraisal of their procedures, they fail to appreciate that time spent upon appraisal studies may provide valuable hints for the more efficient use of time with those who are currently being counseled.

4. *Sufficient incentive for appraisal of counseling has not been provided.* Too often, after new personnel have been added to an educational institution, they are permitted to remain because they establish tenure, they seem to do no particular harm (because no one checks the graduates to see whether any harm has been done), they lighten the loads of others by accepting their obligations (counselors may, for example, be given odious discipline and attendance chores), and, because, after a position is established it becomes traditional to employ such personnel. Since it has not yet become the practice in education to demand evidence of the effectiveness (other than certain minimum compliances) of workers in education, the counselor may drift along, as many of his colleagues do, without disturbing routine by undertaking what seems to be a formidable task. And, as time passes on, familiar procedures be-

come comfortable and the conscience easier. The administrator who appoints a counselor may prevent such developments by demanding that appraisals be made and by making arrangements so that the ratio of counselees to each counselor is not so high that it precludes consideration of the postschool performances of graduates.

5. *Many persons fail to appreciate the need for appraisal of counseling.* The basic theory of counseling goes far back into history.[21] Its value has been so generally conceded that there is a common tendency to believe that it *must* be good. Many imply that if the theory is good, the practice of it must produce good results, and to such persons, there is no reason to question its value. If they are required to make appraisals of their counseling, they report only in terms of what they have offered. They appraise counseling programs in terms of numbers of classes provided, career conferences held, and interviews arranged. One of the strangest phenomena in an era in which great progress has been made in the appraisal of the worth of educational offerings is the common practice of setting up counseling programs in colleges, the Veterans Administration, high schools, and private agencies without any provision for the study of the effects of their counseling upon their clients. The counselor and the student must learn to distrust all agencies that do not accept the responsibility of follow-up as an essential part of their work.

It appears that the condition described above is due, in part at least, to the traditions that have developed about the whole guidance movement. Since, as has been pointed out previously, there has been steady growth in the practice of counseling for a period of three decades without adequate appraisal, it has now become acceptable (even at this early period, almost traditional) to omit provisions for appraisal in the planning of counseling programs. If counselors are to escape the barely concealed scorn heaped upon them by those who have noted the lack of convincing evidence of their worth, there must be a significant increase in the number and quality of evaluative studies.

6. *Many counselors have not learned the value of follow-up data in furthering their programs of public relations.* The success of counseling must always depend in large measure upon the de-

[21] See the brief summary in B. D. Wood, and R. Haefner, *Measuring and Guiding Individual Growth* (New York: Silver Burdett Company, 1948).

gree of cooperation developed among school faculties and members of the community. Persons of both categories are often unimpressed by mass statistics, but they may become enthusiastic about case reports in which the counselor recounts the success of individuals whom he has counseled. A series of such personalized reports, used as supplements to statistical procedure, is invaluable when the counselor is called upon to justify his presence to parents, school personnel, and school committees.

Appraisal procedures. In the following discussion it is assumed that the counselor will have surmounted many of the obstacles and overcome most of the inhibitions noted above, and that he has accepted the obligation to make an appraisal of his work. Since there are few precedents for him to follow, he may find the going difficult, but he may also have the satisfaction of working in a field where the ruts are not yet so deep that he must be confined by them.[22] There are many opportunities for experimentation, and the possibility of making contributions are many.

The first step in the process of evaluation, and one which should be taken whether or not an appraisal program is planned, is the definition of objectives in terms that permit measurement of their accomplishment. To replace broad generalities in which counseling objectives are commonly stated, the counselor should prepare a series of specific questions which he will expect his counselees to answer. If, for example, he wants to determine whether his counsel concerning post-high school educational opportunities has been good, he may ask the student in his senior year to answer specific questions concerning the location, size, amount of tuition fees, advantages, and disadvantages of the institutions to which he intends to apply for admission. If they are concerned with occupational matters, his counselees should be expected to answer specific questions about the number and location of institutions employing workers in specific occupations, the wages paid, the hours worked, the probabilities of advancement, and the chief advantages and disadvantages of the jobs. If the former counselee is employed when the appraisals are made, attempts must be made to obtain valid

[22] Counselors may, of course, use such standardized techniques as those proposed by the American Association of Secondary School Principals of the National Education Association (1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.); but if they do so, it is unlikely that they can make the local adaptations which are so essential to the success of their evaluation programs.

measures of job satisfaction from him and dependable evidence about the quality of his performances from his employer. And, irrespective of what a counselee is doing, it is desirable to have him report on the value of the counseling he has received.[23]

Valid evidence concerning the issues noted above, and about many others of equal importance, is difficult to secure. Many of the problems that the counselor has met in the process of collecting data about the individual will be met again in the appraisal of his own work. He will find that questionnaires may elicit invalid responses, that ratings may be misleading, that descriptions of overt behavior may not be dependable, and that tests may be invalid. Just as he was compelled by such inaccuracies to use many methods in gathering data about his subjects while they were in school, he must now, in the follow-up process, resort to the procedure of collating data collected from many sources and with a variety of instruments.

Most follow-up studies have depended upon either the questionnaire or interview techniques.[24] In general, the controlled interview, in which the subject is asked to respond to a minimum list of prepared questions (but permitted to enlarge upon them as much as he chooses), offers more promise than any other technique so far devised. It is possible to use a list of questions (prepared as a guide to the interview) in questionnaires for those subjects who have moved beyond the range of accessibility for personal contact. Although it will not permit the probing about answers, which the interview allows, it may make possible some pooling of initial responses to selected basic questions. The following reports,[25] which incorporate such principles, were devised by Rothney and Roens[26] in their appraisal of counseling of students in the Harvard Guidance Study. Many of the items had been used previously in a fol-

[23] See the methods used by Dearborn and Rothney in their study of the backgrounds of unemployed youth: W. F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney, *Scholastic, Social and Economic Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

[24] See the techniques used in the follow-up studies reported in the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

[25] The term "reports," which was used to avoid the term "questionnaire," does not conceal the fact that they are basically questionnaires. They may, however, be administered individually, to groups, or mailed to subjects whom the counselor cannot reach. They have been used in each of these ways.

[26] Rothney, J. W. M., and B. A. Roens, *op. cit.*

low-up study of the subjects of the Harvard Growth Study.[27] They are presented in detail in the following pages so that the reader may observe techniques that have been used successfully in an area which has been too long neglected.

EMPLOYMENT REPORT*

(This report is filled out only by those *high-school seniors* who plan to seek *employment* immediately after graduation)

DIRECTIONS: If you are *certain* about the kind of job you will seek after graduation, *omit* section IB. If you are *uncertain,* omit section IA. If you have any doubt about which section you will answer, ask the examiner.

IA. DO YOU KNOW WHAT KIND OF WORK YOU WANT TO DO NEXT YEAR? Yes_____ No_____

A. If you do know:

1. What specific kind of work is it?_____
2. Why did you decide you wanted this kind of work?_____
3. When did you decide on this kind of work?_____ (month) (year)
4. Who, if anyone, helped you to make up your mind?_____
5. If several people helped you, whose advice do you think was most helpful?_____
6. Name a few (say five) industries or organizations hereabouts who employ people to do the kind of work you want to get next year.
7. What characteristics do you have which you believe will enable you to do successfully the kind of work you want to get next year?_____
8. What, if any, personal limitations do you think you may have which might prevent your doing this kind of work satisfactorily?
9. What beginner's jobs in this field might be open to you?_____
10. If you can get the kind of work you want next year, what will be some of the specific duties you will probably have to perform on this job?
11. About how much are beginners paid for work of this kind?____
12. Does the kind of work you want to get have opportunities for advancement? Yes_____ No_____ If it does, what is likely to be necessary in order for you to secure this advancement?_____

[27] Dearborn, W. F., and J. W. M. Rothney, *op. cit.*

*In the actual report blank, more space is allowed for many of the answers.

If more schooling will be necessary, what kind of schooling?____

_____

Name a few places where this schooling can be obtained._____

_____

13. Have you had any experience in the kind of work you *want* next year? Yes_____ No_____ If *Yes,* what sort of experience? Where?_____
When?_____ For how long?_____
If *No,* have you had any work experience somewhat like the kind of work you want?_____
14. What subjects have you had in school which have taught you things which will be of real use to you in the kind of work you want to get?

Subjects	*Work Values*
_____	_____
_____	_____

15. Do you believe you can get the kind of work you *want* next year? Yes_____ No_____ Uncertain_____ Why do you have this opinion of your chances?_____

_____

16. What, if anything, would make you change your mind about *wanting* this kind of work next year?_____

_____

IB. If you do *not* know the kind of work you want to get *next year:*

1. Why are you still undecided?_____

_____

2. What kinds of work, if any, are you now considering?_____

_____

3. With whom, if anyone, have you talked about selecting an occupation?_____

_____

4. What characteristics do you have which you believe would enable you to do some kind of work well?

Characteristic	*Kinds of Work Fitted For*
_____	_____
_____	_____

5. What limitations do you think you have which may make it difficult for you to do certain types of work well?

Limitations	*Kinds of Work*
_____	_____
_____	_____

II. On the following chart indicate as well as your memory permits the kinds of work you thought (in the various grades) you would do when you finished high school, the people you talked with about each, and why you changed your mind about wanting it.

Grade	*Kinds of Work*	*Scources of Advice*	*Reasons for Changing Plans*
9			
10			
11			
12			

III. REGARDLESS OF THE KIND OF WORK YOU *WANT* TO GET NEXT YEAR, do you know what kind of work you *probably actually will be doing next year?* Yes_____ No_____

1. What kind of work will it be?_____
2. Do you have a job promised you? Yes_____ No_____
   a. If you have, how did you get the promise?_____

IV. REGARDLESS OF WHAT YOU MAY BE WORKING AT NEXT YEAR, do you know what kind of work you want *eventually* to get into? Yes_____ No_____

1. What kind of work is it?_____
2. What will be necessary in the way of further study, experience, etc., in order for you to get into this kind of work?_____
   _____
3. Do you believe you have a good chance of eventually getting into this kind of work? Yes_____ No_____ Uncertain_____ Why?
   _____
4. Why do you wish to make this kind of employment your life work?
   _____
5. Who, if anyone, has helped you to make any decision on this kind of work?_____
6. What, if anything, would make you change your mind about wanting to get this kind of work eventually?_____
   _____

V. ARE THERE ANY KINDS OF WORK YOU WOULD STRONGLY OBJECT TO DOING? Yes_____ No_____

1. What are they?—Why would you object to them?

_____ _____
_____ _____

VI. List the methods you know about which you could use in trying to find a job next year (for example, follow up ads in papers). Number these in what you believe to be the order of the effectiveness in helping a person to get a job, with (1) "best", etc.

_____ _____ _____
_____ _____ _____
_____ _____ _____

VII. List the names of the employment agencies or other organizations or people which you know about which might help you to get a job.

_____ _____
_____ _____

VIII. What qualifications or characteristics, if any, other than mere ability to to do the work do you believe to be necessary for a person to get and keep a job?

_____ _____ _____
_____ _____ _____

IX. What persons or agencies do you know about to which you can go for vocational or other advice once you have finished high school?

_____ _____
_____ _____

X. Have you *at any time while you have been in high school* thought that you really wanted to go on to college or some other kind of school? Yes_____ No_____

A. If you *have:*

1. Would you say that you had ever *planned* to go? Yes_____ No_____
2. Why are you not expecting to go?_____
_____
3. What type or types of school did you want to plan to attend?
_____
4. If your reason for not going is primarily financial, what do you estimate the amount of money would be which would make it possible for you to go on to school for *one year?*
_____

B. If you *have not,* why haven't you?_____
_____

EDUCATION REPORT*

(This report is filled out only by those *high school seniors* who are planning to continue their *education* after graduation)

DIRECTIONS: If you *know exactly* what school or college you are going to next September, answer the questions in sections I *and* III. If you are *uncertain* about the school or college, answer sections II *and* III. If you have any doubt about any of the questions ask the examiner to help you.

I. TO BE ANSWERED *ONLY* BY THOSE WHO KNOW THE NAME OF THE PARTICULAR SCHOOL OR COLLEGE THEY EXPECT TO BE ENROLLED IN NEXT YEAR.

1. What is its name?_____
2. Where is it located?_____
3. When did you finally decide on this school?_____
(month) (year)
4. Do you expect to live at the school?_____To commute daily?_____
5. How long a course do you expect to take at this school?_____
_____
6. What are the tuition fees?_____

* In the actual report blank, more space is allowed for many of the answers.

7. What do you estimate your total expenses for the *first year* or entire course, if less than a year, will be?_____
8. Have you applied for admission to this school?_____
   a. Have you been admitted?_____
   b. Do you have the qualifications for admission? Yes_____ No_____ Uncertain_____
9. What other schools have you thought you might like to attend?
   _____ _____
10. Who has helped or advised you in your choice of a school or college?
    _____
11. Why have you selected this particular school?_____
    _____
12. What, if anything, would cause you to go to some other school?
    _____
13. For what occupation or occupations do you expect your further schooling to prepare you?_____
    _____

II. TO BE ANSWERED *ONLY* BY THOSE WHO *DO NOT KNOW* THE NAME OF THE PARTICULAR SCHOOL OR COLLEGE THEY EXPECT TO BE ENROLLED IN NEXT YEAR.

1. Do you know the *kind* of school?_____ Definitely?_____
   What kind is it?_____
   a. Why have you decided upon *this kind* of school?_____
   (or)_____
   b. Why are you still undecided?_____
   _____
2. What are some of the schools you have considered attending?
   _____ _____
3. Who has helped or advised you in making your plans for further education?_____
4. What questions need to be answered before you can select your school?_____
   _____
5. From whom will you be able to get help in answering these questions?
   _____
6. How long is the school or college course you expect to undertake?
   _____
   How much of it night courses?_____
7. For what occupation or occupations do you want your further schooling to prepare you?
   _____

III. TO BE ANSWERED BY EVERYONE.

A. What kind of work do you *eventually* want to get into?_____
   1. Do you believe you have a good chance of getting into it?
      Yes_____ No_____ Uncertain_____ Why?_____
      _____
   2. Why do you wish to make this kind of employment your life work?
      _____
   3. Who, if anyone, helped you to decide on this kind of work?_____
      _____

4. What characteristics do you have which make you believe you can do this work successfully?_____

5. What limitations do you have which may make it difficult for you to achieve the success you desire?_____

6. What subjects have you had in school which have taught you things which will be of real use to you in the kind of work you want to get?

Subjects	*Work Values*

7. What, if anything, would make you change your mind about wanting *eventually* to get into this kind of work?_____

8. What other kinds of employment would you try to get, instead?_____

B. On the following chart indicate as well as your memory permits the kinds of work you thought (in the various grades) you would like to do when you finished high school, the people you talked with about each, and why you changed your mind about wanting it.

Grade	*Kinds of Work*	*Sources of Advice*	*Reasons for Changing Plans*
9			
10			
11			
12			

C. *Suppose that something should happen which would prevent your going on to school or college next year*—In what fields of work would you try to find a job?_____

1. What characteristics do you have which you believe would enable you to do such work satisfactorily?_____

2. What, if any, personal limitations do you think you have which might prevent your doing such work satisfactorily?_____

3. What would be some of the specific duties you would have to perform in doing such work?_____

4. What jobs are open to beginners in these fields?_____

5. About how much do beginners earn on such jobs?_____
6. Do the kinds of work you want to get have opportunities for advancement?_____
7. If they do, what is likely to be necessary in order for you to secure this advancement?_____

   a. What kind of further schooling will be necessary?_____

b. Name some places where this schooling can be obtained.

_____ _____

_____ _____

8. Do you believe you can get the kind of work you *want* next year?
Yes_____ No_____ Uncertain_____ Why?_____

_____

9. Are there any kinds of work you would strongly object to doing?
Yes_____ No_____ What are they, and what are your objections?

_____

D. List the methods you know about which you could use in trying to find a job next year (for example, follow up ads in papers, etc.). Number these in what you believe to be the order of the effectiveness in helping a person to get a job, with (1) "best", etc.

_____ _____

_____ _____

E. List the names of the employment agencies or other organizations or people which you know about which might help you to get a job.

_____ _____

_____ _____

F. What qualifications or characteristics, if any, other than skill in doing the work do you believe to be necessary for a person to get and keep a job?

_____ _____

_____ _____

G. What persons or agencies do you know about to which you can go for vocational or other advice once you have finished high school?

_____ _____

_____ _____

POST-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES*

DIRECTIONS: This form may be filled out in the presence of an interviewer or you may do it alone. If you do it during an interview be sure to ask about any questions that are not clear to you. If you do it alone, and you are not sure about what the questions mean, write what you think it means and then give your answer. *Note that sections I to VI are filled out by all persons, that VII to X are for persons who are employed, and section XI only by those who are attending a school or college.*

I. *Employment Status*

DRAW A CIRCLE AROUND THE NUMBER IN FRONT OF THE STATEMENT WHICH BEST REPRESENTS YOUR RECENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

1. I have been employed all the time since leaving school.
2. I have been *un*employed all the time since leaving school.
3. I have been at home and have not tried to get work since I left school.
4. I have been attending school or college since I left school.
5. I have been employed more than half the time since I left school.

* On the actual report blank, more space is allowed for many of the answers.

6. I have been employed some, but less than half the time since I left school.
7. I am married and living at home.

II. (a) Which subjects that you took in school do you now think were most *useful* to you since you left school? Please *number* them *in order of usefulness*—(1, 2, 3, etc.)

_____English	_____Cooking and sewing
_____History	_____Art and commercial art
_____Languages	_____Office practice, shorthand and typing
_____Mathematics	_____Music
_____Science	_____Shop and printing

(b) Which subjects that you took in school did you *enjoy* most? *Number* them (1, 2, 3, etc.) *in order of enjoyment.*

_____ _____ _____
_____ _____ _____
_____ _____ _____

(c) Write the names of the subjects you would like to study now if you had the chance. Write the names of the subjects in the order of your choice.

_____ _____ _____
_____ _____ _____

III. *Education*

BELOW EACH STATEMENT ARE FIVE CHOICES: (1) STRONGLY AGREE; (2) AGREE; (3) UNDECIDED; (4) DISAGREE; (5) STRONGLY DISAGREE. *UNDERLINE* THE WORD BENEATH EACH STATEMENT THAT EXPRESSES YOUR OPINION.

1. GOING TO SCHOOL IS A WASTE OF TIME.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
2. SCHOOL MAY BE ALL RIGHT FOR SOME, BUT IT HAS BEEN OF NO VALUE TO ME.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
3. READING, WRITING AND ARITHMETIC ARE THE ONLY THINGS SCHOOL GAVE ME THAT ARE OF ANY IMPORTANCE.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. SIX GRADES OF SCHOOLING WOULD HAVE BEEN PLENTY FOR ME.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. VERY FEW PEOPLE SHOULD BE GIVEN ANY SCHOOLING BEYOND THE NINTH GRADE.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. EVERYONE SHOULD GO TO SCHOOL AT LEAST TWELVE YEARS OR GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
7. EVERYONE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO TAKE AS MUCH POST-GRADUATE WORK AS HE WISHES.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. THE SCHOOLS SHOULD ENABLE EVERYONE TO HAVE TWO YEARS ADVANCED TRAINING, EITHER IN COLLEGE OR IN A SPECIAL TRAINING SCHOOL.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree
9. I THINK EVERYONE SHOULD RECEIVE SOME SCHOOL TRAINING AND SUPERVISION UNTIL HE IS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OLD.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

IV. *UNDERLINE THE WORD WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOUR OPINION*

1. TAKING TESTS HAS BEEN MORE USEFUL IN SHOWING ME MY ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND INTERESTS THAN ANYTHING I'VE EVER DONE BEFORE.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
2. TALKING ABOUT MYSELF AND MY WORK TO THE COUNSELORS HAS BEEN THE MOST HELPFUL EXPERIENCE THAT I'VE EVER HAD FOR KNOWING MYSELF BETTER.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
3. EVERY CHILD IN THE SCHOOL SHOULD HAVE A CHANCE TO TAKE TESTS AND TALK TO THE COUNSELOR ABOUT HIS PLANS.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
4. TAKING TESTS AND TALKING TO THE COUNSELORS HAS HELPED ME VERY MUCH IN CHOOSING THE COURSES THAT WERE BEST FOR ME.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
5. TAKING TESTS AND TALKING TO THE COUNSELORS HAS HELPED ME TO CHOOSE THE WORK THAT I WANT TO DO INTO WHEN I'VE FINISHED SCHOOL.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
6. THE COUNSELOR HAS DEFINITELY HELPED ME TO OBTAIN INFORMATION ABOUT THE VOCATION I HAVE CHOSEN.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
7. TALKING TO COUNSELORS HAS HELPED ME IN GETTING ALONG WITH OTHER PEOPLE.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
8. TAKING TESTS TO DISCOVER MY SPECIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND INTERESTS HAS BEEN A COMPLETE WASTE OF TIME AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
9. TALKING ABOUT FUTURE PLANS WITH A COUNSELOR IS A LOT OF NONSENSE.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
10. I DON'T KNOW ANYONE WHO COULD BE HELPED BY TAKING TESTS AND TALKING TO COUNSELORS.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
11. STUDENTS CAN GET ALONG ALL RIGHT WITHOUT THE HELP OF TESTS AND COUNSELORS.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

12. TAKING TESTS AND TALKING TO COUNSELORS ABOUT WHAT VOCATION I EXPECT TO ENTER AFTER I FINISH SCHOOL DID MORE HARM THAN GOOD.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
13. I CAN GET ENOUGH INFORMATION ABOUT OCCUPATIONS WITHOUT THE HELP OF A COUNSELOR.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
14. TALKING TO COUNSELORS ABOUT GETTING ALONG WITH OTHERS HAS BEEN A WASTE OF TIME.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

V. *Existing Conditions*

BELOW EACH STATEMENT ARE FIVE CHOICES: (1) STRONGLY AGREE; (2) AGREE; (3) UNDECIDED; (4) DISAGREE; (5) STRONGLY DISAGREE. *UNDERLINE* THE WORD BENEATH EACH STATEMENT THAT BEST EXRESSES YOUR OPINION.

1. YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY HAVE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO GET AHEAD IN THE WORLD NOW THAN THEY DID TEN YEARS AGO.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
2. HARD CONSCIENTIOUS WORK WILL BE REWARDED WITH AN INCREASE IN SALARY AND PROMOTION.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
3. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE UNABLE TO FIND OTHER WORK.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
4. What do you think you will be working at five years from today?

_____

_____

_____

_____

VI. Did you attend any other schools, or receive any special training after you left high school?_____

Name of school attended	Years	Course taken	Diploma or Certificate received

VII. *FOR THOSE WHO ARE WORKING*

Present Position (for those employed)

FILL IN BLANK SPACES AS REQUIRED

1. What is your present position?_____
2. What type of work are you doing?_____

3. What is the address of the place where you are working?

_____

4. Is it full_____ or part-time_____work?
(check) (check)
5. How many hours per week do you work?_____
6. Have you had any increases or decreases in salary since you have been employed?_____
If so, describe them below.
7. Have you had any promotions since you went to work?_____
If so, describe them below.
8. How many times have you changed your job since you left school?

_____

Why did you change?
9. My salary or income from my work *per week* is:_____
(Please indicate if you get Board_____, Room_____in addition to your salary.) (check) (check)

VIII. *Means used in obtaining Employment (for those employed)*

DRAW A CIRCLE AROUND THE NUMBER IN FRONT OF THE STATEMENT WHICH EXPRESSES THE METHOD YOU USED IN SECURING EMPLOYMENT.

1. I registered at a public employment agency, such as city, county, state, United States Government.
2. I registered at a private employment agency, one at which a fee is charged.
3. I answered "help wanted" newspaper advertisements.
4. I filled out work applications at stores and industrial organizations.
5. Members of my immediate family who are working tried to help me to get work where they are working.
6. Members of my immediate family tried to get me placed through friends of theirs.
7. I appealed to my relatives to help me get a position.
8. I appealed to my friends to help me get a position.
9. I appealed to the school authorities to help me get a position.
10. Indicate others_____

IX. *Toward Employment (to be answered by persons now employed)*

Below each statement are five choices: (1) Strongly agree; (2) Agree; (3) Undecided; (4) Disagree; (5) Strongly disagree. *Underline* the word underneath each statement that best expresses your opinion.

1. I LIKE THIS WORK BETTER THAN ANY OTHER I CAN THINK OF.
Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
2. I REALLY ENJOY DOING THIS WORK.
Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
3. THIS JOB HAS SEVERAL VERY DECIDED ADVANTAGES OVER MOST OTHER JOBS.
Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
4. THIS WORK HAS ITS MERITS.
Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
5. THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE SATISFACTORY.
Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

6. MY LIKES AND DISLIKES FOR THIS WORK ABOUT BALANCE ONE ANOTHER.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
7. THIS WORK WOULD BE ALL RIGHT IF IT WERE NOT FOR A FEW DISAGREEABLE THINGS.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
8. QUITE A NUMBER OF THINGS ABOUT THIS JOB ANNOY ME.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
9. THERE ARE TOO MANY UNDESIRABLE QUALITIES ABOUT THIS WORK.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
10. THE LESS I SEE OF THIS JOB THE BETTER I LIKE IT.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
11. I HAVE A FEELING OF HATRED FOR THIS JOB.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

X. TO BE ANSWERED *ONLY* BY THOSE WHO ARE *NOT* WORKING OR ATTENDING ANY SCHOOL.

Towards Unemployment (to be answered by persons now unemployed)
Below each statement are five choices: (1) Strongly agree; (2) Agree; (3) Undecided; (4) Disagree; (5) Strongly disagree. *Underline* the word underneath each statement that best expresses your opinion.

1. I AM PERFECTLY SATISFIED TO BE UNEMPLOYED.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
2. I DO NOT MIND BEING UNEMPLOYED.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
3. IT IS RATHER MONOTONOUS NOT TO HAVE A REGULAR POSITION
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
4. I WISH I COULD GET A POSITION SO THAT I COULD START WORKING MYSELF UP IN AN OCCUPATION.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
5. IT IS AGGRAVATING TO REALIZE I CANNOT GET EMPLOYMENT.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
6. I AM UNHAPPY ABOUT BEING UNEMPLOYED.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
7. I AM VERY DISSATISFIED WITH HAVING TO REMAIN UNEMPLOYED.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
8. I AM THOROUGHLY DISGUSTED AT NOT BEING ABLE TO GET A POSITION.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
9. IT IS EXTREMELY UNJUST AND UNFAIR TO ME TO KEEP ME UNEMPLOYED.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

XI. TO BE ANSWERED *ONLY* BY THOSE WHO ARE ATTENDING SOME SCHOOL OR COLLEGE NOW. (Even if you are doing part-time work while you are attending a school or college answer this section.)

(a) What school are you now attending?_____

(b) How long have you been attending this school?_____
(c) What course or courses are you now taking?_____

_____

(d) For what occupation are you now preparing?_____
(e) How many years more do you expect to attend school?_____
(f) Are you passing in all your subjects?_____
(If not, in which subjects are you having trouble?_____

_____

(g) Are there any other schools not mentioned above which you attended since leaving high school?_____
If so, how long did you attend and why did you leave?

_____

We would welcome any remarks which you may wish to make. Add here, and on the next page, any remarks that you wish to make.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

EVALUATION AND USE OF FOLLOW-UP DATA

The chief difficulty met by the counselor if he decides to use the Reports presented above is that of treating the results in statistically respectable fashion. Many of the responses received from former counselees, who have been permitted to choose their own language, defy all attempts at classification. Some categories may be devised, but the number of subjects whose responses fit them may be so small that common statistical procedures cannot be employed. Finally, some of the responses cannot be interpreted by the counselor as evidence for or against the issue to which the subject has reacted because the responder has not made them clear. When these circumstances are met, investigators may be tempted to return to the type of item for which the response is controlled by forcing the responder to answer certain items with "yes" or "no" and, "like" and "dislike." If they do so, however, they may be escaping from one dilemma into another, since in forcing the responder to put his reactions into categories they may have required distortion of the subjects' feelings, attitudes, or appraisals, and the apparent exactness of the controlled response method may be an illusion.

Since it has not been shown conclusively that one method produces more distortion than the other, and since the only validly established claim for value of the controlled technique is that it saves time in statistical manipulation, it is probably better to let the subject write his responses as fully as he chooses so that the distortion is his own. It appears that the practice of devising statistical

procedures to suit unique purposes is preferable to that of forcing data into categories of uncertain value to permit use of common statistical methods.

Responses of former counselees to reports such as those described above may serve several important functions. It is possible, for example, to prepare statistical reports about large groups of counselees similar to the following table, abstracted from a counselor's annual report to a superintendent of schools. The figures give a general picture of the post-high school performance of the members of a class who had graduated five years earlier (1941).

Information	Per Cent of Boys	Per Cent of Girls
Members of armed forces during the war	73	1
Dissatisfied with current employment.	9	3
Graduated with college degrees (education of many boys delayed by service in the armed forces) ..	16	40
Graduated from other training schools.	18	15
Currently attending training schools or colleges..	44	2

These abstracts from his table constitute only a *sample* of the kind of information which is of interest to school faculties and members of a community.

The counselor who presented the statistical report from which the above samples were taken also furnished to the teachers in the high school a list of occupations in which their former students were employed. An *abstract* of his list of occupations is given below.

Occupation*	Number of Boys	Number of Girls
Sales	11	4
Clerical	11	33
Teaching	4	8
Housewife	—	82

* Forty-three occupations were represented.

He has presented his results to members of the school staff and has discussed the implications of his findings for the offering of the school. Some changes in the school curriculum have resulted.[28]

[28] See the sample report of a counselor to a superintendent of schools in Appendix I.

Finally, the counselor may use the results of his follow-up studies in planning the revision of his own activities. He may correct shortcomings in methods revealed in the reports from those subjects whom he has counseled, may determine his own efficiency in predicting their postschool performances, may verify his estimates of trends in the behavior of individuals about which he had not been certain, and may establish the efficacy of his techniques. Such self-appraisal may assist in the development of that humility which so becomes the person who would counsel another.

ADDITIONAL METHODS OF APPRAISING COUNSELING PROGRAMS

In addition to the methods of appraisal by direct study of former counselees, the counselor may devise other methods by which he can obtain evidence of the value which his colleagues place upon the program that he directs. Indirect evidence may be obtained from observation of the extent to which colleagues seek aid in the solution of personnel problems that arise in the school, the extent to which they use data about pupils made available to them by the counselor, and their willingness to release students from regular classes to participate in counseling activities. It seems desirable also to give the counselor's colleagues an opportunity to record their attitudes toward counseling in a direct manner. The following scale permits members of a faculty to indicate their opinions about counseling and to record their experiences in dealing with the counselors. It has been used frequently and found to be fairly satisfactory, but counselors should devise their own scales or adapt this one to provide for local circumstances. Suggestions for improvement of the counseling program are usually implied in the statements checked and in the written comments appended.

A SCALE OF TEACHER OPINION ABOUT COUNSELING

In the following section, please consider the term counseling in its broad sense as practiced in our school.

Below each statement are five choices. Underline the word beneath each statement which best expresses your opinion. Please answer each item. Greater consideration will be given to signed than to unsigned reports.

1. Counseling has an important place in public secondary schools.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
2. Every public secondary school should provide adequate counseling services.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

3. The counseling of students is entirely a function of the home and not the school.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
4. Counseling is good in theory but it is ineffective in practice and, therefore, does not belong in the schools.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
5. Counseling in schools is a "fad" which will disappear soon.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
6. Tests used by counselors can determine better than anything else a student's interests and potentialities.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
7. Tests are valuable only as aids to counselors in helping a student determine his interests and potentialities.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
8. In actual practice, tests have no value in counseling except for research purposes.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
9. Counseling of pupils is so important that it is justifiable to take pupils out of recitations for it.
   Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
10. Counseling should be done *only* before or after school hours.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree
11. Students should be counseled *only* during their free periods.
    Strongly agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly disagree

The items below pertain to counseling in this school. Please check the column after each statement which most closely agrees with your experiences.

	At least once a day	Once a week	Once a month	Never
1. How often have you asked the counselors for help about individuals in your classes?	____	____	____	____
2. How often has that help been effective?	____	____	____	____
3. How often have the counselors brought to your attention individuals in your classes who needed special help?	____	____	____	____
4. How often have you found such suggestions helpful?	____	____	____	____
5. How often have you asked for suggestions from the counselors about general problems related to your classwork?	____	____	____	____
6. If you have received for suggestions how often have they been valuable to you?	____	____	____	____
7. How often have the counselors brought you any suggestions about your personnel problems?	____	____	____	____
8. If they have done so, how often have those suggestions seemed worth while?	____	____	____	____

Comments:

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EXERCISE 1

The following statements were actually written by high-school students[29] who were asked to tell about "some of the biggest problems that you have, or have had recently—those that you might like to talk over with someone if you could."

Assuming that you are the counselor in the high school which these students attended what steps would you take in the counseling them? Report on each case separately.

[20] All original constructions have been retained. The students responses were obtained by Miss Betty Perego in a small city in Wisconsin.

Girl, Age 14, Grade 9

I live on a farm because we can't find a place to live in town. I can't get home right after school because I have to wait for a ride home. I always lose a lot of time in my studies and music lessons. I never have friends at my house because the house is lacking in modern conveniences. We have a lot of arguments about this at home. I try to do my best with the situation but sometimes it gets pretty tough. My dad doesn't want to spend the money to build or buy a house so I guess I am just stuck.

Girl, Age 14, Grade 9

I think I have to work harder after school and I feel I don't have enough recreation. My mother is very strict about letting us do things. She can't understand why I always go to basketball games and football. She thinks that games aren't fun but the gang usually comes up and she tells them I can't go because of all the work. I think that's all I do is work. It just seems I can't go anywhere.

Girl, Age 14, Grade 9

I don't think I have enough money to spend. I can get a coke and potato chips or something, but if I would want to add something else to this I don't think I would just have enough to spend.

If I ask my father or brother to take me or me and my girl friends to a show some place or shopping in another town he doesn't think its important. But if he would want to go to this town to play cards or something of this sort he would make it his duty that he'd get there, and I never go along with him either.

If I want to go to a show. That I know is and will be good, and my mother tells me a week or couple days ahead of time that I can go. It will come down to the last minute when I'm dressed and ready to go that she won't let me.

Boy, Age 16, Grade 11

During this coming summer my parents expect me to go and work. I also see this clearly. In this town where most of the fellows my age work is in the Canning factory. During the canning season the hours are long and hard. During the summer months I would like to play baseball on the American Legion team. Baseball practices are held twice a week, and games are played on Sundays. From experience and what I hear from others I do not believe that I will be allowed to take time off from work to practice or to play on Sundays during the canning season. The canning season generally lasts about a month. If I were to miss a month of practice as you probably know it wouldn't help my chances for the team either.

EXERCISE 2

HAYDEN

Read the following report on Hayden. When all the information has been considered, list the alternative lines of action that the counselor should take in working with Hayden during his last two years of school, if you think that he should remain there. If you think that Hayden should not continue in school, indicate the other choices. After the alternatives have been listed, indicate: (1) the one that you think will be most effective; (2) the reasons for choosing that one, stated in terms of its probable effect on Hayden; and (3) your reasons for rejecting the others.

Hayden was referred to a counselor for study in the eighth grade by a principal as a boy who needed help in planning his educational and vocational career. He was repeating the eighth grade and was failing in some subjects during the repetition of the grade.

Family Data. It is impossible to get accurate data concerning Hayden's family life before he came to the city in which he now lives. Apparently there is some reason for keeping this information secret, and the counselor has not made any serious attempt to get it. Hayden is the youngest of a family of five. At present he is living with an uncle and aunt who have no children of their own and whom he calls mother and father. The uncle is a highly specialized skilled tradesman. The home rates very slightly above the median for the community in socioeconomic status. Hayden seems to be very appreciative of his new home and there appears to be a fine relationship between this adopted boy and his new parents.

Health Data. No physical defects were reported after the routine school medical examination, but the school records contained a reference to bad posture. The counselor has not noted any reason for this reference.

Leisure-Time Activities. Hayden has been a master of ceremonies at some school functions. He has been a member of a dramatic club, and he took the second lead in a major play. He has been a member of an airplane club and the track team. Hayden wants to be with other persons, and any activity that will bring him into contact with a group will engage his attention. He likes picnics, parties, dramatics, watching athletics, and any other activities of a kind where groups gather.

SCHOOL RECORD

Grades..		8	8r*	9	10	10r*	Teachers' and Student's Comments
ARTS	Woodworking	B		A			(Grade 8r) Likes practical arts very much but not allowed to take it when repeating a grade (Grade 9) Work in practical arts confined to school shop (Grade 10r) "Printing is my favorite school subject" (Grade 10r) Printing teacher describes him as "a bright boy who has what it takes"
	Printing				B	B	
	Drawing	C	C				
	Music	C	C				
LANGUAGE	English	C	C	C	C	C	(Grade 8r) Very fluent—gives impression of high intelligence but is really glib. Dislikes reading so much that he resents getting books for Xmas presents. Is definitely of the type commonly called a "nonreader." "Grammar doesn't make any sense to me." Oral English work described as very good. He is said to be good in recitations but "careless" in written work
	English (oral)				B	B	
	Grammar	C	X	C			
	Spelling	C	C				
MATHEMATICS	Arithmetic.....	Z	C	C			(Grades 8–10) Mediocre performances reported in all arithmetic classes
BUSINESS	Business practice			C			(Grade 10) Teacher of business organization says that he cannot do academic work
	Business organization					C	
	Bookkeeping				X		
	Typewriting				F		

SCHOOL RECORD (Cont'd)

Grades		8	8r*	9	10	10r*	Teachers' and Student's Comments
SCIENCE	General science	C	C	C			(Grade 10r) Chemistry teacher describes him as one of the boys who devotes most of his time to girls
	Chemistry					C	
SOCIAL STUDIES	Social studies						(Grade 9) Likes history and reads easy historical books
	Geography (com'l)						
	History						(Grade 10) History teacher says he is interested in this subject and likes to talk about it

* r indicates repetition of grade.

He is considered among his friends to be a "wise-cracker," and he can keep activities going as a master of ceremonies very effectively. He has been a Boy Scout for a number of years. His reading is limited to the joke columns in magazines, and he would much rather discuss a subject than read about it. In the later years of his school career his unusually great interest in girls was commented on by several teachers.

Work Experiences. Hayden has had no work experience from the eighth to the twelfth grade, but his activities in clubs and school affairs can be considered as tryouts for some of the kinds of work he will probably do.

Vocational Choice

Grade 8 (repeat)	(1) Mechanic	(1)	Probably influenced by father's occupation
	(2) Traveling mail clerk	(2)	Advertising in cheap magazines
9	Airplane pilot		He had romantic ideas about flying over the North Pole
10	Airplane pilot		
10 (repeat)	Airplane mechanic		He was becoming skeptical about his possibilities in the field of aviation

TEST RECORD: (Interpretations of test scores are in terms of distributions of scores of pupils in the school system which he attended. *H* indicates upper third, *A* middle third, and *L* lower third.)

TESTS		Age	13-8		14-10		16-0		16-11		17-9	
		Grade	8		8r		9		10		10r	
GENERAL MENTAL ABILITY	Henmon-Nelson (I.Q.)		76	L								
	Kuhlmann-Anderson (I.Q.)						78	L	81	L	91	L
	Stanford-Binet (M) Revised						102	A				
READING	New Stanford Reading (Z)						15-6	A				
	Test of Speed of Reading								13	L	17	L
LANGUAGE	Vocabulary Tests				34	L	24	A	19	L	25	A
MATHEMATICS	New Stanford Arithmetic (Z)						14-4	L				
	Cooperative Mathematics								12	L	10	L
SPATIAL FACILITY	Minnesota Paper Form Board Old Form				13	L	19	L				
	Minnesota Paper Form Board Revised						25	A	23	L	35	A
SPEED AND ACCURACY	Minnesota Vocational Test for Clerical Workers (Numbers above, words below)						62/55	L	99/58	L	96/76	L

Interpretation of Test Record. Hayden's scores on group tests of mental ability are all in the lower third of a distribution of scores of students in his grade, and his performance in the individual Binet test was slightly superior to his written test performances. His scores on other tests are generally very low with the exception of a rather surprising average reading test performance in the ninth grade and low average vocabulary test scores. It is always difficult to keep Hayden from watching his neighbor's papers during a test, and an occasional high score may be attributed to the presence of neighbors from whom he could borrow. He attempts to make a good showing on the tests.

Progress of Counseling. Hayden sits right down in an interview and begins to sell himself with great effectiveness before the counselor can tell him what the interview is for. He talks very glibly about any matter that is brought up, and he does it in such an impressive manner that one can easily be deceived concerning his mental status. The counselor noted in the first few minutes of the first interview that he thought constantly of a radio announcer making a sales announcement. Hayden is of average height, is slim and active, and is very careful of his appearance. He looks well scrubbed, and his clothes are so well taken care of that he stands out among a group of adolescent boys. He has a ruddy complexion, a beaming face, and a very attractive smile.

Hayden had not been much disturbed by his failure in the eighth grade. He said that it was due to the moving into a new school situation and the inadequate background he had received in a country school. He felt that he was now ready to go on with others in his grade, and he was enjoying school as he would any social gathering. He couldn't see much sense in grammar and wasn't quite sure what it was about, but he was making passing marks. He was very adept at changing the subject when problems of his success in school were raised.

Although Hayden listed two choices of occupations, it was apparent that he knew little about them and what was required of the worker. He did, however, ramble on about getting a business started and making a fortune. The counselor noted throughout that Hayden paid little attention to what are known as ethics and that he would not mind selling anything at any time if it would make money. Hayden's preference for "gyp" activities and petty rackets in selling was noted particularly because it was the only reference to this type of thing that the counselor had noted in all the interviews with this group of students. He could visualize Hayden as a very successful barker at a freak show or as a highly effective salesman of gold bricks.

Hayden's ninth-grade success appeared to be due to his glib manner and pleasing personality. He did not understand most of the work that was offered, but he could appear interested and was very efficient at "selling" the little that he could do in a personal way so that his marks were kept above the failure level. He was known as an "apple polisher" by his classmates, but this did not disturb Hayden, who was willing to use any method to get along. He boasted to the counselor that he knew how to flatter people and get away with things, and he saw no reason why he should not use that knowledge. The counselor's comments concerning the difficulties which such a program entails had no effect on Hayden's procedures or his plans to utilize his knowledge of how to influence people.

At this stage in Hayden's career his vocational choice was governed by reading in some of the lurid pulp magazines. He wanted to invent a new type of airplane, learn to pilot it, and fly over the North Pole alone. Although Hayden could recite this ambition in a glowing manner, and with almost enough enthusiasm to make one want to contribute to the support of his venture, there seemed to be little likelihood of any serious attempt to carry this out and even less of his success in it. It did make a good story, however, and Hayden enjoyed telling it to anyone who would listen. The counselor became convinced during the interviews over a two-year period that Hayden would make a good salesman and didn't do anything about his stated choices other than to try to bring him down to a more practical level.

Although Hayden succeeded in passing all his courses in the ninth grade, there did not seem to be high promise for his success in the academic course which he wanted to take in senior high school. The counselor advised him to consider election of a practical arts course, which he agreed to take, and he was sent on to the high school with that recommendation. He changed his mind over the summer vacation and enrolled in a clerical course with printing as an elective. Since this had been a second choice in the planning, the counselor decided that the proposed course might be carried as a tryout. Hayden did succeed in passing everything except typewriting and did so well in printing that his teacher in that subject described him as a "bright boy who has what it takes." He was quite sure, however, that he did not want to choose printing as a vocation.

Hayden had made enough points in the tenth grade to make graduation possible in the usual three years if he could continue to get marks of *C* or better in his last two years of school, and when this was pointed out to him he did decide to do his work regularly and make every effort he could to pass the courses. He had done much better than the counselor had predicted, or than he himself had thought possible, and he had gained some confidence in himself. It was at this time, however, that he first began to realize that his romantic vocational ideas might not be practical, and it was in this second year of his senior high-school program that the counselor was able to talk to him seriously about the problem of choice of occupation for the first time. By this time the counselor was sure that Hayden was a "natural" for sales or for the master-of-ceremonies type of work. By this time, too, Hayden's family had made it clear that he would have to go to work immediately after finishing high school, and it was necessary to consider the fields in which a combination of his accomplishments could be utilized best without further academic training. He had expressed a new interest in auto mechanics and in the sales part of this work, and the counselor en-

couraged him to consider this field to get him to follow through the experience of considering the choice of an occupation and getting materials to guide him in his thinking. At the same time, the counselor believed that a sales position in the automobile field would be a satisfactory choice for Hayden.

During the second year of senior high school, Hayden became very "girl-conscious." His teachers had noted this in excessive degree to the extent that it was commented upon first in any discussion of Hayden's work. At one high-school dance he engaged in a brawl about escorting a girl, and this drew the attention of the whole school faculty to him. He had taken a leading part in one of the school plays, and this, with his immaculate dress and success in oratory, had helped to make him very noticeable among a group of students. The general opinion of his teachers was that he could not do academic work successfully but that he was a good boy who would succeed in some nonacademic occupation if he could keep his mind on his work.

The counselor's greatest concern at this time is to see that this boy's salesmanship does not get him into some sort of confidence game. The methods utilized so far do not guarantee against that use of his skill. It appears that neither school nor counselor has had much influence upon this boy. They have presented just two more occasions to get together with people so that he might have social contacts and a chance to present his ideas.

Epilogue

IN THIS book the reader has been introduced to some of the problems that, as a counselor studying individuals, he must solve. In fact, he may have the impression that more problems have been raised here than solutions given. If he does so feel, he will have grasped one of the major contentions of the authors, namely, that counseling is a disordered field and that its current status depends upon faith rather than upon demonstrated accomplishment. The willingness of its practitioners to embark upon a course of thorough self-analysis and self-appraisal will determine its future.

Many times the authors have pointed out that counseling is not a single and separate process involving an occasional treatment at a time of stress, but instead that counseling must be concerned with every student's behavior over the whole period of school attendance. The reader who has sought easy solutions to the problems of understanding human beings will perhaps have been disappointed to find that the authors have endorsed arduous, involved, and sometimes ineffective labor.

Although existing instruments for the measurement of abilities, aptitudes, interests, and personality are widely discussed in the literature of education, the counselor has been warned that when he has evaluated their effectiveness, he must find that these tools are rarely as sharp as their originators claim. The authors have, however, affirmed their conviction that educational and psychological research will eventually produce highly effective tools for the study of individuals. And they have suggested that, until these tools are found, the counselor must use informal, locally constructed instruments. Currently he will depend largely upon such time-proven techniques as the interview, behavior and accomplishment reports, counselees' written documents and academic records. It has been indicated that if the counselor will sharpen up these ancient instruments, he can place more reliance in them than in some newer devices which are of questionable validity, less personal, and lacking in flexibility.

This book reflects also the opinions of the authors that it is un-

wise to adopt only those procedures deriving from a single school of thought about human behavior or from a single point of view about the processes of counseling. (It is recognized, of course, that this is also a statement of a point of view.) They believe that no school of thought, and its derived processes, is adequate to describe or evaluate the complex, frequently indirect, and often unstable behavior of particular human beings in specific situations. They aver that proponents of *a* method or the disciples of *a* school fail to appreciate the complexity, uniqueness, and variability of human behavior. They imply that the study of individuals is currently in a state of confusion and that if counselors were required to wait until order emerged before they could proceed with counseling, many generations of youth would lose the assistance that can be provided with the admittedly inadequate instruments and techniques which we now possess.

Throughout this volume reference has been made to an individual called a counselor. The authors are not unaware of the frequent reference in educational and psychological literature to the proposition that education *is* guidance, and that every teacher is a counselor. It is agreed that these are worthy concepts, but education in many institutions has moved so far from them that some dictionaries are quite correct in stating that the definition of "teach" as "guide" is obsolete. The current lack of training of teachers for counseling and the size of classes assigned to them must mean that few teachers can be counselors in any real sense of the term. Until such conditions are reversed, and very probably even after that educational millennium has arrived, there will be need for persons whose major responsibility is that of working closely and intensively with individuals. In the process of coming of age in America there are times when every youth wants to "talk things over" with someone who is neither parent, preacher, principal, nor teacher. That person is the counselor whose duties have here been described.

Appendices

Appendix I—An Actual Report of a Director of Guidance to a Superintendent of Schools

DURING this year a cumulative record system has been instituted in all schools from kindergarten through senior high school. This system permits the maintenance of uniform guidance records for every pupil from the time he enters school until the time he graduates. It is thus possible to study a pupil's progress as he proceeds through the grades and make necessary adjustments with a thorough knowledge of his background. Henceforth, a pupil entering the junior and senior high schools for the first time need no longer be a stranger to the administration, his counselors, or his teachers. With increased understanding of a pupil's background and progress, the counseling function should become even more effective and meaningful than it has been in the past.

Within the ninth grade of the three junior high schools, uniform classes in the study of occupations have been organized. In these classes emphasis is put upon the study of the major occupations so that a pupil will be better informed when he begins to make a choice of a career. Along with this study of occupations an intensive testing program is conducted to help pupils to consider their performances and potentialities. The test results also aid the students to make appropriate choices of high school curricula.

The Guidance Department is cooperating with the high school administration in re-examining the senior high school program of studies. Recommendations are based upon an analysis of the results of a follow-up study of the Class of 1941 and the Class of 1947, and are governed by the philosophy of "preparing pupils for life." It is expected that the recommendations resulting from the re-examination of the high school curricula will go into effect during the school year 1948–1949.

Questionnaires mailed to the Class of 1947 have resulted in returns of sixty-five per cent (up to December, 1947), and for the Class of 1941 returns have been one hundred per cent. The members of the

Class of 1941 seem to have made fairly satisfactory post-war adjustments so far as employment is concerned, but a number of them seem to be concerned about their occupational security. During the past school year twenty per cent of the veterans in this class have asked the Guidance Department for assistance with school and job placement and with personal problems. This was the first graduating class in which intensive counseling had been provided by members of the Guidance Department and it is interesting to note that they returned to us for help long after they had graduated.

The results of a survey of the activities of the members of the Class of 1947 indicate that over fifty-three per cent are continuing their education in schools and colleges. This is an increase of twelve per cent over the Classes of 1945 and 1946, and an increase of approximately twenty-one per cent over the Class of 1944. The survey also shows a slight increase over the previous class in the numbers engaged in full-time employment. Approximately forty-one per cent of the 1947 Class are now employed. The number of graduates entering the Armed Forces decreased from the fifteen per cent of the Class of 1946 to three per cent of the class of 1947. Of the fifty-three per cent who are enrolled in educational institutions, twenty-seven per cent are attending degree granting colleges and universities, ten per cent are attending business schools, three per cent are attending junior colleges and two per cent are enrolled in nurses' training courses. The remainder are attending technical and other schools. It is gratifying to note that thirteen per cent of those who are engaged in full-time employment are taking evening or extension courses.

The increase in the number of pupils who are pursuing post-graduate education is probably due to the fact that recent graduates realize the need of obtaining good preparation before embarking upon a chosen occupation. In several cases, former students have resigned from positions in which they had been placed in order to obtain more academic preparation. They felt that they would be better qualified in their particular field of work, and would arrive at their ultimate vocational goal sooner.

Despite the fact that colleges and universities have been flooded during the past year with applications for admission, this city is second to no other neighboring community in proportional representation at local colleges and universities. Every graduate in this class who met the entrance requirements was admitted to the college of his first or second choice.

A survey made in November of this year revealed that six hundred and seventeen students are working on part-time jobs while they attend school. This is an increase of sixty-two over the previous year. The counselors believe that this part-time work is usually a valuable

experience for the student. Counselors check each student carefully so that the students' academic work does not suffer.

During the year 1947 the Department made four hundred and twenty-three job placements. Of the graduates of the Class of 1947, seventy-six per cent were placed by the Guidance Department. In September, the Department made a survey of all 1947 graduates. Those who were not satisfied with their jobs were interviewed, and in cases where a change of position was advisable, they were assisted in securing other jobs. At the present time, the Placement Department has many more calls for full-time office help than it can fill.

In order to evaluate the business prepartion of the students in the Commercial Department, the Guidance Department sent a questionnaire to one hundred employers who had recently hired graduates of the high school business course. Replies by employers indicated that they had no major recommendations for improving the courses in business training, that our graduates are well prepared for office work, and that they have a high rating among employers in the metropolitan area. A few employers stated that the handwriting of our graduates could be better and consequently courses in penmanship have been added to the clerical course.

On the evening of May 7, 1947, a Vocational Conference was arranged at the high school. Fifty group meetings attended by approximately nine hundred pupils and parents, were held. The occupations discussed in this Conference were selected by polling students' interests. They chose the following occupations: accounting, agriculture, art, aviation, beauty culture, chemistry, office work, clothing, dental hygiene, dietetics, drafting, dramatics, engineering, journalism, music, nursing, physical education, radio entertainment, salesmanship, social work, teaching, and technical vocations. Leading authorities in each of these fields were secured and each speaker held two conferences during the evening so that pupils and parents could attend two meetings.

The Director of Guidance has continued to operate the Evening Veterans' Education Center under the auspices of the State Department of Education. Seventy veterans are completing requirements for their high school diploma or State Equivalency Certificate. Since these veterans are employed during the day, the Veterans' Center is the only opportunity they have for completing their high school work. The Center appears to be offering an important service to these veterans.

In cooperation with the City Youth Council, the Guidance Department has made a survey of the "activity interests" of junior and senior high school pupils and the results are being used by the numerous youth organizations in the Town. Our students take part in many

activities but the survey indicates that many of our youths have wholesome and legitimate interests which they have no opportunity to develop. The Youth Council is making every effort to find an appropriate solution to this problem.

The Executive Committee of the Youth Council has been most helpful as an "advisory board" to the Guidance Department and it is hoped that they will continue to function in this capacity.

During the coming school year, the Guidance Department will be concerned with organizing uniform guidance classes in the eighth grade and, later, in the seventh grade. The principal theme in these courses will be that of making social adjustments in and out of school. Considerable time and attention will also be given to the study and choice of electives for eighth and ninth grades.

Plans are under way to provide job try-outs after school hours for those pupils who are terminating their formal education in high school and who are uncertain about the type of employment they should undertake. Although they are given various performance tests and are provided with occupational information, their uncertainty often continues until they have had experience in different types of jobs. It is planned to seek the assistance of the City Chamber of Commerce, the Kiwanis Club, the Lion's Club, the Rotary Club and the City Youth Council in carrying out this program.

Appendix II — Recommended Cumulative Record Forms

THE cumulative record forms presented in this appendix were devised by the following committee of educators appointed by the American Council on Education:

Richard D. Allen, late Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Providence, R.I.

Millard E. Gladfelter, Provost, Temple University.

W. S. Learned, formerly of Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

John W. M. Rothney, Associate Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin.

Donald J. Shank, Director of Student Personnel, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University.

Eugene R. Smith, former Headmaster, Beaver Country Day School, Chestnut Hill, Mass., *Chairman.*

Arthur E. Traxler, Associate Director, Educational Records Bureau, New York City.

E. G. Williamson, Dean of Students and Professor of Psychology, University of Minnesota.

Ben D. Wood, Director, Educational Records Bureau and Professor of Collegiate Educational Research, Columbia University and Director, Cooperative Test Service.

The forms, printed on manila folders suitable for filing, may be purchased from the American Council on Education at 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C., at a cost of six cents each. (Manuals containing descriptive materials and an extensive bibliography are sold for thirty cents.) Similar record forms for primary and intermediate grades of the elementary school may be obtained at the same address.

Anderson	MARY	MARGARET	MAE
LAST NAME	FIRST	MIDDLE	NICKNAME

BAPTIST	Amden, Mass. Feb. 12, 1923	M (F)	(W) C Y
RELIGION	DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH	SEX	COLOR

ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE	25 Irving Terrace Circle 5600	Same	Same	Same	2104 Keyes Ave. East 6415	Same

PHOTOS (Dated)

PREVIOUS SCHOOL RECORD: Names and Type and Activities, School Difficulties Enc

Attended Parmount elementary school inclu out. Citizenship always marked excellent. with mental test scores which indicate int ing performance above eighth grade level w in Art, Music, and Arithmetic. Family very ed in achievements of children. Excellen should wear her glasses in school.

s of Schools Attended, Achievement in Subjects ountered, Summary of Test Results

ding Kindergarten. Very good record through- Work has always been commensurate lligence quotients above 130. Tested read- nile in sixth grade. Superior performances cooperative with school and much interest- r health and attendance records. Mary

PHOTOS (Dated)

Name and Type of School Attended	West Jr. High	Same	Same	Amden Sr. High	Same	Same
COUNSELOR	Miss Watson	Mr. Robinson	Mr. Robi	Mr. Rones	Miss Cowan	Miss Cowan
AGE (As of Sept. 1)	12-7	13-7	14-7	15-7	16-7	17-7
SCHOOL YEAR AND GRADE	1936 7	1937 8	1938 9	1939 10	1940 11	1941 12

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

These columns are for analyses of development in fields indicated. Headings mi and some estimate of achievement. In this school S indicates satisfactory ht include work habits, ability to think logically, mastery of technique, oral and written communication nd U unsatisfactory progress in consideration of ability of pupil. An X indicates serious lack of progress

	Work Habits	Thinking	Technique	Comm.	Mark	WH	T	Tech.	Comm.	Mark	WH	T	Tech.	Comm.	Mark	Work Habits	Thinking	Technique	Comm.	Mark
English: Lit. and Comp.	S	S	S		B	S	S	S		B	U	S	S		A	S	S	S		A
English: Oral																				
English: Grammar	S	S	S	S	A	S	S	S	S	A	S	S	S		A	S	S	S		A
Lang.: French											S	S	S		B	S	S	S		A
Lang.: Latin						S	S	S	S	B	U	S	U	S	B	X	X	X	Dropped	
Math.: Arithmetic	S	S	U	S	B	S	S	S	S	A										
Math.: Algebra											S	S	S	S	A					
Math.: Geometry																S	U	S	S	B
Math.: Advanced Math.											U	U	X	S	C					
Science: Chemistry																				
Social Studies: Soc. Studies	S	S	S	S	A	U	S	S	S	B	S	S	S		A	U	S	S	S	B
Social Studies: American Hist.																				
Other Subjects: Practical Arts	S	S	S	S	A															
Other Subjects: Drawing	S	S	S	S	A	S	S	S	S	A										
Other Subjects: Music	S	S	S	S	A	S	S	S	S	A										
Other Subjects: Spelling	S	S	S	S	A	S	S	S	S	A				Chorus		S	S	S	S	A
Physical Education					B					A										
															A					A

TEST RECORD

ACADEMIC APTITUDE (Use M. A. and I. Q. if Preferred)

TEST	Mo.	Score	% ile	TEST	Mo.	Score	% ile	TEST	Mo.	Score	% ile	TEST	Mo.	Score	% ile	TEST	Mo.	Score	% ile
Henmon-Nelson	S	(IQ-	129)	Kuhl-Anderson	S	(IQ-	132)	Kuhl-Anderson	S	(IQ-	136)	Kuhl-Anderson	S	(IQ-	130)	Kuhl-Anderson	S	(IQ-	135)	Kuhl-Anderson	S	(IQ-	140)
								Stan-Binet (L)	N	(IQ-	142)					ACE. Psych.	N	117	85	ACE. Psych.			
																(College Form)	O	154	96				
Stanford Ach.				Stanford Ach.				Stanford Ach.	S			Iowa Reading (A)				Iowa Reading				Coop. Reading	O		
Paragraph M.	S	113	98	Paragraph M	S	115	89	Paragraph M	S	115	84	Comprehension	S	140	87	Comprehension	N	185	94	Level	O	66	90
Word Meaning	S	105	77	Inglis Vocabulary	S	78	92	Word Meaning	S	109	74	Speed	S	39	85	Speed	N	43	89	Speed	O	68	93
Spelling	S	102	85									W. Vocabulary	S	43	78	W. Vocabulary	N	46	80	W. Vocabulary	O	60	89

READING

ACHIEVEMENT AND OTHER TESTS

Language Usage	S	107	71					Minnesota Clerica	N						Minnesota Clerical	O			
	S	100	65					Names	N	136	87	Coop. French	S	52	76	Coop. French	N	66	74	Names	O	148	85
History-Civics	S	90	50	History-Civics	S	93	53	Numbers	N	156	92	Coop. Latin	S	65	62	Coop. Chemistry	N	64	77	Numbers	O	169	87
Geography	S	89	32	Geography	S	96	36													Coop. Am. History	O	53	51
Phys-Hygiene	S	95	80						S	110	77	Coop. Math.	O	30	80	Coop. Math	N	40	85	Coop. Math	O	51	95
Arith-Reasoning	S	100	72	Arith-Reasoning	S	105	70	Arith-Reasonin	S	105	54												
Arith-Computation	S	95	47	Arith-Computation	S	101	57	Arith-Computatic	S	42	79					Minn. P. Form Board	N	47	75				
				M-S Art Judgment	S	102	85	Minn. P. Form Board															

INTERPRETATION OF TEST RECORD AND ITS RELATION TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

(In the interpretation of test scores consider differences in norms used. In transferring records indicate basis of norms)

Superior in ability to do school work and frequently finds that work is not challenging enough for her. When this occurs she keeps busy with so many out-of-school activities that she neglects some school assignments

Enthusiasti… Can work ac… tests but f… cumulativ… Could do m… could see m…

and exceptionally efficient reader… urately and fast on objective …nds teachers' tests based on … drill work very difficult. …ch better in languages if she …re reason for doing them.

Although Mary continues to make high scores on objective tests of ability she has difficulty with cumulative subjects where her background work is irregular and spotty. Finds it hard to settle down to drill which teachers recommend. French teacher says she could be an 'A' student if she would do assignments. Performance in advanced Math. very good despite fact that she had not covered all prerequisites. Mother advised her to carry on all co-curricular activities and have a full pleasant senior year.

ATTENDANCE (Reasons if irregular)

Absent 10 days - colds | No Absences ← Same | ← Same | ← Same | Missed occasional classes for rehearsals and clubs

INTERESTS REPORTED BY STUDENT / EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL / OUT OF SCHOOL AND SUMMER EXPERIENCES

SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISH… / …MENTS THAT GIVE EVIDENCE REGARDING INTERESTS AND POWERS

Art - Lettering, drawing	Art - copy	Art	Art	← Same
Group sports	Baseball + hockey teams	Any activity wi… contact with c…	…ch brought …her people	← Same
Vocal music	Music			Said she had read "all the books in the library"
Choir	Art editor school paper	Art editor sch…	…ol paper …or annual	
	Glee club	Designed cover …		Glee club
	Chorus	Glee club		
Sunday school regular attendance		Chorus		Church choir
Scouts	Church choirs	Church cho…	…iginal …rds	Leader church student group
Played at home in summer		Designed c… greeting c…		← Same
			Any opportunity to work or play with others	← Same clubs, dates, games
			Glee club - president Lead in Gilbert + Sullivan	Glee club - chorus Duchess in Gondoliers
			Church choir	Church choir chairman missionary group in church

WORK EXPERIENCES

NOTE TYPE, DURATION, HOUR…

NONE	NONE	Assistant to … of school. N… Efficient wo…	…secretary …o pay. …rker
			NONE
			Care of children in evenings. Paid $4 for 12 to 16 hours per month
			Demonstrator food show one week $15
			← Same

PER WEEK, EARNINGS AND OTHER SIGNIFICANT FACTS

FINANCIAL AID (Type and Amount)

NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
			N.Y.A. clerical $6 monthly 20 hours

Educational and Occupational Plans — Pupil / Parents / Counselor

Go to college - then get married	Many vague ideas	Commercia…	…artist …ged choice …n. art …reer requir… …ning	Commercial artist ← Same ← Same	Teaching math. or work in statistics. Free to choose own career but financial support limited. Further study of colleges and professions recommended	Secretary in position where math. is used and then marriage. Parents agree with above Good compromise
None stated	None stated	Father discour… of career in com… consider any c… ing college tro…				
Wait till school performance observed	Encouraged to continue many activities as try-outs					

HEALTH AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS (Vigor or lassitude; assets, disabilities or limitations)

Should wear glasses for reading	Vigorous - peppy	Stopped weari…	…g glasses …ght they …ppearance …hould wear	Will not wear glasses.	← Same	← Same
No marked presence or absence of vigor	Radiant health	because she th… detracted from		Excellent and much vigor	← Same	← Same
Rather plump ← Same	Beautiful blonde hair and fine color of complexion ← Same	Nurse says she … them. Same		← SAME	← Same	← Same

DISCIPLINE — Academic / Personal

NONE	NONE	Some make-… required to g… work done.	…time …home-	NONE	NONE	NONE

Family		Type of Occupation	Education Degree and Kind	Religion
Father Charles L.		Cabinet-maker	High school-Evening school-indepeend. Study	Baptist
Mother Nora M.		Housewife	High and secretarial school	Baptist
Step Parent or Guardian				
Siblings	Sex			Birthdate
Dorothy	F	Housewife	High school graduate	1918
Ruth	F	Secretary	High and secretarial	1921
Leslie	F	Student	One grade below Mary	1924

NOTE SIG... occupation... "broken h...

All me... good r... Both p... but co... Family... comm... the ch...

10/40

NIFICANT ITEMS: Health, decease of either parent, birthplaces, citizenship, changes in type of ... of parents, language spoken, type of community, study conditions or other factors such as ...ome".

...bers of family appear to be in good health. Comfortable home in ...sidential area. Seems to be exceptionally pleasant home life. ...arents are anxious to give the children good educational opportunities ...uld not afford college training for all without great sacrifice. ... active in all affairs of their church and show great interest in ...unity activities. Excellent study conditions are provided for ...ildren and both parents cooperate effectively with the school.

Mother president of P.T.A.

DESCRIPTION OF BEHAVIOR (Made by all those who have had sufficient opportunity to ... observe the pupil.)

Key to persons making the descriptions below: Ad-Advisor, Ag-Agriculture, Ar-Arts, D...-Dramatics, E-English, F-French, G-German, HR-Home Room teacher, HE-Home Economics, L-Latin, M-Mathematics, Mu-Music, NS-Natural Science, SS-Social Science; Others, ?

		Grade 8	9	10	11	12	
RESPONSIBILITY	**Responsible and Resourceful:** Carries Through Whatever is Undertaken, and Also Shows Initiative and Versatility in Accomplishing and Enlarging Upon Undertakings.	SS-M-MU H.R.	M-MU H.R.	SS H.R.	M	M-D	M-D-E H.R.-MU	Apparent decrease in responsibility in ninth grade due to increased assumption of duties out of school so that her assignments were hurriedly done or neglected. 11th grade - Class work fairly well done but laboratory exercises neglected seriously.
	Conscientious: Completes Without External Compulsion Whatever is Assigned But is Unlikely to Enlarge the Scope of Assignments.	E	E-L		H.R.	H.R.		
	Generally Dependable: Usually Carries Through Undertakings, Self-Assumed or Assigned by Others Requiring Only Occasional Reminder or Compulsion.		SS	E-M	E		SS	
	Selectively Dependable: Shows High Persistence in Undertakings in Which There is Particular Interest, But is Less Likely to Carry Through Other Assignments.			L	L	E		
	Unreliable: Can Be Relied Upon to Complete Undertakings Only When They Are of Moderate Duration or Difficulty and Then Only With Much Prodding and Supervision.					N.S.		
	Irresponsible: Cannot Be Relied Upon to Complete Any Undertakings Even When Constantly Prodded and Guided.							
CREATIVENESS	**General:** Approaches Whatever He Does With Active Imagination and Originality, So That He Contributes Something That is His Own.	SS-E H.R.	M H.R.	SS H.R.	M	M	E	7th grade - Other pupils say She is "full of ideas". 9th - Much of her art work is now copy but occasionally she does original 11th - Creativeness best shown in her management of groups.
	Specific: Makes Distinctly Original and Significant Contributions in One or More Fields.		AR-E-MU		HR	HR	HR-M-SS	
	Promising: Shows a Degree of Creativeness That Indicates the Likelihood of Valuable Original Contribution in Some Field, Although the Contributions Already Made Have Not Proved to Be Particularly Significant.	AR-M-MU		M		E	MU	
	Limited: Shows the Desire to Contribute His Own Thinking and Expression to Situations, But His Degree of Imagination and Originality is Not, in General, High Enough to Have Much Influence on His Accomplishments.		L-SS	L-E				
	Imitative: Makes Little or No Creative Contributions, Yet Shows Sufficient Imagination to See the Implications in the Creation of Others and to Make Use of Their Ideas or Accomplishments.				L-E			
	Unimaginative: Has Given Practically No Evidence of Originality or Creativeness in Imagination or Action.					N.S.		
INFLUENCE	**Controlling:** His Influence Habitually Shapes the Opinions, Activities, or Ideals of His Associates.	SS-M H.R.	SS-M-E-MU H.R.	E-L HR	L-M HR	M HR	M-E-MU H.R.	9th - Mary is frequently chosen by others to carry out ideas which she presents. She can win others to her cause by her logic and by her effectiveness in getting things done.
	Contributing Influence: His Influence, While Not Controlling, Strongly Affects the Opinions, Activities, or Ideals of His Associates.	E-MU	L	SS-M	E	E-NS	SS	
	Varying: His Influence Varies, Having Force When Particular Ability, Skill, Experience or Circumstance Gives it Opportunity or Value.							
	Co-Operating: Has No Very Definite Influence on His Associates, But Contributes to Group Thinking and Action Because of Some Discrimination in Regard to Ideas and Leaders.							
	Passive: Has No Definite Influence on His Associates, Being Carried Along by the Nearest or Strongest Influence.							
ADJUSTABILITY	**Secure:** Appears to Feel Secure in His Social Relationships and is Accepted by the Groups of Which He is a Part.	SS-M-MU-E HR	SS-M-MU-E HR-L	SS-M-E-L HR	M-E-L HR	M-E-NS HR	SS-M-MU-E HR	8th - At ease with any group of students or adults. Described in senior year book as "most popular".
	Uncertain: Appears to Have Some Anxiety About His Social Relationships Although He is Accepted by the Groups of Which He is a Part.							
	Neutral: Shows the Desire to Have an Established Place in the Group, But is, in General, Treated With Indifference.							
	Withdrawn: Withdraws From Others to an Extent That Prevents His Being a Fully Accepted Member of His Group.							
	Not Accepted: Has Characteristics of Person or Behavior That Prevent His Being an Accepted Member of His Group.							

CONCERN FOR OTHERS								
Generally Concerned: Shows Balance in Considering Welfare of Himself and Others and Does What He Can About it.	SS-MU HR	M-E-L HR	E-L HR		E HR	MU HR	This trait takes its form in her religious activities most frequently but she thinks and acts in what might be described as an altruistic manner very frequently	
Selectively Concerned: Shows Concern by Attitude and Action About Certain Problems of Welfare of Persons.	M-E	SS-MU	SS-M	M-E-L HR	M-NS	SS-M-E		
Personal: Is Not Strongly Concerned About the Welfare of Others Unless a Situation Materially Affects Him.								
Inactive: Professes Concern About Welfare of Others But Does Nothing.								
Unconcerned: Shows Little or No Concern For the Welfare of Others.								
SERIOUS PURPOSE								
Purposeful: Has Definite Purposes and Plans and Carries Through to the Best of His Ability Undertakings Consistent With This Purpose.	SS-MU-M-E HR	MU-L HR		M	M		8th grade- Seems to have lost sight of her goals.	
Limited: Makes Plans and Shows Determination in Attacking Short Time Projects That Interest Him But Has Not Yet Thought Out Goals for Himself.		SS-E	SS-M-E HR	L	HR	HR	11th grade- Drifting along. Needs help.	
Potential: Takes Things as They Come, Meeting Situations Somewhat on the Spur of the Moment Yet May Be Capable of Serious Purpose if Once Aroused.		M	L	E HR	E	SS-M-E	12th When future educational and vocational decision was made in February she regained her seriousness of purpose	
Vacillating: Makes Plans That Are Fairly Definite, But Cannot Be Counted on for the Determination to Carry Them Through.					NS	MU		
Vague: Is Likely to Drift Without the Decisiveness and Persistence That Will Enable Him to Carry Out His Vaguely Conceived Plans.								

GRADE	7	8	9	10	11	12
EMOTIONAL STABILITY — Describe Typical Behavior and Significant Variation in it With Respect to Such Factors as Apathy, Excitability, Over-Sensitiveness, Stability		Bubbles over with enthusiasm about her activities	Mary's many activities are carried through with serious intent. She is not frivolous. She enjoys things' them and gets done.			Worked through serious problem of choice of further education and vocation in a calm and objective manner
Additional Comments About Behavior			Mother attempts to supervise her reading but she gets in a few mystery stories of her own selection		Parents gave her choice of aid for college if she showed serious intentions but she drifted into too many activities to find time for serious study.	Rather steady companionship with boy who is the outstanding student in academic work.
Tentative Synthesis and Suggestions for Guidance Made During, or at Close of, Each School Year	Encourage continuance of many co-curricular and community activities as try-out experiences Elect college-preparatory courses.	← SAME Tried to arrange for more challenging experiences in school.	← SAME Continue college preparatory course in senior high with Latin elective Some help in budgeting time needed.	Some narrowing of activities needed now. She is working on list of activities to decide on deletions Drop Latin end of year. Elect chemistry as try-out in science field.	Attempt to win competitive college scholarship failed. Refused suggestions about electives and chose advanced mathematics without prerequisites	Enrollment in good secretarial school is satisfactory compromise with financial problem and waning enthusiasm for academic study. Advise secretarial school of her record at entrance and remind about mathematics ability at time of placement.

NOTES:
- 7th grade- Early reputation as an artist keeps her interested and working in this field. She promised to keep scrap-book record of her work.
- 8th Check on scrap-book indicates that much of her work is copy from magazines.
- 9th Chorus and choir directors say she has a good voice, but say it is not strong enough to warrant serious consideration of a career in music. Discontinued piano lessons this year because she thought she knew enough to meet avocational needs and time for practice limited
- 10th Mother says Mary is not, and never will be, a real student. Mary may have chosen the kinds of activities which provide the best kind of education for her.
- 12th Counselor predicts satisfactory work in secretarial school, easy placement on a job, a short working period, and early marriage.

POST SCHOOL AND FOLLOW-UP INFORMATION

College	**Dates**	
	Entered Smith	Sept. 1941
Other Schools	Secretarial School	
Work		
Marriage		
Civic Activities		

1941 Revision of American Council on Education Cumulative Record Card for Junior and Senior High Schools, Washington, D. C.

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

LAST NAME	FIRST	MIDDLE	NICKNAME	DATE OF BIRTH	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	Sex	Race
Brawnson	Philip	W.	Slim	Aug. 2, 1923	Methodist	(M) F	(W) C Y

HOME ADDRESS	PLACE OF BIRTH	DATE OF COLLEGE ENTRANCE	DATE OF GRADUATION	DEGREE
1146 Regent St.	Lincoln, Wisconsin	Sept. 1941	June 1947	Ph. B.

Returned from 3yr. Army Service Sept. 1945. Married Aug. 1945. Foreign Service South Pacific One Year

PHOTOS (Dated)

		I	II	III	IV
COLLEGE ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE		245 Langdon M 6134	245 Langdon M 6134	116 Francis St. B 2218	124 College Ave. G 2176
FRATERNITY AFFILIATIONS		NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE

HIGH SCHOOL

Name and type of High School or College attended	City of Lincoln Public High School
ADVISER	JOHNSON
Age in years and months as of September first	17-1
Year and Class Placement	Senior 1941

COLLEGE YEARS

	I	II	III	IV
	U. of Muscoda	U. of Muscoda	U. of Muscoda	U. of Muscoda
ADVISER	Williamson	Williamson	[MILITARY SERVICE 1943-1945] Anderson	Anderson
Age in years and months as of September first	18-1	19-1	22-1	23-1
Year and Class Placement	'41-'42 Freshman	'42-'43 Sophomore	'45-'46 Junior	'46-'47 Senior

Courses	No.	Gr.	Pts.		Cr.
Drawing	1	C	3		3
* Math	51	(See note)			
English	1a	C	3		3
Engineering Shop	4	B	4		2
Phy. Ed.					
Chemistry 2a	Dropped without Failure				
English	16	D	-		3
Math	51	B	10		5
Geography	6	B	6		3
History	2a	C	3		3
Phy. Ed.					
* Note - Must Repeat Math 51.					

Courses	No.	Gr.	Pts.		Cr.
English	2a	C	2		2
Math	7	C	4		4
Geography	1	C	5		5
History	2b	B	6		3
History	10	C	2		2
English	2b	B	4		2
Economics	1a	A	12		4
Geography	2	B	10		5
History	10	B	4		2
Philosophy	22	B	6		3

Courses	No.	Gr.	Pts.		Cr.
Economics	1b	B	8		4
Philosophy	10	C	3		3
Geology	113	B	10		5
Education	73	B	6		3
Psychology	1	B	6		3
Geology	110	A	15		5
History	4b	B	6		3
Granted 15 war credits					

Courses	No.	Gr.	Pts.		Cr.
Education	74	B	6		3
Geography	102	C	3		3
History	116	B	6		3
History	4a	B	6		3
Phy. Ed.	6	B	4		2
Phy. Ed.	16	B	4		2
Education	75	B	10		5
History	116	B	6		3
History	119	B	6		3
Phy. Ed.	7	B	4		2
Phy. Ed.	74	A	9		3

FACULTY JUDGMENTS

(Summary of judgments of high school teachers concerning achievements)

Principal and teachers think he will put forth all efforts of which he is capable but they doubt that he has enough ability to succeed in a rigorous college program. Lack of success in high school mathematics suggests election of minimum program in that field. Punctual with assignments and they show that he has put forth a good deal of effort. Definitely not a brilliant student but undertakes all assignments with a seriousness of purpose that suggests the advisability of further academic training. Attendance at small college where he will get more individual attention is recommended.

TEST RECORD

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS OR FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION	General College Preparatory Program				
	Test	Mo	% ile	Basis	
READING	Minnesota Speed	S	45	Natl.	
ACADEMIC APTITUDE	Henmon-Nelson	S	65	State	
LANGUAGE APTITUDE	CTS (Form Q)	S	47	Natl.	
MATHEMATICS APTITUDE	CTS (Form O)	S	37	Natl.	
	CTS Science	S	58	Natl.	
PLACEMENT, ACHIEVEMENT AND OTHER TESTS	Coll. English	O	17	Natl.	

Test	Mo.	% ile	Basis
Iowa. S. Read.	O	30	Coll.
A.C.E. Psych.	O	35	Natl.
English Placement	S	32	Coll.
Spanish Placement	S	46	Coll.

Test	Mo.	% ile	Basis
Iowa. S. Read.	O	46	Coll.

Test	Mo.	% ile	Basis
Oct. 1945 Passed Speech Test Strongly			

Test	Mo.	% ile	Basis
Grad. Record (Verbal)	M	21	Natl.
Grad. Record (Literat)	M	25	Natl.
Grad. Record (Math)	M	17	Natl
Grad. Record (Physics)	M	7	"
Grad. Record (Chem.)	M	22	"
" " Biology	M	27	"
" "(Economics Govt. History)	M	55	"
Gr. Record (Fine Arts)	M	6	"

EVALUA						
	INTERPRETATION OF TEST RECORD AND ITS RELATION TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT (In the interpretation of test scores consider differences in norms used. In transferring records indicate basis of norms)	Slow worker on objective tests but does good work on assignments and in examinations where he is not too hurried. Slow reader. Outlines his work fairly well. Has maintained standing in the top quarter of his class by diligence in doing assignments. Very weak in mathematics.	Worked hard at engineering mathematics during first semester of freshman year but could not pass his tests. He reads very slowly. Cannot complete English and History assignments in the usual time. Referred to Reading and Study Clinic. Attended all meetings faithfully and showed progress but still is much slower than average of his class.		Has developed more skill in organizing his materials and in use of study time. Has a difficult time with objective tests because, he says, they do not allow enough time. Scores on the graduate record examination have helped to convince him that he should not attempt graduate work. He has learned to write acceptable papers in the social sciences.	
INTERESTS	**INVENTORIES**	NONE	Thurstone Vocational 1. Athletic 5. Descriptive 2. Commercial 6. Biological 3. Legal 7. Academic 4. Scientific	NONE	All port-Vernon Study of Values 1. Economic 4. Political 2. Aesthetic 5. Theoretical 3. Religious 6. Social	NONE
	REPORTED BY STUDENT	Does extra work in Physics Laboratory Reads stories on hunting fishing and camping experiences.	Some reading of science books	Social life is almost negligible Subscribes to Field and Stream and outdoor magazines.	Wants to work with people. Enjoyed field work with Y group required in education course	Social welfare, education Attends discussion groups on United Nations. Attended Cosmopolitan Club
	EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE	Elected to join only one club in high school	Did not participate in any of the usual campus activities. Said he had too much work.	Attended some social functions at YMCA	Veterans committee member. Geology field trips aroused some interest.	Minor offices on veterans committees
	OUT OF SCHOOL EXPERIENCES	Has traveled much in North woods Canoe trip to Canada last summer.	Prefers non-contact sports such as tennis and fishing	Spends most of his time at school work. Occasional movie and monthly trip to his home town are only diversions.	Has seen most of United States. Spent six months in New Guinea. Leader of supply group in area	Attends dances given for young married couples at the union.
SUPPLEMENTARY PERSONAL INFORMATION	**WORK EXPERIENCE**	Various odd jobs at summer resorts.	Continued work at summer resort hotel. Part-time work in shipping department of local store	Assistant to fishing guide at summer resort. Part-time clerk in local department store.	NONE	Clerk in men's clothing store one evening per week and on Saturdays
	FINANCIAL AID (Need, type, amount)	Will be necessary to do some part-time work.	Saved $250 from summer work. Earns $10 per week	Summer savings and weekly earnings supplement small allowance from parents.	Has saved enough so that with GI Bill income it is not necessary to work during school year.	Works 12 hours per week as clerk
	EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PLANS BY STUDENT	Engineering at University	Engineering	Plans uncertain commerce or teaching	Courses in Psychology and Education suggest teaching or personnel work.	Teaching science in high school with part-time coaching
	PARENTS	Parents agree with Philip's choice	Parents leave the matter entirely to Philip. They make no suggestions.	Considering occupational materials. Needs much help.	He is finally becoming more objective about his own strengths and weaknesses	Satisfactory choice
	ADVISER		Advisor doubtful but Philip insists on trial of engineering			
	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS (Vigor or lassitude; assets, disabilities or limitations)	Vigorous active youth. No record of absences due to illness	Wears glasses which provide adequate protection No health problems	No illness or physical handicaps	Nothing significant	Vigorous Healthy. No limitations on activities due to health
	DISCIPLINE Academic	NONE	Put on strict probation. Must make net grade points equal to credits in each semester or withdraw.	NONE	NONE	NONE
	Personal					

FAMILY

	FATHER	Type of Occupation	Education Degree and Kind	Religion
	Philip S.	Electrician	Vocational School	Methodist
	MOTHER Mary J.	Housewife	High School	Methodist
	STEP PARENT OR GUARD.			BIRTHDATE
Siblings	Josephine	Student	High School	Sept. 1927
	William	Student	High School	April 1929

NOTE SIGNIFICANT ITEMS: Health, decease of either parent, birthplaces, citizenship, changes in type of occupation of parents, language spoken, type of community, study conditions, other factors such as "broken home," time spent in commutation.

Parents encourage college attendance and provide as much financial help as possible. Philip has good place to study and home conditions are excellent. Spends one week-end per month at home in Lincoln.

DESCRIPTION OF BEHAVIOR

DESCRIPTIONS of behavior made by those who have had opportunities to observe the student in specific situations or activities over a sufficient period of time. Key to persons making the descriptions below. AD—Adviser, AG—Agriculture, E—English, F—French, HE—Home Economics, D—Dramatics, others: M-Mathematics P-Psychology Ed-Education

		Summary	COLLEGE YEARS				COMMENTS
		High School	I	II	III	IV	
		Principal					Sept. '41 Never any question about the fact that Philip works very hard. Assignments are completed on time
Responsibility	Responsible and Resourceful: Carries Through Whatever is Undertaken, and Also Shows Initiative and Versatility in Accomplishing and Enlarging Upon Undertakings.	P	ME		P Ad.	Ed. Ad.	
	Conscientious: Completes Without External Compulsion Whatever is Assigned But is Unlikely to Enlarge the Scope of Assignments.		Ad.	Ad.			
	Generally Dependable: Usually Carries Through Undertakings, Self-Assumed or Assigned by Others. Requiring Only Occasional Reminder or Compulsion.						
	Selectively Dependable: Shows High Persistence in Undertakings in Which There is Particular Interest, But is Less Likely to Carry Through Other Assignments.						
	Unreliable: Can Be Relied Upon to Complete Undertakings Only When They Are of Moderate Duration or Difficulty and Then Only With Much Prodding and Supervision.						
	Irresponsible: Cannot Be Relied Upon to Complete Any Undertakings Even When Constantly Prodded and Guided.						
Creativeness	General: Approaches Whatever He Does With Active Imagination and Originality, So That He Contributes Something That is His Own.						Feb '42 English instructor reports that his themes are simple and pedestrian
	Specific: Makes Distinctly Original and Significant Contributions in One or More Fields.					Ed.	
	Promising: Shows a Degree of Creativeness That Indicates the Likelihood of Valuable Original Contribution in Some Field, Although the Contributions Already Made Have Not Proved to be Particularly Significant.				Ad.	Ad.	
	Limited: Shows the Desire to Contribute His Own Thinking and Expression to Situations, But His Degree of Imagination and Originality is Not, in General, High Enough to Have Much Influence on His Accomplishments.		Ad.	Ad.	P		Nov. '46 Work with youth group showed some attempts to develop an original program. Was fairly successful.
	Imitative: Makes Little or No Creative Contributions, Yet Shows Sufficient Imagination to See the Implications in the Creation of Others and to Make Use of Their Ideas or Accomplishments.	P	ME				
	Unimaginative: Has Given Practically No Evidence of Originality or Creativeness in Imagination or Action.						
Influence	Controlling: His Influence Habitually Shapes the Opinions, Activities, or Ideals of His Associates.						Very reserved in group meetings. Does not volunteer opinions. Follows along with the group.
	Contributing Influence: His Influence, While Not Controlling, Strongly Affects the Opinions, Activities, or Ideals of His Associates.					Ed. Ad.	
	Varying: His Influence Varies, Having Force When Particular Ability, Skill, Experience or Circumstance Gives It Opportunity or Value.	P			P		Oct. '46 Unusually liberal and free from prejudice in social beliefs but he hesitated about presenting them to others, until he had some leadership experience in army. Now more willing to express himself.
	Co-Operating: Has No Very Definite Influence on His Associates, But Contributes to Group Thinking and Action Because of Some Discrimination in Regard to Ideas and Leaders.						
	Passive: Has No Definite Influence on His Associates, Being Carried Along by the Nearest or Strongest Influence.		ME Ad.	Ad.			
Adjustability	Secure: Appears to Feel Secure in His Social Relationships and Is Accepted by the Groups of Which He is a Part.		Ad.	Ad.	P Ad.	Ed. Ad.	Is accepted by all groups as a person who has a right to belong but is not sought after. He seems always to be present but rarely active. Seems to feel that he has little to offer.
	Uncertain: Appears to Have Some Anxiety About His Social Relationships Although He is Accepted by the Groups of Which He is a Part.						
	Neutral: Shows the Desire to Have an Established Place in the Group, But is in General, Treated With Indifference.	P	ME				
	Withdrawn: Withdraws From Others to an Extent That Prevents His Being a Fully Accepted Member of His Group.						
	Not Accepted: Has Characteristics of Person or Behavior That Prevent His Being an Accepted Member of His Group.						
Concern for others	Generally Concerned: Shows Balance in Considering Welfare of Himself and Others and Does What He Can About It.				Ad.		Foreign service has made him more aware of social problems. Active member of veterans social welfare committee
	Selectively Concerned: Shows Concern by Attitude and Action About Certain Problems of Welfare of Persons.				P	Ed. Ad.	

Concern for Others

- **Personal:** Is Not Strongly Concerned About the Welfare of Others Unless a Situation Materially Affects Him.
- **Inactive:** Professes Concern About Welfare of Others But Does Nothing.
- **Unconcerned:** Shows Little or No Concern for the Welfare of Others.

Serious Purpose

- **Purposeful:** Has Definite Purposes and Plans and Carries Through to the Best of His Ability Undertakings Consistent With This Purpose.
- **Limited:** Makes Plans and Shows Determination in Attacking Short Time Projects That Interest Him But Has Not Yet Thought Out Goals for Himself.
- **Potential:** Takes Things as They Come, Meeting Situations Somewhat on the Spur of the Moment Yet May Be Capable of Serious Purpose if Once Aroused.
- **Vacillating:** Makes Plans That Are Fairly Definite, But Cannot Be Counted on for the Determination to Carry Them Through.
- **Vague:** Is Likely to Drift Without the Decisiveness and Persistence That Will Enable Him to Carry Out His Vaguely Conceived Plans.

		Ad.			
	E Ad.				
	M				
	E Ad		P Ad.	Ed. Ad.	Has a goal now and is working hard to achieve it in his senior year.
		Ad.			
	M				

NOTES AND SUMMARIES

	HIGH SCHOOL	FIRST COLLEGE YEAR	SECOND COLLEGE YEAR	THIRD COLLEGE YEAR	FOURTH COLLEGE YEAR
Emotional Stability — Describe Typical Behavior and Significant Variation in it With Respect to Such Factors as Apathy, Excitability, Over-Sensitiveness, Stability	Stable conscientious boy who is always trying. Appearance of apathy is due to slight feelings of inadequacy brought about by lack of success in academic work in some fields.	Colorless individual who plods along. Takes success or failure without any marked emotional response.	Showed considerable worry about his work since probation suggested possibility of having to withdraw. When grades were satisfactory the keenness disappeared.	Has returned to college with determination to make a success of it. Tells of recent experiences with much enthusiasm.	Seems to have developed to maturity beyond his years. Has gained in self-confidence.
NOTES, GENERAL SUMMARIES, ANNUAL SYNTHESES, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR GUIDANCE (Date all Entries Below by Month and Year)	Conscientious effort and eagerness to learn suggest that he should be permitted to try university work. Will need considerable guidance and assistance if he elects the engineering program in which he proposes to enroll. Success in foreign language is not likely. Will not participate in campus activities unless he receives exceptional encouragement.	Dropped plans for engineering when he had difficulties with chemistry and mathematics. Referred to reading and study clinic. Clinic reported regular attendance and improved performance in reading and study habits. Considered seriously the possibility of leaving the university to take position as department store clerk but decided to try another year. Changed to Ph. B. program after consultation with Dean of Freshmen.	Now enrolled in Ph B course under probation Check with instructors concerning performance Refer to study guidance center for occupational testing and sources of information on occupations Talked over course offerings with him to assist in selection of studies. Suggested registration in the social skills course Appears certain that he will be drafted before next college year. Says he will come back to finish work for his degree	Sept. Checked credits and grade points. With 15 war credits it will be possible to graduate in June 1947. See that war credits are properly authorized and recorded. Advised election of more courses in social science. Recommended him to Housing Bureau for position as house leader in veterans unit but his application was rejected.	Will complete requirements for teachers certificate this year. Is most likely to be successful if he returns as teacher to the kind of community from which he came. Advise placement bureau on this matter. Arranged for apprenticeship experience in working with youth group at local neighborhood house. Recommended to boys camp as leader for the summer of 1947

Follow-up Information

GRADUATE SCHOOLS: HONORS, DEGREES

OTHER TRAINING
Graduate, officers Training school Infantry 1944

EMPLOYMENT RECORD

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN
Married Aug. 1945

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

ADDRESSES

1942 Revision of American Council on Education Cumulative Record Card for Colleges, Washington, D. C.

Appendix III — Case Exercises

1. HUGH

The following report on Hugh was written about a boy in a high school in the suburbs of Boston. After study of the case, write, with reasons, your answers to the following questions:

1. Do you think that the counselor has worked effectively with Hugh up to the point at which this report stops?
2. What alternatives does the counselor now have in presenting data to (a) Hugh, (b) Hugh's parents, (c) personnel of the school?
3. What additional information is needed by the counselor?
4. Is referral to a psychiatrist indicated by the record?

Family Data. Hugh now lives with a stepfather after a long period of living with relatives and of traveling alone with his mother who was in business while a divorcee. The stepfather is manager of a commercial concern, and his mother still carries on some business interests of her own. Hugh lives in one of the better sections of the town in a home that rates superior on a scale that permits high ratings in terms of material provisions. Hugh is an only child and is frequently referred to by teachers and other children as "spoiled," "erratic," and "temperamental." He says that his stepfather teases him and makes fun of him in front of company, and he is rather bitter about it. Although he has expensive clothes and playthings, he often complains that he does not have enough, and he attributed his failure to make the first football team to the fact that his father had not bought him a pair of football shoes. This complaining hardly seems compatible with what is known concerning the value of his playthings, his ready supply of money, and the fact that the family paid $100 for a trumpet when he showed promise with that instrument. The family is ambitious for his success in school, and financial support is available for any educational venture which he chooses.

Health. No physical defects have been noted after extensive examinations by physicians. He is thin, wiry, and restless, but this does

SCHOOL RECORD

[Note: Family moves have required Hugh to attend many schools]

Grades.		7	8	9	10	10*	Teachers' and Student's Comments
ARTS	Woodworking	B	B	B			(Grade 8) Good athlete but has arguments with the coach whom he considers unfair. (Grade 9) Played trumpet in band and orchestra. He takes lessons at music conservatory, and instructor says he could become excellent player. Family bought $100 trumpet for him
	Drawing	C	B				
	Music	X	C		F		
	Chorus					C	
LANGUAGE	English	C	C	C	C	C	(Grade 8) Failing marks in Grammar were attributed to what he considered to be unfair treatment by the teacher. Was promoted to this grade "on trial" after failing in Grammar in the seventh grade. (Grade 9) "Just got by." (Grade 10) "English is my best subject." (Grade 11) "I do every other assignment in English." Teacher reports that he is erratic. "I did work hard in French"
	English (Oral)				C	F	
	Grammar	F	C	C			
	Spelling	B	B				
	French				F	X	
MATHEMATICS	Arithmetic	C	C	F			(Grade 10) Will not settle down to do the intensive work which mathematics demands
	Algebra				Z		
SCIENCE	General Science		C	C			(Grade 9) "I like to play around with scientific things." (Grade 10) Chemistry teacher reported poor behavior and lack of attention
	Chemistry					X	
SOCIAL STUDIES	Social Studies	C	C	C			(Grade 10) "I don't do any work in history." Teacher calls him a spoiled child
	History				X	C	

* Did not earn enough credits to reach junior standing.

TEST RESULTS: (Interpretations of test scores are in terms of distributions of scores of pupils in the school system concerned. *H* indicates upper third, *A* middle third, and *L* lower third.)

TESTS*		Age	13-5		14-10		16-1		16-10		17-8	
		Grade	7†		8		9		10		10r	
GENERAL MENTAL ABILITY	Henmon-Nelson (I.Q.)		88 102	L A								
	Kuhlmann-Anderson (I.Q.)						103	A	104	A	106	A
	Stanford Binet (old form) (I.Q.)				100	A	104	A				
READING	New Stanford Reading (Z)						14-11	L				
	Test of speed of reading								29	A	15	L
LANGUAGES	Vocabulary				46	A	23	A	30	A	35	A
MATHEMATICS	New Stanford Arithmetic (Z)						13-5	L				
	Cooperative Mathematics								24	A	25	A
SPATIAL FACILITY	Minnesota Paper Form Board Old						22	A				
	Minnesota Paper Form Board Revised						18	L	21	L	17	L
SPEED AND ACCURACY	Minnesota Vocational Test for Clerical Workers (Numbers score above, words below)						101/80	A	108/88	A	100/75	L
	Minnesota Rate of Manipulation				39/47	H						

* Hugh did not always put forth his best efforts in the testing program.

† A New Stanford Achievement Test given by the school in the seventh grade showed a very regular, up-to-grade profile with the exception of high scores in language usage and low scores in arithmetic reasoning.

Interpretation of Test Record. Hugh's scores cannot be interpreted with complete accuracy because his performance varied considerably with the amount of effort which he put forth. It can be said, however, that even at times when good effort was noted, he failed to get scores above the average category in written tests. His one high score was obtained on a rate-of-manipulation test which he asked to take after seeing others take it. He had heard that it would measure his speed for athletics. In the group tests of mental ability his modal score was at the lower end of the middle third of his group, and his individual test scores were in the same category. When he puts forth good effort, he can get near average scores in vocabulary, reading, and mathematics. His revised form-board performances are all low average.

not appear to be due to any physical condition which can be discovered and remedied.

Leisure-Time Activities. Hugh's time is almost wholly taken up with athletics or music, and he finds it very difficult to settle down to any concentrated work. When he is not actually participating in sports, he is reading about them in the newspaper, and he is well versed in his knowledge of the performances of professional teams. School is just an uninteresting interlude between Hugh's athletic and musical activities.

Work Experiences. Hugh has worked as a caddy at a neighboring golf course and has had some experience in delivering samples from house to house.

Vocational Choice

Grade	8	Coach	"I like athletics best"
	9	Salesman	His father had been talking to him about going into his business
	10	Undecided	He is worried about getting enough training to be a coach
	10 (repeat)	Undecided	Now considering several choices. Thinks father may take him into his business

Progress of Counseling. Hugh is tall, slim, wiry, active, and restless. He dresses in a sporty fashion and is unusually fastidious about cleanliness and neatness. He seems to be thoroughly scrubbed and his hair is neatly combed. He has more and better clothes than most of his friends and is the Beau Brummel of the school. After the first interview the counselor noted that he had a smooth, sophisticated manner. He meets people very easily without the slightest observable appearance of shyness. A counselor or teacher, to Hugh, is just another adult among the many he has met, and he takes them all in stride. He is nonchalant in the extreme during an interview but he has a steady flow of language. He says that he has "been around" and says that he "knows what it is all about." He has a most engaging grin.

Hugh was very critical of adults. He said that the athletic coach picked only his favorites for the team and that anyone who offered any criticism was not allowed to play. He scoffed at the principal of the school and made many critical remarks about the abilities and personal traits of teachers. He blamed his stepfather for his failure to make the first football team—because he wouldn't buy him shoes—and said that he picked on him for the amusement of his friends. It is worth noting here that the only adult who escaped criticism was

his mother. She excuses all his failures and misbehavior and blames others for them.

Hugh was "on trial" in the eighth grade, and since he disliked the implication that he was somewhat inferior to other students, he was trying to make passing marks. His background was different from those who had come up through the schools in this city, and it was apparent that his moving about had left many gaps in his training. The drive to succeed and pass this year did, however, compensate for his deficiencies and he succeeded in passing the grade. Occasionally, however, the drive would lapse and Hugh would irritate his teachers by his nonchalant manner, by "wisecracks," and by the habit of chewing large quantities of gum. He responded to attempts to discipline him by arguing bitterly, by actions of defiance such as refusal to talk for several days at a time, by "talking back" to teachers, and sometimes by sulking.

At first the counselor paid little attention to the bitter criticism of adults, but it became so strong that some action seemed to be necessary. An attempt was made to explain the mechanism of projection, and this was illustrated by situations in which there was no question of Hugh's culpability. He seemed to understand this concept and thought he could do something about it. In later interviews the criticism of adults was much less common. The counselor could not be sure that it was not simply a case of avoidance of the issue in the counseling situation and that it was not continued in other situations. In later interviews he expressed more uncertainty concerning his own ability and, at one stage in the counseling, it appeared that he was blaming himself too much.

In the ninth grade, Hugh met with difficulty in business arithmetic and failed the course. The failure appeared to be due to his desultory training in arithmetic in various schools, but it was made more certain when he had a very acrid word duel with the teacher. This teacher sent him to the principal for discipline, and he sent Hugh back to the teacher after a short fatherly chat. The teacher was so enraged because punishment was not meted out that she refused to have Hugh in class, and he was sent to sit out in the hall during class periods. Hugh soon took advantage of this situation and developed the habit of roaming aimlessly about the school or sitting on a bench staring into space. Since a minor feud was being carried on between the principal and the arithmetic teacher at this time, each refused to do anything about Hugh's case and he wasted many hours.

The conflict between the desire to get rid of this "problem case" and the desire to keep him back a grade for punishment was resolved at the counselor's request when he was promoted to the senior high school on trial. (This really amounts to promotion since no pupil is

ever sent back to the junior high school.) The counselor obtained the concession from principal and teacher by arguing that retention in the junior high school of a boy who was so big that he stood out from the group, who had developed undesirable habits in this school, and who bitterly resented the treatment obtained there was not likely to be effective.

Hugh and his parents decided, against the protests of the junior high school principal, that he would take the college preparatory course in senior high school. This is a severe academic course taught with all the earnestness and discipline of the college preparatory program of twenty years ago, and it is geared to the few brilliant students who can work diligently. The counselor was certain that Hugh was neither brilliant nor diligent in academic work and predicted failure, but there was no way in which he could prevent what his parents called the democratic right to choose one's own path. Anticipating some difficulty, Hugh was tutored during the summer to prepare him for the work in the senior high school.

The first year in senior high school was disastrous. Hugh failed in Algebra and French, passed without credit in history, made a *C* in English and failed a course in music appreciation. He failed to earn enough points to make graduation in three years of school possible, and the counselor noted a recurrence of the undesirable behavior and projections which had been allayed temporarily. At the end of the year the principal sent him to the counselor to work out a better course for him. (This was one of the first cases in which the senior high school principal had sought a counselor's aid and it marked the beginning of an attempt to arrange programs to fit students' needs rather than to force pupils into attempting the impossible.) A course which cut across curricular lines was drawn up. He pleaded for the opportunity to repeat French and a concession was made on this point.

The year had been a sad one from the academic standpoint, but he had enjoyed many of the school activities. He had tried out for the baseball and basketball teams and had shown some promise of becoming a first team member. He played in the school band and orchestra and had performed in a superior manner. His failure in the course in music appreciation was due to his inability to meet the academic standards of the course rather than to lack of skill in playing an instrument.

Hugh is now in the eleventh grade. His success has not been high although it is significantly better than during the previous year. His chief difficulty lies in the fact that he will not turn in well-prepared homework regularly. His practical chemistry teacher reports poor behavior, lack of attention, and little work done but gives him pass-

ing marks. Hugh admits that he has done very little work in history, and the history teacher describes him as a "spoiled child." In English Hugh boasts, "I have done *every other* assignment." (This is the kind of statement which disturbs those teachers who are fond of regularity and conformity.) The English teacher did give him a passing mark in written work, but his failure to prepare his oral reports on time could not be excused and he received a failing mark in oral English. His performance in the chorus course, which is largely devoted to the development of a select group for public performances, is satisfactory.

During this period of his career Hugh is concerned about his vocational choice, but he cannot come to even a tentative decision. His ineligibility for athletics (due to his low marks) has made him question his decision concerning a coaching career, and his failures in the college preparatory course have upset his plans to go to college. It appears now that he will finish high school and go to a business college as preparation for a salesman's position in his stepfather's business.

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2. CARTER

The following case report on Carter is intended to illustrate successful counseling procedures. Do you agree? Why, or why not?

Family Data. Carter is an only son of a highly skilled tradesman of Polish extraction who is not regularly employed. His home rates superior in its material possessions to those of the section of the city in which it is located. Carter's parents seem to understand him well. They approve of his efforts and accomplishments. The only information which he volunteered concerning his parents' attitudes was a jocular remark about his mother's objection to cluttering up the house with fishing tackle. The family goes on fishing expeditions frequently, and father and son are ardent followers of that sport.

Health. There is no indication of any health disorders. At one time the counselor suspected some hearing difficulty, but an audiometer test did not confirm this suspicion.

Leisure-Time Activities. Carter is always busy with outdoor sports, hobbies, and reading. He has shown some athletic prowess, but he prefers the solitary and small group games to football and baseball. He hunts and fishes with his father and he knows the lan-

SCHOOL RECORD

Grades		7	7r*	8	9	10	11	Teachers' and Student's Comments
ARTS	Woodworking	B		B	A			(Grade 8) "My failures the last few years have been caused by fooling around." Good athlete. Likes to take mechanical appliances apart and put them together again. Took music lessons awhile but dropped them
	Drawing	X	C	B				
	Music	B	B	A				
LAN-GUAGE	English	F	C	C	C	C	B	(Grade 8) Reads popular mechanics and outdoor life magazines. (Grade 9) Elected Spanish for pleasure. (Grade 10) Will not continue it—"not a pleasure." (Grade 11) English teacher reports him a conscientious worker capable of good work
	English (oral)					B	C	
	Grammar	C	C					
	Spelling	C	C					
	Spanish					X		
MATHE-MATICS	Arithmetic	F	C	C	C			(Grade 8) "I don't like arithmetic"
BUSI-NESS	Business Practice				B			(Grade 10) Passed first year of bookkeeping but wanted to drop it in second year when it was taught in preparation for occupation of accountancy. Had some difficulty with elementary typewriting but teacher encouraged him and he has succeeded. (Grade 11) Said to be hesitant about speaking in class but is hard-working pupil
	Business Organization						B	
	Bookkeeping					C	Drop.	
	Typewriting					C	C	

SCHOOL RECORD (Cont'd)

Grades.		7	7r*	8	9	10	11	Teachers' and Student's Comments
SCIENCE	General Science			B	A			(Grade 8) Works with a chemistry set. (Grade 9) Did good work in general science where teacher emphasized photography. Counselor advised choice of chemistry in eleventh grade and teacher reported him to be a steady worker
	Chemistry						B	
SOCIAL	Social Studies	F	C	B	C			(Grade 10) "There are too many examinations in this Commercial Geography course"
	Geography (Commercial)					B		

* Repeated the seventh grade.

guage of the fisherman very well. He has a chemistry set and many hours are spent with it. There is a shop in the basement of his home where he works out with his father many of the construction plans which appear in popular science and mechanics magazines. He reads a great many popular books and magazines. Carter became interested in taking pictures and developing his own prints and has followed this through as far as he can get finances for it.

Work Experiences. None.

Vocational Choice

Grade	8	Electrician	This choice appears to be due to the shop activities at home at this time
	9	Photographer	Occupational interest developed from his hobby
	10	Photographer	"I could do this all week and go fishing every week-end"
	11	Photographer	"I'm more interested in this than ever before"

Progress of Counseling. When he was first seen, Carter was taller than most of the boys of his class (he was a year older owing to his

TEST RESULTS: (Interpretations of test scores are in terms of distributions of scores of pupils in the school system concerned. *H* indicates upper third, *A* middle third, and *L* lower third.)

TESTS		Age	12-6		14-8		15-9		16-9		17-8	
		Grade	7(r)		8		9		10		11	
GENERAL MENTAL TEST	Henmon-Nelson (I.Q.)		103	A								
	Kuhlmann-Anderson (I.Q.)						97	L	89	L	107	A
READING	New Stanford Reading (Z)						16-5	A				
	Test of Speed of Reading								20	L	22	A
	Locally-Constructed Reading Test										28	L
LANGUAGES	Vocabulary Test Scores				54	A			31	A	35	A
MATHEMATICS	New Stanford Arithmetic (Z)						15-6	A				
	Cooperative Mathematics								19	A	20	L
SPATIAL FACILITY	Minnesota Paper Form Board Old				22	A	25	A				
	Minnesota Paper Form Board Revised						12	L	27	A	30	A
SPEED AND ACCURACY	Minnesota Vocational Test for Clerical Workers						79/75	L	78/82	L	93/77	L

Interpretation of Test Record. The mode of Carter's scores on group tests of mental ability lies in the average range of scores for his group. His reading, arithmetic, paper form board scores range from average to low. His vocabulary test scores are all average, and his performance on the clerical checking test puts him in the lower 10 per cent of pupils of his grade.

repetition of the seventh grade). His clothing was rumpled, his hair was tousled, and he had a serious case of acne. He was rather shy at first and was curious about the reason for the testing and interviewing. He was slow to warm up to the counselor, and not until the common ground of fishing was found was rapport well established. The rapport grew so great that he came in frequently to talk about his fishing experiences, and the counselor often called him up for a chat as a relief after being slightly tired of working with less well-adjusted children. Carter improved in appearance and his friendly manner and grin belied any unfavorable first impressions. He moved about slowly and might be described as "stolid."

Carter attributed his failure in the seventh grade and his minor difficulties in the eighth grade, which had brought warning cards of impending failure, to "too much fooling around." He did not take school work very seriously and was not challenged by what it had to offer. He did enjoy his classes in general science and general shop. School would have been a grand place for him if that was all that it had to offer. He was not worried about his academic difficulties, for he felt confident that he could settle down to do good work whenever he chose to do so. He had decided that he wanted to take as little of school as he was required to take and had thought about becoming an electrician. He inquired about training in this field and was told about trade school opportunities. The counselor did not press this point, since the choice of electrician did not seem to be based upon an understanding of himself or of the job requirements. He was given as much information as was available at that time, but he was also encouraged to look over such materials as the National Occupation Conference pamphlets on some of the other skilled trades. Much of the interview time with this boy was spent in talking about avocational rather than vocational pursuits, but this time was well spent in getting rapport with him. His quiet, easygoing manner and sense of humor were interesting because they were rarely observed among the many students interviewed by the counselor.

In the ninth grade Carter moved along in his former pattern with spurts of work when they seemed desirable and with a curious lack of concern for the ambitious striving and group excitements of his fellow students. He did his practical arts and science work very effectively, but he was quite satisfied with a passing record in the other subjects, and there seemed to be no good reason to disturb his choice of action.

Three factors influenced his choice of vocation for a life career. In the first place, there was some interest in taking pictures of the family fishing expeditions. Secondly, in order to reduce the cost of such pictures, Carter and his father began to develop them at home.

The third influence was the fact that the science teacher at the school was much interested in photography as a hobby, and he had built a great deal of the science class work around it. These three influences provided a tryout for Carter in the field of photography, and he suggested to the counselor that he was considering it as a career. Carter and the counselor went over the data on this occupation together and considered the requirements, opportunities, and limitations in terms of Carter's previous performances. The study seemed to be very satisfactory, and, after discussing the matter with his parents and looking at the local situation, Carter decided that he wanted to become a photographer.

The counselor encouraged him to consider other occupations, but Carter seemed to have made up his mind and his enthusiasm was high. He had developed his hobby of photography further and was now getting a great deal of information from various sources to supplement his rather extensive knowledge of that field. He had a goal to work for now and he worked more faithfully in school. Finding a goal in this case may have been the turning point from an educational career of "fooling around" to one of satisfactory accomplishment.

There was no possibility of continuing general science or getting into chemistry in the tenth grade, so Carter thought he would elect a Spanish course. He said he did it "for fun," but it did not prove to be funny. It consisted of a tedious study of grammar, and he decided to discontinue it at the end of the tenth year. He elected bookkeeping and typewriting as preparation for his planned photography business and did passing work. He continued to do average work in English and did his best work of the year in commercial geography.

His work in the eleventh grade was very satisfactory in chemistry and business organization courses because he saw some relationship between this work and his career choice. The second year of bookkeeping was, however, taught as if all the students had chosen a career in accountancy, and he floundered in it. He thought that he would not have need of all the commercial training provided and he dropped the course. He continued typing with enough success so that the teacher commented that he could become a good typist if he continued to work at it. He received the first *B* in English that he had ever had this year, and he was very proud of it. The teacher of this subject described him as a conscientious worker.

Carter is going on to his twelfth grade with courses in practical physics (in which the problem of light will be studied), in English, in problems of democracy, in economics and commercial law, and in a course in mechanical drawing which he had wanted, but had

been unable to take, since he entered high school. His vocational choice ("and the chance to go fishing on Sundays") seems settled, satisfactory, and well within the possibility of accomplishment. As far as the counselor could see, at the time Carter entered his senior year, there was not likely to be any disturbance to the even tenor of this boy's ways, and there seemed to be no reason why there should be.

3. GILBERT

Read these instructions carefully. This description of Gilbert was actually made by a principal of a village school of 150 pupils and four teachers. He presented the report just as it is given here to the teachers and asked for their suggestions for treatment. Assume that you are one of the teachers in the school and that you are writing your reply. Write it under the following headings: (a) Further information needed. (b) Steps you would take in the order in which you would take them. (c) Reasons for each step. (d) Expected results of each step.

NOTE: Don't use general statements such as, "I'd talk with his grandmother." State specifically what you would talk about.

Physical Characteristics. Gilbert is sixteen years of age, well built, and used to hard farmwork. He is not physically defective, but is not a very good athlete. Whether this is due to inherent poor coordination or lack of practice is not known. He is not noticeably poor in athletics, but somehow does not make the athletic teams, although he tries. No history of illness. Undergoes perfunctory physical examination every year by coach and doctor. Good teeth, eyes, and ears. Apparently no physical trouble of any sort worth mentioning.

Mental Data. I.Q. 110 on Henmon-Nelson test this year (10th grade). Does from *C* plus to *B* work in school. Good reader.

Scholastic Data. Can do excellent work and usually has his lessons done. Good in discussion, but has surly voice. He is usually polite and uses good vocabulary. Spelling and handwriting bad, although not unusual for this school as judged by teachers. We have given no standardized tests, but are starting a testing program next fall. No past history of scholastic failures. Best work done in algebra and history.

Psychological Data. Somewhat defiant, surly, and while not a lone wolf, has relatively few friends. Will cooperate best with women teachers, although works hard for men whom he respects. For men teachers he is likely to become surly and defiant and talk back. Does not smoke, drink, or go out with girls.

Family Data. Father and mother on farm in another part of the state. Boy lives with grandmother so that he can attend high school. Lives on small farm and does chores and some farmwork. Has had little real homelife. Little money to spend, if any. Works as librarian at school. Family of German-Bohemian stock. Parents had elementary school education. English is spoken at home. Grandmother rather poor financially.

Interests and Abilities. As indicated above, the boy has shown no particular aptitude. He is not much of an athlete, though shows no peculiar lack of ability. He is above average in all scholastic work. Has done nothing in the way of dramatics, newspaper, or singing, but this may be due to lack of opportunity. Since we run a school bus, he has little opportunity for extra curricular activities that are not in school time. Amusements are few—ball playing, fishing, hunting. Does not appear at school parties. Apparently much of this is due to lack of time and money.

Reasons for Being Brought to Attention of Principal. Is a problem as far as getting into trouble is concerned, although I understand he is improving in manners, consideration for others, and general behavior. Squirts water on grade children. Puts chewing gum on wall. If he thinks he is being forced to behave, becomes defiant and will argue. Is led by women teachers, probably because, being adolescent, he is now becoming interested in women. Treats one woman teacher more or less protectively, and she can handle him very well. He often makes smart remarks about the teachers when he thinks no teacher is listening. On one occasion he did so in class, and then apologized without being asked. Admitted readily to being cause of accident to some dramatic club furniture and showed really convincing regret. Seems to be trustworthy. The primary reason for his being brought to attention is that in the past he has been a source of more or less "fear" to some teachers. The preceding principal apparently incurred his dislike, and it seems that when reprimanded by this man the boy showed signs of fight and pulled out a knife and handled it threateningly. Same man considered that the boy had a "queer streak" in him, and that he was the only student he could not dominate. The boy apparently behaves well when and because he wants to, not because of any particular respect for teacher or principal.

English Teacher's Report. Gilbert is coming along fine. Apparently his problem is lack of money, and this gives him an inferiority complex. He was never able to spend a cent on himself and could not do what the others did. His grandmother is old and works him hard and does not understand him. I appeal to him on the grounds of common decency and politeness, and he is always polite and considerate of me. He comes around and asks me what work is to be done. He

made a smart remark in class and I looked at him. He flushed and apologized without my saying a word. Knowing his past behavior, the other students looked surprised.

Agriculture Teacher's Report. Gilbert will not take orders. I removed him from the baseball team temporarily for loafing during practice. He and two friends quit. I sent them to the principal and they returned. When the boys reported, they explained that they thought the coach was "riding" them and had used language that they resented. I asked if some of their friends had said the same thing whether they would have resented it and showed them that they hadn't been particularly decent, and they returned and have done fairly well since. As far as I am concerned, I have had only two dealings in the matter of discipline with Gilbert. He was reported for putting gum on the wall. Claimed innocence, so I took his word for it and gave him to understand I would tolerate no nonsense. The other time was the incident of the baseball practice. I am worried about Gilbert, for although he shows signs of definite improvement, I am not convinced that he will not "break out again." He is definitely hard to cooperate with and is hard to talk to.

Diagnosis by Principal. I believe that Gilbert's basic trouble in the past was due to dislike of the preceding principal and to almost nonexistent homelife. I also believe his lack of money, apparently fairly poor elementary school life, and his excessive work at home contribute. I do not believe Gilbert is mentally unbalanced. I do believe that he is looked upon at his grandmother's home as just another hired man and given little consideration. I also believe Gilbert is suffering from an inferiority complex.

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4. HENRY

The following report was sent by a psychiatrist to the principal of a junior high school who had referred a boy (Henry) for the reasons given in the second paragraph of the report. The principal, as well as several of the teachers in the school that Henry attended, had used many common procedures in their attempts to "straighten out" the boy. Disciplinary action had not been effective, and attempts to make special provision for him by curriculum and class adjustments had been unsuccessful. The principal concluded that Henry required more expert analysis and treatment than the school could provide, and he was referred to a county mental-hygiene unit. After reading the report, the student should discuss such problems as the adequacy of information obtained, the extent to which the recommendations are applicable in the common public-school situation, and the methods by which the school personnel and the parents may cooperate in helping Henry to make more satisfactory adjustments.

A Report of a Psychiatrist to a School Principal

(All original constructions have been retained. Minor changes in facts have been made to prevent identification)

Reason for Referral. Henry was referred by the principal of a junior high school. He had not adjusted well in school, being seemingly utterly disinterested in school subjects.

Case History. At times he would do very well, indeed, and his attitude would be excellent, but at other times he would be a complete failure, his work would be hurried, he would want to talk along the lines of his hobbies and not along the lines indicated by the subject matter which was being discussed. He would give way to outbursts of temper and would quarrel with his classmates for little or no reason; he would fail to follow directions and would fail to concentrate on his work. He would be lazy and indifferent and he would come in complaining of aches and pains for which there seemed no organic cause. The family history shows that the boy came 9 years after the marriage and that 5 years after his birth a second boy (Jimmie) came into the household. The father seemed to have little interest in children and the mother overcompensated by raising her first son according to the books so that he had stern discipline but an adequate amount of loving and affection. The second son who was allowed to grow up pretty much as he pleased has adjusted well. The family lives on a farm at the present time and the boy has little contact with those of his own age.

Interview with Mother. The mother gave much the same story as that given by the school. She said that Henry played very little with other children not so much because of the fact that he was not in contact with them as because of the fact that his attitude toward them was such that those who did call to see him never bothered to call a second time. His brother, on the other hand, has many friends. Henry could not be depended upon to complete home tasks. The brother could be depended upon. Henry hated to complete a duty and what he did would be done sloppily. He quarreled with his brother incessantly and when the brother was hurt nearly fainted. He would allow others to injure his brother. He has been given far more than his brother but has never shown the affection for the family that his brother has shown.

Henry's father said that Henry could do excellently whatever he wanted to do, but that when he was crossed in any way or discouraged he would quit. He was determined to be a leader or nothing. He seemed to enjoy helping his father with the milking. His father has had quite a temper, but has endeavored lately to curb this temper and to show interest in the two boys.

Psychological. On the Binet Form L Henry passed all 12 year items and failed all Superior Adult 3 items. His mental age was 16–2 and his I.Q. 115. He did well in reading but somewhat poorly in memory, judgment and reasoning. On the Rorschach his replies were those of an immature individual. Out of less than 20 replies 3 showed great feeling of inferiority and 7 were F minus which would indicate that the boy's outlook on life was not that of a stable individual. Color was seen as raw rage. The boy interpreted splotches of red as blood. He saw figures dancing, atom bombs exploding and airplanes falling to bits out of the sky. In other words, his world was one in which there was considerable rage and desires to destroy, unhappiness and insecurity. Incidentally, the boy did not suffer from a reading disability.

Psychiatric. Henry had a tic of the eyes and of the throat. He said that his father was just and fair but that he continually angered his father by finding something else to do, procastinating and forgetting the job assigned him. His father took it for granted the boy would obey and never praised the boy when he obeyed, but when he did not obey his responses were violent and to the point. His father had little to do with him, too little interest in his love of aviation and too little interest in hunting, and he wanted his father to notice him. After all, Jimmie never did anything for the father as Jimmie was lazy. Jimmie never had to help his father. Henry would rather be with his father than his mother because he wanted his father to notice him. His mother, like his father, was irritable if he forgot to obey; she took it for granted that he would obey. His brother he did not like; "we disagree on everything; can't get along together; he always wants to get my goat." Henry would protect Jimmie if others picked on him but he would rather annoy Jimmie than do anything else in the world. He expects trouble from Jimmie and expects to give Jimmie as much trouble as possible, but he would be afraid to give Jimmie the beating he would like to give him as he might injure him too severely. He therefore simply picks on him and nags him. He spends his time in school daydreaming about home conditions. He is not interested in making friends with others as home means more to him than outside friends could begin to mean. Henry wants more than anything else to become an airplane pilot; his second wish is to go hunting with his father; his third wish is to make his parents notice him and make his brother miserable as possible.

Summary. Henry's difficulty at home, at school and at play is based on his jealousy of his brother. He was not given sufficient security and affection in early infancy to adjust to the fact that his brother did receive both security and affection at a later date. He has built his whole emotional life around his brother. He wants his

parents to notice him instead of his brother. School and friends mean nothing to him compared with his home situation. His parents notice him more when he annoys them. He, therefore, annoys them to get the attention that he craves. He will not adjust in school or play until he has learned to adjust at home. He is immature because of his jealousy, and has withdrawn to almost a pathological degree from contact with those of his own age. The boy should not be compared with his brother and the two should be kept apart in every way possible. The parents are going to give the boy much attention for mature behavior and they are going to ignore immature behavior. They will make it pay to accomplish things. They will give him tasks for which he can earn praise and the boy will work with the father part of the time. He will be rewarded for his cooperation by going on a hunting trip with his father in the fall. He wants to work around the airplane field but this is his hobby to such a pathological degree that the psychiatrist would suggest that other work be found in the town, possibly working in a garage; definitely any work that will bring him in contact with others and give him a feeling of accomplishing something of which he can boast. In the school next fall he might do well if he could be given supplementary work to do and for which he could be given praise, such as note book work on the countries that he studies or something along the manual training line which would be shown other classes. If his tic continues he should most certainly be brought back to the center; if it decreases the school can know by that alone that he is beginning to adjust to some degree. His parents recognize the boy's problem and will do all that they can to make the boy feel secure and to decrease his feelings of insecurity and jealousy. As stated before, the problem does not lie in the school, but rather in the boy's feeling of insecurity in his own mind.

Appendix IV—Follow-Up Reports of Cases Presented as Exercises

HOMER

HOMER graduated from a university with a major in history and a minor in English. His grades were average, but he was a conscientious student who spent most of his free time in study. Against the advice of his advisers he undertook graduate work in history. He took his final doctorate examinations in 1947 at a university which adjusts its programs and standards to individual differences of its students. He now plans to do research for a publishing house, library, or university.

Homer was not drafted into the armed services because he was found to be "eligible for draft, but temperamentally unfit for military service." He seems to be somewhat better adjusted and less irritable than he was in high school, but, according to his mother, he is certainly not a "normal boy." He has never worked for wages and is still a "lone wolf," and his recreation consists of reading and taking long solitary walks.

HUGH

After graduation from high school in 1941, Hugh obtained summer work at a local beach resort as a bus boy. He disliked the work but continued on the job because the wages were better than any other occupation he could find. In the autumn, at his mother's insistence, he enrolled in a local business school where he studied salesmanship. He did not develop interest in the course, and when it appeared that he would be drafted, he urged his mother to allow him to enlist. One month prior to the outbreak of war he enlisted in the Navy without his mother's consent. After preliminary training he was assigned to a destroyer as a seaman. His mother reported that his letters were cheerful, and he seemed to have made a good adjustment. In June, 1943, she was notified that Hugh had died as a result of wounds received in action in the Pacific.

HAYDEN

Near the end of his senior year Hayden began to reconsider airplane mechanics as a vocation, and, with the assistance of the coun-

selor, he investigated the possibilities of obtaining training for it. His choice narrowed down to two. He could join the Army and try to obtain training in aviation mechanics there, or attend a local aviation mechanics school. Actually, Hayden wanted to become a pilot, and he thought that he might attain that goal through study of mechanics. There was no indication that he could perform mechanical tasks with much skill, but he would not be convinced that he could not be successful in occupations which required such performances.

After graduation from high school in 1941, Hayden was admitted to a two-year course in aviation mechanics at a reliable school. He completed one year with minimum success and then enlisted in the Army. He was classified as an aviation mechanic and spent the duration of the war in India with the Air Transport Command.

Upon his discharge, Hayden was more determined than ever to become a pilot, and he enrolled in a pilot-training school of questionable reputation. He now (in 1948) seems more unstable than he has ever been, and if his training under the Veterans Administration is discontinued because of his lack of success (as seems likely), Hayden will again be at a loss as to what he should do.

PRISCILLA

Priscilla attended the college in which she had enrolled. She struggled hard to earn enough to pay her expenses for the first two years. During her last two years the family's financial status improved and the assistance which her parents provided, combined with earnings from summer jobs, made it possible for her to meet her financial obligations. Priscilla majored in business subjects and graduated as a teacher of typing and stenography. A number of positions in small communities were available to her, and she selected the one nearest her home. During the seven years in which she has been teaching commercial subjects, Priscilla has changed positions twice in order to increase her salary. She reported in 1948 (twelve years after initial counseling) that she enjoyed her work and that she was pleased about the selection of teaching as a career.

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