CLIENT'S PERCEPTION OF COUNSELOR
TRUSTWORTHINESS, EXPERTNESS, AND ATTRACTIVENESS
AS A FUNCTION OF COUNSELOR RACE AND DIALECT

BY

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This study investigated how a counselor's speech style affected racially different clients' judgements of a counselor's trustworthiness, expertness, and attractiveness. Additionally, the study examined the question of whether certain counselor speech styles enhanced the amount of information which was retained by clients who had contact with a particular counselor. This study also attempted to determine whether subjects changed their ratings of a counselor over the course of three contacts with a counselor due to the counselor's speech style. Finally, this investigation raised the question of whether black clients and white clients would indicate a preference for a particular counselor style based upon their own (client) race.

A counselor's vocal accent has been identified as one of several important aspects of his or her total cultural and/or racial identity. Sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that listeners, often influenced by their own backgrounds, have preferential attitudes toward

certain speech styles. This study attempted to integrate these related themes in an empirical fashion by measuring, with the Counselor Rating Form, subjects' attitudes toward the following four counselor conditions: (1) A black counselor speaking with a black English accent, (2) the same black counselor speaking without an accent, (3) a white counselor speaking with a southern English accent, and (4) the same white counselor speaking without an accent. Forty black and forty white male inpatient clients who were participating in an eight week alcohol rehabilitation program at the East Orange, New Jersey, Veterans Administration Medical Center served as subjects. Results were analyzed by analysis of variance (ANOVA) and revealed that, overall, no one of the four different counselor conditions was "superior" to any of the others. The sole exception to this was for the subset of black subjects and only when they rated the black counselor. Under this condition, the dimension of counselor expertness was enhanced when the counselor spoke in unaccented English. The dimensions of counselor trustworthiness and attractiveness were not affected. The amount of information recalled by subjects was not differentially influenced by any of the four different counselor conditions. One serendipitous finding emerged: universally, the black subjects gave higher ratings to the counselors than did the white subjects. All the findings are discussed in light of previous, related research from the areas of cross-cultural counseling and sociolinguistics. Implications for the practitioner are discussed and future research questions are recommended.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades many different client and counselor variables have been investigated as possible sources of influence on the therapeutic process (Parloff, Waskow & Wolfe, 1978). And, during the last several years several empirical and theoretical articles have focused specifically on ethnicity as one of many important sources of influence (Harrison, 1975). However, within the context of the therapeutic relationship, only a few writers have considered sociolinguistic influences as part of the ethnicity question (Conville & Ivey, 1974). This present study examined social speech dialects of both black and white counselors and the manner in which these dialects affected clients' perceptions of various counselor attributes.

Since therapy is, more than anything else, a verbal, linguistic and conversational activity, it is somewhat surprising that more attention has not been given to therapy from a communication perspective (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). Those who have investigated the role that language plays in therapy have tended to take approaches that vary along several different and only marginally related dimensions. Linguistic investigations of the therapeutic process have looked at meanings of single words (e.g. Sprafkin, 1970), stylistic complexity (e.g. Meara, Shannon & Pepinsky, 1979),

counselor-client compatibility (Schumacher, Banikiotes & Banikiotes, 1972) and dialect (Stein & Walker, 1980; Stein, Note 1). An important allied area concerns the study of language attitudes. Research in this area has been conducted primarily by sociolinguists and educators outside the context of counseling.

Recently, the role of language attitudes had a significant impact on ethnic relations in one of our most important social institutions--the school. The decision in Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board (Note 2) included a plan ordered by the court which aimed at reducing teachers' biased attitudes toward speakers of black English.

For several years, sociolinguists have been studying the role that different speech qualities play in shaping listeners' attitudes toward certain speakers. Briefly, these studies have consistently demonstrated that people make personality and evaluative judgements about others based on speakers' accents (Anisfeld, Bogo & Lambert, 1962), dialect (Light, Richard & Bell, 1978) and voice quality (Markel, Meisels & Houck, 1964). For example, Tucker & Lambert (1969) demonstrated that white speakers of Network English (the mode of unaccented speaking characteristic of national newscasters) were rated higher on positive personality traits than educated black speakers, who were rated higher than black English speakers, who were rated higher than southern white speakers. Most Americans use a speech style or dialect having characteristics which listeners often associate with a geographical region or social class.

Need For the Study

The concern with language attitudes is particularly crucial when researching the role of ethnicity in counseling. Aside from obvious ethnic physical characteristics that clients may notice immediately, they may next be impressed by a counselor's vocal qualities. A major goal of the present investigation was to study language attitudes within the counseling context in order to determine whether these attitudes were influential in shaping a client's perception of a counselor. If so, were the effects of these attitudes constant over time or were they primarily a product of an initial contact? Also, beyond language attitudes alone, did the visual racial factors interact with the ethnic factor of social dialect?

Purpose of the Study

The following brief description of the design introduces the specific questions this study investigated (See Figure 1). A black counselor and a white counselor each made two sets of brief instructional videotape monologues. Each counselor delivered one set in a relatively "accentless" speech style (Formal English) and the other in an "accented" (Informal English) speech style. The white counselor spoke Network English in one set and southern (accented) English in the other set. The black counselor spoke black English in one set and Conventional English in the other set. Thus, there were a total of four counselor conditions: black or white counselor plus two social dialects for each. Each set of video taped instructional monologues contained three separate short talks in which the counselor described three important basic elements of the counseling

relationship. One monologue focused on the need for preparedness, another was on the importance of mutual respect and a third was on the topic of client-counselor compatibility. Subjects viewed the three video taped monologues on three different days over the course of one week.

More specifically, this study attempted to answer the following questions:

- (1) When a client encounters a counselor for the first time, how important is the counselor's speech style in determining the client's perception of the counselor?
- (2) Does a counselor's speech style continue to influence the client's perception of the counselor past the first contact?
- (3) Does a client indicate any preference for type of counselor based on the counselor's dialect?
- (4) Does a client indicate any preference for counselor dialect based on his own race?
- (5) Do any of the factors--i.e. counselor dialect, counselor race and client race--have any effects on how much a client remembers about the content of the instructional monologues?

Significance of the Study

This study contains three related aspects which have an important bearing on the area of counseling research. First, although a rich literature exists in the allied fields of sociolinguistics and language attitudes, no counseling researchers have attempted to extend these linguistic findings into a counseling context. As "ethnicity" becomes an increasingly important factor in both the

society at large and in the counseling profession, language variation associated with one's culture is often singled out as an important factor interfering with the communicative process. This study, which makes explicit use of the sociolinguistic findings regarding language attitudes, attempted to demonstrate their legitimate place in the context of counseling.

Secondly, this integration of findings from two related disciplines helped to further clarify and empirically define the question of "ethnicity." This term has various meanings depending on who is using it and in what context, and it often becomes a meaningless concept. Language variation as a demonstrable part of one's "ethnicity" helps to further operationally define this elusive, but important concept.

Finally, the implications for counselor training are an important consideration of this study. In a general sense, counselors are already aware of both what they communicate and how they communicate. Up to this point, much consideration has been given to many general aspects of vocal qualities. These include variables such as silence, raising and lowering one's voice, and paralinguistic variables such as body language. This study focuses on a more implicit quality of the communication itself, yet one which is under the counselor's control. A counselor's voice is one of his or her main tools and is multi-faceted and more complicated than is generally recognized. At this stage it would be premature to suggest that counselors should receive formal voice training as part of their curricular requirements. It is certainly not premature, however, for professionals

in the counseling field to consider dialect variation and how it may be affecting clients' perceptions of counselors.

Definition of Terms

Network English. This term has been used by Tucker and Lambert (1969) to describe a style of speech which is characteristic of national newscasters. The important quality of this style of speech is that it is, in theory, devoid of regional or social accents. For two reasons this is actually a hypothetical form of speech. First, no speech style is completely void of some identifying qualities and, secondly, it is a matter of opinion as to what constitutes an accent. In this study, Network English is also referred to as "unaccented" or "formal" English.

Conventional English. Like the other forms of English being used in this study, Conventional English must be defined operationally. For purposes of this study, Conventional English is analogous to Network English. The reason for using the two different terms is to distinguish the two counselors from one another. Since this term is analogous to Network English, it may also be referred to as "unaccented" or "formal" English.

Black English. Dillard (1972) has written an exhaustive text on this subject. Black English is a dialect of English that has historical roots in pre-slavery Africa. It is a systematic, rule governed and quite logical form of English; and it has been estimated that about eighty percent of American blacks speak some black English. Because of racism and misunderstanding, many negative attributions have been made about this form of English. Bell (1979)

gives an example of how a Black English rule differs from the
Conventional English rule:

Rule: The 's' or 'es' is omitted from the present tense verb
when used with third person singular noun or pronoun.

"He go home through the field."	Black English
"He goes home through the field."	Conventional English

At times, black English may be referred to as "accented" or
"informal" English when writing about the black counselor.

Southern English. Again, this speech style must be defined in
relative terms. There are certain phonetic characteristics that are,
for example, often identified as being particularly associated with
someone who has lived in the southern United States. For example,
the expression "y'all" is readily associated by most listeners as
typically and exclusively a southern expression. For purposes of
this investigation, what was most important was that obvious and
typical phonetic differences existed between the white counselor's
version of Network English and his version of Southern English. This
term may also be referred to as "accented" or "informal" speech when
referring to the white counselor. It is not analogous to black
English.

Accent. An accent refers to those phonetic variations of
sounds within a given language that can vary without changing the
meaning of the word in which a given sound is found. For example,
a native French speaker may pronounce the word "see" as "zee" as in:
"I'll zee you later." He may be said to have spoken in a French
accent because he used one of the sounds of his native dialect in a
context that made sense to the listener of the English (See Dialect).

Dialect. A dialect is a variety of a language distinguished according to the user (Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens, 1973). Different groups of people within a language community may speak different dialects of the same language. That is, two dialects of the same language are mutually intelligible. When a speaker learns a second dialect, it is often spoken with the accent of his native dialect.

Register. While this term has not been used thus far, it is important to understand its meaning and how it differs from dialect and accent. Register refers to a category of language that is distinguished according to use. This category accounts for what people do with their language. While dialects differ with respect to substance, registers differ primarily in form. Lexical items are the most obvious: "cleanse" puts us into the language of advertising, "probe" puts us into the newspaper headline language. A given person may switch registers depending upon the social situation or depending upon the intent of the communication.

Ethnicity. In this investigation, ethnicity referred to whether a patient or counselor was black or white. It is understood that this criterion of color is just one aspect of a larger context which really includes a person's entire cultural background.

Client. This study utilized subjects who were inpatients in a Veterans Administration hospital alcohol program. The terms client, patient and subject all refer to these individuals unless otherwise stated.

Counseling. The terms counseling and therapy as used in this study refer to the same process. Similarly, for counselor and therapist.

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the area of cross-racial counseling. From reviews of writing in this area (e.g. Harrison, 1975; Griffith, 1977) several considerations emerge for counselors and allied professionals to consider in their work with ethnically different clients.

Considerable controversy exists regarding whether to include ethnicity as a relevant factor in counseling research. The three sides to this controversial question are represented, philosophically, by the following Chinese proverb:

Each person is like every other person, each person
shares certain qualities with every other person,
each person is like no other person.

For those who do consider ethnicity a relevant variable (e.g. Vontress, 1970; Sue, 1978), the task of defining the factors which contribute to one's ethnicity becomes challenging when just a few of the most salient aspects are considered: ancestral heritage, social class, nationality, political ideology, language, religion, education and value systems. When these factors are considered together as possibly interacting process or outcome variables, it is a complex matter to parcel apart the important variables from the incidental ones. Furthermore, it is risky to make generalizations based on single research projects or to overemphasize the

importance of one of the above factors. In addition, there are the questions of whether the best counselor-client match is necessarily one where both share similar racial or ethnic backgrounds and whether therapists should use different counseling techniques depending on a client's ethnic background (Smith, 1977). With respect to theory, research and practice, the state of the art of ethnic concerns in counseling portrays a new and uncertain profile.

It seems important to recognize that often unknown to one another, many researchers have been engaged in efforts to solve different though related questions; all of which are all relevant to the area of cross-racial counseling. Several characteristics of this diverse yet related body of research have been cited. While Griffith (1977) observed an overrepresentation of anecdotal accounts and uncontrolled observations, Sattler (1970) found fault with methodological inadequacies and inconsistencies in the literature. Further, Harrison (1975) clearly stated the need for further empirically based research. Abramowitz and Docecki (1977) noted an advantageous use of the results from this broadly based body of research. They noted that the validity of new theory is supported when convergent findings emerge from this widely based research. Simultaneously, however, what can be said about divergent data or areas of research related in fundamental ways but which remain unintegrated? With these questions in mind, this chapter contains reviews of several of these related areas under the following major headings: (1) Racial Variables in the Counseling Process, (2) A Brief Account of Sociolinguistic and Language Attitude Research, and (3) Language Variables in Clinical and Counseling Settings.

Racial Variables in the Counseling Process

In the last several years there have been at least several hundred articles of either a theoretical or empirical nature which fell into this category. As a result, not only have there been many review articles summarizing the trends and findings (Gardner, 1971; Harrison, 1975; Griffith, 1977; Sattler, 1970, 1977; Jones, 1977), but there have also been reviews of these review articles (Parloff, Waskow & Wolfe, 1978; Garfield, 1978). Although many thoughtful questions have been raised, the answers to many remain inconclusive and controversial. The remainder of this section explores the work that has already been directed at some of these important issues.

Same-Race Versus Interracial Counseling Dyads

Most of the writing in this area has centered on dyads in which the counselor is white and the counselee is black. A general trend reported by some reviewers indicates a wide range of clients--high school students, college students and adults--have predictable preferences for counselors. Harrison (1975), Griffith (1977) and Parloff et al. (1978) all concurred that clients tended to prefer counselors of the same race. Griffith (1977) stressed the fact that same-race dyads were not, however, a prerequisite for successful therapy. It is important to note that the support for this position was not unanimous. Sattler's (1977) position was that the therapist's race was for the most part, not a significant factor in interracial counseling. Parloff et al. (1978) attempted to shed some light on these differing interpretations of what were, generally, conclusions based on the same body of research. First,

Sattler's review included a number of studies that demonstrated no difference due to racial matching (e.g. Bryson & Cody, 1973; Ewing, 1974). Secondly, Griffith relied primarily on a few studies even though he recognized their shortcomings. Finally, the different reviewers seemed to place different emphases on what they thought was the most important measure of client preference: these included self-disclosure, self-exploration and noted client satisfaction. There were several other problems noted in this cross-racial research that concern methodology.

Jones (1978) questioned the generalizability of findings based solely on one counseling interview. Parloff et al. (1978) suggested that the prevalence of racially biased counselors may be under-represented because of the self-selection aspect of therapists for much of this research. More systematic research is needed to determine the effects of various racial pairings on the outcome of therapy (Parloff, et al., 1978; Harrison, 1975). Many variables have often been mentioned as possibly interacting with racial factors, but they have not been studied systematically. Most importantly, they include sex and social class. Additionally, therapists' attitudes and backgrounds have not been systematically evaluated in the context of cross-racial counseling.

In summary, it appears from the literature, that the question of racial matching in therapy is not a very potent question when it is asked in the abstract. Further, when other measurable factors are excluded from consideration, or when certain variables are easily confounded with race, this state of affairs only tends to cloud the basic issue. Each of the writers reviewed has suggested some new

questions that not only make sense from a theoretical point of view, but are also formulated with a more critical understanding of the complex nature of counseling research. Parloff et al. (1978) suggested that what are probably even more important than studies of therapist race are studies of the effects of different therapist attitudes toward and understanding of people with ethnically different backgrounds. Griffith (1977) recognized that the research in the area of racial influences is only in the beginning stages. Although he recognized race as unquestionably an important factor, the crucial factor is not whether race influences the therapeutic process, but in what way and under what circumstances. The therapist's personal attributes are mentioned as one of the most crucial factors in this question.

Special Techniques for Special Populations?

A frequently asked question in the area of counseling ethnic minorities concerns the notion of using special counseling techniques with ethnically different clients. The answer to this question is as controversial and uncertain as the issue of racial matching.

Vontress (1970) described several special problems which a black individual may bring to therapy. These include, especially for the black male, a resistance to self-disclosing to a white therapist. In addition, the white therapist is likely to have countertransference reactions that may very well interfere with the therapeutic process. Although Vontress (1970) did not advocate a special "technique" for counseling blacks, he offered some very specific suggestions aimed at

increasing counselor effectiveness. First, he argued that there are not enough professionally trained counselors to meet present and future needs. Second, the ones already in the field need additional awareness training to help them become more effective in their work with culturally different clients. Retraining methods include in-service workshops aimed at sensitizing the middle-class therapist to the needs and value systems of the culturally different client.

Gunnings and Simpkins (1972) presented a systemic approach to counseling the disadvantaged client. This approach stresses the important role counselors can play in influencing factors outside the counseling office. The assumption of this approach is that the community (or "system") is responsible for many of the problems of the disadvantaged. The system often places the culturally different minorities at a social, economic and political disadvantage. Thus, a client is not really "culturally deprived"; but a counselor who is unaware of the culturally different client's background is prone to make this type of stereotypical judgement. From the systemic point of view, a counselor's role is expanded from being just a coping agent for the client to include being an agent of change. The counselor should function in the community in several roles that attempt to change the system in ways which will directly or indirectly help his client and others. The counselor must be an advocate of his client, build bridges between culturally disparate factions in the community and act as an appropriate role model. An additional role of the counselor is one of a consultant--to teachers and others in influential positions.

An important aspect of the Gunnings and Simpkins (1972) model is the stress they gave to changes that they advocated in graduate education. Students should not be protectors of the status quo, but rather should be actively involved in making improvements in both their graduate programs and in the community.

Tucker (1973) presented a model for counseling the oppressed which stressed the importance of action and accountability on the counselor's part. In this model counselors must take active steps to make themselves seen. This involves outreach into the relevant client setting and the development of trust between the therapist and potential clients. The accountability aspect of this model involves careful delineation of both the short term and long term goals of the intervention. Further, proper priorities and appropriate strategies must be developed that have special relevancy for the oppressed. Finally, the results and outcomes must be periodically evaluated to insure that the actions of the counselor have been meaningful to the special population in question.

Several authors have presented models which attempt, either explicitly or implicitly, to transcend race. Harper and Stone (1974) presented a model of counseling that, although was formulated with the black client in mind, went beyond race per se and is appropriate for most clients. Basically, any sound counseling therapy must have a sound basic philosophy and a range of useful strategies. A counselor's orientation, knowledge and experience must transcend racism. This means that while one's race can and should be acknowledged by counselor and client alike, neither should become fixated on this issue. This transcendent model is rooted by

some sound strategies employable by any counselor. First, basic needs should be assessed and the appropriate actions taken so the client can grow both in terms of the therapeutic relationship and as an individual. Second, the client's current life style should be assessed and appropriate action should be taken to alleviate any extreme difficulties. Third, specific behaviors must be evaluated and the appropriate confrontations must be made by the clients as they change specific aspects of daily living. Finally, the counselor can help the client assess the dynamics which may have contributed to the problem from the start. This is an educative process as well as a change process. It involves growth on the part of both the client and the counselor. Although race may be an issue in the beginning, the process ends at a point well beyond the mere consideration of a person's race as the crucial part of the therapeutic process.

Smith (1977) presented the pitfalls of focusing upon racial differences not only in the counseling context, but in the society at large. She pointed out that the continuation of describing the differences between racial groups only serves to reinforce the predominantly negative attributes already held by many majority group members about minority group members. Too often, special counseling models are forwarded describing the culturally different as "disadvantaged" or "deprived." With such a label there is the implicit assumption that to be black or culturally different is to be handicapped in many aspects of one's life.

Smith (1977) described several trends of the counseling literature that have tended to stress racial differences between

blacks and whites but which have done little to promote a better understanding or increase mutual tolerance. Much of the literature has tended to stress that most blacks have negative self-concepts and that counselors should work toward alleviating such a view. Similarly, many characterizations of the black family have been negative and have been seen as contributing to the "black problem." There is also the myth of the verbally restricted black client. All these erroneous assumptions have been seen by Smith (1977) as perpetuating the racist problem that exists in our society. Counselors are not immune to racism. She attributed much of this bias in the literature to the manner in which research is conceptualized. The bottom line for Smith is that despite all the research that has been conducted on black (and other) groups, very little has been done as a result to improve their generally poor life situation. When black clients are seen in therapy first as blacks and secondly as individuals, Smith (1977) contended that all the stereotypes and biases inevitably become an important factor to overcome. Hypotheses turn into conclusions and experiments are constructed to validate personal feelings rather than to investigate uncertainties.

McDavis's (1977) eclectic model also attempted to transcend the issue of race without ignoring the possibility that certain racial aspects may have to be addressed during the process. Since each person is an individual and comes to therapy with different problems and different perspectives of the world, an eclectic position offers the maximum range of flexibility for both the counselor and the client. Behavioral, existential, client-centered, reality and Gestalt procedures may be used in an effective blend by a skillful

therapist to help any client. If a minority client brings a special concern to therapy which is a result of his culturally different development, this is not seen as a "deprivation" or "deficit." The eclectic position is functional in both a theoretical and practical sense. Every client is different and will naturally have different needs in therapy. At the same time, all clients share certain basic needs. When a well-trained counselor uses the techniques from a variety of theories in a creative manner, it is not unreasonable to expect that the range of clients which that counselor will be able to effectively help will increase both with respect to clients' backgrounds and their problems.

Premature Termination of Therapy and the Minority Client

Mental health care delivery in the United States takes place in a wide variety of settings. School counselors, community mental health centers, governmental agencies, private and public hospitals and private psychiatrists and therapists are all involved in providing the bulk of (formal) mental health services to the American public. Many of the minorities who avail themselves of these services are restricted by income to those agencies providing services either at a reduced fee or that participate in some type of insurance program. Much has been written about the implications of such a system. Some authors have focused on the discrepant training experiences of individual counselors as they work with clients across the socioeconomic spectrum (e.g. Lewis & Lewis, 1970). Others have examined the expectations of counseling from the viewpoint of the minority client (e.g. Edwards, Greene, Abramowitz & Davidson, 1979).

Still others have attempted to look at the interactions of variables that necessarily take place when two culturally different people work together in therapy (e.g. Jones & Seagull, 1977).

A number of assumptions associated with this literature will be addressed below. One is that we usually assume that a minority client is being seen by a "white middle-class" therapist. This is due primarily to practical factors; namely that most therapists fit the above description. As more minority members enter the mental health field this ratio can be expected to change accordingly. A second set of more crucial assumptions have been prevalent for some time which concern attitudes about the efficacy of counseling for minorities and especially the poor. These assumptions have been forwarded by many authors (e.g. Albee, 1977; Crowell, 1977; and McSweeney, 1977) and include the following: (1) Attraction Hypothesis: Mental health professionals cannot create clinical settings to attract the culturally different and the poor; and if they could, these clients would not use them. (2) Duration Hypothesis: Even if the poor sought help, they would receive less treatment than more affluent groups. (3) Elitism Hypothesis: Even if duration of treatment of the minority clients was on a par with the mainstream client, the quality of treatment would be less. (4) Effectiveness Hypothesis: All else held equal, even if the culturally different received treatment equal to the mainstream client, they would profit less.

The accuracy of each of these views has been equally widely questioned. For example, disputing hypothesis (1), Scharfstein, Taube and Goldberg (1977) reported that, nationally, 84% of the federally funded community mental health center clientele were

persons who had annual incomes less than \$10,000. With respect to hypothesis (2), Pettit, Pettit and Welkowitz (1974) failed to find any overall connection between length of treatment and social class. Similarly, with respect to the elitism hypothesis, Stern (1977) found no connection between level of patient education and type of treatment received. Lastly, it is clinical lore that lower-class and minority patients don't benefit as much as others from therapy (Lorion, 1973).

From the above, that which seems most outstanding is the variety, rather than consensus, of opinion and research findings regarding mental health efficacy among the poor and minority groups. The terms "poor" and "minority" mean different things to different people. As used here, the two terms are not meant to necessarily be interchangeable. Despite the fact that there is often a large overlap between the two for some groups (e.g. Native Americans), it is the intention of this writer to consider both poor people and ethnic minorities as often culturally different from the counselor. What does the literature indicate that counselors should know about the culturally different and what can counselors do for themselves to increase their effectiveness with clients who are culturally different from themselves? The next section addresses this question.

Theories of Cultural Awareness for Counselors

Wrenn (1962) described "cultural encapsulation" as a very real threat to counselor effectiveness. This encapsulation takes the form of stagnation with respect to the counselor's outlook as a professional and can naturally be expected to contaminate his counseling

role. The aspect of change is central to Wrenn's formulation. He was concerned with the rapid pace of cultural change occurring and how this may bias the process of therapy. Several formulations were forwarded intended to be both descriptive as well as educative for the counselors.

The first of these is the "tendency to be surprised or even unbelieving regarding changes in truth." The truths, or values a counselor holds are culture bound. They are also bound by time. Every person is, to some extent, reared to enter a different world and hold the values associated with that world. An unquestioning loyalty to the walls of the world may ultimately betray any person. The counselor must recognize that his values are for the "now" and for "him"--not for all time or all people (Wrenn, 1962).

A second encapsulation which may occur is the cushioning of the "counselor in some academic cocoon that may have little reference to our total culture." Some of the dangers of this myopia include notions like: grades are the most important thing to a student, tests should be given to everyone, and learning is primarily from books. Therapists are academic people and their academic cocoons may be most unrealistic in terms of either the future scope of human behavior or of the reality of the world outside the academic setting. Related to this is the idea of tentativeness. Whatever the counselor may know firmly--is it fixed as such as a law? Above all, warns Wrenn, let the counselor avoid dogmatism--especially where the evidence is conflicting.

A third caveat is the danger of the "assumption that the counselor may safely draw upon his own education and career experiences

in counseling the client." The danger of this is that the counselor is using his "yesterday" to help the client with his "today" or "tomorrow." Although it is most human to draw upon one's own experiences, the counselor must be alert to differences in both the time frame as well as personal perspectives. Although these suggestions are relevant to counselors generally, they are especially relevant to those engaged in delivering services to the minority client. What are some ways to avoid these pitfalls? Wrenn suggests some prophylactic measures that are described below.

First, counselors should constantly be engaged in unlearning certain things. Each day should witness some personal "fact" being removed from the counselor's warehouse of stored information. It is a process of questioning that leads to such rejection. The process is characterized by both openness and courage. A second suggestion for counselors is that they check their counseling methods not only for the accuracy of their information, but for the direction and rate of change. The "what" of the message is only part of the story. Where is it going to lead the client and how long will it take? Next, the counselor must be obliged to encourage even the client who thinks very differently from himself. The counselor's comfort should not be his gauge of success. It may be that these persons who think differently will be the hope of our world. Finally, counselors must fight the tendency to be self-righteous. What is "right" for the counselor may be at variance with what is "right" for the client (Wrenn, 1962).

These admonitions laid down by Wrenn serve well as guidelines, it seems, for the description of a more systematic theory of eliminating cultural oppressions in counseling put forth by Sue (1978).

Sue (1978) began his analysis by presenting four possible world views that any person (i.e. client or counselor) may bring to therapy: (1) Internal locus of control (IC)--Internal locus of responsibility (IR), (2) External locus of control (EC)--Internal locus of responsibility (IR), (3) External locus of control (EC)--External locus of responsibility (ER) and (4) Internal locus of control (IC)--External locus of responsibility (ER). It was proposed that the IC-IR world view is most characteristic of Western counseling approaches and assumptions. Cultural oppression occurs when this world view is blindly imposed upon the culturally different client. The loci of control and responsibility can be determined by paper and pencil tests which, to describe adequately, would take us beyond the scope of this review. Rather, let us turn to a brief description of each of these four possible world views and consider the implications of them as they pertain to a counseling relationship.

According to the theory, the Western counselor is likely to bring the IC-IR world view to counseling. That is, this counselor is likely to place a high value on personal resources for problem solving; self-reliance; pragmatism; individualism; status achievement through one's own effort; and power over others. Many democratic (some would argue, capitalistic) ideals are reflected in this world view--"God helps those who help themselves," for example. (Evidence for the prevalence of this view may be gleaned from a stroll through a local bookstore, where one can find a plethora of self-help guides.) The effects of such an approach, if carried through and applied to a minority group who has a different world view, is that this minority group is often labelled as somehow deviant.

People who fall into the EC-IR realm are most likely to accept the dominant culture's definition for self-responsibility but have very little real control over how they are seen by others. The key issue here is the dominant-subordinate relationship between two different cultures. It is reasonable to expect members of one cultural group to adjust to the group that possesses greater prestige and power and to avoid inferiority feelings. The result of this type of adjustment for the minority member is ambivalence. The pressures for acculturation and assimilation are strong and the net effect has sometimes been referred to as marginality. For an EC-IR client to focus on his feelings in a therapy session may be very threatening because of the possible self-hate which may be uncovered and the realization that they cannot really escape from their own racial and cultural heritage. A counselor who is culturally encapsulated, in Wrenn's sense of the word, may unwittingly perpetuate such conflicting feelings.

The EC-ER client is one who is likely to blame the system and feels there is very little he can do to reverse the inevitable prejudice and discrimination. In its extreme form, this view of the world can be conceptualized as akin to Seligman's (1975) learned helplessness. This mode of adjustment may be characterized by an individual who doesn't want to "rock the boat" and is mainly concerned with surviving. The black experience of slavery can be seen as a possible historical contribution to the development of this world view. In a current situation, an EC-ER client may likely see the white counselor as symbolic of any other black-white relationship.

A culturally aware counselor realizes these possibilities and makes the appropriate intervention.

The IC-ER clients believe in their ability to control events in their own lives if given the opportunity. These persons are not likely to accept their own present state as an indication of personal weaknesses. Rather, these persons may realistically see the external barriers of prejudice and discrimination as formidable barriers. These individuals, because they understand themselves to be able to control events, would be more likely to participate in civil rights activities and to stress racial identity and perhaps militancy. This theory predicts that the IC-IR counselor and IC-ER client will not only define problems differently, but would also go about solving them with different strategies. Furthermore, counselors who are themselves IC-ER oriented are most likely to use action oriented approaches in contrast to IC-IR counselors, who would rely more upon non-directive and verbal strategies.

This theoretical model has implications that naturally extend to counselor training and research questions. If certain techniques or skills are more appropriate with one group over another, then it becomes a training imperative for these techniques to be covered during a counselor's training. Some of these considerations will be covered in another section of this chapter. Before moving on, some of the possible limitations of this model should be mentioned. First, this model is currently in a speculative form, although future research may very well validate many aspects of it. Secondly, the precise behavioral expectancies associated with each of the four world views haven't been fully described as yet. Lastly, the four

categories represent, to a large extent, conceptual categories. As such, overlap and variations are expected; both within and across different cultural groups. Now that some theoretical issues have been presented, what are the implications of some of the ethnic and cultural variables considered thus far with respect to counselor education and delivery of service to the culturally different client?

Practice of Cultural Awareness for Counselors

In a very general way, Schlossberg (1977) addressed the question of bias as it affects the counselor. Her thesis was that to some extent, all people are both guilty of some type of bias as well as being victims. In addition to the familiar ethnic, class and sex biases, she mentioned age and physical handicaps as other less common, but no less equally disturbing sources of distortion. She warned the counselor of dangers of attaching labels to people based on stereotypical categories. Stereotyping serves to eliminate information rather than expand the therapeutic relationship. Counselors must be aware of their biases. They must take care not to hide behind the trappings of professionalism. It is suggested that counselors undergo some group workshop experience as part of their training program to help them reduce or at least obtain an awareness of their biases.

Lewis and Lewis (1970) presented a training model for educating inner-city counselors. First of all, the role of the counselor in this setting takes on several dimensions. Not only must the counselors provide individual and group therapy for the client population, but their role naturally extends into the general structure of the

agency in which they work. School counselors' responsibilities include efforts to make the school a more productive place for the students to learn and grow. As an expert in human relations, assuming this role should be a natural extension and application of basic skills. Furthermore, the counselor can come to play a role outside the school, helping to both coordinate communication between the institution and the community and trying to change what can be changed in an unhealthy environment. Some specific training approaches were presented (Lewis & Lewis, 1970) to facilitate a meaningful learning experience. Experienced counselors could be teamed with beginning students, and each team placed in an inner-city setting. The teams could work as full-time counselors, discovering and attempting to meet the needs of their specific service population. The didactic components of a relevant training program must include both specific intervention skills as well as some multidisciplinary components.

Sikes (1971) and Bell (1971) made some specific recommendations regarding the curriculum requirements of counseling psychology programs for doctoral students. These curriculum changes were aimed at including some of the following topics in the psychologist's formal training: racism and discrimination from a historical and sociological perspective; black values and psychology; critical examination of the detrimental role which standardized tests can play in counseling and education; and finally, relevant practicum and internship experiences. Both authors stressed the importance of these subjects, especially for the minority graduate student. Minority members who receive advanced degrees and then go back to

their home communities are often perceived as alien figures whose expertise is not relevant to serving the minority clients' needs.

A systematic program to deal with combating racism has been developed by Katz and Ivey (1977). They outlined a program of re-education intended primarily for white counselors (and others) aimed at raising both consciousness about the problems and ending at a stage where some action steps are clearly defined. The program, which was conceived as a two weekend experience, consists of stages that take the participant through various levels of understanding the problem. It begins with cognitive aspects of racism and proceeds to identify, for each individual, a personal awareness of his own racial attitudes, especially the affective component. Finally, participants develop specific action strategies to combat personal and institutional racism and define further steps in their search to become antiracist.

A model of cultural expertise counseling has been forwarded by Ivey (1977). He defined a culturally effective counselor as one who is able to relate with self, others and society within a multicultural framework. One who is culturally effective has developed skills in a wide range of areas and, further, the counselor uses flexibility in the application of these skills. The skills were presented as a taxonomy of behavioral skills: (1) Basic skills of a culture. These include critical aspects of body language, eye contact, vocal tone and knowledge of what may be subject matter regarded as taboo for a given culture. (2) Communication skills. This involves both attending skills such as listening, paraphrasing, reflecting, summarizing; and influencing skills such as directing,

interpreting, expressing content and advising. (3) Qualitative skills include aspects that are appropriately brought to any area of the taxonomy. They are dimensions intended to enhance the quality of the relationship: respect, genuineness, concreteness, and immediacy. (4) Focus skills help the counselor in targeting specific people or objectives as central to planning action. Foci may include client, others, specific topics or cultural issues. The ultimate objective of Ivey's (1977) model is cultural expertise. The model was intended to cover an array of variables all germane to the complexity of cultural relativity.

The next major section of this chapter reviews some of the major investigations that have occurred in the field of sociolinguistics in recent years. Many of the following articles involved investigations of listeners' attitudes toward speakers of accented English. These investigations are relevant to the previous discussions because of the intimate connection existing between one's culture and one's language.

A Brief Account of Sociolinguistic and Language Attitude Research

Introduction to Research on Social Dialects

Williams (1971) described a range of research assumptions that are currently prevalent in the field of sociolinguistics. It seems important to recognize that no one discipline has a monopoly on social dialect research. Even within the language scientist's community itself, several disciplines are represented. One of these areas is represented mainly by speech pathologists, speech scientists,

audiologists and speech therapists. Another area is represented primarily by persons concerned with the teaching of speech ideas in the tradition of rhetorical theory, the history of public discourse, and the psychological study of communicative behavior. As with any young science, there are discrepancies between what the researchers are saying about social dialects and what the speech teacher is doing in everyday practice. This type of gap, between research and practice, is commonly found in most emerging disciplines. In this case it is exacerbated by the fact that not only have social dialects recently received research attention, but this attention has been spread throughout an array of related speech fields. Williams (1971) concludes that researchers need to know more about the nature of social dialects and their implications for clinical and educational practice.

A Short History of "Disadvantaged" Language

Bereiter and Engleman (1966) proposed that speakers of non-standard English dialects are "deficient" and that those who speak them are "deprived." This point of view was prevalent during the 1960's. In fact, this view inspired headstart programs to employ remedial language drills in an attempt to eliminate dialect differences of black and other minority students and bring them in line with the mainstream culture. This deficiency point of view was based largely on Bernstein's (1961) work. He proposed that languages fell into two categories. "Elaborated" codes were used by middle-class speakers and were characterized by the use of abstract terms, rational thinking and relative comparisons. "Restricted"

codes on the other hand, were used primarily by lower-class children and handicapped the speaker because of the concrete, personal, and here and now quality of this speech code. Conceptualizing dialect differences in this way played easily into the hands of those who held views similar to Jensen (1969). From here, it was one small step to the notion that nothing could be done by the teachers--the child must be naturally "deficient" and his language was merely more proof of it.

Fortunately, the 1970's introduced a series of writers (e.g. Labov, 1970; Burling, 1973; Ginsburg, 1972; Dillard, 1972) who strongly attacked the deficit theory with some powerful evidence. Linguistically, there is no such thing as a "deficient language." Grammars are relative and no given system is inherently "better" than another. Standard English is one of several social dialects spoken in this country and it seems more than coincidental that this form is preferred by middle-class educators and others. After all, they are the ones controlling educational and other social institutions. Dillard's (1972) classic work, entitled Black English, traces the history of black English to pre-slavery Africa. He explains the rules of black English and how they systematically vary somewhat from standard English. The difficulty for students arises because the dialect is close enough to standard English to be understood by others, but is seen as substandard rather than merely different.

In a systematic way, Labov (1970) challenged Bernstein's (1961) "deficit" position. While Bernstein (1961) interviewed lower-class children after taking them out of their home community and bringing them to the alien academic laboratory, Labov (1970) utilized black

researchers who were familiar with both black English and black culture. Labov's investigations led him to conclusions quite different from Bernstein's: Labov (1970) discovered that verbal fluency is an important skill which reflects status within the young black peer group. Standard English may be rejected by these individuals because it suffers from a low status.

Edwards (1979) pointed out that this conflict over language preference can also extend to related paralinguistic cues: gestures, intonations, and the use of silence may also vary across cultures. Further, these types of differences extend beyond the black culture. Abrahams and Troike (1972) described the Navajo custom of speaking softly to show respect, only to have the teacher exhort Navajo children to speak louder in class so they can be heard.

Several suggestions have been forwarded by Edwards (1979) that addressed some of the above issues. First, many educators and others must recognize that textbooks, testing programs and many implicitly advanced values are predominantly middle-class in nature. As soon as culturally different children set foot in a middle-class institution, they are expected to change and conform by rejecting what they have already learned at home. Many teachers and allied professionals have themselves only recently ascended the class ladder and reached middle-class status. It is not unnatural for many to feel some ambiguity when they find themselves in a position of authority. Having rejected many of their own cultural values in favor of the middle-class system, they may feel compelled to encourage others to do the same.

Second, all who deal with dialect speakers must recognize the importance of attitudes. Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) showed that

when teachers expect children to either succeed or fail, based on certain irrelevant observable behaviors like verbal expertise, these actual behaviors often comply with expectancies.

Edwards (1979) describes the dialect dilemma as two-sided. If children are taught a dialect other than their native one, the implication is that the native dialect is somehow inferior. On the other hand, if children's language is left alone and they are encouraged to develop their own dialect, these individuals will likely face a biased society which penalizes them for this. Traditionally, the first approach has been favored; it has generally failed. Edwards (1979) suggested that the second alternative, although not tried yet, holds most hope. However, to leave children's dialects alone does not mean to leave the study of language alone. She suggested that teachers (and other professionals) should become familiar with a second dialect to gain empathy for the hard task that we ask the speaker of nonstandard English to do. Several socioeducational alternatives are suggested to deal with this issue. One is to change completely to the mainstream dialect. A second is to completely avoid the mainstream culture and develop the native dialect. A third is a method called "bidialectalism"--learning to speak more than one dialect fluently so one can appropriately code switch depending on the social setting. Sledd (1969) and O'Neil (1972) have criticized this last alternative as merely a veiled attempt of reform inspired by the same middle values that have already had a negative influence on the way dialect speakers are perceived.

Listener's Attitudes Toward English
Dialect Speakers

During the last two decades, several empirical investigations have examined the various ways in which listeners are influenced by the style of English used by different speakers. One of the important methodological techniques used in many of these studies is a manipulation called the "matched guise" (Lambert, Frankel & Tucker, 1966). Briefly, the procedure involves the use of taped readings of a bilingual or bidialectical speaker delivering a message at one time in one of their speech styles (e.g. English) and later, in their second style (e.g. accented English), the same passage. Groups of listeners judge the different "guises"; their task often involves assessing the personality characteristics of each "speaker," using voice cues only. The procedure has been used with contrasting languages, such as English and French; dialect variations, such as Parisian versus Canadian style French; and accent differences, such as southern accented and unaccented English. In addition, only brief speech samples have been needed to obtain reliable ratings. In one case, speech samples were as short as one sentence--or about ten seconds (Cremona & Bates, 1977). This section describes several studies in which this technique (or some variation of it) has been used to assess listeners' attitudes toward various styles of spoken English.

Listeners' attitudes toward speakers of accented English seem to form at a young age. Light, Richard and Bell (1978) examined differences perceived by 92 eight and nine year olds between an educated southern black woman (standard speaker) and an uneducated

southern black woman (nonstandard speaker) who each delivered one and a half minute speech samples. In general, the results indicated more positive qualities (smart, pretty, rich, nice) were attributed to the standard speaker. Even though both speakers were black, half of the subjects judged the standard speaker as white and only 6% judged the nonstandard speaker as white. Although this study provided evidence that listeners' attitudes about speech styles form at an early age, the study had some flaws. First, neither sex nor race of subjects was controlled. Furthermore, although the speech samples were similar in length and title ("My daily routine")--they were extemporaneous and so the specific monologue content was also uncontrolled and may have influenced the subjects' ratings.

James (1976) did a study involving 43 black first graders as subjects in which she investigated the perceived differences between black English and standard English content, while holding style constant. The aim was to investigate whether black children perceive a difference between black English and standard English and, if they did, was the difference identified in terms of style, referring to how something was said (e.g. intonation) or in terms of what was said (e.g. lexicon), or both? Results indicated that the black children in this study were able to perceive a difference between black English and standard English style more frequently than between black English and standard English content. The author suggested that, since the subjects were able to perceive differences between style more frequently than content, that phonology is more important than syntax, at least in the discriminations of language varieties.

In a frequently cited article, Tucker and Lambert (1969) investigated listeners' reactions to six American English dialect groups: Network (white), Educated White Southern (white), Educated Black Southern (black), Mississippi (black), Howard University (black), New York (black). Four representative speakers for each speech style were chosen by the experimenters. Three groups of college students listened to recordings of speech samples and evaluated certain personality characteristics of the speakers on an adjective checklist. One group of listeners was northern white, another southern white, and a third was southern black. It was found that both northern white and southern black groups rated the Network speakers most favorably and the Educated Black Southern speakers next. The southern white students also evaluated the Network speakers most favorably. However, in contrast to the other two groups, the white southern listeners rated the Educated White Southern style second most favorably. On the other hand, both groups of white judges rated the Mississippi speakers least favorably, while the black judges rated the Educated White Southern speakers least favorably. These results were noteworthy in more than one respect. First, all subjects were able to reliably differentiate the dialect groups and they clearly favored the Network style of English over the other styles. A second revealing finding involved the different perspectives of the black and white subjects regarding the least favorable of the dialects. It seemed, the authors concluded, that affectively-toned attitudes were responsible for these differential ratings. It was obvious that some speech styles were pleasing to one ethnic group and not to others.

Two recent doctoral dissertations in the field of speech and language have examined the standard and nonstandard English dialects of black speakers. In one dissertation, Thomas (1978) studied the effects of standard and nonstandard English speech styles of a black male speaker. The speaker delivered audiovisual monologues to male and female undergraduates and they rated the speaker on trustworthiness and expertness. The subjects were also tested for message retention. Subjects perceived greater speaker trustworthiness when the message was delivered in standard English. No significant differences were found in differences in the analysis of message retention. It appeared that the race and sex of subjects in this study were not adequately controlled.

In another recent doctoral dissertation (Yost, 1978) a bidialectal black speaker delivered one informational tape in black English and another in standard English to a group of black and white college and business school students. Greater comprehension of content occurred with both black and white subjects who heard the standard English version of the tape. In contrast to a finding by Thomas (1978), no differences were found in the dependent measures due to subject sex. Greater credibility of the speaker was perceived by both black and white subjects when the speaker spoke standard English. This study provided an interesting contrasting finding to some of the previously mentioned results. There seemed to be no difference between black and white subjects on any ratings. It was hard to ascertain whether this was due to the subject sample, who were all college students, or to some aspect of the speaker.

In a study not involving black speakers, Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert (1962) investigated the attitudes held by listeners toward speakers of Jewish accented English. Using the matched guise technique described earlier, four speakers each made two short tape recordings of a passage. One reading was in unaccented English and a second reading was in Jewish Accented English. The four speakers used were selected by a panel of judges from a larger group of speakers because of their ability to speak both accents in an uncaricatured fashion. The results indicated the accented guises were comparatively devalued on height, good looks, and leadership by both Jewish (64) and non-Jewish (114) subjects. Further, this result was independent of the subjects' perceptions of the voice as Jewish or non-Jewish. The non-Jewish subjects did not consider the accented guise as more favorable on any trait while the Jewish subjects evaluated the accented guise more favorably. Like previously cited studies, the results of this study indicated ethnicity and language are intimately connected and listeners are prone to make judgments based upon a combination of their own cultural identity and the speaker's.

In still another non-black, but accented English language study, the French-Canadian accent was investigated. Webster and Kramer (1968) examined listeners' ratings of matched guises of French-Canadian accented English and unaccented English. Rather than the typical introductory psychology student subject population normally used in these investigations, this study used 30 English speaking students who were enrolled in an evening extension course in an attempt to tap a more diverse group. Results revealed the

French-Canadian accent was evaluated more unfavorably than the unaccented speech. The authors ascribed this to the presence of community-wide stereotypes regarding attitudes toward French-Canadians.

In an impressive series of investigations, Markel and associates have investigated the relationship between voice quality and various personality variables (Markel, Meisels & Houck, 1964; Markel & Roblin, 1965; Markel, 1969; Costanzo, Markel & Costanzo, 1969; Markel, Prebor & Brandt, 1972; Markel, Phillis, Vargas & Howard, 1972). These studies demonstrated several vocal qualities such as pitch, loudness and tempo were all important cues for listeners who were evaluating speakers. For example, Costanzo, Markel and Costanzo (1969) found that peak pitch (high levels of pitch) was associated with the emotion of grief; peak loudness was associated with anger and contempt; and peak tempo was associated with indifference.

An additional study examined the relationship between dialect and personality. Markel, Eisler and Reese (1967) examined the effect of regional dialect on judgment of personality from voice. College students in Buffalo, New York evaluated one group of speakers who had a regional Buffalo dialect and another group who had a New York City dialect. Ratings on the Osgood Semantic Differential revealed New York City speakers were rated higher by listeners on the evaluative scale and Buffalo speakers were rated higher on the activity scale. The authors interpreted the results as an indication of the role of regional dialect in eliciting stereotypes toward certain speakers.

Attitudes Toward Dialect Speakers
of Non-English Languages

Research of listeners' attitudes toward various speech styles has not been limited to English language studies. In Quebec, Canada, cultural and ethnic identities have been intimately connected to the languages of French and English. All the major social institutions have been affected by the cultural and sociolinguistic struggles which have been occurring in the region. Lambert, Frankel and Tucker (1966) and Lambert, Hodgson and Fillenbaum (1960) have looked at the different attitudes that listeners have toward French and English. In these two studies, the matched guise technique described previously was used to examine two contrasting languages. Perfectly bilingual speakers were recruited and passages were recorded in both French and English. In both studies, the subjects doing the ratings were all students. Ethnically, some were French-Canadian and some were English-Canadian; and their language styles reflected this background. In the Lambert et al. (1960) study, the most significant finding was that the French-Canadian students showed a marked bias in favor of French spoken with an English-Canadian accent--as opposed to their native or French-Canadian style. The authors entertained some possible explanations for this relatively unfavorable view that students had of their own ethnic-linguistic group. One possibility was that the students came from homes where it was felt that increased family status depended partly upon taking the English-Canadian style of speech as a model to be emulated. Additionally, it was found that French-Canadian students most biased in favor of French spoken

with an English-Canadian accent were those from upper and upper-middle class homes.

In the Lambert et al. (1960) study it was found that English speaking subjects showed more favorableness to members of their own linguistic group. Additionally, it was found that French subjects not only evaluated the English guises more favorably than French guises, but their evaluations of French guises were reliably less favorable than those of the English subjects. The authors interpreted this as evidence for a minority group reactions on the part of the French sample.

In Tel Aviv, Israel, Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Komshian (1965) investigated attitudes toward two different dialects of standard Hebrew and one dialect of Arabic. The Jewish subjects' ratings of the matched guise comparisons of Hebrew and Arabic revealed Jewish subjects held stereotyped views about Arabs. They (Arabs) were considered less humorous, less friendly, less honest and less desirable as friends. The authors reported puzzlement over the finding that Arabs were considered as more wealthy. This did not fit the social facts of Arab life in Israel, but it might have reflected a wider view on the part of the Jewish subjects: which in this case may have been an interpretation of wealth in terms of land possession and the Jews saw their own as small in comparison to the enormity of the Arab world. The patterns of findings of the Arab subjects suggested they considered members of the Jewish group less capable, less intelligent, less dependable and less desirable for marriage than people in their own group. Mutual distrust of this sort would certainly seem to contribute to restricted social interaction since

members of neither group would be likely to initiate a friendly overture if they expected the other to react in a relatively dishonest, unfriendly and selfish manner.

Finally, this section on non-English dialects describes the results of a study carried out in a rural section of southern Italy. Cremona and Bates (1977) looked at the attitudes of elementary school children toward their own dialect, from the beginning of elementary school through grade five. The authors found a clear tendency for the children to devalue their local dialect. Admittedly, this has been one of the objectives of early schooling in Italy. However, the authors found evidence of negative attitudes which had already been established by many children before they had even begun the school program. The authors suggested perhaps early exposure to standard Italian on television had contributed to this process. It was also suggested that some parents, even though they spoke the dialect variety of Italian in their homes, may have made an active effort to "correct" certain dialect features in their children's speech.

The studies in this section on non-English dialect attitudes have been described to indicate the universal basis of this phenomenon. Although this investigation will be examining American-English variations, it shares theoretical and practical aspects with many of the previously mentioned studies.

Language Variables in Clinical and Counseling Settings

Language variables have been examined in a number of related contexts all having at least some relevance to counseling. This

section is divided into three interrelated parts. The first part describes research which has investigated psychotherapeutic and conversational discourse from primarily a psycholinguistic perspective. The second part discusses articles concerned primarily with the therapeutic process, but pays close attention to language factors. The third section discusses a few studies which have addressed language issues in educational settings.

Formal Psycholinguistic Investigations of Counseling and Conversational Discourse

Pittenger, Hockett and Daheny (1960) presented a detailed (word for word) analysis of the first five minutes of an initial psychiatric interview of an outpatient client. The authors, two psychiatrists and one linguist, aimed at studying (1) purely linguistic aspects such as phonemes, (2) paralinguistic variables such as inhalation or exhalation and (3) the meaning of what was said. This text was an ambitious undertaking, yet seemed to be limited in the light it has shed on our knowledge of counseling per se. The heavy linguistic focus of the analysis has had the effect of reducing the importance of the therapeutic implications to a secondary, or minor role.

In a similar analysis, Gottschalk (1961) outlined a series of wide ranging analyses of two psychotherapeutic interviews. The analysis of language factors in this study was not of a formal psycholinguistic nature, but rather focused on the following aspects of the interviews: therapist activity, dyadic analysis, expressive aspects of the patient's speech, and some physiological correlates of psycholinguistic patterns. Although this investigation exceeded the relatively pure orientations of the Pittenger et al. (1960) work,

this text seems to have gone too far in the opposite direction. For example, the section describing physiological correlates of psycholinguistic patterns, while interesting, provides information which is of little relevance to the counseling session itself.

A third text, by Jaffe and Feldstein (1970), investigated the "rhythms" that characterize dyadic dialogue. This work did not explicitly address psychotherapeutic interactions, although it did not exclude them as possibly falling under the generic classification of dialogue. The orientation of this work was primarily a technical, information oriented one. Among other topics, it focused on stochastic models of the time patterns of dialogue, speaker switches and information theory.

Finally Labov and Fanshel (1977) have systematically examined a fifteen minute segment of a third therapy session of an anorexic client. Since Labov has made significant contributions to the field of sociolinguistics, he naturally attempted to incorporate this perspective into the dialogue analysis. While the authors did find some sociolinguistic variables played a role in the therapeutic session, they turned out to be comparatively minor factors in the overall communicative patterns. The authors found that the social dialects used by the client and therapist had reached a fairly stable state at the time their analysis was made. This was attributed to the familiarity which the client and therapist had previously established. On the other hand, the intonational patterns proved to be of crucial interest in defining fields of discourse, in identifying patterns of communication and in clarifying contradictions which would have been unresolved if only the word meanings themselves had been used.

Overall, these four texts are interesting, but esoteric. They reveal quite a lot about communication from a technical, linguistic-analytical perspective. They do not, however, reveal much about counseling as a special form of communication or how it may be different from general discourse.

Language Factors in the Counseling Process

Many writers have looked at the different roles that language factors play in the counseling process. This line of research within the general area of counseling is relatively new. As such, the work to date has been characterized by a fragmentary and exploratory nature. The following descriptions reflect this newness.

Several years ago Bernstein (1964) suggested that because lower-class clients had "restricted" language codes (i.e. were limited in terms of what they could elaborate) they were not likely to benefit as much from therapy as more verbally sophisticated clients. More recently, Conville and Ivey (1974) have attempted to refute this notion by describing, in a more enlightened fashion, the appropriateness and value of considering sociolinguistic aspects as part of the counseling process. Many empirical investigations have focused on specific language aspects of the counseling process.

Meara, Shannon and Pepinsky (1979) presented data generated from a computer assisted language analysis system (CALAS) which examined differences between the three theoretical orientations of counseling represented by Carl Rogers, Fritz Perls and Albert Ellis; who each used a very different approach to counseling. A film they made in 1966 was used for the data collection. In the film, each of the

therapists saw a client (Gloria) separately for about twenty minutes and they engaged in therapeutic discourse. The data were analyzed according to four measures of what the authors called stylistic complexity: (1) number of sentences (SEN), (2) average sentence length (ASL), (3) average block length (ABL), and (4) average clause depth (ACD). The theoretical underpinning to which these measures claim relevancy concerned the notion of informative display. The measurable units of language were defined as part of displayed information and indicated the complexity of the conceptual levels on which client and counselor were operating. Thus, studying speech patterns may be helpful in matching clients and counselors.

The authors found that the four measures demonstrated the following: (a) Different patterns among the therapists--this was consistent with the fact that each therapist represented a different theoretical counseling position. (b) Differences for the client (in terms of her SEN, ASL, ABL and ACD)--depending upon which counselor was interviewing her. (c) Evidence for concerted action--concerted action means activities people do together or in concert. The assumption is without this concerted action in counseling there is likely to be little change occurring for the client. Further, without concerted action, there is likely to be poor communication taking place.

The implications of this line of research involve some interesting considerations. Measures of linguistic structure might be helpful in predicting counseling outcomes or in training counselors to be aware of the effect of speech on their clients. Counseling is a

highly verbal activity and there is significant information conveyed in the content of the message as well as in the style.

Sprafkin (1970) examined the extent to which clients would change their confidence in the meanings of certain words depending on the (1) level of expertness of a counselor (high or low) who would (2) either advocate change in certain word meanings or advocate no change. The author expected to find an interaction between level of counselor expertness and change of word meaning by the client-- i.e., the more expert the counselor, the more likely the client would be to change a word meaning to agree with the counselor and for the less expert counselor, the less likely the client would be to agree with the advocated meaning. The findings did not entirely support the hypotheses. Regardless of the counselor's level of expertise, clients tended to achieve agreement with the counselor. Some explanations were offered for these findings. Even those subjects who assigned low ratings to their counselors may still have perceived them to be much more expert than the subjects considered themselves. Age differences between counselors and clients may have contributed to perceptions of counselors, even in the low expert condition, as relatively more expert and knowledgeable than subjects. Finally, in both conditions, the label of "counselor" may have involved certain social expectations of subjects.

Schumacher, Banikiotes and Banikiotes (1972) looked at language compatibility of (30 white) counselors and (30 white and 30 black) high school students in terms of how well they understood words often used by the other group. One hundred common words corresponding to the language of the counseling profession were chosen and from this

list twenty words were finally selected as words most often used by the counselors. Similarly, and with the help of an Afro-American dictionary, a list of the twenty most common words used by the black students was constructed. Each group was tested on how well they understood the common words of the other group. Results were as follows for the black vocabulary words: black students scored higher than white students who scored higher than white counselors. For the (white) counselor vocabulary words the opposite was found. The counselors scored significantly better than the white students who scored better than the black students. The results indicated language compatibility between black students and white counselors was low in terms of this "vocabulary test." The implications of these results involve several aspects of the counseling relationship. Most importantly, it suggested the establishment of a strong working relationship between a black client and a white counselor may be difficult to obtain if there exists a high degree of misunderstanding between the two.

Stein and Walker (1980) conducted a study to determine the effects of (black) client and counselor race upon certain counseling conditions. A black actress was recruited from a university drama department who could speak both black English and standard English. Speaking each dialect in an identical role playing situation, she was paired with a black and white (acting) counselor to obtain each of four conditions. Subjects were forty experienced counselors who each viewed a videotape of only one session. A counselor rating form was used by the subjects to rate the counselor on levels of trustworthiness, attractiveness and expertness. A second questionnaire

assessed the type of therapy the subject thought would be most appropriately used by the counselor in the film.

Results revealed that the subjects perceived the counselor as more trustworthy and more expert when the client spoke black English. White subjects anticipated the black counselor would select a behaviorally oriented therapy for a client using black dialect and an insight oriented therapy for the same client speaking standard English.

Stein (Note 1) conducted an experiment to determine whether the speech a counselor used influenced the way potential clients perceived the counselor. Two counselors, one black and one white, each made two short videotape monologues in which they described their philosophy of counseling. In each tape, each counselor used a different voice pattern. The subjects were sixteen black and sixteen white students enrolled in an introductory psychology class at a large southern state university. Dependent measures were the levels of perceived trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness as measured by the Counselor Rating Form (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975). Results revealed the following: black subjects rated the black counselor higher when he spoke black English and the white counselor higher when he spoke unaccented English; white subjects rated the black counselor higher when he spoke standard English and the white counselor higher when he spoke unaccented English. The results of this experiment approached but did not reach statistical significance because of a main effect due to order of tape presentation.

A recent doctoral dissertation (Guy, 1978) examined whether dialect differences between a therapist and a client would

significantly affect the clinical evaluations of the therapist. Eighty clinical psychology graduate students listened to one of two tape recordings, in either black English or standard English, and then made clinical evaluations of the client they heard. Black therapists showed a positive bias for the black English speaking client while white therapists showed a positive bias for the standard English speaking clients.

Language Factors in the Classroom

The articles reviewed below indicate the importance of language factors in a field closely related to counseling. The educational system in this country often mirrors the dilemmas found elsewhere in this society. Sociolinguistic conflicts are no exception.

McGinnis and Smitherman (1978) described some of the most prevalent barriers faced by black children in most of the schools in our country today. One of the most striking barriers described is the apparent misunderstanding of the function of language on the part of most teachers. Apparently many teachers equate the student's acquisition of a concept with the correct word usage which describes the concept. This is a violation of a basic semantic principle: the word is not the thing. The authors described the difference between correct/proper speech (nothing more than social convention and conformity), linguistic competence (ability to use and understand rules of one's native language) and intelligence. Every speaker of a language naturally acquires linguistic competence as they learn their native language. The black child encounters difficulty as school begins and a new environment is encountered. Schools with

predominantly black populations are environments where two language systems meet. This results in linguistic-cultural conflict because the socially dominant language of the school system interfaces with the students' mode of expression. Since communication is fundamental to the entire learning process, the conflict has serious negative consequences for the academic achievement of black students. McGinnis and Smitherman (1978) suggested a two-pronged attack on the problems described above.

First, they suggested teachers should abandon the speech-correctionist approach for a strategy aimed at expanding the students' linguistic repertoire. Language experimentation and stimulation should be encouraged in a non-threatening way, such as role playing. Second, with respect to school policy, educational institutions should implement mechanisms which attempt to restructure teacher and student attitudes about language. Teacher language bias similar to the type described above has been investigated in some empirical investigations.

Granger, Mathews, Quay and Verner (1977) examined teacher evaluations of speech performances of lower and middle socioeconomic (SES) black and white children. Functionally equivalent speech samples were obtained from the children as they described certain pictures. The descriptions were equivalent on features described, but the speech patterns used in the descriptions varied across the sample of children. The raters of the taped samples were fifty-six female preschool and primary grade teachers (9 black and 47 white) who were all enrolled in a graduate education program. Differences in ratings were found both between races (i.e. black and white,

regardless of SES) and between SES groups (i.e. middle and lower SES, regardless of race). Black and white middle SES speakers were rated higher than black and white lower SES speakers. Black and white lower SES speakers were not rated differently from each other. However, the middle SES black speakers were rated lower than the middle SES white speakers. So, bias appeared to be operating both in terms of race and class. The findings suggested teachers were attending less to what a child said and more to how he said it. The authors found the most striking differences between tapes was phonological--e.g. voiceless th becoming f in the final position. Authors suggested that teachers should be trained to develop an understanding of their attitudes toward a child's speech and how these attitudes may hamper their ability to evaluate a child objectively. There were a few methodological problems in this study. The sex of the children was not controlled, nor was there any mention of reliability of the raters. Thus, generalizability of the results must be made with caution.

DeMeis and Turner (1978) assessed the effects of a student's race, dialect and physical attractiveness on teachers' evaluations of the students. Sixty-eight white teachers listened to students' speech samples and rated them in terms of personality, quality of speech and current and future abilities. Results indicated black students, black English speaking students and low-attractive students were rated lower than the others. Results also indicated the teachers' ratings in the different areas were highly consistent with one another. The authors discussed the implications of this last finding in terms of the disastrous consequences these attitudes

could have on student performance. It was described as an illustration of how teachers unfairly attribute childrens' failures to their race and dialect rather than to their actual performance.

A recent doctoral dissertation (Hines, 1978) examined the effects of ethnic group membership, age, sex, and educational context on recall of information when stories were told in either black English or standard English to both black and white elementary school children. The most significant conclusion drawn by the author based on the results of the study was black children performed better on recall tasks if materials were presented in black English.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

The major purpose of this investigation was to study the effects of counselor race and dialect upon the levels of trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness perceived by racially different subjects. And further, the purpose was to study the effects of counselor race and counselor dialect on the amount of information which could be accurately recalled by a client after three contacts with a particular counselor.

This chapter is divided into several sections. First, the Population and Sample section describes the population setting of the experiment as well as the particular sample of clients who were the subjects in this study. The Experimental Hypotheses section describes the questions under study and presents the experimental hypotheses of this experiment in a null form. The Procedure and Methodology section describes how the video tape monologues were prepared and the instructions that were given to the subjects. Next, in the Instrumentation section, the Counselor Rating Form is discussed and the Recall Questionnaire is introduced as an instrument designed specifically for this investigation. The Design and Data Analysis section outlines the experimental nature of this research and the statistical tests that were used. Lastly, Limitations are discussed in a separate section.

Population and SampleSample

The sample for this study was 80 patients from a total population of approximately 275 patients at the Alcohol Rehabilitation Unit (ARU) of the East Orange, New Jersey, Veterans Administration Hospital. The ARU, headed by a counseling psychologist, is a psychodynamically oriented treatment program for alcoholic patients. There are approximately thirty-five inpatients, two hundred outpatients and forty ambulatory care patients at any given time. While all patients are alcoholic, the group therapy and individual treatment they receive is designed for the person as a whole. Ongoing research by staff is an integral part of the program.

This study utilized only those patients from the ARU who were in the inpatient portion of the program. The inpatient program is an intensive, eight week experience during which each patient participates in daily group therapy and individual counseling when appropriate. A recent survey of previous participants of this program revealed the following demographic characteristics: They have all been males. Approximately fifty percent have been white, forty percent have been black and ten percent other. The range in age has extended from about 25-65 years with a mean of 38 years. The range of educational levels has extended from ninth grade to college graduate and at times Ph.D.s have participated in the program. Approximately thirty-three percent of the patients were married at the time of participation, fifty percent were divorced or separated, and seventeen percent were never married.

The eighty patients who participated in this study were a representative sample of the previously treated alcoholic clients. Subjects in this study had an average age of 43 years; the range extending from 22 to 68. The sample was comprised of individuals who each had at least a high school education--including one medical doctor, a registered nurse and a Ph.D. level chemist. Although no descriptive socioeconomic data were gathered specifically for the subjects in this study, general intake interview information indicated that, for the most part, they could be described as middle or lower-middle class. Since patients were living in the hospital, they often had free time to participate in activities of their choice. In the past, hundreds of patients agreed to participate in research. In this study, each of the newly admitted patients who entered the program every week for three months were asked to participate. The forty black and forty white subjects in this study were simply asked soon after admission whether they would like to voluntarily participate in some research which involved "watching a video tape of a counselor and then filling out a short form to rate the counselor." Those agreeing to participate were randomly assigned to one of the four different counselor speech style conditions. Not one client who was asked to volunteer declined to participate. During the data collection phase of the experiment, three clients prematurely left the Alcohol Rehabilitation Program and data from their ratings were eliminated from the study.

Experimental Hypotheses

In general, the purpose of this investigation was to study how, and to what extent, a client was influenced by the combination of both the counselor's race and speech style. Referring to Figure 1, the experimental hypotheses of this experiment are expressed below in their null form:

- (1) No difference will exist among the subjects' ratings on the Counselor Rating Form for any of the four counselor conditions as follows:
 - White Counselor/Unaccented English (A+E)
 versus
 - White Counselor/Accented English (B+F)
 versus
 - Black Counselor/Unaccented English (C+G)
 versus
 - Black Counselor/Accented English (D+H)
- (2) No difference will exist between the black subjects' ratings and the white subjects' ratings on the Counselor Rating Form.
- (3) No difference will exist between black and white subjects' perceptions of a given counselor for either speech style spoken by that counselor. Referring to Figure 1:

For White Subjects

- White Counselor/Unaccented English (A)
versus
--White Counselor/Accented English (B)
and
--Black Counselor/Unaccented English (C)
versus
--Black Counselor/Accented English (D)

For Black Subjects

- White Counselor/Unaccented English (E)
versus
--White Counselor/Accented English (F)
and
--Black Counselor/Unaccented English (G)
versus
--Black Counselor/Accented English (H)

- (4) No difference will be found on the subjects' ratings on the Counselor Rating Form over time. (Contact 1 versus Contact 2 versus Contact 3.)
- (5) No difference will exist among subjects' scores on the Recall Questionnaire for any of the different counselor conditions.

All hypotheses were tested at the .05 level of significance. For a corresponding list of the specific effects which were due to these hypotheses, refer to the section of this chapter on Design and Data Analysis.

Procedure and Methodology

This study involved a total of eighty subjects who were divided into eight groups of ten each. Half of the subjects were black (40) and half were white (40). (See Figure 1.)

Each subject viewed a total of three video taped monologues delivered by one of two counselors. Further, the counselor delivered the monologue in one of two possible speech styles. The black counselor used either Black English (accented) or Conventional English (unaccented). The white counselor used either Southern English (accented) or Network English (unaccented). Following each monologue presentation, the subject rated the counselor on the Counselor Rating Form. This rating form indicated the levels of trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness perceived by the subjects. Each subject saw only one counselor, speaking the same speech style, at each of the three contacts. At each contact the counselor discussed one of three possible topics. After subjects viewed all three monologues

Subject Race	Counselor Condition	First Contact	Second Contact	Third Contact	Recall Measure
W	White Counselor No Accent (A)	10			→
H	White Counselor Accent (B)	10			→
I	Black Counselor No Accent (C)	10			→
T					
E	Black Counselor Accent (D)	10			→
B	White Counselor No Accent (E)	10			→
L	White Counselor Accent (F)	10			→
A	Black Counselor No Accent (G)	10			→
C					
K	Black Counselor Accent (H)	10			→

Figure 1. The mixed design of this experiment is illustrated (Myers, 1966). Note that the ten (10) subjects in each cell remained with the same counselor condition over all three contacts.

and completed their three Counselor Rating Forms, they completed the Recall Questionnaire. This instrument determined the amount of information contained in the monologues which was accurately recalled by the subjects.

Construction of the Video Tapes

Two graduate level and experienced actors in the drama department at Rutgers University, Newark, played the roles of counselors in the video tapes. The black actor was naturally fluent in two different speech styles. The white actor had experience in roles in which he had to use a southern accent. In addition, both actors had formal training in language and voice classes. Both counselors rehearsed the scripts several times before the tapings were made. This insured that they each became comfortable with both styles of speech and totally familiar with the content. During the tapings, the tapescripts were posted off camera as an additional aid to them, if they needed it. Tapescripts of the monologues can be found in Appendices B, C and D. Samples of all four speech styles, transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet, can be found in Appendices G, H, I and J.

Development of the Monologues

The content selected for inclusion in each of the three monologues was chosen from material described by Egan (1975). The three topics discussed by the counselors were: (1) The importance of being prepared for counseling; (2) the importance of mutual respect in counseling and (3) the issue of client-counselor compatibility.

The actual content of the monologues is available in Appendices B, C, and D.

Just prior to the subjects' viewing of the first monologue, they viewed a video tape displaying the written instructions. This video presentation was accompanied by a recorded male voice simultaneously reading the instructions. These instructions are found in Appendix A. The Recall Questionnaire was used to assess the amount of information retained by subjects after they had seen all three monologues. This questionnaire is described in the Instrumentation section of this chapter.

Presentation of the Monologues

The subjects saw the complete set of three monologues over the course of five week days. The order of viewing was counterbalanced to control for effects of content. One topic (i.e. monologue) was presented on day one (Monday), another on day three (Wednesday) and a third on day five (Friday). The Recall Questionnaire was given on day eight (Monday).

Instrumentation

The Counselor Rating Form

The Counselor Rating Form (CRF) was developed by Azy Barak and Michael LaCrosse during 1975-76 at The Ohio State University. The CRF was developed to measure the perceived counselor dimensions of trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness. The CRF itself consists of thirty-six seven-point bipolar adjectives (see Appendix E). Each dimension of perceived counselor behavior is thus measured by

twelve items. Sometimes each of the three subsets are referred to as scales. The possible range of scores for any dimension extends from a minimum of 12 to a maximum of 84. The reliability coefficients reported by LaCrosse and Barak (1975) are as follows: .87 for expertness, .85 for attractiveness, and .91 for trustworthiness. Barak and Dell (1977) reported that the CRF has also been proven capable of detecting perceived differences among counselors on the three dimensions as well as being sensitive to differences among the three dimensions for a given counselor. Detecting the presence of these qualities in a counselor is one thing, and assuming that they are important in the process of counseling is a different question. Several studies (e.g. Strong & Dixon, 1971; Strong & Schmidt, 1970) show that the greater the perceived levels of the three dimensions, the more likely a subject is to initiate change. The process of change and influence is intimately connected to the development of the CRF. In fact, the CRF was, in large part, inspired by the work of Stanley Strong's (1968) theory of counseling as an interpersonal influence process.

Strong's (1968) theory of counseling as an interpersonal influence process grew out of opinion-change research of social psychology. Attributes of the communicator, in both opinion-change research and in counseling paradigms are crucial. In opinion-change, a communicator attempts to move the listeners in a predetermined direction. A counselor tries to influence the client to reach the goals of counseling. Strong (1968) describes some of the dimensions in operational terms. Expertness involves objective evidence of advanced training such as diplomas. Or it can be displayed behaviorally, with rational

and confident presentations by the communicator. Finally, the communicator may be considered an expert based on his or her reputation. Trustworthiness involves the communicator's reputation for honesty and good will; social role, such as doctor or teacher; openness and sincerity; and perceived absence of motivation for personal gain. Attractiveness of the communicator can be achieved by displaying compatibility with the listener, by reassuring the listener that the communicator will be likable, by the presence of background material similar to that of the listener. Strong (1968) describes an aspect of his theory which is especially crucial to this investigation:

. . . verbal communication is the main technique used by an opinion changer in influencing his audience; verbal communication is also the counselor's main means of influencing the client. For both, these communications present opinions or conceptions different than or discrepant from the opinions or conceptions of the audience or client. Finally, characteristics of the communicator as perceived by the audience, characteristics of the audience, and characteristics of the communication affect the success of the influence attempts. (p. 215)

The importance of this point to the present investigation is obvious. Since the verbal communication is the main tool of the counselor, perceived trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness may have been significantly influenced by the language or speech style, which was as much a part of the communicator as it was of the communication itself.

In this investigation the CRF was used by the subjects to rate the counselor after each viewing. The CRF was broken down into three equivalent parts, so that the subject did not see any of the items on previous days. Since there were twelve items for each dimension,

four items were randomly selected from each scale to construct a "one-third" CRF consisting of twelve items. This "one-third" CRF yielded a measure for each dimension ranging from a minimum of 4 to a maximum of 28. At the end of the three viewings the three sub-scores were summed to yield an overall score. The "one-third" scores served as indicators of changes in subjects' perceptions of the counselor levels of trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness over time. The intercorrelations between items within each of the three scales have undergone a preliminary analysis on the Hebrew language version of the CRF. Results indicated that these within scale correlations were sufficiently high to permit using the CRF in three equivalent parts (LaCrosse, Note 3).

The Recall Questionnaire

The Recall Questionnaire (see Appendix F) was constructed to test how much of the monologue content could be accurately recalled by the subjects. The questionnaire was in a multiple-choice format and there were a total of fifteen items. The Recall Questionnaire was developed in a four-step process.

First, a pool of twenty-eight multiple-choice items were constructed that corresponded to the content of the monologues. This initial pool of items and the monologue contents were inspected by a panel of experts consisting of five Ph.D. counselors and psychologists. These judges rated the quality of the questions with respect to how well they corresponded to the monologue content and how well they were written (content and face validity). This process resulted

in the elimination of four items which clearly emerged as the very poorest.

The second step consisted of item analysis based on a sample of fifty scores obtained from a group of college undergraduates. Twenty-five scores were obtained from subjects who had never been exposed to the monologue content. Another twenty-five scores were obtained from subjects who had heard tape recordings of the monologues. An index of discrimination (Sax, 1974) was constructed based on these before and after scores. As a result of this analysis, eight additional items were eliminated because they either did not discriminate at all or they discriminated in a negative direction.

Third, biserial correlation coefficients (Anastasi, 1976; Greene, 1952) were computed for the remaining sixteen items to insure that the individual items were measuring the same thing that the test as a whole purported to measure. Thirteen of these items were highly significant ($p < .001$) and two were marginally significant ($p < .12$). These fifteen items were retained and a sixteenth was discarded because it was negatively correlated with the other items.

Finally, a Kuder-Richardson 20 (Cronbach, 1970) reliability was computed for the fifty scores on the final fifteen items. The Kuder-Richardson 20 reliability coefficient was computed to be .86.

The Recall Questionnaire has been assessed for its readability level by the Fry Readability Formula (Fry, 1972). It has been determined that the Recall Questionnaire has a readability level placing it at the ninth grade level.

Design and Data Analysis

The type of design used in this experiment has been described by Myers (1966) as a mixed design (see Figure 1). A mixed design is one in which measures are repeated across levels of some, but not all, factors. In this experiment this means that the Counselor Rating Form score was obtained at each of the three times a subject had contact with a counselor, but no subject saw more than one level of counselor condition. Subjects viewed the same counselor, speaking the same dialect, at each contact. Of course, at each contact a different topic was presented by the counselor.

The specific effects due to the hypotheses (see Figure 1 and Purpose and Experimental Hypotheses) were analyzed as follows:

- (1) Main effect of condition. Results were collapsed across subject race and the following comparisons were made:

(A+E) vs (B+F)	These compared dialects of different
(C+G) vs (D+H)	counselor races, regardless of subject
	race.
- (2) Main effect in overall ANOVA of subject race.
- (3) Linear Contrasts (actually, a series of t-tests) were made:

A vs B	Subject race = white	Were any of these four comparisons different?
C vs D		
E vs F	Subject race = black	
G vs H		
- (4) Interaction of Contact X Counselor Condition or interaction of Contact X Counselor Condition X Subject Race.
- (5) All of the above, using the Recall Questionnaire score.
(Except #2.)

Figure 2, a flow chart, illustrates the sequence of steps that was used to answer the above questions and make the appropriate comparisons.

Figure 2. Flow chart indicating the sequence of data analysis. The #1, #2, and #3 comparisons refer to procedures which are described in the Design and Data Analysis section. Double lined arrows indicate direction of decision.

Limitations

There were three main limitations to this investigation. In some respects they were all related to one another. (1) One restriction of the study involved the analogue nature of the design. Although real hospital clients were used as subjects, the contact with the experimental counselor was somewhat artificial since communication occurred in only one direction. (2) Related to this was the fact that the communication was a video tape presentation, rather than a counselor in the flesh. Although the counselor was a real person, some artificiality was inevitable with the use of video taping techniques. (3) The third limitation involved the limited generalizations that can be made because of the restricted nature of the subject population. All subjects were male and all were veterans in the same treatment program. In addition, both counselors were male.

Although the limitations mentioned above all imposed some artificiality on the investigation, there were also advantages to making these sacrifices. The main advantage was the amount of control gained over the very subtle process under study. The video tape technique allowed manipulation of the language variable, but in a fashion that permitted measurements of variation to be made which would have been difficult to obtain with a live counselor. Similarly, even though the sample was not representative of the total client population in counseling, the process investigated was assumed to have universal importance. As such, limitation (3) can actually be seen more as a measure of control than as a severe limitation of the conclusions to be drawn from the results.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The major questions of this investigation focused on whether the vocal accent and race of a particular counselor were important factors in racially different clients' judgements of the counselor's trustworthiness, expertness, and attractiveness. The results, which comprise this chapter, generally did not support the position that these were important variables. Referring to the five hypotheses as they were presented in the Experimental Hypotheses section of Chapter Three, the results of each are sequentially presented in this chapter.

Hypothesis One generally stated that differences would emerge among the four different counselor conditions for all the subjects' ratings considered together. Table 1 indicates that no main or interaction effect emerged for the factor of counselor condition on any of the three counselor conditions. The F values for trustworthiness (T), expertness (E), and attractiveness (A) all failed to reach statistical significance at the .05 level. Table 2 displays the T, E, and A means for the four different counselor conditions. Thus, Hypothesis One was not supported by the data: no one counselor condition emerged as "superior" to any of the others.

In general, Hypothesis Two stated that there would be no differences between the ratings of the black subjects and those of the white subjects. Referring to Table 1, a main effect for subject race was

Table 1

Analysis of Variance for the Three Factors: Counselor Condition, Subject Race, and Contact on the Measures of Trustworthiness (T), Expertness (E), and Attractiveness (A)

Source	df	SS(T)	SS(E)	SS(A)	F(T)	F(E)	F(A)
Between							
CC	3	77.71	48.41	69.25	1.04	.68	.67
SR	1	139.53	192.60	192.60	5.59*	8.08**	5.61*
SJ (CC)	72	1795.90	1717.03	2472.03	--	--	--
CC x SR	3	62.31	129.91	23.21	.83	1.82	.23
Within							
CT	2	8.23	41.87	42.30	.41	2.53	1.73
SR x CT	2	18.10	7.25	15.40	.90	.44	.63
CC x CT	6	34.40	23.72	28.25	.57	.48	.39
SJ x CT	144	1444.60	1193.26	1755.86	--	--	--
CC x SR x CT	6	10.00	23.87	24.82	.17	.48	.34
	239						

Note.

CC = Counselor Condition

SR = Subject Race

SJ = Subject

CT = Contact

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 2

Results of Duncan's Multiple Range Test for Significance of Difference Between Means for the Four Different Counselor Conditions for all the Subjects.

Counselor Dimension	Counselor Condition			
	Black		White	
	Accent	No Accent	Accent	No Accent
Trustworthiness	71.85	72.65	72.45	76.20
Expertness	69.65	72.65	71.25	73.10
Attractiveness	65.40	66.40	67.30	69.75

Note. Continuous underscoring of the means indicates no significant differences between the means at the .05 level.

found for ratings on all three of the counselor dimensions. For trustworthiness: $F(1, 79) = 5.59, p < .05$; for expertness: $F(1, 79) = 8.08, p < .01$; and for attractiveness: $F(1, 79) = 5.61, p < .05$. Thus, Hypothesis Two was not supported by the data: Table 3 shows the means of the black subjects' ratings were significantly higher than the means of the white subjects' ratings on all three counselor dimensions for all four counselor conditions. Stated simply, black subjects gave higher ratings than white subjects regardless of the counselor condition and regardless of the dimension on which they were rating the counselor.

Hypothesis Three suggested that for each racial subset of subjects (i.e., black and white) significant differences would emerge among or between the four different counselor conditions. Table 4 presents the ANOVA for all the paired contrasts on each dependent measure. The counselor dimension of expertness emerged as the only significantly affected dimension. Inspection of the means in Table 5 reveals that black subjects, rating a black counselor, gave a significantly higher rating when the counselor spoke without an accent--but only on the dimension of expertness. Hypothesis Three, then, was partially supported by the data.

Hypothesis Four, that subjects' ratings of a counselor would change over the course of the three counselor/subject contacts, was not supported by the data. Table 1 reveals no main or interaction effects for the factor of changed ratings over time (contact). Subjects did not tend to significantly change their ratings, regardless of the counselor condition, on any of the three counselor dimensions. Thus, Hypothesis Four was not at all supported by the data.

Table 3

Results of Duncan's Multiple Range Test for Significance of Difference Between Means for Black and White Subjects on the Three Counselor Dimensions for all Counselor Conditions.

Counselor Dimension	Subject Race (Mean Scores)	
	Black	White
Trustworthiness	<u>75.57</u>	<u>71.00</u>
Expertness	<u>74.35</u>	<u>68.97</u>
Attractiveness	<u>69.60</u>	<u>64.52</u>

Note. Broken underscoring of the means indicates significant differences between the means at the .05 level.

Table 4

Results of Analysis of Variance for all Paired Contrasts for Each Group of Subjects on Each Dimension: Trustworthiness (T), Expertness (E), and Attractiveness (A)

Contrasts ^a	Dimensions		
	T	E	A
	F(1, 36)		
<u>Black Subjects</u>			
Black Counselor/Accent vs Black Couns/No Accent	2.59	9.95**	.34
White Counselor/Accent vs White Couns/No Accent	1.76	.14	1.63
<u>White Subjects</u>			
Black Counselor/Accent vs Black Couns/No Accent	.62	.48	.00
White Counselor/Accent vs White Couns/No Accent	.55	.34	.00

^a The cell to the right produced the higher score.

** $p < .01$

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of Trustworthiness (T), Expertness (E), and Attractiveness (A) for Each of the Four Counselor Conditions, for Each Group of Subjects

Group and Condition	T		E		A	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<u>Black Subjects</u>						
Black Counselor/Accent	72.00	7.48	68.90	5.24	67.50	8.14
White Counselor/Accent	74.50	8.13	74.70	7.72	68.80	8.04
Black Counselor/No Accent	77.10	7.28	78.00	4.90	69.70	10.70
White Counselor/No Accent	78.70	5.06	75.80	7.86	73.60	6.17
<u>White Subjects</u>						
Black Counselor/Accent	71.70	10.41	70.40	8.50	63.30	15.83
White Counselor/Accent	70.40	9.55	67.80	8.66	65.80	8.82
Black Counselor/No Accent	68.20	11.36	67.30	13.42	63.10	11.89
White Counselor/No Accent	73.70	8.33	70.40	8.50	65.90	8.41

Hypothesis Five stated that, in general, the four counselor conditions would contribute to significantly different Recall Scores among the subjects in the four different counselor condition groups. Referring to Table 6, it can be observed that no one of the four counselor conditions contributed significantly more to enhance the scores than any of the other three counselor condition groups.

In summary, the above results were analyzed by using the analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure. There were a total of three factors: counselor condition (four levels), subject race (two levels), and contact (three levels). Main effects and all interactions were examined for statistical significance at the .05 level. Overall, the results supported the argument that no one of the four different counselor conditions was "superior" to any of the others. One exception to this general rule was found for the specific combination of black subjects rating the black counselor: under this condition the black subjects gave the counselor a higher rating on the dimension of expertness when he spoke in the unaccented style. The other two counselor dimensions measured in this study, attractiveness and trustworthiness, were not affected. The amount of information recalled by subjects, as measured by the Recall Questionnaire, was not differentially influenced by any of the four different counselor conditions. One unexpected difference between the black and white subjects' ratings was found on the dependent measures of trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness. Black subjects, for all counselor conditions, gave statistically higher ratings than did the white subjects.

Table 6

Results of Duncan's Multiple Range Test for Significance of Difference Between Means for the Four Different Counselor Conditions for all the Subjects' Scores on the Recall Questionnaire

Variable	Counselor Condition			
	Black		White	
	Accent	No Accent	Accent	No Accent
Recall Questionnaire	8.1	9.2	8.3	9.2

Note. Continuous underscoring of the means indicates no significant differences between the means at the .05 level.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR FUTURE STUDY

Following the summary, this chapter addresses the meaning of the results of the specific hypotheses while assessing some of the particular cross-racial implications of the findings. Secondly, the results are discussed in the context in which the hypotheses were raised: as partially an interdisciplinary approach to suggest directions for both the psychologist interested in counseling processes and for the sociolinguist concerned with the effects of different language styles. Finally, as the chapter draws to a close some limitations of the study are addressed and future questions are raised which naturally emerged from both the results and limitations of this study.

Summary

One of the major purposes of this study was an attempt to empirically examine and integrate themes from two related disciplines--cross-cultural counseling and sociolinguistics. A counselor's vocal accent has been identified as one of the many important aspects of his or her total cultural or racial identity. Sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that listeners often demonstrate preferences for certain speech styles or accents.

To recapitulate, this study examined whether a counselor's vocal accent affected the way in which racially different clients

perceived the counselor's trustworthiness, expertness and attractiveness. The following four different counselor conditions were experimentally created to investigate this question: (1) a black counselor speaking with a black English accent; (2) the same black counselor speaking without an accent; (3) a white counselor speaking with a southern English accent; and (4) the same white counselor speaking without an accent. Another salient question was whether any of these four conditions significantly contributed to different amounts of information retained by the subjects.

The results demonstrated that the variable of counselor accent did affect subjects' ratings--but only in one very specific context of the experiment. It was found that black subjects, only when rating the black counselor, gave the counselor significantly higher ratings on the dimension of expertness when he spoke in unaccented English. The other counselor dimensions of trustworthiness and attractiveness measured in the study were not affected for this group. No significant interactive effects were found for the group of white subjects with any of the four counselor conditions. One unexpected result emerged: universally, black subjects' ratings were higher than white subjects' ratings. This result was interpreted from a psychosocial perspective. The other results were discussed in both a theoretical manner and from a counselor intervention perspective.

It was suggested that if certain counselor-client pairings occurred; the setting, vocal style and race would all be likely to contribute to a client's expectation of what might occur in counseling and how the client might perceive the counselor's dimensions

of expertness, trustworthiness and attractiveness. When certain counselor attributes are enhanced (e.g. expertness) it was suggested that the client would be more receptive to certain types of interventions (e.g. information and advice).

Lastly, the study suggested directions for future research which naturally developed both from a consideration of the limitations of the study and from the results of this investigation.

Discussion

The first hypothesis suggested that one (or more) of the four different counselor conditions would emerge as superior on at least some of the measured counselor dimensions of trustworthiness (T), expertness (E) and attractiveness (A). Clearly, this did not occur. No one counselor condition proved to be "superior" to any of the others. This result has more than one meaning within the parameters of the experiment. The most obvious and simple explanation is that, all things being equal in terms of the counselors' identifying information--training, experience and education--the racial and vocal qualities were simply not crucial to a client while he was rating the counselor. This raises the question of the importance of the identifying introductory information regarding the counselors' background and training. It should be recalled that in each of the four counselor conditions the identical information was furnished to the subjects about the counselors' formal expertise (i.e. degree, title and experience). The implications of this identifying information are discussed further below.

The second hypothesis stated that there would be no overall difference between the black subjects' ratings and the white subjects' ratings. What emerged, in fact, was just the opposite: the black subjects universally gave higher ratings on all of the three counselor dimensions for all of the four different counselor conditions. In one respect, this was a serendipitous finding. Although it was hypothesized that certain (perhaps racial) subsets of subjects would have shown preference for certain counselor conditions, it was not expected that, universally, black subjects would rate counselors higher than did the white subjects. These results are more difficult to interpret due to both their unexpected nature and the lack of previous research bearing directly on this issue. The issue is further complicated if, instead of conceptualizing the findings as "higher overall ratings by black subjects," they are considered as "lower overall ratings by the white subjects." In either case, a host of relevant questions arise as to what may have contributed to these results. Response sets and differing expectations of the counselor (and counseling) are, initially, two plausible explanations which will be addressed below in more depth.

The third hypothesis suggested that for each racial subset of subjects (i.e. black and white) differences would emerge among their ratings of the four different counselor conditions. This hypothesis was based on previous research done in the field of sociolinguistics. Results of several studies have demonstrated that certain listeners tended to rate accented speakers differently from unaccented speakers (e.g. Tucker & Lambert, 1969). However,

the results of this study--and this hypothesis in particular--deviated from this expectancy. Only one aspect of hypothesis three was supported by the data: black subjects, when rating the black counselor, gave the counselor significantly higher ratings on the dimension of expertness when the counselor spoke in unaccented English. There were no differences on the dimensions of expertness or trustworthiness for this group. The white subjects showed no differences in their ratings for any of the counselor conditions. In light of previous research (e.g. Thomas, 1978), this result alone can be interpreted as suggesting that the black subjects considered the black counselor as more of an expert when he spoke in unaccented English. However, the complete results of this study suggest that this may be an incomplete interpretation of the data. Why, for example, did only the black subjects reveal a difference in their ratings and why only along this dimension of expertness? It is certainly plausible that the black subjects were more sensitive to stylistic voice differences within their own racial group. However, this is problematical. The results revealed that white subjects were not influenced by the (accented or unaccented) voice styles of either the black or white counselor. This result contradicts some earlier findings within the sociolinguistic literature and is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Hypothesis four, which stated that subjects' ratings would change over time, was not supported by the data for any of the four different groups. It can be stated that in this study all of the subjects tended to remain fairly consistent in their judgements about counselor T, E and A over the course of the week during

which the three video tape monologues were presented. Perhaps the relatively short period of one week was not sufficient time for all the subjects to experience a meaningful change of their impressions of the counselors. Some anecdotal data, recorded by the investigator, revealed that at least a few clients expressed subjectively changed feelings about their "counselor" over the week's course. Some examples included: "This guy gets worse every time I see him"; "At first I wondered about him . . . but by now it's O.K."; "Hey, a southerner--they oughtta send him back where he came from"; and "He's O.K., I think I've seen him around the hospital."

The final hypothesis, that the four different counselor conditions would significantly contribute to differing amounts of information recalled by the subjects, was not supported by the data. Table 3 reveals that when either of the counselors spoke in unaccented English, the subjects tended to recall more of the monologue information on the average compared to the accented English. This result may be interpreted in two ways. First, it may mean exactly that which it suggests: that accented speech isn't really an important variable influencing information retention. Secondly, it may be interpreted as the beginning of a trend which might have reached statistically significant levels if the conditions (i.e. accents) had been "stronger." This is a notion which should be addressed in future research.

Sociolinguistic and Cross-Cultural
Counseling Implications

What are some of the more general implications of this study which are relevant to the area of therapy, but which also involve the counselors' vocal style? The overall results--that no one of the four counselor conditions emerged as "superior" to any of the others, despite obvious vocal and racial differences among the four conditions--may be explained by some of the other experimental conditions which were part of the study. In this investigation the counselors were all identified in an identical manner. Regardless of their speech style, both counselors were given the same hypothetical Ph.D. in psychology and three years of counseling experience. Siegel (1980) has found that the presence of objective evidence of expertness (e.g. verbal introduction, posting of diplomas) enhanced subjects' ratings of counselors on the dimensions of trust and credibility. Siegel's (1980) finding, for the most part, was not inconsistent with the results of this study. Generally, with all things being equal in terms of training and experience, the race and vocal styles were not very potent factors of influence on subjects' perceptions of the counselors as reflected by their ratings. Sociolinguistic theorizing has also advanced some support for this interpretation of the results of this study.

Williams (1970) has described the stereotype hypothesis as a listener's evaluational reaction to a speech style, which elicits in the listener certain attitudes, biases and prejudices about the speaker of the particular speech style. The best illustration of these biases for black and white racial groups have been demonstrated

by Tucker and Lambert (1969). The currency of their findings (see Chapter Three, Listeners' Attitudes Toward English Dialect Speakers) have been challenged by the results of this study. Where Tucker and Lambert (1969) essentially found a hierarchy of most favorable to least favorable styles, the present study did not reveal such a hierarchy at a statistically significant level. Although an inspection of the means in Table 2 reveals differences between each speech style--with the unaccented speech always rated higher--the differences in no instance reached statistically significant levels. Some further comments about the concept of context for language studies will attempt to explain the meaning of this study's results in a fashion consistent with the sociolinguistic literature concerning language attitudes and context (e.g. Williams, 1970; Williams, 1973; Naremore, 1971).

Williams (1970) has raised a central point which bears directly on the interpretation of the results of this study when he discussed the variable of "context." Most of the research before the 1970s on language attitudes took place in a relative vacuum. That is, listeners were usually presented with a voice tape played on a tape recorder, and then given some type of rating scale on which they evaluated the "speaker" or the "speech of the speaker." The type of results (e.g. Tucker & Lambert, 1969; Anisfeld, Bogo & Lambert, 1962) which generally emerged from these studies clearly suggested that certain styles were preferred over others. But, as Williams (1970) stated:

Many Negroes, particularly in middle-class urban areas, are clearly bidialectal, and it seems unnecessary to emphasize how closely tied the choice of dialect is to the context of speech. Negro nonstandard English is expected of

blacks by blacks in the inner city, whereas a Negro's use of standard English is expected, mainly by whites, for participation as a member of certain social or occupational structures (say, as a schoolteacher). For the speaker to violate such expectations elicits drastically revised stereotypes--the black male being considered a traitor (or sometimes a homosexual) when speaking standard English in the inner city, or being considered militant or "uppity" when using black speech in situations where standard English is expected. The point here seems obvious: We cannot talk about speech and stereotypes without including context as a variable. (p. 390)

This concept of context was a central issue of the purpose of this study and germane to the interpretation of the results. The purpose and methodology of this investigation were designed specifically in an attempt to integrate the earlier "contextless" language attitude findings into an experimental paradigm which also contained a very specific context--counseling. And reciprocally, the variable of speech style has been one of those enigmatic dimensions of the even larger question of cross-cultural counseling theory. What empirical support did the results lend to the emerging theory in both the cross-cultural counseling and sociolinguistic realms?

The results of this study appear to support Williams' (1970) notion of context as a crucial methodological concern in this type of research. Additionally, the idea of context also seems to have contributed to our understanding of how a specific cross-cultural variable affects (and does not affect) some of the key dimensions of a counseling relationship. In this study, context was carefully prepared and controlled. The counselor's role was a very specific, clearly understood one. Furthermore, the use of audio visual tapes made it possible to introduce a new (visual) dimension into a previously established methodological strategy of studying language

attitudes--the "matched guise" technique. The stringent controls imposed upon the context of this study apparently contributed to some type of "wash out" effect for the different speech styles--but not completely. The one very specific context in which a significant effect was found was when black subjects rated the black counselor--and rated him lower on the dimension of expertness when he spoke with the black English accent. Interestingly, the dimensions of trustworthiness and attractiveness were not affected by the accent. This might mean different things for the counselor in the real world.

First of all, the type of counseling setting must be taken into account. A black client would quite possibly bring different sets of expectancies (regarding language styles) depending upon whether the potential counselor was working in a predominantly black or predominantly white counseling or community setting. In the present study, the setting was racially mixed client-wise, but the staff was predominantly white. Replication of this type of study, perhaps with a different group of subjects and/or with different types of counselor speech styles would shed additional light on this still unclear issue. Generalizations of the results of this study to, for example, a predominantly black staffed mental health setting must be made with caution. It should also be recalled that the clients studied in this experiment were inpatients at a hospital located in the northeastern section of the country. Perhaps if the study were replicated in the southern part of the country different findings would appear. The above caveats should be kept in mind as some implications for counselor practice and intervention are discussed next.

The three dimensions of counselor attributes measured by the Counselor Rating Form have implications for the impact a particular counselor intervention may have on a client. In this study, for example, it was found that when a black counselor spoke to a black client in unaccented English it enhanced the counselor's dimension of expertness for that client. Interventions, then, under this condition may facilitate and strengthen certain qualities of the counseling relationship--and not, it seems, at the expense of the other two important dimensions measured by the Counselor Rating Form. Under conditions of high perception of counselor expertness, a client would be likely to experience the counselor as an experienced and skilled professional; someone who is prepared, clear and logical in the counseling relationship. The client would be more prone to accept certain types of counselor feedback rather than others. Advice and information from someone perceived as an expert counselor would probably be received as valid and accurate by the client because he sees the counselor as an informed and intelligent professional. Conditions which enhanced a client's perception of counselor trustworthiness would contribute to feelings of genuineness, honesty and sincerity in the counseling relationship. A client experiencing the presence of these qualities and feeling unthreatened would be prone to disclose more personal and perhaps more painful feelings. Since this study found only one counselor-client combination (black subject with black counselor) which significantly enhanced one of the three measured dimensions (expertness), more research is clearly needed to explore how other

possible counselor-client combinations affect the other dimensions of the counseling relationship.

A Serendipitous Finding

Finally, the serendipitous finding of significantly higher ratings by the black subjects is discussed here from more of a sociological position--focusing on some literature which has addressed the issue of ethnic minorities' perception of mental health providers.

Schneider, Laury and Hughes (1980) reviewed much of the research on ethnic group perceptions of mental health services and carried out an empirical study to test whether differences emerged among different ethnic groups. One of their findings revealed that different ethnic groups did have different perceptions of mental health providers. Blacks (and Chicanos) reported that they were more likely than whites to discuss personal problems with a counselor. They (Schneider et al., 1980) suggested that white clients were more likely to have had previous contact with a counselor and this familiarity could have contributed to the white clients' realization that counseling was not always helpful. Many writers (e.g. Vontress, 1970) have suggested that minority clients experienced greater and/or more special difficulties which are subjectively felt as more intense than the personal problems of white clients. This may have led to the blacks in this study feeling more concerned than white clients about their difficulties. Harrison (1975) has suggested that white society has traditionally encouraged minority role behavior to lack openness and candidness. In reaction, perhaps, the black subjects may simply have been motivated to show an increased tendency to

discuss personal issues because of a demand effect to "tell him (the white experimenter) what he wants to hear." Sue (1978) reported that minority clients were recently becoming more likely to discuss personal problems with counselors because they expected effective action and intervention by a mental health professional. All of these views are worth considering in an attempt to interpret the meaning of the unexpected finding in this study of universally higher ratings by the black subjects.

It is plausible that all the viewpoints described above may have contributed to the result now under discussion. Although no information was elicited from subjects regarding their previous contacts with counseling experiences, it was assumed that the subjects were at least partially representative of the total population of therapy clients. Given this, the white subjects may have given the counselors lower ratings because of their realization that the counselor was potentially "not helpful." Following Vontress' (1970) thesis, perhaps the black clients were experiencing a greater degree of subjectively felt emotional discomfort. This would have resulted in increased ratings for the counselor whose role as a potential helper was seen as more vital. The point raised by Harrison (1975), plus the fact that the experimenter was a white counselor himself, may have combined to produce in the black subjects a need to "tell them what they want to hear"--that counselors are positively regarded. Sue's (1978) point may also have some validity. The clients in this study were all inpatients in a voluntary rehabilitation program and had expressed explicit needs and reasons to be there. Naturally, they expected to deal with

their problems and knew they would be involved with professional counselors during the course of their hospitalization. Finally, the reality of individual differences should be considered in relation to the preceding discussion. Perhaps certain expectations were stimulated in some clients, but not in others. This is a complex area to interpret, especially in such a post hoc fashion. Future research is clearly needed in this area.

Present Limitations and Future Research Recommendations

The analogue nature of this study resulted in a methodological issue previously described as having imposed some artificiality on the counselor-client contacts in this study. Careful presentation of the audio visual tapes and stimulus materials were essential steps in capturing as much counselor "realism" as possible without losing control over the subtle differences among the four counselor conditions. Future research might try to improve upon this methodology in two ways. First, although the actors in this study each did an excellent job in role playing the two different accents, it would be desirable in the future to use real, bidialectical counselors. In addition, to transcend the analogue quality of the research, real-life situations could be developed in which to study the processes in question. Adequate control of the precise vocal qualities would be much more difficult to obtain, but it is an area worth developing.

The setting and subjects used in this study involved only one possible counseling environment which resulted in a few implicit limitations. First, the clients were all being treated for

alcoholism; they (and the counselors) were all males; and all were veterans in the same treatment program. While alcoholism was certainly a legitimate mental health concern for all the subjects, the restricted sample naturally imposed some restrictions upon the generalizability of the results. Caution must be used when discussing the application of these results to other mental health settings. Several directions for future research naturally arose from these considerations.

The factor of client and/or counselor sex was one area certainly needing further exploration. How does one's gender interact with the factors of race and voice style? Another variable which should be studied is the factor of accent from the counselor's point of view. How do counselors react to clients' vocal qualities? Also, this society is a multi-ethnic one and there are many other vocal accents in addition to the ones examined in this study. In addition, it should be recalled that the location of the treatment program used in this study was in the northern United States. Future studies could be conducted in other regions of the country. Finally, there are many other viable settings in which counseling relationships could be studied--schools, colleges and community mental health centers--to name only a few.

APPENDIX A
TAPESCRIPT OF MONOLOGUE INTRODUCTION

"Hello, over the course of this week you will be seeing a counseling psychologist deliver three short talks about what he feels are three important aspects of the counseling process.

One reason we are doing this is that we want to see how experienced counselors come across on video tape. Another reason is that it gives you a chance to learn something about the philosophy of counseling. The counselor you will be seeing received his Ph.D. in psychology two years ago and has had three years of counseling experience.

What we would like you to do is simple. First, just listen and watch. After the counselor has completed his talk you will be given a short form to rate him on how you feel about him as a counselor. Ready, here is the first video tape."

APPENDIX B
TAPESCRIPIT OF COMPATIBILITY MONOLOGUE

"Hello, today I'd like to talk to you about compatibility between a counselor and a client. By compatibility I mean that there has to be enough common ground for me and the patient to meet on so we can work on the problems at hand. For me, this doesn't mean that I'm going to like every person I work with equally well. At the same time, I wouldn't expect every patient or client to feel that I am their favorite person. After all, people are different--that's what makes the world go 'round--and no two people are compatible on everything. But what I'm talking about is a good solid working relationship that involves some give and take on both sides. Sometimes two people are just totally incompatible. In counseling, to be honest with you, this is quite rare. In most cases, as long as there is a willingness and effort on both sides, a good and compatible working relationship is usually possible. This has been my experience with just about everyone I've ever worked with. Thanks for your attention today."

APPENDIX C
TAPESCRIPT OF RESPECT MONOLOGUE

"Hi, today I'd like to talk to you about respect. We probably all have a pretty good idea of what respect means. In counseling, I believe it's got a special meaning. For the counselor, for me, I believe it means I'm going to accept the patient or client first of all as a person. I try to avoid making stereotypes or unfair judgements. After all, I'm in a position where I sometimes have to make judgements--but that doesn't mean I lose respect for the person I'm working with. I guess I expect some of the same in return. Basically, we are all just human beings and we have too much in common not to respect one another.

I guess the most important reason for mutual respect is obvious, at least it's obvious to me. I've never seen two people solve problems together without some degree of mutual respect. People can disagree on certain things and still solve problems. But when there are feelings of disrespect on top of disagreement, that is almost a sure sign of trouble. Well, that's how I feel about respect in counseling. Thanks for listening."

APPENDIX D
TAPESCRIFT OF PREPAREDNESS MONOLOGUE

"Hello, today I'd like to talk to you about the topic of being prepared for counseling. From my point of view, this means that I should be well trained and experienced with working with people, and I feel that I am--but it also means alot more than that. When I am trying to help a person solve some problems they are having it means that I have to be in the right frame of mind at the time. It doesn't do the patient or client much good if I'm in the room with them, but my mind is off wandering somewhere. So, being prepared for me means being physically and mentally in the room. This works in reverse too. By this I mean that when a person comes to counseling he can either come prepared or unprepared to get down to work on the issues. Don't misunderstand me, it's not an all or nothing thing. Sometimes everyone just has a bad day or things don't go quite right. But for the most part, like the saying goes, 'be prepared,' that's good advice for both the client and the counselor. Well, thanks for hearing me out today."

APPENDIX E
COUNSELOR RATING FORM

You will find several scales which contain word pairs at both ends of the scale and seven spaces between the pairs of words. Please rate the counselor on each of the scales. Here are some examples:

If you feel that the counselor very closely resembles the word at one end of the scale, place a check mark as follows:

unfair : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : X : fair

OR

unfair : X : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : fair

If you feel that one end of the scale quite closely describes the counselor then make your check mark as follows:

smooth : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : X : _ : rough

OR

smooth : _ : X : _ : _ : _ : _ : rough

If you feel that one end of the scale only slightly describes the counselor, then check the scale as follows:

active : _ : _ : X : _ : _ : _ : inactive

OR

active : _ : _ : _ : _ : X : _ : inactive

If both sides of the scale seem equally associated with your impression of the counselor or if the scale seems irrelevant, then place a check mark in the middle:

hard : _ : _ : _ : X : _ : _ : soft

PLEASE PLACE YOUR CHECK MARKS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SPACES. YOUR FIRST IMPRESSION IS THE BEST ANSWER. THANK YOU.

Counselor Rating Form (A)

inexpert :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: expert

irresponsible :__:__:__:__:__:__: responsible

unalert :__:__:__:__:__:__: alert

insightful :__:__:__:__:__:__: insightless

skillful :__:__:__:__:__:__: unskillful

compatible :__:__:__:__:__:__: incompatible

disrespectful :__:__:__:__:__:__: respectful

honest :__:__:__:__:__:__: dishonest

agreeable :__:__:__:__:__:__: disagreeable

unreliable :__:__:__:__:__:__: reliable

unlikeable :__:__:__:__:__:__: likeable

warm :__:__:__:__:__:__: cold

Counselor Rating Form (B)

casual :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: formal

sociable :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: unsociable

vague :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: clear

cheerful :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: depressed

unappreciative :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: appreciative

selfless :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: selfish

inexperienced :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: experienced

trustworthy :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: untrustworthy

deceitful :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: straightforward

prepared :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: unprepared

sincere :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: insincere

logical :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: illogical

Counselor Rating Form (C)

undependable :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: dependable

analytic :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: diffuse

distant :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: close

unfriendly :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: friendly

attractive :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: unattractive

indifferent :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: enthusiastic

genuine :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: phony

informed :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: ignorant

suspicious :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: believable

unsure :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: confident

stupid :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: intelligent

open :__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__:__: closed

APPENDIX F
RECALL QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire will help us determine how well the counselor you saw communicated his ideas to you. Please circle the best answer according to what the counselor discussed last week.

- 1) The counselor spoke about the subject of compatibility in:
 - a) one tape
 - b) two tapes
 - c) three tapes
 - d) none of the above

- 2) The reasons you were asked to listen to the counselor included:
 - a) to get an idea of the philosophy of counseling
 - b) evaluate the counselor
 - c) see how a counselor appears on video tape
 - d) all of the above

- 3) A client and a counselor who can't work together occurs:
 - a) very often
 - b) sometimes
 - c) rarely
 - d) never

- 4) Being in the right frame of mind and being ready to work are:
 - a) parts of being prepared for counseling
 - b) some things that happen half way through a counseling session
 - c) not important in counseling
 - d) none of the above

- 5) Client preparation for counseling involves:
- a) showing up on time
 - b) being in the right frame of mind to work with the counselor
 - c) reading about counseling
 - d) none of the above
- 6) The three topics which the counselor discussed were:
- a) honesty, respect, preparedness
 - b) compatibility, respect, preparedness
 - c) compatibility, lying, respect
 - d) none of the above
- 7) When a counselor makes a judgement about a client:
- a) the counselor still respects the client
 - b) the counselor probably loses respect for the client
 - c) the counselor doesn't believe in making judgements
 - d) none of the above
- 8) The counselor:
- a) doesn't expect the client to respect him
 - b) doesn't care whether the client respects him
 - c) expects some respect from the client
 - d) none of the above
- 9) The counselor you saw:
- a) likes all clients equally well
 - b) thinks it is impossible to like all clients equally well
 - c) did not say anything about liking or not liking clients
 - d) none of the above
- 10) A "good solid working relationship" best describes:
- a) respect
 - b) trust
 - c) compatibility
 - d) none of the above

11) The counselor said:

- a) alot about the cost of counseling
- b) barely mentioned the cost of counseling
- c) didn't mention the cost at all
- d) none of the above

12) According to the counselor, counseling is:

- a) a long, long process
- b) a very brief activity if the client works hard
- c) the counselor did not say how long it takes
- d) none of the above

13) The counselor mentioned all of the following topics except:

- a) respect
- b) preparedness
- c) empathy
- d) he mentioned all of the above

14) The counselor you saw was a:

- a) psychiatrist
- b) social worker
- c) psychologist
- d) none of the above

15) Training and experience for the counselor are:

- a) only two important areas
- b) not really necessary
- c) all that is needed to be a helpful counselor
- d) none of the above

APPENDIX G
SAMPLE OF BLACK COUNSELOR/UNACCENTED SPEECH STYLE:
INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET TRANSCRIPTION
OF RESPECT MONOLOGUE

// 'hæi // tu'dei ad 'læk tu 'tøk tu 'ju ə'bæst ri'spekt // 'wi
'prəbəblɪ ɒl hæv ə 'prɪtɪ 'gɒd əu'diə əv 'hwæt ri'spekt 'mɪnz // ɪn
'kəʊnsəlɪŋ / əu bə'liv ɪts 'gæt ə 'speʃl 'mɪnɪŋ // fɔr ðə 'kəʊnsələ /
ɔr fɔr 'mi / əu bə'liv ɪt 'mɪnz əu əm 'gɔɪn tu əksəpt ðə 'peʃn
'fɜːst əv ɒl ɪz ə 'pɜːsn // ə 'tra tu ə'vɔɪd 'mekɪŋ 'stɜːnɪətəls ɜː
'ʌnfə 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts // 'æfə ɒl / əm 'ɪn ʌ pəʊzɪŋ 'wɜː əv sɪm'taɪz
'hæf tə 'mek 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts / bʌt ðæt 'dʌznt 'mɪn əu 'liːz ri'spekt fɔr
ðə pɜːsn 'əʊm wɜːkɪŋ wɪθ // əu 'gɜːs əu ɪk'spekt sʌm əv ðə 'sem ɪn
ri'tɜːn // 'besɪklɪ wɪ æ 'ɒl dʒɛst 'hjuːmən 'biːŋz ən wɪ hæv 'tu
mʌtʃ ɪn 'kʌmɪn 'hæt tu ri'spekt wʌn ənʌðə // əu gɜːs ðə 'mɒst
ɪm'pɔːtənt 'rɪzn fɔr 'ɪmjuːtəəl ri'spekt ɪz əbvɪəs // ət 'lɪst ɪts
əbvɪəs tu 'mi // 'ləv nəvə 'sɪn tu 'pɪp! sʌlv 'prɒbləmz 'tuɔːðə
wɪðəʊt 'sʌm dɪɡri əv 'ɪmjuːtəəl ri'spekt // 'pɪp! kən dɪsə'grɪ ɒn
'sɜːtɪŋ θɪŋz ɪn 'stɪl sʌlv 'prɒbləmz / 'bʌt wɛn ðɜː ɜːn fɪlɪŋz əv
dɪsri'spekt ɒn 'tʌp əv dɪsə'grɪmɪnt / ðæt ɪz ɒlmost ə ʃʊr 'seɪn əv
'trʌb! // wɛl / 'ðæts hæp 'əu fɪl ə'bæst ri'spekt ɪn 'kəʊnsəlɪŋ //
'θæŋks tə 'ɦʊsənɪŋ //

APPENDIX H
SAMPLE OF WHITE COUNSELOR/UNACCENTED SPEECH STYLE:
INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET TRANSCRIPTION
OF RESPECT MONOLOGUE

// hʌ'lo // tə'de 'əɪd 'ləɪk tə 'tɒk tə 'ju ə'beə rɪ'spekt / 'wi
'prəbəbʌ 'ɒl 'hæv ə 'prɪtɪ ɡɒd əɪdiə əv 'hwɒt rɪ'spekt 'mɪnz // ɪn
'kəʊnsəlɪŋ əv bə'lɪv ɪts ɡət ə 'speʃəl 'mɪnɪŋ / fər ðə 'kəʊnsər / fər
'mi // 'əʊ bə'lɪv ɪt 'mɪnz əʊm 'ɡoɪŋ tu əksept ðə 'pefənt 'fərst əv
ɒl ɪz ə 'pɜːsn // əʊ 'træʊ tu əvɔɪd 'mekɪŋ 'stɜːrɪetəɪps ɒr ʌn'fər
'dʒʌdʒmɪnts // 'æftər ɒl / 'əʊm ɪn ə pəʊzɪŋ wɜː əʊ 'sʌmtaɪmz 'hæftə
mek 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts / bʌt ðæt 'dʌʒnt 'mɪn əʊ lʊz rɪ'spekt fər ðə pɜːsn
əʊm 'wɜːkɪŋ wɪð // əʊ ɡes əʊ ɪk'spekt sʌm ə ðə 'sem ɪn rɪ'tɜːn //
'besɪklɪ / wɜː ɒl jɛs 'hjuːmən 'biɪŋz ŋ wɪ hæv 'tu 'mʌtʃ ɪn 'kʌmɪn
'næt tə rɪ'spekt wʌn ənʌðər // əʊ ɡes ðə 'mɒst ɪm'pɔːtənt 'rɪzɪŋ
fər 'ɪmjuːtʃəʊl rɪ'spekt ɪz 'əbvɪəs / ɪts 'əbvɪəs tə 'mi // əv 'hevər
'sɪn 'tu 'pɪpəl sʌlv prɒbləmz tə'ɡeðər wɪðəʊt 'sʌm dɪɡrɪ əv 'ɪmjuːtʃəʊl
rɪ'spekt // 'pɪpəl kən 'dɪsəɡrɪ ʌn 'sɜːtŋ θɪŋz ŋ stʌl 'sʌlv 'prɒbləmz /
bʌt wɛn ðər ʌr 'fɪlɪŋz əv dɪs'rɪ'spekt ʌn 'tʌp əv dɪsə'ɡrɪmənt / 'ðæts
ɒl'mɒst ə 'fɔːr 'sɛɪn ə trʌbl // 'wel 'ðæts həʊ əʊ 'fɪl ə'beə rɪ'spekt
ɪn 'kəʊnsəlɪŋ // 'θæŋks fər 'lɪsɪŋ //

APPENDIX 1
 SAMPLE OF BLACK COUNSELOR/ACCENTED SPEECH STYLE:
 INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET TRANSCRIPTION
 OF RESPECT MONOLOGUE

// 'ha // tə'deɪ ad 'læk tə 'tɒk tə ju əbeət ru'spek // 'ju 'prəbəbl
 'ɔl hæv ə prɪti gɒd ədiə ə 'wɒt ru'spet 'minz // ɪn kəʊnsəlɪŋ / a
 be'lɪv ɪts gæt ə 'speʃəl 'mɪnɪn // fɔr ðə 'kəʊnsəlɔr ɔr fɔr 'mi / a
 be'lɪv ɪt 'minz æm gɒnə ə'sep də 'peʃən fɜrst əv ɔl ɛz ə 'pɜrsən //
 'a 'tra tə ə'vɔɪd 'mekɪn 'stɜrɪətɜɪns ən ʌn'fer 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts // æftə
 'ɔl / æm ɪn ə 'pɔzɪʃən wɜr ə 'sæmtaɪz 'hæv tə mek 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts / bʌt
 'dæt 'dʌzən 'mɪn ə 'luz rə'spek fɜr ðə 'pɜrsən æm 'wɜrkən wɜf // a
 'ges ə ɪkspek sʌm ə ðə 'sem ɪn rɪtɜrn // 'besɪklɪ wɪ ə 'ɔl dʒʌs
 'hju:mən bi:ŋs ən wɪ 'hæv 'tu 'mʌtʃ ɪn kʌmɪn nət tə ru'spek 'wʌn
 ənʌðə // a 'ges ðə 'mɒs ɪm'pɒtənt 'rɪzɪŋ fɜr 'mʊtʊəl rɪspek ɪz
 'æbvɪs / æt 'lɪs ɪts 'æbvɪs tə 'mi // əv 'neɪvə 'sɪn tu 'pɪp! sʌlv
 'prəbləmz təgeðə wɪð'əət 'sʌm dɪgrɪ əv 'mju:tʊəl ru'spek // 'pɪp!
 kən dɪsəgrɪ ɔn 'sɜrtɪn θɪŋz ən 'stiəl sʌlv 'prəbləmz / bʌt wɛn ðə
 a 'fɪlənz əv dɪsru'spek ɔn 'tʌp əv dɪsə'grɪmənt / dæts 'ɔl mɒs ə
 'fɔr 'səɪn ə 'trʌb! // wɛl dæts heə 'a 'fɪl əbeət ru'spek // ən
 'θæŋkju fɜr 'lɪsənɪn //

APPENDIX J
SAMPLE OF WHITE COUNSELOR/ACCENTED SPEECH STYLE:
INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET TRANSCRIPTION
OF RESPECT MONOLOGUE

// 'ha // tædɛl ad læk tɛ 'tɒk 'ju ə'beəə rɪ'spɛk // wɪ ɔl 'prəbəblɪ
hæv ə prɪtɪ gɒd ə'diə əv hwæt rɪ'spɛk 'mɪnz // ɪn 'kəʊnsəlɪŋ ə be'lɪv
ɪts gæt ə 'spɛʃl 'mɪnɪŋ // fər ðə kəʊnsələr / fər 'mi / ə be'lɪv ɪt
'mɪnz əɪm gəʊn tu ɛk'sɛp ðə 'peɪsən 'fɜːst əv ɔl ɛz ə pɜːsən // əl tra
tɛ əvɔl 'mekən 'stɜːdɪəts ɜː ʌnfər 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts // 'æftər ɔl əm ɪn ə
pɪ'zɪsən hwɛr ə 'sæmtaɪmz 'hæftə 'mek 'dʒʌdʒmɪnts / bət 'ðæt 'dʌŋt
mɪn ə lʌz rɪ'spɛk fər ðə pɜːsən əm wɜːkɪn wɪθ // əl gɛs ə ɛk'spɛk
səm ə ðə 'sem ɪn rɪ'tɜːn // 'bɛstɪlɪ / wɪn ɔl dʒʌs 'hʌmən 'bɪŋs ŋ
wɪ hæv 'tu 'mætɪ ɪn 'kæmɪn 'næt tɛ rɪ'spɛk wʌn ɛnʌðər // ə 'gɛs ðə
mɒs ɪm'pɔːtən 'rɪzɪŋ fər 'mjuːʃəəl rɪ'spɛkt ɪz 'læbɪəs / ɛt 'lɪst
ɪts 'læbɪəs tɛ 'mi / bət əv 'nɛvər 'sɪn tu 'pɪpəl sɒlv 'prɒbləmz
tu 'gɛðər wɪðəə 'səm dɛ'lɒrɪ əv m'juːʃəəl rɪ'spɛk // 'pɪpəl kɪn dɪsə'gri
ɒn sɜːtɪŋ θɪŋz ŋ stɪl sɒlv 'prɒbləmz / bət wɛn ðær 'fɪlɪnz əv
dɪs'rɪ'spɛkt ɒn 'tʌp ə dɪsə'grɪmɪn / 'ðæt ɪz 'ɔl'mɒst ə fɔːr 'səʊn ə
trɒbl // 'wel ðætʃ həp ə 'fɪl ə'beəə rɪ'spɛkt ɪn 'kəʊnsəlɪŋ //
'θæŋks fər lɪsɪŋ //

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Steven Jeffrey Stein was born in 1953, in Newark, New Jersey. His family lived in Connecticut for a short while, but moved back to New Jersey while he was in the fourth grade. He graduated from Livingston High School in 1971.

In the fall of 1971, the author began his undergraduate studies at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C. He completed his studies three years later, having earned his B.A. and graduating with Special Honors in Psychology.

In September, 1974, the author began his graduate work at the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City. He interrupted his studies after one semester to work and travel. During his two year leave of absence, the author spent eight months tending a bar in Manhattan, eight months traveling around the world, and almost a year working in a counseling center with emotionally disturbed adolescents. Returning to the New School in 1976, he completed his M.A. in psychology in January, 1978.

In September, 1978, the author began his advanced graduate studies at the University of Florida in Gainesville. He completed his doctoral coursework for the Ph.D. in counseling psychology during the latter half of 1980. The autumn of 1980 found the author beginning his year-long internship, which comprises the final formal phase of his graduate training. He is currently an intern in counseling psychology at the East Orange, New Jersey, Veterans Administration Medical Center.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Professor of Counselor Education
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Counselor Education in the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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