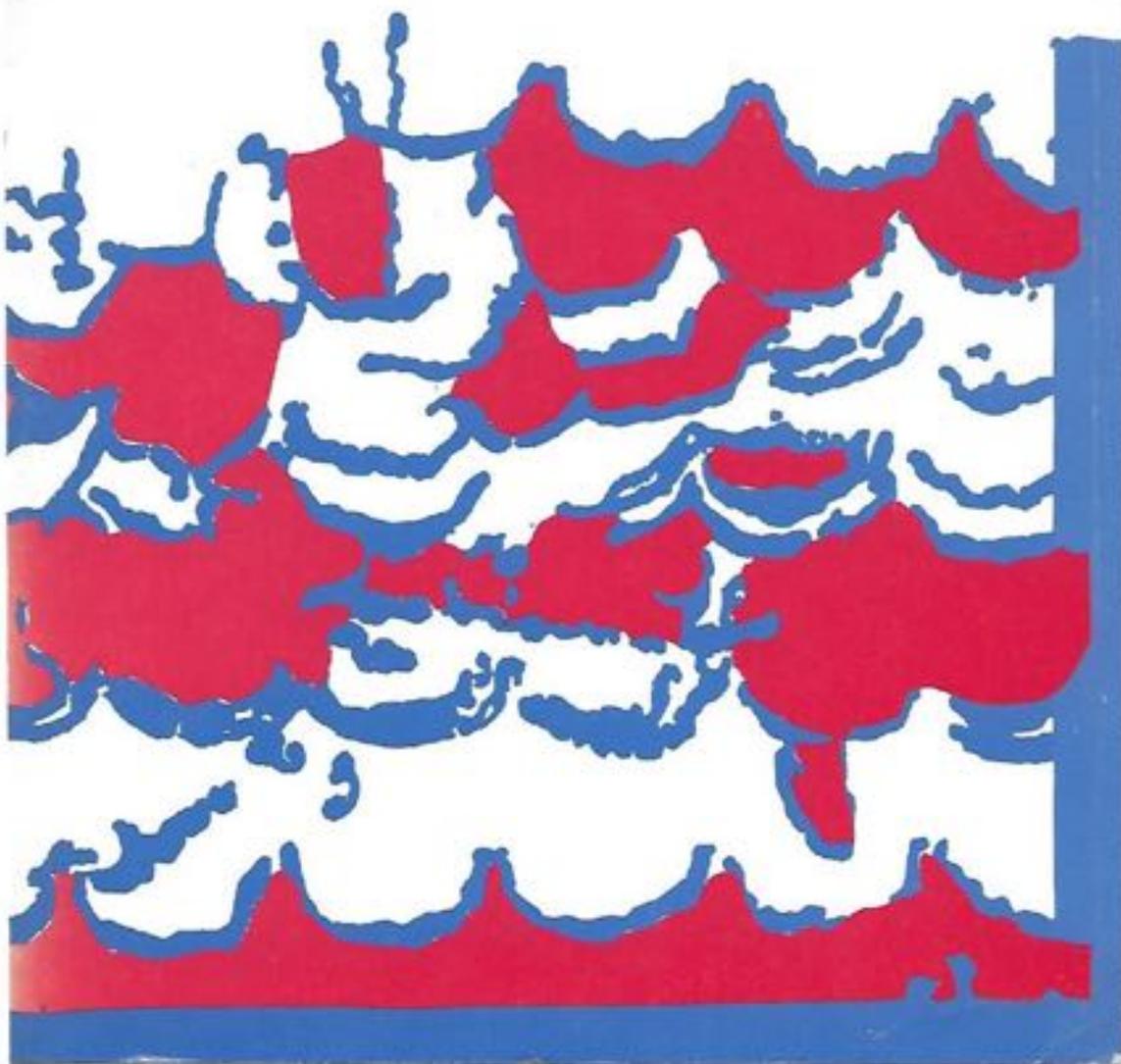


The Present and Future of Counseling Psychology

Brooks/Cole Series in Counseling Psychology

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Fretz*



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OF COUNSELING
PSYCHOLOGY**

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SERIES FOREWORD

The books in the Brooks/Cole Series in Counseling Psychology reflect the significant developments that have occurred in the counseling field over the past several decades. No longer is it possible for a single author to cover the complexity and scope of counseling as it is practiced today. Our approach has been to incorporate within the Brooks/Cole Series the viewpoints of different authors having quite diverse training and perspectives.

Over the past decades, too, the counseling field has expanded its theoretical basis, the problems of human living to which it addresses itself, the methods it uses to advance scientifically, and the range of persons who practice it successfully—from competent and skillful paraprofessionals to doctoral-level practitioners in counseling, psychology, education, social work, and psychiatry.

The books in the Brooks/Cole Series are intended for instructors and both graduate and undergraduate students alike who want the most stimulating in current thinking. Each volume may be used independently as a text to focus in detail on an individual topic, or the books may be used in combination to highlight the growth and breadth of the profession. However they are used, the books explore the many new skills that are available to counselors as they struggle to help people learn to change their behavior and gain self-understanding. Single volumes also lend themselves as background reading for workshops or in-service training, as well as in regular semester or quarter classes.

The intent of all the books in the Brooks/Cole Series is to stimulate the reader's thinking about the field, about the assumptions made regarding the basic nature of people, about the normal course of human development and the progressive growth tasks that everyone faces, about how behavior is acquired, and about what different approaches to counseling postulate concerning how human beings can help one another.

John M. Whiteley
Arthur Resnikoff

PREFACE

This text comprises portions of the original *Counseling Psychologist* issue on professional identity as it exists today and a series of chapters written especially for this book on the future of counseling psychology.

Part I, which covers counseling psychology in the present, is divided into three sections. Section 1 provides historical and current perspectives on the profession by individuals whose primary professional identification is “Counseling Psychologist.” Section 2 includes contributions by other professionals who work closely with counseling psychologists. Section 3 is a commentary on professional identity by two past presidents of Division 17.

Part II provides a look into the future with 17 chapters focusing on counseling psychology in the year 2000 A.D. These chapters include discussions of what the world will be like then and commentaries on changes that need to occur if counseling psychology is to have a vital role at the start of the 21st century.

This book is intended for students beginning training for their careers. It details for them the options open in the present and challenges their thinking about the nature of the future. It will also benefit advanced graduate students, practicing professionals, and participants in inservice training programs who want to rethink their current professional roles, learn about new ones, and consider the alternatives for the future.

John M. Whiteley
Bruce R. Fretz

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THE PRESENT AND
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PART I

Introduction: The Professional Identity of Counseling Psychology: 1978

“Identity, it was brought out, is no longer an issue with many counseling psychologists, although it is still real to some. Counseling psychologists are no longer a group of people in search of professional identity, but rather a group—some members of which have identity problems.” (Thompson & Super, 1964, p. 27). Although this statement was written in 1964, it probably describes equally well the views of many counseling psychologists today.

Some counseling psychologists view the concerns about professional identity during the past few decades as defensive attempts to define their identity to other mental health professionals, especially the more prestigious and prodigious ones. Other colleagues believe that consideration of identity issues is wasted energy and that everyone should instead work to fulfill the goal of furthering “the fullest possible self-realization of those who constitute a particular social group” (*The American Psychologist*, 1956, p. 284).

What then, are the reasons that led to a general analysis of counseling psychology in the present and a treatment of identity issues in particular?

There are at least four reasons: First, in recent years, in a tightening employment market with higher credentials requirements, the graduates of counseling psychology programs are increasingly finding themselves “in the cracks” between psychology and the “primarily psychological,” which has been described by many as “not psychology.” Therefore, they often find themselves categorically excluded from a variety of internships and positions, regardless of skills, because they graduated from counseling, rather than clinical psychology, programs.

The second reason for analyzing counseling psychology and identity issues has its origins in a past stage of the development of our profession. Participants in the Greyston Conference in 1964 gave considerable attention to the lack of adequate representation of counseling psychologists in a number of professionally vital activities. For example, they stated that: (1) counseling psychology training programs were often evaluated by accreditation visitors who were not counseling psychologists; (2) the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) provided few funds for the training of counseling psychologists; and (3) The American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology (ABEPP) often conducted oral examinations of applicants for the Counseling Psychology diplomate without adequate representation of counseling psychologists.

Concerns and complaints of this kind have continued from the early 60s to the present time. Today, for example, the representation of counseling psychologists in the governing structure of the American Psychological Association is not in proportion to the total number of members of the Division of Counseling Psychology; the number of counseling psychologists serving on boards and committees in the APA is lower than all other divisions, except school psychology (Fretz, Note 1). However, we note optimistically that (1) changes in the selection procedures for on-site visitors for programs accredited by the American Psychological Association now do provide the possibility of including counseling psychologists, and (2) NIMH has granted new support to a counseling psychology training program for the first time in more than a decade.

A third reason that leads to a consideration of professional identity relates to the public image of counseling psychologists. As Hurst and Parker state in their contribution to this book, the title of Counseling Psychologist has often been restrictive rather than liberating. As many counseling psychologists have experienced, it is only when misperceptions and stereotypes are cleared away and their range of skills and competencies identified, that counseling psychologists have access to a wide variety of positions. However, as recorded during the Greyston Conference, “the task of adequately communicating this fact of identity to others remains . . . to be done” (Thompson & Super, 1964, p. 28).

Fourth, there is the more general question regarding identity: “how are we useful?” Is it not a mark of all professions, especially in changing times, to

examine themselves occasionally for ways to increase their contributions to society? What new roles should we encourage to facilitate the development of those with whom we work?

Can we talk meaningfully about identity in relation to all four of these preceding themes? One of the invited contributors asked me, as the guest editor, whether identity referred to our "identity among other professional groups or identity as we see ourselves . . . Erikson's identity concept comes to mind at once and I am not sure whether you mean identity of an autonomous nature or identity among comparable professional groups." My reply was "I mean both." The first three themes concern our identity primarily in terms of other professions. The last theme, which concerns our usefulness, asks us to look at ourselves in changing times and examine the core of our autonomous nature—the Eriksonian concept of identity.

Each of the three sections of Part I comprises contributions representing a broad range of perspectives and backgrounds in terms of generation within the field, work settings, and demographics. In order to insure a reasonably concise yet fairly comprehensive consideration of relevant issues, questions and topics were suggested to contributors. In the overview for each section of Part I, these suggestions to the contributors will be outlined and a summary of the articles in the section will be provided.

Part I begins with an array of perspectives on identity issues with contributions from writers who were involved with the initial identification of our field as counseling psychology in the early 1950s and from counseling psychologists who are concerned with the place of counseling in contemporary society. Part I continues with empirically based descriptions of the current status of the training and placement of counseling psychologists and, in Section Two, perspectives from persons in other professions regarding the identity, role, and functions of counseling psychologists.

For the final section, Norman Kagan and Samuel Osipow, past presidents of the Division of Counseling Psychology, have been invited to respond to the contributions in the preceding section, and they give their perceptions of the identity issues in counseling psychology.

Together, the three sections of Part I can provide the basis for our collective examination of our professional identity in the present. From one very broad perspective, our professional identity is partly determined by all counseling psychologists, both present and future.

Bruce R. Fretz

REFERENCE NOTE

1. Fretz, B. R. Steering Committee Report, Council of Counseling Psychology Training Programs, February 1977.

REFERENCES

- American Psychological Association, Division of Counseling Psychology, Committee on Definition. Counseling psychology as a specialty. *American Psychologist*, 1956, *11*, 282-285.
- Thompson, A. S., & Super, D. E. *The professional preparation of counseling psychologists*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964. (This is what is commonly referred to as the Greyston Conference Report.)

PERSPECTIVES ON IDENTITY ISSUES: THE VIEW FROM WITHIN

1

The contributions in this section provide historical and current perspectives on the identity of counseling psychology, all prepared by persons whose primary professional identity is “counseling psychologist.”

The contributions by Gilbert Wrenn and Donald Super—two persons very much involved with the initial formation of counseling psychology as an autonomous profession—review identity issues “Then, Now, and Tomorrow.” They have considered the questions of what identity issues they believe we should be attending to now, are these issues distinctive from identity issues in the past two decades, have our contributions to society been handicapped by professional identity issues and, if so, how might we reduce these handicaps and what do they expect our professional identity issues to be in the next years.

Readers who do not feel well acquainted with the major documents addressing the identity of counseling psychologists are invited to consult (1) “Counseling psychology as a specialty” in the *American Psychologist*, 1956, 11, pp. 282–285, and (2) statements by the then Division of Counseling and Guidance of The American Psychological Association on recommended “Standards for counseling psychologists at the doctorate level” and “The practicum training of counseling psychologists,” both found in the *American Psychologist*, 1952, 7, pp. 175–188.

The next two parts of this section provide both theoretical and empirical perspectives on counseling psychology in American society. Lyle Schmidt and Timothy Foss have written opposing views on the quality of life and needs in the American society that support the need for counseling psychology as a profession (Schmidt) and those that lead people in contemporary society to seek psychological growth and development outside of the established professions (Foss). James Hurst and Clyde Parker provide their perspective on the limitations that our title “Counseling Psychology” has placed on us as

we seek to fulfill our mission of facilitating the growth and development of persons in our society.

The empirically based contributions by Nathaniel Pallone provide recent data on the training, career, and organizational identity of counseling psychologists. From their perspectives as service deliverer (Foreman) and trainer (Weigel), the last two contributors to this section provide their views on the effects of identity issues; they describe how they have chosen to use some aspects of the identity of Counseling Psychologist to maximize their effectiveness in their roles and functions and how they cope with what they perceive as handicapping aspects of that identity.

Bruce R. Fretz

Chapter 1

Landmarks and the Growing Edge

C. GILBERT WRENN
Arizona State University

The task is to clarify the identity of the counseling psychologist. I propose to *seek* identity by examining some landmark formulations and events spreading over the past few decades. My personal perspective in this field of work extends over a 50-year period and is associated in the early stages with events of a semihumorous nature. This started with my appointment in 1926 as “Director of Guidance” in the Raymond, Washington, High School, a position for which I did not have an ounce of preparation. I was the first person with this title in the history of a school system that the Superintendent was trying to bring up to date! I was also Vice Principal, Dean of Boys, Debate Coach, and head of the history department, with one period a day for “counseling.” Kathleen, my wife, was Dean of Girls, director of all choral music, and teacher of French. She also had one period a day to counsel (she had had two years of experience in such “counseling” before I was employed there). My second appointment was as a counselor at Stanford University in 1930, where my title became “The Assistant Registrar for Student Personnel,” because in this university only the registrar would admit that students needed a professional counselor!

Perhaps it is wise to state at the outset that currently I think of a Counseling Psychologist in simple semantic terms—a psychologist with doctoral-level preparation in counseling. This means course work (personality development, learning, measurement, and so forth), seminars, research, field work, and an internship in *psychology*, with some of the course work, the research, and the internship being in *counseling psychology*. As will become clear later, my personal thinking about the best of such preparation is that it will include study of the social and value forces in the lives of people (anthropology, philosophy, social work, physiology) as well as knowledge and experience in dealing with individuals and groups. The degree given, with the foregoing stipulations, could be either a Ph.D. or an Ed.D. degree.

Factors Affecting Identity

It is simple to state that a counseling psychologist is a psychologist at the doctoral level who is prepared to practice counseling. The rub comes in

defining counseling. Every writer, perhaps every practitioner, puts the stamp of his or her own individuality upon the definition. Part of the variance arises out of the varied *settings* in which counseling psychologists work—school, college, clinic, hospital, business, rehabilitation centers, and so on, for an endless number of counseling environments. Part of the variance lies in the different *kinds* of counseling done, the adjective in front of the work—career, marriage, sex, family, group, and so forth—or he or she may be a teacher, a research worker, or self-employed. Part, perhaps a very influential part, of the variance is in the variation of *personality theory or counseling method espoused*.

The topics utilized for the different issues of *The Counseling Psychologist* provide an illustration of this theory-method variation. An examination of the 24 issues that have appeared to date revealed that in 1969 the theory-based topics covered were “Vocational Development Theory,” “Client-Centered Counseling,” and “Behavioral Counseling.” In 1970, we find “Encounter Groups”; 1971, “Existential Counseling,” “Individual Psychology,” and “Deliberate Psychological Education”; 1972, “Integrity Group Therapy”; 1974, “Gestalt Therapy”; 1975, “Carl Rogers on Empathy”; 1976, “Assertion Training”; 1977, “Developmental Counseling Psychology,” a total of 12 theory-or-method foci. (Another major grouping of topics for this journal refers to types of clients—adults, women, Black students, marriage and family, sex, career, and so forth.)

It is easy to see how these wide variations in the theory-method utilized, as well as variation in kinds of client focused upon or kind of client setting in which the counselor operates, would lead to *many* definitions of the counseling function and of the role of the counselor.

Much of the movement in counseling and the changes in perception of the counseling psychologist have been from the simple to the complex, from a familiar setting and focus to a variety of less familiar ones. This is unsettling, but it is a sign of growing strength, not of weakness.

In 1955, Super wrote “Transition: From vocational guidance to counseling psychology” (Super, 1955), a paper on the origins of counseling. At that time, it looked fairly reasonable to suggest an origin growing out of vocational information and psychological measurement, coupled with the psychotherapy approaches, particularly that of Carl Rogers. Reasonable then, it is too simplistic now, for many new variables have influenced counseling psychology and the work of counseling psychologists. The *origins*, if carried along, to, say, 1970 become complex indeed.

Let me illustrate again with an early definition of counseling. In 1938 I wrote about counseling in these terms: “Counseling is a personal and dynamic relationship between two people who approach a mutually defined problem with mutual consideration for each other to the end that the younger, or less mature, or more troubled of the two is aided to a self-determined resolution of his or her problem” (Wrenn, 1938). The definition is too long, but more than that, it would be currently seen as much too narrow. Although the definition was meaningful for the time when it was written, I was trying to get away from

a client treated as a passive recipient of advice given by a “wiser” person, away from the strictly cognitive, away from the assumption that the counselor makes the decisions, not the client. But I omitted *so much* that is current—awareness of the client’s present *and* future environments, his or her dynamic life-space, awareness of counseling through groups, awareness of developmental stages and needs, that not every client comes with “a problem,” and so forth. (Beyond all of this, I was a “male chauvinist” throughout, a term seldom used in 1938!) By now the one-to-one relationship of the counselor that I stressed is vastly expanded. Again, movement is from the simple to the complex.

Shertzer and Stone in their 1966 book on counseling cite many definitions presented during the 1950s and 1960s, some of which, unfortunately, are as limited as was my 1938 proposal. Their adaptation of the 1966 definition by Blocher seems to me to be quite acceptable: “Counseling is an interaction process that facilitates meaningful understanding of self and environment and results in the establishment and/or clarification of goals and values for future behavior” (Shertzer & Stone, 1966, p. 26, pp. 25–35).

Midway during this 40-year period (1938–1978), a committee of the Division of Counseling Psychology of APA (Harold B. Pepinsky, Chairman; Edward S. Bordin, Milton E. Hahn, Donald E. Super, and C. Gilbert Wrenn) proposed a definition: “At the present time, the specialty of counseling psychology is approaching a state of balance among emphases upon contributions to (a) the development of an individual’s inner life through concern with his or her motivations and emotions, (b) the individual’s achievement of harmony with his or her environment through helping him or her to develop the resources that he or she must bring to this task (that is, by assisting him or her to make effective use of appropriate community resources), and (c) the influencing of society to recognize individual differences and to encourage the fullest development of all persons within it” (American Psychological Association, 1956, p. 283). This is a much broader perception of the identity of the counseling psychologist than had appeared heretofore, but it somehow leaves me unsatisfied for 1978.

Immediately following this more complex definition is one sentence that to me is simple, yet functionally dynamic: “The counseling psychologist wants to help individuals toward overcoming obstacles to their personal growth, wherever these may be encountered, and toward achieving optimum development of their personal resources” (APA, 1956).

Landmarks on the Identity Road

In the early 1950s there were a number of developments bearing directly on the identity of the counseling psychologist.

1951 The adoption of the title “Counseling Psychology” by Division 17 of APA (previously mentioned).

- 1952 Division 17 officially changed its name to “The Division of Counseling Psychology.”
- 1952 The publication of two reports on doctoral preparation (*American Psychologist*, 1952, [a] [b]).
- 1952 The Veterans Administration announced the establishment of two major psychological positions: “Counseling Psychologist (Vocational)” and “Counseling Psychologist (V R & E).”
- 1953 The adoption and publication by APA of *Ethical Standards of Psychologists*, which gave the emerging counseling psychologist some sorely needed guidelines. Condensed in number but expanded in scope, a later statement of these principles is to be found in *The American Psychologist*, 1968, 23, 357–61. An even more significant APA document for counseling psychologists with research interests was the publication in 1973 of the 104-page bulletin on *Ethical Principles in the Conduct of Research with Human Participants*. (In 1952 the publication of my Division 17 Presidential address, “The Ethics of Counseling,” anticipated the later official adoption of the Standards by applying the then tentative APA statement specifically to counseling (Wrenn, 1952).
- 1954 The establishment of *The Journal of Counseling Psychology*. Created and supervised by a small group of professionals, this journal became strong enough to be purchased by APA in 1967, the payment being enough to repay all stockholders’ investments almost three-fold (Wrenn, 1966).
- 1955 The establishment of a Diploma in Counseling Psychology by the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology. A Diploma in Counseling and Guidance had existed from the first years of the Board (promoted strongly by John G. Darley), but the new title was adopted about the middle of my six years on the Board and everyone seemed happy about it.
- 1956 Division 17’s publication of a quasi-official definition of Counseling Psychology (earlier mentioned).

Somewhere in the early 1950s, the Board of Education and Training through its Committee on Doctoral Training began approving University Doctoral Programs in Counseling Psychology, following the trend of the shift away from the use of the phrase “Guidance and Counseling.” The expectations in psychology have become substantial, but there is no pattern set by APA for all programs. (I served two terms on this committee, but my files have been discarded. Hence, the vagueness of dating and comment!)

By the middle of the 1950s, then, it would appear that “counseling psychology” and “the counseling psychologist” were well accepted. The latter was still low on the totem pole of psychologists, however, as was evidenced by a Ph.D. study of Stephen Grainger, which I commented on in a 1958 editorial (Wrenn, 1958).

The unease among practitioners in the field regarding identity that stimulated the production of this issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* might be attributed to two factors: (1) A burgeoning supply of counselors has

developed during the past two decades. Many of these fairly recent arrivals on the scene graduated from university programs subsidized by the federal government. One of the spasms of alarm aroused by Sputnik resulted in Congressional action in 1958 to establish the National Defense Education Act, an act that permitted thousands to select university training in counseling at both the master and doctoral levels. The overall effect was beneficial, but some became counselors with only the legal minimum of preparation and many counselors were born at the doctoral level who were not psychologists. So a Ph.D. in counseling did not necessarily mean a Ph.D. in psychology, yet all were deemed equal “doctors” by the public. This was enough to make any identity-conscious “counseling psychologist” shiver a little!

(2) A second possible factor is the widening of the field earlier mentioned—widening in kinds of setting, kinds of clients, and kinds of methodological approaches. A counseling psychologist in a university felt secure in the fact that *he* or *she* was the real thing. This was particularly true if each felt equipped in the nondirective approach or in vocational development theory and had an ABEPP diploma. Now such psychologists find themselves with strange bedfellows.

We are talking about persons doing mental health work or community psychology or people acting as psychologists in juvenile or conciliation court or doing hospital or prison work. The *real* counseling psychologist discovers dozens of “consulting psychologists” in private consulting firms who have little specific psychological preparation. Because they are billed as “consulting psychologists,” they are seen by the public as fraternal twins of the counseling psychologist. And they may have a far better income than “legitimate” counseling psychologists! And these newer entrants in the field use such varied methodologies—what psychological theories are the basis of biofeedback, assertion training, integrity or encounter groups and the like? So, uneasiness may be felt because of the variety of practitioners bearing the same or similar titles—and doing strange things!

Some Reflections on the Growing Edge of Counseling Psychology

From the tone of my discussion thus far it is clear that what some may consider a weakness I consider a strength; the widening range of clients, settings, and methodologies. One *strength* of counseling psychology is that it is seen as serving the full range of psychological needs of the normal population. As new needs are recognized, new “kinds” of counseling are developed and perhaps a new kind of client is served. Because the range of normal behavior is wide, clients vary in their nature and need, and new approaches and methodologies must be developed. Such diversification is, to me, strength and not weakness.

What are some of the growing edges? There is room for much growth in the efforts made by counseling psychologists to provide a more careful delineation of the values and hazards of group work. The ethics in this area of

psychological practice are still far from clear. Should members of a group be told of the risks taken in communicating self-information when there is no guarantee against intentional or unintentional disclosure by some other member of the group? Should the group facilitator consider himself or herself responsible for guarding the individual against revealing too much, or will this erode the group counseling process? Also, counseling psychologists may have a responsibility to prevent unqualified people from leading groups in the name of psychology.

Another growing edge would be to accept responsibility for training and supervising paraprofessionals in counseling. The need for assistance—often to “be a friend” in William Schofield’s sense—is far too great to be met by professionals. Who then is to solicit, encourage, help the paraprofessional, “the counseling psychologist aide”—who, but the counseling psychologist? Each professional might increase his or her usefulness to society several-fold by such dedicated enlistment and training of others.

The counseling psychologist, long a professional vocational counselor, might well become increasingly aware of counseling for leisure time as well as job time. So much of a person’s week is spent in what we call recreation—but it is not re-creation. Much is passive spectator behavior: 314 million spectators at sporting events in 1976; movie attendance, 1045 billion in 1976; TV sets on six hours a day in the average home; 62 million attended at least one live theater performance and 54 million at least one popular music concert in 1976. These are a few examples, selected from a much longer list of course, of what people do when not at work. A 17-page supplement on leisure and recreation in the *U.S. News and World Report* for May 23, 1977, provides a thorough discussion of one phase of our American life that counseling psychologists should be thoughtful about. Counseling for leisure in our society is fully as important as counseling for work.

Perhaps the most significant of the “growing edges” for counseling psychologists is their increasing acceptance of responsibility for dealing with the whole person. This may be expressed as a philosophy of holism or as a psychology of humanism. Couple this with the concept that the psychologist deals with a person in an *environment*, not in a vacuum, perhaps always a distinctive environment for each client, and one begins to feel that one is close to reality. Perhaps, with a few embellishments, this is Kurt Levin’s “life-space” concept. Almost 40 years ago I pled with counselors to deal always with “self-in-situation,” not just self. Now I am pleased to find that some of the younger, modern psychologists, such as our son, Robert Wrenn, feel also that the holistic perception provides “an authentic person” model, that a humanistic approach allows the client to be responsible for him- or herself, that a practicing counseling psychologist might feel less frustrated if he or she focused less upon the model of a would-be scientist.

I will close with a brief editorial dealing with unavoidable and perhaps necessary uncertainties in the lives of all who counsel others. Written at the beginning of the 1960s, the conditions described seem even more true today. The counseling psychologist cannot *afford* certainty.

CERTAINTY IS A SNARE

The search for security becomes more frenzied as the present merges more rapidly into the future. The counselor is affected like anyone else but can least afford to be. His or her world of operations must deal surely and confidently with a constant succession of uncertainties. Ambiguity is not only a counseling dimension for him or her, it is a way of life.

The counselor still lacks an adequate, all-encompassing psychological theory for his or her counseling and, in the nature of things, may always lack one. He or she must operate always with more psychological unknowns than knowns. Faced with the great complexity of the human being, the counselor can at any one time know only a small fraction of the significant facts about a client. Yet, he or she must, and does, accomplish wonders with this fraction, often acting skillfully and with good results, without knowing why he or she acts as he or she does. The counselor influences his or her client in ways unknown and unmeasurable. He or she interacts with a client and cannot always separate his or her reactions from those of a client.

The counselor must be a brave person to live with so little structure. He or she must face outward with courage and assurance if he or she is to aid a less certain and more troubled person. He or she can do this if he or she has confidence in the resiliency of man to meet impossible conditions, both personally and as a race. He or she can, on the other hand, become fearful and seek safety in structure—in small certainties that are of little moment, in stressing safe choices for a client, in seeking safe research and tight organizational structure for him- or herself. Such a “safe” person is dangerous, for the client is encouraged to encapsulate him- or herself in the present. And the future steps over them both (Wrenn, 1961).

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Chapter 2

The Identity Crises of Counseling Psychologists

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How Are Counseling Psychologists Different from Clinical Psychologists?

We heard the question at the historic Northwestern Conference when, in 1951, we first sought to define the field. Those of us who have sat on the American Psychological Association Education and Training Board have heard the question many times since then, as experimental, physiological, and even developmental psychologists sought, from their ethereal heights, to detect imperceptible (to them) differences between us and certain other applied specialties; we have heard it, too, from clinical psychologists, both those who knew us personally and respected us and from those who did not know us and feared we might undermine their work. We still hear the same question, whether from puzzled colleagues in the remoter specialties, who never read our works, or from threatened colleagues nearer to our specialty who also have never really read us. The clinicians who do really know our work and respect it still tend to fail to see the distinctions, even though they never do some of the things that we do or, if they do do them, do them quite differently because of their different perspective, knowledge of resources, and armamentaria. Before looking at another identity question that might have been similar, but that has turned out differently, I should like to pursue this question of clinical-counseling differences one step further.

The essential difference, as I have seen it now for the quarter century of our official existence and for the 40 years in which I have actually worked as a counseling (and clinical and personnel) psychologist, has been pointed out before. It is the difference between developmental and remedial help, between education and medicine, between pathology and hygiology. Clinical psychologists tend to look for what is wrong and how to treat it, whereas counseling psychologists tend to look for what is right and how to help use it. Oversimplification? Of course, but one that magnifies and clarifies without distorting or obscuring the truth.

How Are Counseling Psychologists Different from Personnel Psychologists?

We heard that question, too, at the 1951 Northwestern Conference. We have heard it occasionally since, as when the divisions of the New York State

Association were first set up and counseling psychologists had to choose between clinical and personnel. But we have *not* heard it often since then, even when we have changed settings and roles or changed settings without changing roles. No one ever asks me, in my counseling role, how I differ from personnel or industrial psychologists: they have or quickly get the idea of counseling versus selection and training. But I do find it helpful to reply to the clinical-counseling question by stating that a well-trained counseling psychologist can function as either a clinical or a personnel psychologist, and that his or her speciality is his or her focus on human assets and how to develop and release them in situational as contrasted with intrapersonal relationships.

In moving more toward clinical psychology and further away from personnel psychology, as many counseling psychologists have done, they have tended to give up our special identity. This trend has made us seem to be, in fact, simply another group of clinical psychologists. This confirms the fears of those who have denied our identity and gives up any real claim to separateness. It has almost turned an identity-development problem into an identity crisis. As a result, many students, clients, and patients are deprived of the help that they need in understanding their strengths and weaknesses and in finding appropriate outlets for their abilities, interests, and values.

Our contributions to society have been somewhat limited by this identity issue, even when we place ourselves properly on a clinical-personnel continuum, even when we function as career development or vocational psychologists. People tend to think in mental-illness or in selection terms rather than in terms of individual development. But it is development that is our concern: that is why, 20 years ago, the first monograph of the Career Pattern Study series was entitled *Vocational Development*; that is why, in the symposia that John Whiteley organized ten years ago, I half-jokingly called myself, in referring to the basic fields on which I as a counseling theorist draw, a “developmental-differential-social-phenomenological psychologist.”

Unfortunately, although people are willing to pay well to be relieved of painful emotions and somewhat less well to get good jobs, they are less willing to devote money and time to self-development. It is difficult for a counseling psychologist in private practice to make a good living in developmental counseling—he or she can earn much more helping people who hurt. This lack of understanding of what counseling psychologists can do is of course not minimized by the fact that many of us have given in to the fascination of money and of personality problems and so do not educate the public to appreciate what we could do if given a chance. This is why I have always considered educational, rehabilitation, and industrial settings to be the appropriate places for counseling psychologists to work: there, we *can* earn a living while helping people to use their environmental resources for personal, social, and vocational development.

Reducing our identity handicaps could, I believe, be done by recognizing that our peculiar knowledge and skills lie in using institutional

resources to further individual development, and of course sometimes for the treatment of adjustment problems. The institutions that we know best and that we can best use to further development are the family, the school and college, the rehabilitation center, and the work setting.

Once, when a Division 17 committee was discussing our identity problem, Frank Fletcher referred to vocational counseling as “our bread-and-butter function.” Why have so many of us, as evidenced by our workshops, programs, and journals, spurned the source of livelihood that is peculiarly ours? Is it because there is more bread and butter, more cake, in psychotherapy? Is it because of fascination with personality problems, our own unresolved complexes and conflicts? Is it because career development, vocational choice and adjustment, role taking and role conflict, are less prestigious domains than intrapsychic and interpersonal problems? Are career and vocational development less challenging intellectually? Henry Borow, Gilbert Wrenn, and many others pointed out a decade ago that they are not. The unduly long life of such publications as the APGA booklet on differential aptitude testing that I edited 20 years ago, like the perennial out-of-stock status of books such as Whiteley and Resnikoff’s vocational development symposium (Whiteley & Resnikoff, 1972), supports such statements. The success of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior* in meeting a need that the increasingly clinical *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (that changeling child of Milton Hahn’s, Harold Seashore’s, Gilbert Wrenn’s, and mine!) ceased to meet, is still further evidence of the vitality of vocational counseling.

There is another possible reason—what Fletcher called the “kiss the client goodbye at the door” phenomenon. A good situational therapist, a good developmental counselor, needs to leave his or her office, needs to know and use, community resources. But a psychotherapist seems to need only to sit in his or her office—his or her resources are his or her books and other people’s problems. Once he or she has settled on a therapeutic approach, contemplating Freud, Rogers, Ellis, or his or her own umbilicus is all the updating that he or she needs, and as some of these become boring or cease to be beautiful after a few years, just sitting comes to suffice. It is the fact that vocational counseling and vocational guidance require getting out into the community that has made career education a threat also to school counselors. One of the tragedies of professional identity is that, in giving up (with a few notable exceptions) one of the important functions of community psychology, we left that insufficiently exploited domain and that term to the less well-equipped clinical psychologists, just as school counselors have generally left career education to the unprepared but ready-to-move vocational educators and curriculum specialists.

Despite these observations and convictions about our identity handicaps, despite my belief in the importance of our APA and APGA divisions and journals, and despite my rejoicing in such journals as the *Journal of Vocational Behavior* and the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, I

have *not* often felt, myself, an identity problem. I *have* resented the lack of understanding of counseling psychology occasionally encountered in the APA's Education and Training Board. I have been distressed by the lack of support for our field that has characterized the National Institute of Mental Health. I have failed to comprehend the ignorance of life and the relevant literature displayed by eminent personality theorists who write books about *The Study of Lives* without ever mentioning the terms *career*, *occupation*, *vocation*, or *work* (yes, I *counted* them). But I have rarely felt handicapped in my work, rarely felt slighted as a psychologist, because I have identified myself, when adjectives were needed, as a *counseling* psychologist rather than playing up my experience and fellowship status in Divisions 12 and 14. Why? Because I have always considered that:

My identity is my own. Does that seem a tautology, a glimpse of the obvious? If so, then why do people make such a to-do about what Division 17 might do to establish our identity? That it should do some things that help people to understand what we do is clear enough, but we are (need I cite the source?) known by our deeds! I never felt unknown or unappreciated by other Education and Training Board members even though it was frustrating to have them view me as a clinician: if they were bothered by the presence of an unknown they could read up on him or her. This applied also to faculty colleagues in Psychology, Education, History, or Physics, who also could read if they wanted to, and who in any case became familiar with my work through departmental and college-wide committees, through the research of my students, and through my work as a counselor to their students when one of my major functions was student counseling.

The way to solve our identity problems as counseling psychologists is to do well that which we are especially well qualified to do, and, if that something is clinical psychology, to be good clinicians and to identify ourselves as such (as have a few of my former students); if it is personnel psychology, to perform that function well and to join that specialty (as have some others of my students); and, if it is vocational psychology, to do that work well (as have, glory be, a number of other students who have done degrees with me).

We *are* known largely by our deeds. Good research, sound theorizing, effective counseling of individuals and groups, ingenious development of materials and instruments useful in career development—it is these that give us the identity that counts. Even if we are not generally read by psychologists in other specialties, some of them will have occasion to look us up in *American Men and Women of Science* or in *Who's Who in America* and thus see some evidence of what we have done, and others will, in serving on appointment or promotion or tenure committees, *have* to read our works: if these are good we will achieve identity. Ten years after the first edition of *Appraising Vocational Fitness* was published I happened to meet George Bennett (a psychometrician but not a counseling psychologist), and he stopped me to say, with ingenuous delight and sheepishness, "You know, Don, I've finally been reading that book of yours . . . it's a *good* book!"

The Division of Counseling Psychology can and does play a role in helping us to achieve identity, even if we are self-reliant and even if, in the last analysis, each of us must create his or her own identity. The Division helps by providing organizational support in seeing that our voice is heard on boards and committees such as the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology, evaluation committees, the APA E&T Board, and the APA Council (even if, frustrated by the backwardness or biases of some members, we sometimes fail to participate as we should). It can mind our journal interests, as when it discovered that the putting on of the APA Publications Board straightjacket by the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* left us without a needed outlet. Division 17 then did something the owners of the *JCP* had been told could not be done, and acquired a distinguished journal of its own by turning *The Counseling Psychologist* into more than a newsletter. Twice, counseling psychologists helped our identity by establishing good and prosperous journals of our own, once outside of the organizational framework but in a way that later made APA glad to acquire the journal, and once within the Divisional framework; both do a great deal to give us visibility and to show people who we are and what we do.

I fear, however, that not all is bright on the organizational side. Going through the 1977 APA Register of Members I was struck by the percentage of Division 17 Fellows who are very senior psychometricians or equally senior clinicians. A number of psychometricians joined when Divisions were new because they wanted visibility among us, or they were clearly not industrial or clinical, or they wanted to be certified by American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology (the clinicians joined when the Veterans Administration put the Department of Medicine and Surgery counseling psychologists under clinical chiefs who wanted to manifest kinship for the sake of power). When they retire, as they have been doing now for several years, there will be only a thin grey line of Fellows: more genuine counseling psychologists need to qualify and we need to act on their qualifications. Perhaps some of us have not nominated our juniors as we should have done.

But that is not our only membership problem. The ranks of members and associates are not what they should be, although Division 17 has 10% Fellows, whereas Division 14 has 17% and Division 12 has 21%, suggesting that we have a better relative replacement pool. Our Fellows are a heterogeneous group, 10% being retired and inactive, and 14% clinicians or psychometricians who are members "of convenience." This means that about one-fourth of our Fellows do not now help develop our collective identity! The thin grey line runs the risk of getting even thinner as time goes on. We need an active recruiting policy among our new graduates and among occasional people who have never joined a Division or who have even dropped (like one of my best-established former students) out of APA. What's wrong?

What has counted most for me in Division 17 in the past, in Division 14 today, and in the National Vocational Guidance Association and American

Educational Research Association for many years, is, however, not their official acts but the collegueship that they have provided, the opportunity to talk shop with others who share the same interests, whether these lie in training, in practice, or in research. Planning and developing a journal or a monograph, sharing a research plan with someone doing related work, working on the program or some other committee, these have been rewarding (as well as at times frustrating) activities that have helped me to feel that, in addition to being myself, I am also a part of something greater that inspires me to carry on and to do better what I am doing.

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Chapter 3

Counseling Psychology: Tyranny of a Title

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Several years ago a colleague submitted a manuscript on the topic of marathon groups as a therapeutic intervention strategy to the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. The letter of rejection stated that conducting marathon groups was not a legitimate function of Counseling Psychology, and, therefore, the manuscript was not appropriate for the Journal. The editorial review acknowledged that the research design was rigorous, the statistical procedures correct, the writing clear, and the conclusions defensible. The topic, however, was not seen as compatible with the other functions of the profession. The board was implicitly in the process of redefining our professional identity.

Achieving professional identity includes both explicit and implicit activities. Explicit activities include the written bylaws, code of ethics, accreditation procedures, and certification and licensure. Implicit activities include the selection of students and trainees, courses and content of education and training, employment of graduates, and what graduates actually do in those job placements.

There are two major functions of a title for a professional organization. The first is to delimit what is and is not done by those professionals who hold membership in the organization. This function serves to define the professional activities of those within the organization. The second function is that of accurately projecting or communicating to those outside the organization what can be expected from the organization as a whole as well as those individuals in the profession. One could surmise that a Ph.D. Counseling Psychologist is a *psychologist* who offers counsel to people, engages in research related to the counseling process and trains other counseling psychologists. One could also surmise that a counseling psychologist would not be likely to perform surgery on people, work primarily with animals, or process data unrelated to counseling. Finally, a title or name serves to distinguish specialties within a profession. In this

respect, the adjective “counseling” provides a meaningful referent for both psychologists and the general public alike that differentiates counselors from clinical, social, experimental, and industrial psychologists. The question raised in this paper is whether the counseling descriptor, chosen in 1952, has been, in fact, too delimiting for the purposes and goals of the profession stated in 1952—particularly since alternative methodologies have developed in the 25 years since then. More specifically, we changed the name of our division then; are we now ready to consider a new alternative?

*COUNSELING—AN INTERPERSONAL DYADIC
STRATEGY FOR CHANGE*

Although helping interactions between two people is probably as old as the use of language and communal life, it was Sigmund Freud who first explicitly described a process by which one person could have a therapeutic impact upon another. He called the process psychoanalysis and the Western world marveled at the new “talking cure.” This process and its related concepts of personality development, along with the development of a technology for assessing individual differences in intelligence, personality, and interests, laid the foundation for the emergence of counseling as an accepted specialty of the American Psychological Association. The Committee on Counselor Training, Division of Counseling and Guidance of the APA, in June of 1952 defined the role and functions of counseling psychologists in four basic categories; individual counseling and testing, training, and supervision, research, and administration. The role of individual counseling and testing was stressed.

The professional goal of the counseling psychologist is to foster the psychological development of the individual. This includes all people on the adjustment continuum from those who function at tolerable levels of adequacy to those suffering from more severe psychological disturbances . . . [counseling] focuses upon the stimulation of personal development in order to maximize personal and social effectiveness and to forestall psychologically crippling disabilities. This facilitation of personal growth . . . means also the utilization of the interpersonal relationships involved in group situations as well as in individual counseling [American Psychological Association, 1952b, p. 175].

It is worth noting that this early statement specified the major goal as fostering the psychological development of the individual and then proceeded to indicate how members of this profession would contribute to that. It was to be accomplished primarily through individual counseling and testing. This emphasis on counseling as a major process for fostering psychological development is reiterated in a companion article by the Committee on Counselor Training that specified the primary goal of the practicum training as:

to bring the trainee into that psychological state where he clearly perceives for himself that his client's personal adjustment and development is his first consideration and loyalty. Of foremost significance also will be mastery of counseling technique by the student counselor [American Psychological Association, 1952a, p. 182].

We believe that emphasis, supported by the division title, has caused us to neglect several processes equally useful in achieving the basic purpose of human development.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF BEING DEFINED BY A TITLE

There are potentially serious consequences to the delimiting function of a descriptive professional title. Integrity within boundaries of definition is achieved, yet one risks rigidity and exclusion of other useful procedures. This is of special significance when the process becomes more important than the goals. A title and self-definition that emphasizes the process rather than the outcome is vulnerable because the process (a) may be seen as the only alternative for achieving the outcome, (b) will be seen as the best alternative in all or most situations, or worst of all, (c) will eventually be accepted as an end in itself. This danger becomes a reality when a descriptive title provides the substance of a professional identity within an organization—the organization provides definition to the personal identity of its membership—and the personal identity determines the professional activity of the individual.

The professional activity of counseling psychologists may be categorized according to methods used, the content of education and training, the research questions formulated, manuscripts selected by the professional journal, actual professional activity and service delivery systems, and the evaluation of professional activity. An assessment of each of these classifications illustrates the interrelatedness of organization title, professional identity, and activity.

COUNSELOR STRATEGIES

Three dimensions of counselor functioning were identified by Morrill, Oetting, and Hurst (1974) as *target*, *purpose*, and *method*. Morrill and Banning (1973) surveyed counseling practices in institutions of higher education and received 220 program descriptions from 96 respondents. These descriptions were then classified according to the three-dimensional scheme as noted by a task force of seven professionals, trained to a criterion of reliability. Classifications in the *target* dimension indicated that 183 (83%) programs were directed at individual change, 14 (6%) were directed at change in the primary groups, 18 (8%) at change in associational groups, and 5 (2%) at change in the institution or community. On the *purpose* dimension, 40% of the programs were classified as remedial, 33% as preventive, and 26%

developmental. Sixty-six percent of all programs were judged to use direct-service methods. In summary, most counselor activity was classified as working directly with individuals on problem-oriented topics. The significance of these data is increased by the fact that the form requesting program descriptions asked for descriptions of programs *other* than those directed at remedial change in individuals.

The results of the survey are not surprising if one considers that most texts written by counseling psychologists focus on the counselor/client dyadic interaction rather than on changes in primary groups, associational groups, or institutions and communities. Individual and small-group direct contact by the counselor for purposes of problem remediation and prevention became a favored focus in the 1950s rather than a focus on human development through changes in the institution or broader environment as suggested in the 1952 definition. Such a preference was probably both reflected in the title change from Counseling and Guidance to Counseling Psychology and stimulated by the new title. Counseling theory, as it has developed since 1952, certainly emphasizes counselor/client dyadic interchange either individually or in small groups. Rogers, Ellis, Perls, Tyler, Arbuckle, Bordin, Patterson, Pepinsky, Krumboltz, and many others have emphasized dyadic counseling as a process to effect change in people.

More recent experience suggests, however, that when the focus is on primary prevention or developmental change there are more effective ways to stimulate and facilitate growth. Training, consultation, media, and environmental change all carry much promise. Theory-based, planned programs have increased in popularity, and the evidence of their success is mounting (Carkhuff, 1969; Cochran, Hoffman, Strand, & Warren, 1977; Grinnel & Lieberman, 1977; Hurst, 1978; Parker, 1978).

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The current document on procedures and criteria (American Psychological Association, 1973) for accreditation of doctoral training programs and internships in psychology reaffirms the scientist-practitioner model as the foundation for the education of counseling psychologists and specifies the acceptance and advisability of attending to environmental influences and consultation as methods of effecting change. However, very few counseling psychology training programs even have courses available in the theory and process of consultation, program administration, media production, environmental modification, and psychological education, as compared with those *requiring* courses in the theory and procedures of counseling. Once more we might infer that the title of the profession has served to delimit its functions by *not* encouraging the development of skills directly related to work in the developmental and organizational spheres.

RESEARCH IN COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY

Munley (1974) completed a content analysis of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* that included all articles and brief reports appearing in the first 19 volumes. Although he observed no trends in the 17 content categories, he appears to have missed something so obvious that it is easily overlooked. Seven of the 17 content categories by title appear to be directly related to individual counseling and testing. The percentage of articles in these seven categories over the 19 years range from 64% to 83% with an average percentage of 75%. That is, upwards of 75% of all empirical research appearing in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* in the first 19 years of its existence dealt with counseling and assessment directed at change in individuals.

A questionnaire sent to a stratified random sample of graduates for 121 doctoral programs in counseling included questions to identify the priority areas of research (Krauskopf, Thoreson, & McAleer, 1973). The two primary areas of interest were counseling/ psychotherapy and tests and measurement. Less than 5% of the sample listed either learning or social psychology as having prime interest, two areas that hold great promise for a profession interested in developmental change through intervention in groups, institutions, and environments.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY AND SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEMS

The survey work referred to earlier (Krauskopf et al., 1973) included questions designed to assess the functions performed by the 168 respondents and where they were employed. The great majority, 70%, were in universities followed in order by institutional settings, public and private schools, corporations, industry, and private practice. In these settings a full 40% worked primarily as administrators, 32% in teaching, 24% in counseling, and 1% in research. It is likely that the 72% in administration and teaching includes activity such as consultation with institutions and agencies, psychological education of clientele, developing video tape training modules, and environmental assessment along with the traditional staff and budget work and classroom teaching. Training that so heavily emphasizes one process (counseling) that eventually accounts for only 24% of our professional activity is questionable. It is also probably symptomatic of the influence a title has that specifies counseling as *the* process of the psychological specialty.

Magoon (1976) in his annual survey of college and university counseling centers asked counselors to report innovative or novel functions. Seventy of the 130 data bank participants responded to the invitation and listed activities such as teaching the acquisition of interaction skills, teaching skills in environmental mapping, campus-wide symposia on mental health issues,

training paraprofessionals to perform counseling related functions, building automated and self-paced training modules using audio and visual media, creating computer-based interaction programs in self- and career exploration, teaching self-monitored behavior control with biofeedback equipment, and consultation activities with academic departments. Such reports are strong indications of growing interest and activity in the broader goal of facilitating human development. There are probably few who would not agree that these are all legitimate functions of counseling psychologists when such a goal is intended. The apparent slippage between training programs and professional activity can best be eliminated through direct attention to training options in all the dimensions of counselor functions (Morrill, Oetting, & Hurst, 1974) in addition to dyadic counseling.

COUNSELING—WHAT IS INCLUDED AND EXCLUDED

Aubrey (1977) in his succinct and scholarly overview of our professional history characterizes counseling as the process that gave precision and rigor to the third phase of the Parsonian model. Vocational guidance could be given direction and precision in using the psychometric data produced in the earlier phases. These data set the stage for “counsel” to be given by a more knowing person to a less knowing one. Rogers’ concept of client-centered therapy (1951) so influenced the field that psychometrics became secondary to the dyadic counseling process. As our preoccupation with the dyadic counseling process grew, the broader goal of human development became secondary. Recently there has been a renewed interest in that broader goal only to find that the profession is delimited by its title.

It is clear that counseling is an interaction between a counselor and counselee, or small group of counselees. What has not been so clear is whether a counseling psychologist working to modify an institutional policy in order to prevent the damage to students caused by such a policy is acting consistent with his or her role as a counseling psychologist. Is the training of allied and paraprofessionals to assist in human development programs consistent with that role and reportable through the recognized journals? Is teaching classes in cognitive restructuring techniques to be supported by the profession? Is a psychologist acting consistently in the role of a counseling psychologist when data are generated that describe the interfacing between large groups of students and their environment at a university? And is its role consistent to present those data to the president, academic deans, and department heads along with suggested programs for creating an environment more conducive to the teaching/ learning process? And what of the orientation process—when a psychologist develops a procedure for teaching students how to effectively go about mapping a new environment? Should a counseling psychologist spend time writing scripts and recording vignettes as part of a training package for both clients and others who will interact with clients?

In 1964 Glanz observed that the field of counseling resembled so much

“flotsam and jetsam” (Aubrey, 1977). The difference between that perception and one that would interpret the same information as evidence of a rich and developing system of interventions is due to a perception of counseling as an end in itself rather than one method of improving human welfare. The issue is whether counseling psychology should be limited to dyadic or small group relationships or whether we should consider another title change that will allow greater flexibility in meeting the original goals of Division 17. We believe that we are nearer the goals of the 1952 statement than ever before and that our title should both reflect and encourage those goals.

The major question that demands continuous attention is the degree to which the *title*, Counseling Psychology, defines what we are and do as a profession versus the role that we as professionals play in determining how we accomplish our purposes or choose a title to accurately reflect that. A principle thesis of this paper is that our title acts to shape our activities both as individuals and as an organization. It is imperative that we be self-conscious of the directions in which we are moving and take an active role in determining what we want to do and to be called.

If a survey were taken today we would probably find far fewer marathon groups than in the late 60s and early 70s. One reason is that the payoff is not as great as that from a number of other techniques. To the extent that it did contribute to the influencing of human growth, however, it was within the realm of counseling psychology. One shudders to think of the loss to our specialty if someone would have decided in the early 50s that client-centered therapy was not within the scope of counseling psychology because of the systematic neglect of tests as appraisal technique. Counseling is a process, not an outcome. We need to distinguish that process from our ultimate goal of facilitating human development. Unless we can successfully determine what we want to be and to include as legitimate activities within the counseling psychology title and designation, we had better consider a change.

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Chapter 4

Why Has the Professional Practice of Psychological Counseling Developed in the United States?

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The rise and role of psychotherapy in America have been recently considered in the context of early economic, religious, and social characteristics of American society and more contemporary changes in those characteristics (Albee, 1977). For several years I have been discussing a similar question with students of counseling psychology—namely: why has the professional practice of psychological counseling developed in the United States? The discussion usually touches upon three topics: (1) beliefs or assumptions that have been prominent concerning counseling; (2) cultural characteristics of the United States that would seem conducive to the development of a profession that embodies these; and (3) historic events and geographic circumstances that may be associated with (2). Since the space allotted here is limited, I will attempt only to summarize ideas coming from these discussions that pertain primarily to topics (1) and (2). The consideration is speculative and no claim is made for its providing *the* answer to the question.

Implicit though not always clearly stated in the literature about professional counseling are several beliefs or assumptions that have been rather widely held, though few if any tests of their validity have been attempted. Among them, the following are prominent:

1. The *intent* of psychological counseling is change in the client's attitudes or behavior or in his/her social or physical environment. Sometimes the intent is stated as client self-realization or self-actualization that might also be regarded as this type of change.
2. The *means* of inducing client change is the scientifically based practice of psychology. Psychological theory and research are central to

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explanations of client difficulties or needs and to the counseling strategies and tactics invoked to resolve the difficulties or meet the needs—that is, bring about change.

3. The *responsibility* for change is largely the client's. Counselors may create conditions that increase the likelihood of client change but changes are viewed as coming from within the client rather than being imposed by outside forces.

4. The *setting* in which psychological counseling is offered is a professional or quasi-professional one. Counselors typically are professional or paraprofessional practitioners from outside of the client's family or circle of close friends from whom consultation is "purchased" by the client or indirectly by others on the client's behalf (for example, through taxes or contributions).

5. The *purpose* of counseling is, generally, the improvement or enhancement of the client or his/her existence, as opposed to simple survival or preservation of life. Ordinarily, counseling is not assumed to be a life-or-death matter although, as with the above, there are exceptions to this general assumption.

Given these beliefs or assumptions regarding psychological counseling, what might be some of the cultural characteristics of the United States conducive to the development of a profession embodying them? One appears to be a pervasive inclination, perhaps a social compulsion, to experiment and innovate; to try new and different methods of solving problems and initiating change. In a climate of innovation, many traditions and institutions may be notably shortlived, with the new and different often being preferred to the old and familiar in fashions, recreation, education, business, and social behavior. This environment of change may be associated with uncertainty and anxiety about the future as well as the present. A correlate of the experimental inclination in the United States was the application of science to the solution of many problems affecting human sustenance and comfort. The role of technology in education and medicine became as pronounced as in transportation and communication.

Such a pervasive commitment to change would seem to create a need for educational or helping efforts to enable individuals to understand and cope with the uncertainty and anxiety that accompany it. Furthermore, when innovation is coupled with a reliance upon technology for solutions to problems, these efforts would presumably be scientifically based and programmatic in nature, in keeping with the technological disposition of the culture.

A second cultural characteristic of the United States that appears to have been conducive to the development of professional counseling is a high degree of physical mobility together with an emphasis on individual achievement. Census data indicate that Americans are highly mobile but the pattern is generally observed to be one of movement of individuals or immediate families rather than extended families or entire communities as in

traditional nomadic cultures. Their reasons for moving are diverse but of some prominence is the search for means or opportunities for improving themselves (for example, education, jobs) or for finding more desirable or hospitable environments. Two concomitants of this type of mobility that are of relevance to professional counseling are, first, the reduced importance of the family as a source of support and assistance, and, second, the increase in the importance of self-reliance and the valuing of self-improvement as a basis for attaining rewards and achieving identity.

The lessened accessibility of the family to people in need of help creates a vacuum to be filled by community-based services for economic, educational, health, social, or vocational purposes. These services adopted various rationales to account for the problems of people seeking help and as a basis for their strategies and tactics of helping. The increasing employment of psychological rationales over the past 50 or more years may be due in part to: (a) a cultural disposition to favor rationales with some scientific aspects; (b) the increasing presence of psychoanalytic theory and practices in medical and allied professions such as social work; and (c) the growing influence of psychologically oriented philosophy and pedagogy in American education. Since both social agencies and schools have been prominent settings for community-based helping programs, many of the persons responsible for programs within these settings would be familiar with and perhaps quite favorably disposed to psychoanalytic and psychologic rationales.

The second concomitant of physical mobility and the individual achievement ethic is an emphasis on self-reliance and self-improvement. The valuing of individual achievement would seemingly incline people to attribute human performance outcomes to the individual's behavior or attitudes, over which they have more control, than to luck or the "system," over which they have less control. If so, a route to attaining a more satisfying life would be to improve one's behavior (skills, education, qualifications), to change one's attitudes (aspirations, self-esteem, motivation), or both. More recently, of course, a trend to attribute more responsibility for human performance to the system has emerged. It would appear that this trend is associated with substantial changes that have been taking place in counseling theory and practices.

A third cultural characteristic fostering the development of professional counseling was a high level of economic development, leading to a condition of material abundance and a high standard of living. As an industrialized nation, the United States achieved such an enormous level of production that extensive marketing and advertising practices emerged for the purpose of encouraging consumption (c.f. Potter, 1954). Consumers were persuaded to buy what they did not necessarily want and to use what they did not actually need. The interdependence of high production and high consumption tended to result in an elevated standard of living. The industrial economy also instigated much physical mobility as large numbers of workers were recruited or attracted to industrial centers where they were increasingly needed, from

rural areas where the need for workers was declining. More recently as the economy began shifting from an industrial to a service emphasis, marketing and advertising efforts were adapted to persuading people to need and use the growing array of services. In addition, the high standard of living and a shrinking work week that afforded individuals more “leisure” time also facilitated the rise of a services-consuming orientation in the United States.

These economic factors seem to interact with previously noted cultural characteristics relevant to professional counseling. In a culture having a self-improvement emphasis, some of the increased time and energy available from a reduced work week would likely be given to the self as an object of concern. Questions of goals, purposes, values, identity, and happiness would conceivably arise. Due to the extent of physical mobility in this services-oriented economy, people often turn to community-based services for assistance in answering these questions and, consistent with the valuing of change, for implementing answers with action. Innovation and technology facilitated the development of a comprehensive range of educational, psychological, and physical services for helping people consider such questions and for implementing answers, with counseling being just one example.

These three characteristics of U.S. culture—the inclination or compulsion to experiment and innovate, physical mobility and individual achievement, and a high level of economic development and standard of living—appear conducive to the development of counseling as a professionally practiced act of helping. At least a parallel might be drawn between these characteristics and the beliefs or assumptions about counseling listed earlier.

An innovative, experimental climate encourages individuals to view change in oneself or one’s environment as important or necessary. This commitment to change is not only assumed to underlie the *intent* of psychological counseling, it may also imply a societal instability that necessitates the institutionalization of helping rituals such as counseling. Innovation coupled with a reliance on science and technology would also enhance the likelihood of the helping rituals being scientifically based as in counseling’s employment of the scientifically based practice of psychology as the *means* of inducing change.

A high degree of physical mobility and an emphasis on individual achievement seem associated with the assumption that *responsibility* for change rested with the client and the belief that the *setting* for counseling was to be a professional or quasi-professional one. If the individual achievement ethic was associated with a valuing of self-reliance and a disposition toward self-improvement, then perhaps the most viable modes of self-improvement would be those in which responsibility for improvement through change was assumed to come from within the client. In addition, mobile cultures are more likely to necessitate help-seeking from, and consequently to approve self-disclosure to, professional or quasi-professional persons. Lessened accessibility of family assistance increased the opportunity for community-based

services to become acceptable substitutes for familial helping traditions characteristic of less mobile cultures. That these services acquired a professional status involving some form of purchased consultation seems consistent with an enterprising service economy.

Finally, economic development that led to a relatively high standard of living and a services-consuming economy seems to be correlated with the assumed self-enhancing *purpose* of counseling. Increased time and resources for “leisure” afforded individuals the opportunity to treat themselves as objects of concern and, if desired, improvement. A great array of services have appeared in the United States that appeal to this self-examining, self-developing, self-improving orientation. Many are not essential for survival, even when offered by institutions or professions having primary survival functions. Although medicine, for example, has a survival function, it also offers various self-enhancing services to enable persons to appear more attractive, feel healthier, or live more fully. Professional counseling, though sometimes performing life-sustaining functions, more generally is assumed to be for purposes of self-enhancement. Its widespread use by people for such purposes would seem due, in part, to its consistency with some economically related characteristics of the United States.

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Chapter 5

Nontraditional Approaches to Mental Health and Their Relation to Counseling Psychology

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Many extremely popular and successful organizations and individuals, not associated with the mainstream of psychology, are offering services designed to improve and enhance an individual's sense of well-being. They purport to produce such results as enhanced self-awareness and confidence, better integrated psychological and physiological functioning, and a sense of inner peace and satisfaction. In addition to such packaged programs as Arica, EST, Transcendental Meditation, and Rolfing, there is also a widespread interest in a variety of philosophies, techniques, and approaches to increase or improve psychological and physical health. Specifically, there is evidence of mushrooming interest in the spiritual philosophies of the East and techniques derived from them. Buddhism, Zen, Taoism, Hinduism, and Sufism are being studied and practiced with considerable interest and enthusiasm. Many forms of Yoga, meditation, massage, self-hypnosis, and mind-control techniques are being taught in a variety of settings by individuals with divergent backgrounds, training, and competence. The importance of diet and its effects on one's emotional health is emphasized by many groups and individuals.

To a large extent, the goals of many of these programs overlap considerably with those of counseling and psychotherapy. Counseling psychologists, particularly, have often proclaimed themselves to be concerned with positive approaches to mental health, working primarily with a normal population—that is, with individuals who are not suffering from obvious or severe psychopathology. This is the same population that such trainings and programs as Arica, EST, and Transcendental Meditation tend to attract. Even physically oriented techniques such as Hatha Yoga, Rolfing, and massage attract people seeking emotional growth and expansion by claiming to release much of the tension and negative emotion locked in the body.

Interestingly, in only rare instances are counseling psychologists or

other mental health professionals involved or consulted either in designing or running these programs. More significantly, they have little to do with substantiating or establishing the validity of the claims of such programs to produce what amounts to be improved mental health. In other words, there is little evidence that these programs are dependent upon the profession of psychology to establish the validity of their design or effectiveness for the consumer. At the same time there is ample evidence (*Newsweek*, 1976) to suggest that thousands of people are turning towards these approaches for guidance and assistance in dealing with their problems.

There have been a number of explanations of the attraction of these movements. It has been suggested that in a highly stressful and rapidly changing society a great many people are in need of assistance to help them cope with and emotionally survive the onslaught of stimulation and the myriad choices they face. Some look toward traditional psychotherapy and counseling to provide this guidance whereas others are exploring a number of programs and disciplines that are often considered outside of, or at least on the periphery of, the mainstream of psychology.

From this point of view, counseling psychology is seen in competition with these other movements and it can be noted that counselors face some distinct disadvantages. First, most individuals who seek counseling are doing so for assistance with a specific, definable problem or concern. It is much more difficult to seek professional guidance when one feels only a general sense of malaise or dissatisfaction. In my work anxious individuals are referred to me for instruction in relaxation and anxiety-management techniques. These people are frequently unable to discuss or define their difficulties in specific terms. Often the externals in their lives—family, job, finances—are not obviously the source of their problems. In such a situation it is often uncomfortable for them to be consulting a psychologist. It is much more acceptable for them to read a book such as Herbert Benson's *The Relaxation Response* (1975) or to attend classes in Transcendental Meditation than it is for them to receive instructions in anxiety-management techniques from a psychologist.

Another disadvantage psychologists face in competing for the consumer's business with nonpsychological movements is that, for the most part, counseling psychologists have not successfully marketed many of the programs that they have developed. Granted, counseling psychologists are actively designing and running such programs as marriage-enrichment groups, life-planning workshops, stress-management programs, vocational exploration groups, communication-skills workshops, and so on. These programs, however, are usually offered to only a limited population with little effort made to make them available to the larger public. During my internship year in a college counseling center, for example, we conducted all of the above mentioned programs. They had been developed, delivered, and researched all with some success. As their popularity increased, however, and their ability to generate new research decreased, their value to the survival of the counseling

center waned. There was insufficient manpower and funding to adequately deliver them to the student population much less to the community at large. In addition, descriptions of the programs and research establishing their effectiveness are often published in professional journals that are then read by an audience with the same inability to market them on a large scale as the original developers.

That the public is often willing to pay a substantial amount of money for such programs is evidenced by the overwhelming success and popularity of Transcendental Meditation, clearly a stress management technique. Many psychologists, including myself, have researched various approaches to relaxation therapy and stress management. The *APA Monitor* typically has many advertisements for cassette tape recordings of relaxation instructions. They are, however, for the most part being sold to other psychologists who then deliver them to a very limited population of clients. No one has exposed so many individuals (over one-half million) to an effective and straightforward stress management technique as efficiently as Transcendental Meditation. It is interesting to note here, that in this area at least, the Mahareshi Mahesh Yogi was aware of this need or desire on the part of the public long before most psychologists. TM, in fact, must be given a large amount of credit for stimulating psychological and physiological research in the area of anxiety and stress management.

I do not feel, however, that counter-cultural or nonpsychological programs and approaches to positive mental health have been so successful only because they have outmaneuvered counseling psychologists and other mental health professionals in the marketplace. There are some identifiable general differences in emphasis and philosophy between many of these movements and most traditional counseling psychology. Most of them emphasize the close interrelationship of physical and psychological functioning, taking a holistic rather than dualistic approach to growth and development. They tend to have strong experiential components emphasizing that cognitive skills and intellectual understanding and insight are usually not sufficient to produce meaningful change. They tend to be spiritual without being dogmatic or rigid in the sense that many of the traditional Western religions are.

This emphasis on the holistic, physical, and nondogmatic spiritual is often misinterpreted. *Newsweek* (1976), for example, in an article on the growth movement states that EST graduates are searching for "a sudden transformation without moral cost or consequences." George Albee, in a recent article in *The American Psychologist* (Feb. 1977) entitled "The Protestant Ethic, Sex, and Psychotherapy" states that following the death of the

religions of restraint. . . . dozens of new cults, creeds, and beliefs have arisen, most of which glorify sensation and feeling, deny the importance of history and tradition, and reject the work of the intellect. The new gurus founding these cults attract people by emphasizing magic, ritual, and 'now' sensory experiences [p. 159].

Specifically, Albee later refers to (all in one paragraph) Zen, Yoga, Castenada, Erhart (sic) Ichazo, and antirational religion. Albee's point, as I understand it, is that these movements represent a move toward hedonism, self-centeredness, and what Thomas Wolfe refers to as "feelgoodism."

It is my impression that Dr. Albee has it backwards. To a large extent these movements represent a move away from self-centeredness and toward a sense of greater community. With some exceptions, the hodgepodge of philosophies, religions, movements, and individuals that he mentions do not attract by "glorifying" feelings or by being antirational. Rather, they respect the body as well as the mind and, significantly, the relationship between the two. In addition, they recognize a level of organization that is of a higher logical type than traditional rationalism—one that includes and encompasses both linear (rational) and nonlinear (nonrational or intuitive) ways of thinking. That they are so successful is not a function of the degree to which they are hedonistic but rather a function of the degree to which hedonism and materialism have failed to produce satisfaction and aliveness for people. We are certainly the most materially successful society in history and have had the opportunity to discover more clearly than any other culture that "more" is not necessarily better. These movements, then, are not successful because people are seeking greater amounts of stimulation or sensation, or because they are fleeing headlong from rationalism. They are attractive rather, because to some extent most of them acknowledge that satisfaction and aliveness in life are produced not by accumulating things or sensations, but rather by altering the context within which one operates. This contextual shift is manifested by a move from dualism to holism, a move away from the notion that we can and should control the environment (a traditionally Western view) toward the view that we are part of and operate within a larger scheme of things that we cannot possibly totally control (a traditionally Eastern point of view). In addition, many of these movements represent traditions or philosophies that emphasize the interconnectedness and relatedness of people and have developed strategies and techniques for assisting individuals in realizing or experiencing this relatedness.

Different people prefer different code words but the common theme of these traditions seems to be one of a focus on, or at least an attention to, spiritual development. And, as has often been pointed out, the profession of psychology has never really successfully dealt with man's spiritual nature. It is often argued, of course, that psychology is the study of human behavior whereas the study of man's spiritual growth and development is more properly left to great religions. It is a fallacy, however, to assume that emotional, spiritual, and physical expansion and growth can be parceled out and assigned to different disciplines. Arica, EST, TM, Rolfing, and the disciplines and philosophies of the East all see growth in these areas as intimately interrelated. It is this recognition that explains a good deal of these groups' attraction to so many people.

For psychologists, counseling psychologists in particular, to maintain an influential and central position in the field of human growth and

development, they need to utilize their unique skills to further explore and understand the interrelationship between one's emotional, physical, and spiritual growth and expansion. Counseling psychologists, with their history of dealing primarily with normal population, their focus on development and growth, and their emphasis on positive mental health, are in a unique position to lead psychology in this direction. New models, theories, and techniques are necessary. If this work is not done, the role of the counseling psychologist will predictably become more and more narrow and specialized, with less and less impact on the culture as a whole.

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Chapter 6

Counseling Psychology: Toward an Empirical Definition

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In 1952, the American Psychological Association's Division of Counseling and Guidance officially became the Division of Counseling Psychology; two years later, the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* was born. As Super (1955) put it, "a hitherto somewhat amorphous and debatable field of psychology emerged clearly as a field in its own right." By the time of the Greyston Conference on the professional preparation of counseling psychologists, it was asserted that "counseling psychologists are no longer a group of people in search of a professional identity" (Thompson & Super, 1964, p. 17)¹

But more recently, Krauskopf, Thoreson, & McAleer (1973) trenchantly commented that "the gods of counseling psychology are a miscellaneous collection of personality theorists, clinicians, and psychiatrists, few of whom have any identification with the specialty of counseling" and that its "priests" (that is, those prominent in the affairs of the Division and "the writers of 'how to do it' books") "primarily find their employment in departments of education," and thus are not readily identifiable within their own university communities as psychologists. Further evidence that counseling psychologists are still very much "a group of people in search of a professional identity" can be found in recent content analyses of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (Cotton & Anderson, 1973; Munley, 1974) no less than in the themes of recent issues of *The Counseling Psychologist*.

For a profession beyond the quarter-century mark in its life as a "field in its own right," that its gods are a variegated crew rarely identified with the profession, and that variant perspectives on the nature of the activity

¹Despite the relatively strong views on the topic among participants in the Vail Conference (Korman, 1974) and despite the fact that doctoral-level counseling psychologists are very likely still a minority of all those professionals who provide—under a variety of titles and at a variety of levels of educational preparation—counseling services in colleges, schools, community agencies, and other institutions, the term *counseling psychologist* is used in this paper in the typical APA sense to refer only to a person who has earned a doctoral degree (Ph.D., Ed.D., Psy.D.).

presumed to lie at the heart of the profession continue to compete with each other, might strike some as indicators of rather an odd state of affairs. But if the role, function, and professional identity of the counseling psychologists appear more ambiguous than clear, their colleagues in other APA divisions seem similarly unsettled. Thus, Page (1975) has charted a pervasive set of changes in the traditional role of the educational psychologist. Both Trachtman (1974) and Fein (1975) have suggested that school psychologists rethink their functions within the school-family-community network. Peterson (1976) has urged redefinition of clinical psychology as “the development and application of principles and methods for the assessment and modification of human problems in individuals, groups, and societal organizations,” an arena of concern more global in scope than a focus on psychopathology. Perhaps with tongue only partly in cheek, Blank (1975), examining the Division of Psychotherapy, whose numerical designation within APA is 29, has observed that 29 is arithmetically the sum of 12 (Clinical) and 17 (Counseling). There is even testimony that ambiguity in role identity represents an international phenomenon among professional and applied psychologists (Dentici, 1975).

If ambiguity is now evident, have counseling psychologists somehow lost a coherent sense of identity that characterized the early days of the “clear emergence” of a new profession? If one reads the report of the Division of Counseling Psychology’s Committee on Definition (Bordin, Hahn, Super, Wrenn, & Pepinsky, 1956), one might conclude, in the worst light, that the counseling psychologist is the jack-of-all-psychological-trades for whom any form of professional intervention (short, perhaps, of intensive treatment of the psychiatrically hospitalized) represents an appropriate professional function, or, in the best light, that the counseling psychologist is the “general practitioner” of the psychological professions. On the issue of the counseling psychologist’s distinctive concerns and unique functions—those *not* shared with other professional psychologists—the Committee remained relatively silent. One might suspect, then, that identity diffusion represents a legacy no less than a freshly minted concern in the profession.

A clearer portrait of the distinctive characteristics of the counseling psychologist was sketched at about the same time by Super (1955), in a landmark article tracing the historical development of counseling psychology as an independent specialty, formed by the “merging of . . . several streams of development,” including vocational, social, differential, and personality psychology and the processes of vocational guidance and psychotherapy.” According to Super, “*clinical psychology* has typically been concerned with . . . *psychopathology*, with the abnormalities even of normal persons,” whereas “*counseling psychology* . . . concerns itself with *hygiology*, with the normalities even of abnormal persons, with locating and developing personal and social resources and adaptive tendencies . . .”

But Super also foresaw competing pathways for the development of counseling psychology in relation to other psychological specialties: “Perhaps

the end result will be the emergence of a field of applied individual psychology . . . in which psychologists will be prepared to function as consultants to people in varying situations and with varying types of problems. Perhaps, on the other hand, true differences (as between counseling, clinical, and school psychology) . . . will emerge more clearly."

At a distance of more than 20 years, what evidence can one discern that suggests either that counseling psychology remains the jack-of-all-trades or of the confluence of counseling psychology and other professional specialties? Alternately, can one discern boundaries—or even guarded frontiers—that suggest "true differences"?

In fact, there is at hand a considerable body of data bearing directly upon work settings and professional functions (and indirectly on client groups served) for counseling, clinical, and school psychologists. Examination of these data may yield the fragments of an empirical definition of the counseling psychologist in relation to members of two immediately adjacent professional specialties.

WHERE COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGISTS WORK

Data concerning the settings in which counseling psychologists are employed have been reported by Peterson and Featherstone (1962), Yamamoto (1963), Samler (1964), Krauskopf, Thoreson, and McAleer (1973), Myers (1975), Hines (1976), and Banikiotes (1977). Comparable data on subdoctoral school psychologists were reported by Barclay (1971) and on recipients of doctoral degrees in this specialty by Chartoff and Bardou (1974). Data from the massive NSF-sponsored national surveys of "psychology's manpower," which reflect some 12 specialties in psychology, both scientific and professional, were reported by Bonneau (1968) and Cates (1970) and on an NSF sample of psychologists undifferentiated by specialty by Cates and Dawson (1971).

In each study that considered counseling psychologists alone, colleges and universities emerged as the principal work setting, with 54% of Peterson and Featherstone's, 55% of Yamamoto's, 58% of Samler's, 70% of Krauskopf et al.'s, 56% of Myers', 85% of Hines', and 50% of Banikiotes' subjects so employed. By contrast, some 42% of a sample of the 26,000 psychologists undifferentiated as to specialty studied in an NSF survey reported higher educational institutions as their principal work settings (Cates & Dawson, 1971).

No other setting even begins to rival the college or university as a work locale for the counseling psychologist. At the time of the Greyston Conference, Samler (1964) reported that, in addition to the 58% of his random sample of 20% of the membership in the Division of Counseling Psychology employed in colleges or universities, another 6% were employed in schools or school systems (for a total of fully 64% in educational settings), whereas 11% were employed in health-related settings (hospitals, including VA installa-

tions; rehabilitation centers, mental health clinics). Some 13% were employed in industry or government, 5% in community guidance agencies, and another 5% in private practice. Nearly a decade later, Krauskopf and his associates (1973) surveyed a stratified, random sample of 208 subjects representing 1086 graduates of doctoral programs in 121 institutions between 1962 and 1966. They reported that "70% listed their main job locations as a university, whereas in descending order smaller percentages worked in institutional settings, public schools, boards of education, private schools, private educational corporations, industry, and private practice."

The counseling psychologists surveyed in these studies completed their professional preparation a decade and more ago and might be expected to have embraced a more "traditional" perception of the profession and, in turn, to have sought placements congruent with that perception; the data are thus open to the charge that they are "dated." Accordingly, it is useful to consult the findings by Myers (1975) in a small-scale report on recipients of doctorates in counseling psychology between 1970 and 1975 at Teachers College, Columbia University (considered by many the fountainhead of the profession) and those of Banikiotes (1977) of 436 graduates of doctoral programs in counseling psychology between 1973-1976.

Myers reported that 56% of his sample were employed in colleges or universities, 20% in community agencies, 22% in hospitals, and 3% in private practice. Although his sample is limited to graduates of a single institution, Myers' study is instructive. Fully 87% of his subjects found their first postdoctoral employment in the New York metropolitan area, which traditionally has offered professional psychologists a considerably wider array of placement opportunities than is afforded in many other locales. Since they had graduated from a prestigious, well-known, APA-approved program, were situated in a city with a range of opportunities, and were recent entrants into the profession, one might reasonably anticipate that these counseling psychologists might readily have sought employment settings congruent with relatively less traditional perceptions of the role and function of counseling psychologists. Yet, though twice as large a proportion in Myers' as in Samler's sample were employed in health-related settings (22% vs. 11%), there is virtual identity in the proportion of each sample employed in institutions of higher education (56%, 58%). Similarly, Banikiotes (1977) reported that 50% of the 436 recent doctoral graduates he studied were employed in higher education, with 33% aggregated as employed in "clinic/hospital/agency" in such a way as to make it impossible to segregate those employed in medical from those employed in nonmedical settings.

By comparison, Chartoff and Bardon (1974), in their study of 538 respondents representing "all graduates of all known doctoral school psychology programs in the United States since 1953," found only 35% employed in colleges or universities, with another 35% in public school settings, 9% in child guidance or mental health centers, and 3% in hospital settings.

Interprofessional comparisons can more readily be made on the basis of

the psychology manpower surveys conducted by APA under contract to the National Science Foundation (Bonneau, 1968; Cates, 1970). Since data on employment setting are virtually identical between the two studies, only those reported by Cates are scrutinized here. They represent 23,077 psychologists, of whom 29% (6692) were identified as clinical psychologists, 10% (2307) as counseling psychologists, and 9% (2076) as school psychologists.

Among counseling psychologists, some 54% reported that they were employed in colleges or universities (exclusive of medical schools), 5% in junior or community colleges, and 7% in public schools or school systems, for a total of fully 66% in educational settings. Only 1.9% were employed in public hospitals or clinics, with another 0.4% in private hospitals or clinics, and only 4% reported private practice as their principal employment.

By contrast, among clinical psychologists Cates found that only 18% were employed in colleges or universities, 0.4% in junior or community colleges, and 2.9% in public schools, for a total of only 21% in educational settings. But some 16% were employed in public, and another 4% in private, hospitals or clinics, and something over 6% in medical schools, for a total of nearly 27% in settings that might be described as "psychiatric" or at least as physician-dominated. Another 27% were employed in federal, state, or municipal government agencies or in the military, and fully 16% were engaged in private practice as their principal employment.

Among Cates' sample of school psychologists, some 11% were employed in a college or university, only 0.5% in community or junior colleges, and not fewer than 78% in public schools or school systems, for a total of 90% in educational settings. Only 0.7% were employed in public, and 0.4% in private, hospitals or clinics.

Interprofessional comparisons on the basis of these data (Cates, 1970; Cates & Dawson, 1971) prove most revealing: *In colleges and universities, counseling psychologists proportionately outnumber psychologists undifferentiated as to specialty by approximately one and a half times, clinical psychologists by more than three times, and school psychologists by more than five times.* In contrast, *in health-related settings, clinical psychologists proportionately outnumber psychologists-in-general by some four times, counseling psychologists by more than 11 times, and school psychologists by some 25 times.* Conversely, *in public schools or school systems, school psychologists proportionately outnumber psychologists-in-general by nearly seven times, counseling psychologists by more than 11 times, and clinical psychologists by nearly 27 times.*

The data reviewed here seem to suggest rather clear and persistent patterns of differentiation in work setting between counseling, clinical, and school psychologists; they also suggest a relatively greater dispersion in varied work settings among clinicians than among counseling or school psychologists. More pointedly, the data relative to counseling psychologists reflect almost precisely those reported by Thompson and Super (1964) following the Greyston Conference.

It seems a reasonable inference that the majority of counseling and

school psychologists, in consequence of their work settings, come into professional contact with a client group composed of persons capable of functioning at some level of relative efficiency in their personal/ work/ school lives—that is, persons who are not (or at least not yet) severely incapacitated by embedded psychopathologies, though doubtless subject to those more-and-less-well-defined disorders that English and Pearson (1954) have called the “emotional problems of living.”

The older conventional wisdom in professional psychology (cf. Hadley, 1961; Patterson, 1958) differentiated the functions of the counseling psychologist from those of the school psychologist by assigning to the latter a focal concern with client problems related to learning and/ or to patterns of adjustment to school life, especially at the elementary and secondary level, and from those of the clinical psychologist by assigning to the latter a central concern with client problems of an incapacitating nature remediable in what can most economically be described as a psychiatric setting; in this case, nearly two decades of research evidence tend to confirm the conventional wisdom.

At the risk of oversimplification, the data on work setting might be summarized in probabilistic terms to yield the initial fragment in an empirical definition: *the counseling psychologist is likely to be employed in an institution of higher education*, a statement likely accurate between 50% (Banikiotes) and 85% (Hines) of the time, according to the data in the 11 studies reviewed here. Conversely, he/ she is rather unlikely to be employed in a health setting, a statement accurate between 78% (Myers) and 97% (Cates) of the time.

WHAT THE COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGIST DOES

The available data fail to yield so clear a picture of the precise functions performed by these three groups of professional psychologists in their principal work settings, or more exactly, in that work setting in which each specialty is normatively represented.

Most investigators have been content to determine professional functions on the basis of job title alone. Thus, Samler (1964) reported that 38% of his sample of counseling psychologists held such job titles as counselor, counseling psychologist, psychologist, or psychotherapist, each suggesting direct client service. Hence, he reasoned, “this proportion of the sample may be said to be engaged in ‘direct labor’ in counseling psychology.” Another 23% in Samler’s sample were engaged in the administration of client service programs as directors or coordinators of counseling centers, clinics, agencies, and the like. But fully 32% carried primarily academic responsibilities as professors, department heads, or academic administrators not directly involved in providing counseling service to clients.

Among the counseling psychologists surveyed by Krauskopf, Thoreson, and McAleer (1973), “40% worked primarily in administrative positions, 32%

in teaching, and 24% reported counseling as their major function." In Myers' (1975) sample of recent doctoral graduates, 39% were classified as "practitioners," 27% as directors or coordinators of service agencies, and 22% as academics.

But only 34% of the doctoral-level school psychologists surveyed by Chartoff and Bardon (1974) reported "practitioner" job titles (psychologist, school psychologist), whereas another 34% were academics and nearly 17% held administrative positions.

Again, the NSF data appear to yield more definitive evidence. Subjects in these surveys were asked not only to identify the "subfield" of their specialty, but also to identify their principal work activity. Thus, Cates (1970) reported that 40% of the counseling psychologists, but only 3% of the clinical psychologists and 6% of the school psychologists, identified "counseling practice" as their principal work activity. Some 22% identified teaching as the principal work activity and another 22% so designated administration or management.

In contrast, 47% of the clinicians, but only 3% of the counseling psychologists and 6% of the school psychologists, identified "clinical practice" as their principal work activity, followed by teaching (11%) and administration (13%). Some 56% of the school psychologists, but only 3% of the counseling psychologists and 10% of the clinical psychologists, identified "administration of psychological tests" as their principal work activity, followed by administration (14%) and teaching (8%).

Although these data suggest contrasts between the three professional groups (and especially between school psychologists on the one hand and counseling and clinical psychologists on the other), they fail to specify the empirical referents that distinguish the specific professional behaviors regarded by some respondents as constituting "counseling practice" from those regarded by others as constituting "clinical practice." Hence, the observer disposed to seeking indications of confluence between the specialties might be led to speculate that, although work settings may indeed differentiate among and between these three groups of professional psychologists, it may be that one person's "counseling practice" constitutes another's "clinical practice."

But quite a contrary conclusion emerges from a marvelously inventive study by Manning and Cates (1972) on specialization in psychology. Utilizing data from a 20% sample of psychologists who had responded to the NSF National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel survey, which required that respondents identify their professional competencies on a list of 102 specific competencies, these investigators analyzed the interrelationships among and between all professional competencies identified. First, they intercorrelated each of the 102 competencies. Next, they extracted some 31 primary factors, among which were found a "general counseling" factor, a "clinical practice" factor, a "psychotherapy" factor, a factor they labeled "school-clinical," and another they labeled "school adjustment." Finally,

Manning and Cates determined the loading for each of the 102 competencies on the 31 primary factors—with most illuminating results.

The specific professional competencies Manning and Cates found to be related to the “counseling” factor were these: vocational problems, with a factor loading of .67; assessment, .59; educational problems, .56; personal adjustment, .50; student personnel work, .45; counseling theory, .45; psychotherapy, .29; and rehabilitation, .28.

In contrast, the competencies they found to load on the clinical practice factor were: projective techniques, .60; psychotherapy, .42; and individual assessment, .36. These competencies were related to the “psychotherapy” factor: family treatment, .72; group work, .56; to the “school-clinical” factor: behavioral problems, .72; pupil assessment, .69; education of exceptional children, .63; psychotherapy, .56; and reading problems, .36.

One may assume that the counseling, clinical practice, and school-clinical factors represent relatively discreet clusters of professional behaviors. Most important, with this assumption, one observes almost no overlap between the specific competencies found to be empirically related to each factor. The single exception indeed is the professional competency “psychotherapy,” which loads at the highest level on the clinical practice factor and at the lowest on the counseling factor; there is, then, some basis for regarding competence in psychotherapy as analagous to the “community property” of professional psychology.

But one also observes that the specific professional competencies that load differentially on these three factors parallel closely the differentiation in function between counseling, clinical, and school psychology prescribed by the older conventional wisdom in professional psychology. Finally, one observes that *the specific professional competencies with the highest loadings on the counseling factor—that is, vocational problems, vocational assessment, educational problems, personal adjustment—are not replicated among the professional competencies associated with the clinical practice factor or the school-clinical factor; nor indeed are they replicated anywhere among the 30 primary factors identified by Manning and Cates.* The evidence suggests neither jack-of-all-tradesmanship for counseling psychology nor a confluence with adjacent professional specialties.

Rather, the data from studies of job titles and from NSF surveys relative to professional subfield specialty suggest a second fragment in an empirical definition of counseling psychology: *The counseling psychologist is more likely to be engaged in providing or administering counseling services or in teaching than in any other professional activity, a statement accurate between 88% (Myers) and 96% (Krauskopf et al.) of the time; he/she is more than 13 times more likely to be engaged in counseling practice than in clinical practice.* Results of the Manning and Cates (1972) factor analysis of clusters of professional behaviors suggest a third fragment: *Counseling practice is clearly a psychological specialty distinct from, and independent of, both clinical practice and the practice of school psychology.*

A PROVISIONAL DEFINITION

Examination of the available evidence suggests clear and persistent patterns of differentiation in work setting, in job function, and in specific professional competencies between the counseling psychologist, members of the adjacent professional specialties of clinical and school psychology, and psychologists-in-general. Higher education is seen to be the normative work setting for the counseling psychologist, and counseling practice and teaching are seen to be his or her normative job functions.

Indeed, the data seem to yield the elements of at least a provisional empirical definition of the counseling psychologist: *The counseling psychologist is likely to be employed in an educational setting, most probably in an institution of higher education; conversely, it is relatively unlikely that he or she is employed in a hospital or health-related setting. In that prototypical setting, he or she is more likely to be engaged in counseling or teaching than in any other professional activity; conversely, it is relatively unlikely that he or she is engaged in clinical practice or in the assessment activities normative of the school psychologist. Although he or she evinces in his or her professional practice a variety of professional behaviors, some of which overlap with those represented in the practice of other professional specialties (perhaps constituting the "community property" of applied and professional psychology), specific professional competencies focused on the educational, vocational, and personal adjustment problems of clients are found alone in the repertoire of the counseling psychologist.*

In sum: the available evidence points to empirical boundaries of demarcation—though clearly not to guarded frontiers—between counseling psychology, clinical psychology, and school psychology; the boundaries for counseling psychology conform rather closely to the views of the Greyston conferees nearly a decade and a half ago; the specific competencies held by counseling psychologists are not replicated among the competencies of other professional psychologists. To the extent that these specific competencies differentiate our profession, they deserve not only recognition but nurturance. As Thompson and Super (1964) put it:

counseling psychology has a special substance and special emphases . . .
 This special substance consists of the educational and vocational . . .
 environments of the individual, of the psychology of normal development
 . . . the special emphases are on the appraisal and use of assets to further
 individual development in the existing or changing environment
 [pp. 3-4].

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Chapter 7

The Changing Scene in Higher Education and the Identity of Counseling Psychology

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I have been asked to identify some of the limitations of counseling psychology from my admittedly biased view as a director of a moderately large, urban university counseling center. Certainly, counseling psychology is a rubric under which is subsumed a large number of administrators, teachers, and practitioners. Any statement of identity problems must be directed at the stereotype of counseling psychology and will necessarily miss the mark of accounting for the rich variance represented by the specialty.

The limitations of counseling psychology must also be discussed within a framework. For me, that framework is the rapidly changing demands by institutions of higher education on the functions of counseling centers, and how these demands affect the interaction between counseling centers, and counseling psychology training programs. In developing this framework, I will first attempt to identify those changes in institutional demands that have occurred in the past and predict those changes that will occur over the next decade. I will then relate some aspects of the identity of counseling psychology that must change as we face the 1980s.

Prior to the late 1960s, the philosophies of counseling psychology training programs and counseling center operations were consistent. Training programs focused on the task of teaching their graduate students to help the essentially normal person to function even more effectively. For their part, counseling centers were helping a relatively homogeneous group of young, healthy students to better utilize their resources, to improve the quality of their social relationships, to adapt to and cope with institutional requirements, and to develop life plans beyond college. These services were popular, and counseling centers grew by informing their administrators of their long waiting lists. Although the unit costs of maintaining traditional counseling centers approximated the hourly rates of private practitioners, this

information was not shared and there were few complaints about the quality of services.

With the rise of student unrest in the latter half of the 1960s and the call for universities to be more relevant to student social concerns, so, too, came the call from university administrations for counseling centers, among other units, to be more relevant to the goals of higher education. In response, counseling centers departed from the clinic model and embarked on the development of well-publicized remedial, preventive, and developmental outreach programs (for example, Morrill, Oetting, & Hurst, 1974) that included the formation of consultation teams and skills-development workshops, involvement in paraprofessional training, and the creation of crisis intervention services.

Counseling centers, however, were not well equipped to undertake these outreach functions, particularly the simultaneous launching of several programs. Certain staff members had interests in specific outreach services, but they tended to have neither the training nor experience to function as true resources in these areas. Too, there were issues of program boundaries and keen competition for the limited resources available to most centers. In the midst of this rapidly changing situation, counseling center directors looked to the new products of counseling psychology training programs for help, but found they were still following the traditional model and were of little value in contributing to the new enterprise (Danskin, 1969; Southworth, 1972; Warnath, 1969).

By the mid-1970s, counseling psychology training programs were turning out graduates with some experience in outreach activities. Influenced by the work of Carkhuff (1969), Ivey (1971), and Kagan (1972), such writers as Authier, Gustafson, Guernsey, & Kasdorf (1975) extended the involvement of counseling psychologists in outreach programming by defining their practitioner roles more as teachers than therapists. For Authier et. al., the task of the counseling psychologist was to provide instruction in both specific and global life-coping skills by isolating their elements and developing systematic microteaching packages in all relevant areas of living. Ivey (1976) sharpened this view further by proposing a psychoeducator model for counseling psychology. In the psychoeducator model, remedial functions are not eliminated, but they are clearly subordinated to the preventive-developmental activities of advocacy, institutional change, skills dissemination, and program evaluation.

Meanwhile, back at the counseling center, times were once again changing. By 1975 virtually all counseling centers were involved in outreach activities, and staff members, both new and old, saw those activities as a legitimate and fundamental part of their service mission. Active student unrest subsided, and student concerns reflecting the greater participation of minority, women, and continuing education groups were redirected toward vocationalism, social equality, sexual identity, and quality of relationships. At the institutional level, other changes occurred. Many college and

The question then becomes what are the limitations of counseling psychology as it attempts to relate to the changes experienced by counseling centers? For me, three limitations are outstanding. First, counseling psychologists are the generalists of applied psychology; they are broadly trained in assessment, counseling techniques, consultation, small group methods, and research methodology. In-depth training is associated only with vocational counseling, and this may be true only because other applied psychology groups tend to ignore the skill (Schneider & Gelso, 1972). The assumption of most counseling psychology training program directors seems to be that generalists will be able to pick up additional skills once on the job. However, a survey of counseling center directors (Southworth, 1972) clearly stated that the products of training programs did not have the necessary consultation, training, and organizational development skills to function successfully in their agencies. As counseling centers move into the community health arena, both the level and variety of practitioner skills required of new graduates will be increased even further. If counseling psychology cannot provide its graduates with the necessary skills, counseling centers will continue the trend of looking more to other training programs to meet their needs.

The second major limitation of counseling psychology is that it is closely identified with colleges of education. Thoreson (1974) states that most APA-approved doctoral programs in counseling psychology are located administratively in schools of education, and in the case of jointly approved programs between education and psychology, most students come from the education side. Because of their lower admissions standards and intensity of instruction, most college of education counseling programs are not identified by psychologists as appropriate for the training of practitioners in psychology, and their graduates are perceived as attempting to enter the field through a back door. Psychology licensing and certification laws now exist in 49 of the 50 states. It is no accident that schools of professional psychology are experiencing no particular difficulty in qualifying their graduates for licensing whereas many counseling psychology programs are—and this comparison is costly to the image of counseling psychology. Further, most psychology licensing laws require postdoctoral experience as part of their standards. Counseling centers and other mental health agencies will shy away from applicants if there are questions as to their eligibility. The issue of licensing will become even more important as counseling centers begin to engage in fee-for-service and apply for third-party payments.

The third limitation of counseling psychology is that most of its graduates are trained primarily to function in colleges and universities. Higher education as a major source of employment is a dead horse. For the past six years, both counseling centers and counseling psychology training programs have approximated a zero growth rate with most openings being simply replacement positions. The next decade looks even more bleak; both training and service departments will be struggling to maintain their positions

in the face of decreased student enrollment and the accompanying financial retrenchment. Counseling centers, in particular, will be placing greater emphasis on the treatment of psychological disorders because of its income-generating potential. In this respect, counseling centers will become part of the community mental health delivery system, and it is this total system of catchment area clinics, emergency rooms, hospital outpatient facilities, and crisis intervention centers that counseling psychologists should be prepared to enter.

In my opinion, counseling psychology should make several changes in order to increase its viability as a specialty. First, counseling psychology needs to strengthen its image as a psychological service provider. Counseling psychology training programs should identify with departments of psychology or professional schools of psychology. Those programs capable of providing the level of training acceptable to approved internships and to state boards of psychology should identify with each other and limit their relationships with those training programs that are either unwilling or unable to meet these requirements. Second, counseling psychology should strengthen rather than subordinate its training in the direct treatment of psychological disorders. Specifically, counseling psychology programs should provide in-depth training in the treatment of such community-wide problems as sexual dysfunction, depression, alcoholism, criminality, and marital and family conflict. The use of brief treatment models such as behavior, cognitive, and focal therapies capable of touching the lives of thousands of people should be encouraged. Preventive and developmental services are also important and should be encouraged far beyond educational systems. As its advocates indicate, the psychoeducational model can be applied to the psychological training of medical, paramedical, and criminal justice staffs, and it can also be related to child-rearing techniques, social-skills training, job-hunting skills, and to the special issues of minorities and women. Finally, there are job opportunities in the community mental health arena. At present, community mental health providers are largely subdoctoral with limited training in the skills outlined above and especially in the area of program evaluation. As community mental health agencies come to know what counseling psychologists have to offer, they will be attracted by the opportunity to improve and expand the range of their services.

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Chapter 8

I Have Seen the Enemy and They Is Us— and Everyone Else

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The title and identity of “counseling psychologist” is well on its way down in flames. It is debilitating to us, to our students, to our clientele, and to our profession. It is time to bail out.

We are so screwed up in our identity that in writing this paper I can't even figure out who “us” is. Is “us” everyone who identifies as being a counseling psychologist or calls him/herself one? Is it all members of Division 17? Or maybe only graduates of APA-approved programs and internships? I've decided to write from the point of view of those of us who view themselves as the elitist establishment: members of Division 17 who graduated from APA-approved training programs and internships in counseling psychology and have retained some identification with it (when it has paid off for us). Because I've been the director of an APA-approved training program in counseling psychology for a number of years, I'm supposed to focus my comments on training issues. I can't do it. There is no way I can discuss training issues without dealing with the major identity issues of the field as a whole.

If it hasn't been apparent so far, I'm angry. I am sick to death of the continual conflict being a counseling psychologist involves. I'm tired of constantly having to “justify” our (read “your”; “our students”; “my”) existence. I'm embarrassed by being identified with incompetent fellow-travelers and more embarrassed by being identified with a professional group that constantly bemoans “Nobody understand us,” while rolling over and playing dead.

What are the things about “counseling psychology” that make it such a pain—that interfere with professional functioning? A major one is that we have to work so hard and spend so much time to not be confused with other groups. We want to be neither fish (fish are clinical psychologists: they are *cold* fish who believe in the medical model, have a circa-1950s V.A. orientation, give lots of Rorschachs in spite of the research evidence, and pompously do long-term psychoanalytic therapy that really isn't appropriate

anyhow) nor foul (foul are counselor educators or guidance and counseling graduates: they stink. They are not too bright and were ill-trained in ridiculously easy education departments where they took such rinky-dink courses as “Pupil Personnel III: The Counselor’s Bulletin Board.” They try to “pass” as counseling psychologists but always prove to be incompetent and wouldn’t know a compulsive neurotic from an electrical engineer). Aside from all that, both groups are the enemy.

Instead, we know that only we are really up-to-date, competent, and “nice” people. In addition, only we have the real *WORD* (it was first chiseled in stone long ago by someone named Wrenn or Bordin or Williamson or Pepinsky, but we’re using the Revised Standard Version now. In it the term *developmental* still appears but almost always in the superlative form, “student development.” It also has the more modern words like “outreach,” “eco-mapping,” “Carkhuffian,” “environmental intervention,” and “moral development”). I mean, like, we should be the wave of the future! We’re where it’s at! We’ve got accountability!

The problem is that it’s very hard to explain these clear distinctions to others: they just don’t understand us. It’s all very confusing to undergraduates contemplating graduate school who mistakenly apply to our training programs expecting to be trained as a clinical psychologist or an elementary guidance counselor. Our graduate students ask most about it when they’re seeking internships and don’t understand why some training agencies consider them ineligible. Apparently internship agencies don’t understand either. Around graduation the topic comes up again when the about-to-be Ph.D.s find there are even some jobs (agency and academic) for which they apply in which their papers come back with a ditto’d note saying “We do not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or handicap, but counseling psychologists need not apply.” I’ve always suspected that places that *do* hire our graduates undoubtedly have separate rest rooms for them. Even our graduates who have been out for a few years sometimes call me to have me explain it all again. This usually seems to happen around the time they want to get licensed to practice in a state and find that licensing boards don’t understand us either.

These issues used to lead me to spend a lot of time writing laborious official letters trying to explain us. After the first few dozen, though, I got smart and copied the form letters another director of a counseling psychology program uses to handle such situations. They do just as much little good as my own letters, and fortunately my time has been freed up to carry on my correspondence with the V.A. and with NIMH.

The V.A. used to understand us, but now doesn’t, but NIMH now does understand us, but didn’t used to. Have you got that? First, the V.A.: it used to be that in hiring our graduates they rated them as “counseling psychologists” or even “clinical psychologists” based on a careful determination of each person’s skills and experience. But now infiltrators from guidance and counseling have confused them by seeking not only to have themselves rated

as “counseling psychologists” but as “clinical psychologists.” Given the problems they are causing, I find myself fantasizing about a Colonel Sanders outlet specializing in Kentucky-fried foul! Anyhow, the V.A. is currently pulling its hair trying to decide if an applicant is fish, foul, “us,” or some combination. Their current solution for us is that a Ph.D. in counseling psychology from an APA-approved program can only be rated as a clinical psychologist in the V.A. if the individual can produce a letter from a director of training of a *clinical* psychology APA-approved program certifying that the counseling psychology program in question is as “clinical” as their own clinical program. It’s not that our graduates have to get a note from their teacher; instead, the note must be from a not-their-teacher, since their teacher is not to be trusted. I’d like to help the V.A. out, because it has understood us in the past and has been particularly helpful to the profession. But I’m infuriated at the affront of a counseling psychology director’s word not being accepted.

NIMH, for now, presents a much more positive picture. For years, counseling psychology programs were ineligible to apply for NIMH training grants. The reasons were never too clearly specified, and many counseling psychologists suspected that clinical psychology was secretly maneuvering behind the scenes to keep the funding to itself. A lot of Selectric ribbons were used up in the correspondence over this one. But, after much justification, someone was finally able to get NIMH to understand that whatever we were, we were USDA Choice. During the 1976–1977 year NIMH accepted training grant applications from two counseling psychology programs and funded one of them. New applications will be accepted from counseling psychology programs in the future. Of course, there is the ever-present danger that NIMH itself may fold, in which case there won’t be any funding for anyone. I’ve heard some of my counseling psychology director colleagues smirkingly comment that if NIMH does go under, clinical programs will be hurt a lot worse than we, since they always depended on the funding whereas we “made it on our own—the hard way.” Poetic justice to those who kept us out of the pork barrel in the past!

Of the other groups that don’t understand us, I should not neglect to mention our clients and colleagues from other professions. These individuals are rightfully confused, because, although they understand clinical psychology from watching “The Bob Newhart Show,” I don’t know of an instance in which we’ve even made it to Educational Television. Forced to react to the term *counseling* psychologist, they may bring to mind an image of the high-school counselor who told them what colleges they could expect to get into (and also served as line coach of the football team). Or they may recall a recent ad on TV in which the skills of used-car counselors were extolled. Neither association does a lot to enhance our image. For just this reason, many counseling psychologists do (unethically) represent themselves as clinical psychologists in their independent practices, since in that context credibility means dollars. They may even attempt to legitimize themselves by taking their

licensing specialty or ABPP examination in clinical psychology, knowing also that by so doing, physicians, social workers, attorneys, the local hospital, and clients are far more likely to accept them.

Of course, taking this approach is seen as “selling out the profession” by some hard-core Division 17 members. Many of them would suggest that counseling psychologists shouldn’t be in the private sector anyhow. They would righteously proclaim that those who insist on practicing independently should clearly identify themselves as counseling psychologists and view their hassles, knocks, and/or reduced income as a part of one’s professional responsibility to educate the public. This position illustrates a more general theme prevalent in Division 17, and that is that we should continue to do what is “right” and expect our reward to come in heaven rather than on this earth.

I won’t bother to discuss the fact that our colleagues in “real” psychology don’t understand us, since they don’t understand and distrust both clinical and counseling psychology. The difference is not in kind, but only in degree.

In contrast to other groups, clinical psychologists are convinced that they understand us. I will list only some of the things they know about us. Students in counseling psychology (who eventually become “us”) either couldn’t get into a decent clinical program to begin with or flunked out of a clinical program first. There is little if any difference between us and counseling and guidance graduates, since after all, we are interested in counseling (note: please see again my definition of “foul” and insert it here also). Many of us are manipulatively trying to sneak in as “back-door clinicians” and avoiding taking a rigorous training program. Undoubtedly, we are undertrained. After all, we only work with normals (“My life should be so easy!”), and anyone can do that with almost no training. Counseling itself is always short term, mostly because we have no skill in providing long-term psychotherapy. We are soft-minded, do-gooding, mamby-pamby hand-holders (the social workers of psychology) who focus on “process” all the time rather than getting on with the job of curing people. God knows we couldn’t be expected to do a decent psychodiagnostic workup: we not only don’t know the individual diagnostic instruments, but also are so hung-up on “health” that we think the DSM II is a vitamin. Vocational or career counseling typically involves one session to assign superficial group tests and two sessions to interpret them (that is, the Minnesota model: “test and tell” in three sessions). The rest of vocational counseling could be understood based on a two-hour seminar and a moderate degree of common sense. What we claim as “our” innovations are a laugh, all having been described previously (albeit perhaps under different titles) in the *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*. Thus, clinical psychology understands us as second raters. A clinical psychologist once gave me what he felt was a very fine compliment, and it captures very well the flavor of our image: “You’re very competent, for a *COUNSELING* psychologist.”

The one group that generally understands us as competent and is

envious of some of the things we can do (although they don't like us being so condescending to them) is the guidance and counseling/counselor educator contingent. But, of course, their opinion isn't worth much since they don't know anything anyway and are far below us in status.

Now that I've reviewed how most others misunderstand us and some of the problems that have resulted, we need to consider how *we* see ourselves—*really*. Many counseling psychologists are embarrassed by their affiliation with our low status field and are quite apologetic about it. Having heard so often that we are inferior, they have come to believe it. Our collective professional image is that of being “second class,” and in many ways the image is accurate! I've mentioned earlier some of the discriminatory practices against counseling psychology and psychologists. Yet another example is that of Division 17 being one of the two most infrequently represented Divisions (on a per capita basis) on APA boards and committees.

I'm convinced that one reason such discrimination exists has been our own political naivete within APA. With some exceptions, we used to elect leaders in Division 17 who reflected and demonstrated our own second-class thinking. Instead of aspiring (and inspiring the membership) to greatness—or even to parity—they too often were content to accept the status quo. But things are beginning to change. Some significant progress has been made in recent years due to the efforts of the Division and the Council of Counseling Psychology Training Programs. With the many critical issues and changes occurring on the national scene, it is essential that our leadership represent us with an assertive, and sometimes even demanding, stance.

But, aside from our image, what *is* our identity as counseling psychologists? From attending APA conventions and from reading this issue it should be apparent that we don't know, or at least don't agree. Our true-believers feel that we have historically defined a role that continues to meet a circumscribed societal need and that we should continue to plod along in our own low-profile way in the face of much (albeit undeserved) adversity. Our more dewey-eyed members actually (no kidding!) see us as the “wave of the future” I previously mentioned. Some of our Ivey-league members, by contrast, are out to shift our identity from psychology to education.

For many counseling psychologists, one dismaying conclusion has become inescapable: we have no separate identity as a profession. We are the great borrowers of psychology! We have no unique body of knowledge on which to hang our hats. The great majority of the theories we employ have come from outside our field: from developmental, learning, and community psychology. The one major exception would be vocational/career theory. Yet this is hardly enough to define us as a distinct profession, especially since there are so many counseling psychologists whose interests do not lie in this area. Lack of identity in itself has contributed greatly to our poor image and lack of status in psychology.

To protect ourselves from our detractors and to justify our own existence, we have searched for an identity “ad nauseum” during the last

number of years. During this same period, we have drawn together. Unfortunately, we have not been drawn together by a common ideational base, because we have failed to find an identity. Instead, we have pulled our wagons in a circle only to protect our turf against the many old, new, and suspected enemies. We have attacked, bad-mouthed, and whispered innuendos about those enemies above us (clinical psychology) and below us (guidance and counseling) in status and have competed viciously with them (sometimes for gain, sometimes just for the pleasure of it). Our attacks have often been against stereotypes and straw people, as I have attempted to demonstrate graphically in this paper. In engaging in such activities, *we* have become our enemy.

It is time to stop the conflict. Time to stop wasting our energies in being self-serving. Time to stop giving ourselves ulcers and to get on with the task. That task, as I see it, is to join together with our practicing colleagues who share competence *in psychology*. This can be accomplished by: (1) integration with those of our colleagues from guidance and counseling whose educational content, training experiences, and skills in psychology are essentially equivalent to ours (regardless of past program or position labels), with the further recognition that others having dissimilar backgrounds or interests should still receive our respect and cooperation, and (2) with clinical psychology, integrating into a broader inclusive identity within psychology.

I can hear the alarm and the rallying cries already. We will be swallowed up by clinical psychology! We will be diluted by incompetent guidance counselors! We will lose our hard-fought-for turf! Maybe even our holy name! Protect our identity! The “enemies” will get us if we don’t watch out!

Humbug.

We must come to accept the fact that *some* individuals in the counseling and guidance area are, in fact, counseling psychologists. Further, given the increasing overlap of skills and interests among counseling and clinical psychologists, our historically based dichotomous thinking about these two “fields” is just no longer realistic. Beyond that, our continued separateness is downright counterproductive to optimal training and practice. Neither clinical nor counseling psychologists are as capable of being helpful to clients as they would be if our fields were but to pool our resources and few remaining areas of unique expertise.

Is such integration possible? I have no doubt that it is. We are not coming “hat in hand” asking to be admitted to clinical psychology, nor are we seeking to lead counseling and guidance out of the wilderness. Instead, we can take the leadership role of initiating the steps to educate our fellow psychologists about our common mission and to lead them toward maximizing our collective potential through the integration of our identities in a broader framework. *That* should be our goal.

PERSPECTIVES ON IDENTITY ISSUES: AS OTHERS SEE US **2**

This section on further perspectives on identity includes two contributions from persons in other professions that frequently work closely with counseling psychologists: clinical psychologists and counselor educators. Each was asked to describe his or her perception of the professional identity of counseling psychologists, the body of knowledge on which the profession is built, the profession's contributions to individuals and society, the community sanctions for the work of counseling psychologists among the full range of professional psychologists, what recommendations they would make to counseling psychologists regarding (a) better preparing themselves for their roles as counseling psychologists, (b) how they present themselves to other professionals, and (c) how they develop their professional identity.

Peter Nathan writes from his perspective as a clinical psychologist directing the clinical psychology program at Rutgers University. He describes his view of the blurring of professional psychology specialities complemented by the unique contributions counseling psychologists are able to make in the vocational counseling/world-of-work sphere.

Bruce Shertzer and Lee Isaacson, counselor educators at Purdue University, share their perspectives of what identity problems counseling psychologists have and what choices the profession must make if it is to continue to develop and mature.

Bruce R. Fretz

Chapter 9

A Counselor Educator Views Counseling Psychologists: Problems in Professional Identity

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The most striking feature of counseling psychology today is its disarray. It cannot have escaped even superficial observation that the field has entered an era of groping, experimentation, and change that brings risk, uncertainty, and conflict. Incredible controversy abounds about its identity, licensure, practices, training models, clients served, and effectiveness, to cite but a few issues. The new, old, and constantly changing nature of counseling psychology is a story of conflict and controversy, of ridicule and reproach, of pleading and persuasion. Color and bite permeate much of its literature, which is designed to rally many of its theorists and practitioners, to refute the ideas of some, and to change the minds of others.

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Super (1955) placed 1951 as the year that marked the origin of counseling psychology and characterized it as a “somewhat amorphous and debatable field of psychology.” According to Super, its roots, indeed, its “kinship,” reached into educational and vocational guidance, social work, psychometrics, clinical psychology, and the research and counseling work of the Employment Services and the Veterans Administration. Among his projections for its future were that either a rapprochement would take place with clinical psychology or that true differences would emerge and “. . . both applied psychologists and the general public will develop a new recognition and respect for the various applied specialties.”

At present, neither of Super’s two projected possibilities seems to have been achieved completely, although progress has been more rapid in the second projection. Counseling psychology has worked to establish itself and has gained an increasingly respected place within that hierarchy of helping

professions in which, seemingly, psychiatry stands at the top. Despite its progress, a persistent problem, beginning with its origin, has been: "What is counseling psychology? What is not counseling psychology?" Simple as such questions are, they have never been answered clearly, let alone to most professionals' satisfaction. Indeed, counseling psychology long has been a very elastic term denoting a field of endeavor with indeterminate boundaries. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there are today as many definitions of counseling psychology as there are practitioners and that, in effect, every practitioner writes a definition of counseling psychology.

More recently, Tyler (1972) has identified the major shifts that have taken place in counseling psychology since its emergence in 1951. She noted that, during the 1950s, counseling psychologists saw themselves primarily as therapists who helped clients clear away personal conflicts produced by complex feelings and emotions. During the next decade, another shift occurred in that counseling psychologists saw themselves as architects of behavioral and organizational change. The most recent shift, according to Tyler, came during the 1970s as counseling psychologists became experts on group interactions.

What is to be made of these shifts in the "central emphasis" of counseling psychology? It may be observed that (1) a shift occurred about every decade and (2) each shift was of considerable magnitude. It could be advanced that such shifts are not unnatural in a young profession in search of identity. They merely represent persistent struggles by counseling psychologists to define their place among the several helping professions and represent responses to needs expressed by their clientele. In fact, Tyler concluded that the shifts share a general orientation "to help individuals use the resources they have within themselves and in their social and cultural environments to make their lives work out well." Left unattended by Tyler were such matters as specifying "what individuals" or clarifying the "help" given or the nature of the "personal and environmental resources."

Still another perspective is that these shifts are but trends and that they will breed counter-trends. In effect, the further the pendulum swings, the more it eventually will swing back. But that explanation does not seem very persuasive. Although it's recognized that counseling psychologists are flexible people, a profession is not a clock, and to stake so much on counter-trends is to put a rather heavy burden on providence.

Any of these or other such speculations about the nature and effects of the shifts in counseling psychology may well be true. But what should not be ignored or overlooked is that the rapidity and profundity of the changes take their toll in establishing and maintaining a consistent professional identity. Now, remarks and discussions about professional identity usually represent no great sense of plight among many counseling professionals. But others are concerned because they believe that conceptualizing the "true nature" of counseling psychology is to depict the service they render and for which they seek the sanction of society to perform exclusively. Such a conceptualization

provides a model for preparing its practitioners and their later professional behaviors. In a sense, the model not only serves as a pattern or prescription that defines what they do as practitioners but also serves as a source for the expectations and perceptions held of counseling psychologists by their clientele, the general public, and other helping professionals. Thus, by demonstrating these behaviors, fulfilling the expectations, obligations, and responsibilities associated with the prescription, a professional identity is forged that enables the practitioner to say; "As a counseling psychologist, this is what I am and do."

IDENTITY PROBLEMS

The reasons why counseling psychologists experience difficulties in articulating and attaining a consistent professional identity are numerous and varied. Prominent among them has been the controversy within the profession over the legitimate functions to be performed by counseling psychologists. This controversy often has stemmed from an "either/or" position assumed by participants. *Either* the counseling psychologist is primarily a therapist who provides direct counseling services to individuals that (a) free them from a crisis, remedy disabling emotional situations, or (b) facilitate their personal development, *or* the counseling psychologist is primarily a social scientist who serves as an agent of change and whose clientele is not the individual directly but the institution, the organization, or the community in which people live and work.

Each concept has many assumptions, beliefs and premises that, although not detailed here, have far-reaching ramifications for the practice of counseling psychology and influence the perceptions and expectations of its clientele, the public and, indeed, the practitioners themselves. Of these two views, the second is more comprehensive and revolutionary in nature, the first a more narrow, traditional, and conservative definition of the work of the counseling psychologist. The proponents of the second view enjoy rather wide contemporary support, particularly in the current literature of counseling psychology.

Advocates of the first view insist that "counseling" is the most relevant descriptor of the counseling psychologist's practice and that it is for social psychologists, social workers, administrators, politicians, or other social scientists to be change agents. Those who advocate the second view insist that "consultation" is the key element in the practice of counseling psychology, and they tend to regard the perspective that counseling is the major skill as no more than a last-ditch rally fought under that most irrational and pathetic of slogans: "The old guard dies but does not surrender!"

Still another reason contributing to the difficulty in achieving a consistent professional identity is the jurisdictional disputes over training and state licensing. Licensing laws were passed initially to provide assurance of high-quality service and to protect the public from incompetent practitioners.

Currently, certain observers have alleged that powers entrusted to licensing boards have been used to promote the interests of the occupational groups at the expense of the public. Counselors who seek state licensure for private practice must do so as psychologists. Those whose doctoral preparation was in other than departments of psychology have the burden of proof placed upon them to demonstrate that their preparation was "primarily psychological in nature." An Educational Standards and Accreditation Committee report of the American Association of State Psychology Boards (Weins, Note 2) stated that one member of that committee concluded that the term *primarily psychological in nature* was a euphemism for *not psychology*. Both that report and the document entitled "The Defining Characteristics of Counseling Psychologists" by APA Division 17 (Note 1) represent important responses to this struggle.

Two observations can be made about the licensure controversy. The first is that counseling psychologists work at an activity in which the vast majority of counselors do not consider themselves to be psychologists, and they affiliate with a discipline in which most members do not consider themselves to be counselors. Because the overlapping territory of "counseling" and "psychology" is far less than total, questions of congruence, loyalty, and even professional identity not infrequently rise to the surface. Attempts to capture the term *counseling* and hold it as a telling descriptor to which can be given a special, professional, limited definition have been as useless as Don Quixote's battles. The title has been seized by realtors, funeral directors, used-car dealers, bankers, and a host of others who apply it in a way that makes most counseling practitioners uncomfortable, to say the least. At intermediate levels there are camp counselors, curriculum counselors, dormitory counselors, and others whose intent is commendable but whose skill preparation in counseling is, at best, minimal, and, at worst, nil.

The second observation, drawn from all too many years on a university campus, is that the content of graduate academic courses is a product of many and diverse factors. Just as course titles do not always clearly reveal course content, so too, department labels necessarily do not signify exclusive territoriality. Duplication of content among courses offered by various departments across the campus is too frequent to require illustration here.

CONCLUSIONS

That which has been described here should not be understood as suggesting that a professional identity, once attained, is to be thought of as absolute, immutable, never-changing. Modifications take place because the professional's behavior and practices change to accommodate new, different demands and problems. It may be that a consistent professional identity is an ideal and, as such, never attained fully.

Resolution of the counseling psychologist's identity problems, like their

counterparts in personal identity, will not come easily or quickly. Resolution appears to be more possible if the profession wishes to reach that goal and if its membership is willing to accommodate itself to the kind of change in viewpoint it so skillfully helps its clients accept.

The “either/or” controversy of therapist versus change agent or consultant is comparable to similar struggles that have occurred in other professions. For example, should an architect be basically a creative artist or a technically oriented engineer? Should a clergyman be a pastor to his flock or a preacher of the word? Should a physician be a diagnostician or a therapist? Most professions that have passed through this developmental phase have resolved the struggle by recognizing that the profession included both wings, that the commonalities of preparation and purpose were greater than the differences in practice or setting. Many individuals within the group may well find themselves involved in some mixture of the two functions so the question becomes one of how much of each rather than which. Because placement and professional advancement tend to follow preparation, academic programs must be broadened to include a reasonable footing in both areas with enough room remaining to permit specialization in either direction. Finally, the conceptual work reported by Morrill, Oetting, and Hurst (1974) and by Carkhuff (1972), among others, speaks to an ultimate, if not immediate, harmony for this issue. Perhaps their work represents a start in building an ideology and an attendant professional identity that may bring public sanction and trust.

The licensure controversy is more difficult and perhaps more delicate as well. Conflict is avoided in such matters only when staking out territory that either is desired by no one else, is clearly the exclusive property of the claimant, or has never been occupied or used by others. None of these is the case with the areas in which counseling psychologists work. Licensure problems often have arisen in the process of establishing “responsibility” or “authority” in certain functional areas as a part of circumscribing the operations of psychologists generally. Unfortunately, the logical steps in licensure for any professional group are to describe first the functions, activities, and settings related to this professional group, second, to claim exclusive control, and, third, to establish that control through public recognition via the licensure boards.

Counseling psychologists must choose between two alternatives if it’s assumed that any attempt to exert exclusive control is doomed to failure. One alternative is to work toward establishing public recognition (licensure) for *counseling* with recognition based on type and level of preparation rather than on departmental affiliation during graduate training. This path would change the question from: “is the preparation psychological in nature” to: “is the preparation appropriate to deal with clients and problems at this level of complexity?” The result, essentially, would be to identify and recognize counselors who have psychological preparation and expertise. The second alternative is to provide for general licensure under the heading of

psychologist with specific competencies included in that level. The result would be to identify those psychologists who also counsel. The belief here is that either path will lead to a clearer identity for counseling psychologists by permitting emphasis to be placed on either of the two words in the title of the profession.

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Chapter 10

A Clinical Psychologist Views Counseling Psychology

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I'm tempted to begin this exploration into my views on counseling psychology by noting, tongue in cheek, that some of my best friends are counseling psychologists—though none of my children is old enough ever to have considered marrying one! But I will suppress my desire to deflect a serious issue by approaching it with levity and, instead, will do my best to consider the issue with the thoughtfulness and sensitivity it deserves.

Let me first orient you by describing my training and current activities so that you can put into perspective what I have to say.

My “basic training” in clinical psychology was within a traditional “Boulder Model” clinical training program. In fact, so traditional was the program that none of the fulltime academic clinicians who taught me saw patients; all were researchers who believed that those of their students who ultimately went to work as clinicians had failed them by failing to model their behavior. It was in that context that I first began to work with counseling psychologists. A V.A. trainee during the years of my graduate training, I became friendly with several counseling students who were also trainees at the psychiatric hospital at which I did much of my training. My initial perceptions of counseling psychology, gained from that experience, were very positive, largely because one of my counseling trainee friends was generally recognized as the most competent, sensitive, and committed therapist of that entire trainee group. To this end, whereas most of the clinical trainees and many of the counseling trainees felt compelled to embark on the research road, albeit with ambivalence, this young man knew that was not what he wanted. Instead, he wanted something else. He wanted to be an excellent clinician. Another perception of counseling psychology that friendship fostered was a blurring of professional boundaries, since what my friend did and what many of the clinical psychologists on the staff of the hospital did—psychotherapy—were virtually identical—except that my friend seemed to do it a lot better.

On receiving the Ph.D., I spent two years as a postdoctoral research fellow in a setting without counseling psychologists. I devoted myself during

this time to trying to learn how to be a good research person from the behavioral side of things. Then came several years as a clinical researcher, followed by my present job as director of Ph.D. and Psy.D. programs in clinical psychology. Since taking the latter job, I have gotten to know very few of the members of the counseling faculty here, largely because the counseling program is in the School of Education and the clinical program is in the Graduate School. The counseling psychology person I know best in that faculty is an extremely gifted therapist trained originally as a clinical psychologist. Again, the blurring-of-professional-roles theme reappears. Incidentally, though the Boulder Model for clinical psychology continues to fit me best, I recognize the importance of providing high-quality clinical training to my students since most of them must ultimately earn their keep in the clinical sphere. As a consequence of this conviction, in building the faculty of our programs, I have hired faculty capable of—and committed to—teaching and modeling first-rate clinical work.

Let me turn now to the questions posed to me:

The professional identity of counseling psychologists: Who are they?

Who are the counseling psychologists? Well, I think first of men and women who work in college counseling centers, where they do vocational, study, and personal counseling. Then I think of men and women who work in psychiatric facilities like V.A. hospitals; although their work in these settings also includes vocational counseling, they end up doing a great deal of psychotherapy. In that way, of course, they may be indistinguishable from the clinical psychologist's identity of which I have written.

What is the body of knowledge on which the profession is built? I believe, to begin with, that counseling psychology, like all psychological specialties basic and applied, must be built on thorough knowledge of the basic psychological literature, including research and theory in social and developmental psychology, learning, measurement, sensation and perception, and so on. Though not always of immediate relevance to the everyday activities of the professional psychologist, a knowledge of what has gone before in our field—what we know of the determinants and phenomena of behavior—gives the professional psychologist a perspective that is both necessary and unique among our society's helping professionals. In addition, of course, the counseling psychologist ought to be able to call upon many of the same kinds of information and experience upon which other professional psychologists depend. Child and adult psychopathology, theories of personality, theories of measurement and techniques to that end, theories of behavior change and procedures to attempt it, all are appropriate for all professional psychologists to acquire. But what must the counseling psychologist acquire, additionally, to justify his/her separate identity and function? In my view, he/she must gain expert status in the broad range of psychological procedures for assessing job and study skills, preferences, and aptitudes, as well as expertise in the job-finding and job-training methods that

are so often called on to accompany vocational assessment. Along with these specific skills, practical experience with young adults deciding on career goals—and means—is of obvious importance, as is experience with the same population as they experience study/learning and personal problems.

What professional contributions to individuals and society do counseling psychologists make? The professional contributions counseling psychologists can make are of two distinct kinds, in my judgment. The first, a contribution counseling psychologists can make uniquely, is in the vocational counseling/world-of-work sphere. No other psychologists are trained in vocational counseling techniques; by the same token, no nonpsychologist vocational consultant combines this knowledge of the world of work with skills in vocational assessment and competence in psychological counseling techniques. As a result, the counseling psychologist fills a unique role in our society.

Another professional contribution the counseling psychologist can make is, from my perspective, less unique and, for that reason, less uniquely valuable. That contribution derives from the personal counseling skills many counseling psychologists have chosen to hone into psychotherapeutic ones. In choosing this career option, however, the counseling psychologist joins a variety of other mental health professionals, including clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, and psychiatric nurses, some of whom have likely received better training in psychotherapy than the average counseling psychologist. For this reason I am less inclined to value highly the counseling psychologist who has chosen to become a fulltime psychotherapist. With a modicum of training and adequate interpersonal skills, many persons can do psychotherapy with some effectiveness; but few professionals have the breadth and depth of training in vocational assessment and counseling to which the counseling psychologist can lay claim.

What “community sanction” is there for the work of the counseling psychologist? To respond to this provocative question, one must recognize at the outset that “community sanctions” from professional persons who share overlapping competencies are rarely freely given. When two professions compete for a limited number of clients—and the status and prestige that go with being “number one”—questions of professional collegiality, ethics, and contribution to society invariably pale in comparison to economic necessity, personal ambition, and professional acquisitiveness.

In other words, “community sanctions” derive from professional “competitors” as well as from potential clients. So far as I know, the clients of counseling psychologists, especially of those psychologists holding a doctoral degree, care more about their psychologist’s interpersonal style, commitment to their welfare, and competence than they do the precise training the psychologists received. Few clients, for example, would verbalize a preference for a clinical psychologist over a counseling psychologist, all things being equal. By contrast, I have known clinical psychologists whose disdain for

counseling psychologists who do psychotherapy is intense—so intense as to be paralleled only by the disdain some psychiatrists evince for clinical psychologists doing psychotherapy!

My own view of the question of community sanctions and their legitimacy is that few counseling psychologists receive training in individual intervention/behavior change techniques during graduate training adequate to justify independent practice of psychotherapy. For that matter, not many more clinical psychologists trained in traditional Ph.D. programs are any more competent to practice independently. Both kinds of psychologists need extensive postdoctoral training to do so. The counseling psychologist is, however, sanctioned by the community to render vocational counseling and guidance services for which no other professional has equal sanction. Ironically, this activity, for which the counseling psychologist has highest sanction, seems to be viewed by many counseling psychologists as a “lower level” function, just as the personality assessment competence of the clinical psychologist, for which he/she has highest sanction, is viewed by many of that kind of psychologist as of second-order attractiveness.

Who said psychologists are rational people?

Recommendations to counseling psychologists (1) to better prepare themselves for their roles; (2) to better present themselves to their clients; (3) to better develop their own professional identity.

1. To respond best to a request for suggestions on how counseling psychologists ought better to prepare themselves for their roles, it is necessary first to specify those roles. If the role is to be vocational counseling and guidance, my view is that, although counseling psychology programs provide adequate training for this role, they ought to redouble their efforts to instill in their students an appreciation of the importance of this role to society. If, on the other hand, the major role is to be psychotherapy, then major modifications in existing training ought to be made. To begin with, counseling programs with this emphasis might consider opting for removal from graduate schools of education—if that is their locus—the better to emphasize the psychological elements of their heritage. Psychological intervention, I believe, is taught best by professional psychologists, not by professional educators. As important, a marked intensification of didactic experiences covering the range of intervention approaches, accompanied by an equally marked broadening and deepening of clinical practicum opportunities, is necessary to prepare the student for high-quality independent practice. To facilitate these changes, a marked reduction in the student/faculty ratio now characteristic of many counseling programs, down to something like 9-1, is absolutely essential. The only way intervention can be taught—the *only* way—is by providing students many hours of one-to-one supervision from master clinicians.

At the same time, it should be clear that I would view a national effort on the part of counseling psychology to shift from its vocational/personal counseling mission to an intervention mission as an unfortunate mistake.

Many other professions seek to provide psychotherapy; *no* other profession offers counseling on work-related issues.

2. I don't know how the clients of counseling psychologists view the profession. In general, I believe that the better trained a psychologist is, the more enthusiastic he or she is about his or her profession, and the more committed he or she is to helping the client, the more positively the client responds to the psychologist.

3. In fact, I think that much of what I have said above is designed to suggest how counseling psychology can better develop its professional identity. *To summarize my position:* To the extent that counseling psychology does what clinical psychology or school psychology or industrial psychology or psychiatry does, it will be compared to those professions and, in some places and on some counts, be found wanting. But to the extent that counseling psychology sets out its own special expertise and its own unique competencies—vocational assessment, counseling, and placement—it will have clearly reestablished its own professional identity. Much more important, it will provide better, more important, and more unique services to society.

RESPONSES FROM THE PROFESSION'S LEADERSHIP

3

Does counseling psychology have an identity crisis? In this section, Norman Kagan and Samuel Osipow, as past presidents of the Division of Counseling Psychology, were asked to read the contributions to the preceding two sections and respond from their perspective to the question whether identity issues should be receiving more conscious attention by our profession.

Should we seek to expand or restrict our identity? Do we need to engage in better public relations regarding our identity? If so, what actions should we take? Do we need changes in training programs to respond to past or present identity issues in both our scientific and professional roles?

The concluding chapter of Section 3 is Norman Kagan's Presidential Address to Division 17. It addresses the question of who we are and where we are.

Bruce R. Fretz

Chapter 11

Response

NORMAN KAGAN
Michigan State University

This book has strengthened my conviction that our professional mission is to deliver the greatest psychological good to the greatest numbers of people. We offer direct services. We teach those we serve to teach others. We function in colleges, schools, industries, hospitals, and in private and governmental agencies. We evaluate, develop, and research. If we sometimes suffer as a result of role ambiguity, we are compensated by an unusual degree of professional freedom. More than any other group in psychology, counselors can innovate. A creative person is more likely to provide a unique contribution in counseling psychology than in any other psychological discipline.

In response to Bruce Fretz's specific questions, let me start with his last one. "Do we need changes in training programs . . . ?" In the main, no. But there are programs in which breadth of application has resulted in shallowness. Our skill-base is the ability to help individual clients improve their lives. At this we must continue to be second to none. No matter what our intervention format becomes we must not abandon our base of sophistication at the counseling process itself. There are some other programs that call themselves counseling but have become imitations of clinical psychology. Often, this has been done in an attempt to placate a state psychology board.

"Do we need to engage in better public relations . . . ?" Perhaps, but Don Super's solution is the only one that will work over time. "To do well that which we are especially well qualified to do"

Finally, "Should we seek to expand or restrict our identity?" In my opinion, expand. If we are psychology's primary-care workers we will be constantly changing and expanding our vista. Our clients need to change, they want to change, and we know many ways to help them do it. For instance, we could apply what we know about assertiveness to help people more courageously protect their own lungs from the smoke of others. Such efforts would be as important, as prestigious, and as worthy of remuneration, as the myriad of other activities that are within the legitimate domain of counseling psychology.

Chapter 12

Will the Real Counseling Psychologist Please Stand Up?

SAMUEL H. OSIPOW
Ohio State University

Counseling Psychology is probably one of the least well understood specialties in Psychology. In spite of the fact that it represents one of the larger groups of applied psychologists, the work of counseling psychologists is poorly understood and often confused with that of guidance counselors, clinical psychologists, even psychiatrists and social workers. Even counseling psychologists themselves often appear to fail to understand what is distinctive about their work.

Such a state of affairs is reflected in the need for periodicals focusing on counseling psychology to continue to deal with professional identity issues. We have, for many years, been concerned with our status as a poor relation in the psychological community. Our status problem is reflected in many ways. It ranges from the low (or even absent) status of our publications in the hierarchy of psychological publication [for example, Koulack & Keselman (1975); Lindsey (1976); and M. J. White & K. G. White (1977)] all the way to our own efforts, which are all too often defensive in nature, to show that we are as good as anyone else in the psychological and/or mental health community. Thus, the timing of an issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* dealing with counseling identity is particularly good, although in our brief history, almost any timing would seem appropriate.

The situation for counseling psychologists now seems worse than ever. The thrust toward third-party payment, increasingly rigid codes of accreditation, licensing and credentialing, all in what I consider to be a "clinical" mode, and the development of professional schools of psychology that at best make counseling psychology a subspecialty of clinical and at worst ignore counseling psychology altogether, legitimately raise concern about our ability to continue to function in our accustomed ways as time goes on. For some of us, the solution is to become more "clinical," for others of us it is to become militant counseling psychologists, and for still others, I suspect there is a sense of dropping out or denial of the problem.

Ironically, the idea in the collection of papers published in the present

issue to which I most sympathetically resonate is in the paper authored by Peter Nathan. The irony is that Nathan, a clinical psychologist, has put his finger on our problem. Nathan seems to be saying that when we try to be counseling psychologists we are at our best, but when we try to do anything else we are mediocre. Nathan appears to share my bias that the facilitation of normal development and a focus on career development probably lead to the most distinctive roles counseling psychologists have and can assume and that when we move into the psychotherapy realm we become second raters compared with clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and probably even social workers.

I have little doubt that few of my colleagues agree with Nathan. For example, the paper by Hurst and Parker takes issue with current policies of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* not to publish psychotherapy papers. The editorial policy of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* is based on the view that there is ample content within counseling psychology to restrict the *JCP* to its primary mission—that is, the promulgation of counseling psychology research and theory. Many other publication outlets for therapy studies exist.

The focus of the present issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* on the identity of counseling psychologists is gratifying in other ways. Perhaps we will finally come to grips with our ambivalence and say who we are. Our failure to do so has had many unfortunate consequences over the years.

One of the observations that has dismayed me in recent years is the erosion of the sense of identity in counseling psychology graduate students, who seem to yearn for a definition that we refuse to provide and who then drift toward the marketplace, which tends to be increasingly attractive in what I consider to be the clinical areas.

This ambiguity of definition is not recent. Many years ago when I was beginning my post-doctoral career in counseling psychology at Pennsylvania State University's Division of Counseling, I discovered that I was one of only two or three psychologists in the counseling division who were actually trained in counseling psychology as opposed to clinical psychology. Since the Division of Counseling at Penn State at that time was committed to a type of general practitioner service mode, we all had overlapping functions in the Center. Those of us with counseling psychology backgrounds tended to have more expertise and interest in career development and normal developmental issues whereas those with clinical backgrounds tended to have more interest and expertise in a variety of forms of psychotherapy. But we all had to learn how to do each other's jobs to some degree. Most of the staff gravitated to the therapy mode. At one level, I found the focus on remediation and psychotherapy in the University Counseling Center dismaying when we were surrounded by thousands of students who needed the distinctive services of a counseling psychologist.

Another observation I might make has to do with the allegiance of counseling psychologists to counseling psychology groups. Early in my professional career as a counseling psychologist, I discovered to my

disappointment that a large majority of my colleagues had very heavily diluted commitments and allegiances to what I consider to be the principal organization of counseling psychologists—that is, Division 17 of the American Psychological Association (APA). On the one hand, many of my colleagues coming to the profession from educational settings were affiliated and identified closely with American Personnel and Guidance Association, American College Personnel Association, and so on, and on the other hand, many of my colleagues aspiring to more “sophisticated interventions” had multiple memberships in APA Divisions such as Division 12 (clinical psychology) and Division 29 (psychotherapy). Becoming active in Division 17 I discovered that many times tasks that should be undertaken by the Division were shunted off to these other organizations in which leaders of the Division had active commitments and memberships.

Recently I undertook a study with the help of some students (Osipow, Cohen, Jenkins, Dostal, 1979) to compare the interests and work settings of Division 17 members and fellows holding exclusive membership in Division 17 with Division 17 members holding multiple divisional memberships with Division 12 and/or 29. We discovered dramatic differences in statements of major field of interest, employment settings, and special skills expressed by these two different groups of Division 17 members. As we had suspected, individuals who hold Division 17 membership without 12 and/or 29 are distinctively employed in settings that focus on general and vocational counseling interventions. Those individuals with multiple memberships (17 and 12 and/or 29) are almost exactly like non-Division 17 members of Divisions 12 and/or 29; their interests are in using a variety of psychotherapeutic interventions in a variety of psychotherapeutically oriented settings. Such findings cause me to wonder about the future of counseling psychology.

Overall, I see both encouraging and discouraging signs for us in the offing. That this special issue is necessary can be interpreted negatively or positively. Many of the papers in this issue (though not all) encourage me. Most deal with topics of central interest to counseling psychologists: training, consultation, administrative and organizational consultation, research, outreach, fostering human potential, public education; other aspects of this special issue concern me: where is mention of career counseling and development, and why so much emphasis on therapeutic approaches?

Another encouraging trend is our increasing willingness to assert the special needs of counseling psychologists, for example, to insist on the representation of our views and professional approaches within establishment decision-making bodies in APA. We are doing better, but we must improve. There are still too few counseling psychologists on APA boards and committees, and too often our futures are being designed by others.

Less encouraging are my observations that we avoid what we are distinctively good at doing and that we seem too apologetic about our contributions. For my taste, too many of us seem to aspire to become clinical psychologists. We have made “clinical” an adjective and “counseling” a verb.

We use the two interchangeably to an unhealthy degree to label ourselves instead of philosophies and functions. We are too ready to trade the term *counseling* for *therapy* to describe our activities even when what we do remains unchanged.

I have formulated "Osipow's law" to epitomize my concerns: Remediation (in the form of psychotherapeutic interventions) drives out prevention (in the form of counseling interventions) where the two are present in the same agency. Although it is understandable that people in serious emotional trouble need our attention quickly, whereas people in need of vocational counseling appear to be able to grind along indefinitely with no attention, the result is that potential "counseling" clients as opposed to potential "clinical" clients get short shrift. (In one agency I know of, clients soon learned that attention was prompt if one requested "personal counseling" as opposed to any other type; the requests for "personal counseling" soon increased.)

In sum, it is critical that we continue to address our identity as counseling psychologists. I fear for us because of the increasingly clinical mode of human-service delivery, because of the increasing emphasis on "trendy" interventions, and because of the increasingly nonpsychologically based applications in areas traditionally those of the counseling psychologist. Most of all, however, I fear for our clientele who will not be able to obtain our distinctive services should counseling psychology become a subspecialty of clinical psychology.

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Chapter 13

Perspectives on Counseling Psychology: Where Are We? Who Are We?

NORMAN KAGAN
Michigan State University

*Where Are We? Who Are We?—
Perspectives on Counseling Psychology*

Who are we and where are we going as counseling psychologists? An economically depressed academic job market, a drop in the school-age population, and some very unfortunate experiences with a few state licensing boards, among other factors, have given us occasion to ask ourselves about our identity and meaning as counseling psychologists. I have asked these questions of myself, and I would like to present some of my answers to you for your consideration. It will surprise no one that some of what I'll say has been said before.

Primary Care

In organizing these ideas I thought it would be good form to begin with a brief description of counseling as a formal discipline. Reviewing the literature typically referred to in counseling studies and papers, one's initial reaction must be one of confusion. Most people would find it difficult to find a clear-cut lineage. When one looks at our current practices and current interests it appears that as a discipline we have had the most improbable combinations of contributors and predecessors imaginable. What in common could such people who have influenced us as Parsons and Rogers, Freud and Super, Jung and Hoppock, Kitsen and Wrenn, Maslow and Pavlov, Holland and Adler possibly have? How has it happened that we are the ones people have turned to during such diverse crises as epidemic drug abuse, unemployment, and Sputnik? We appear to have no visible history and a *potpourri* of interests. Are we then a group of professionals with no known parentage? It would appear that by magic somehow we 2300 bastards found each other! From that point of view, can you envision the early meetings that stimulated the

formation of Division 17? I see one counselor saying to the other, “You know your professional parentage?” “Nope.” “Me neither, let’s write some bylaws and apply for divisional status in APA. We’ll call ourselves counseling psychologists; whenever we’re with counselors we’ll talk psychology, whenever we’re with psychologists we’ll talk counseling. If ever we’re with a group of counselors and psychologists we’ll talk about the weather.” “Good idea—let’s do it.”

But counseling and guidance and counseling psychology *do* have a legitimate professional lineage and, in my opinion, a very coherent one. The source of our legitimacy was and is a search for methods to bring the greatest possible inter- and intra-personal good to the greatest numbers of people. To help as many people as possible to live well, to work well, and to love well. In the earliest years of the discipline our only contribution was in the areas of job placement and occupational choice, but the purpose almost immediately became more global than vocational alone. The ability to think clearly was obviously essential to decision making. We have since become the experts at that delicate balance between giving very little to everyone on one extreme—and giving everything to almost no one on the other. It’s that simple and that ambitious.

Our knowledge and skill have been derived from how individuals improve and change, but our purposes have been to apply this knowledge not to the few most in need and most resistive to change, but rather to deliver the knowledge to the many less in need but more responsive to intervention—that is, not to those whose mental health is in shambles but to those who constitute the basic emotional climate of our world. Perhaps that explains why, although we base our work on some of the same literature as psychiatry, we do not *typically* find ourselves in competition with psychiatrists but rather find ourselves able to work cooperatively with them. The skills and roles are clearly different.*

In many ways we are mental health’s primary care workers. Like the primary care physician we need to be broadly skilled and have a holistic approach to the individual. True, many of us have become variations on the basic theme; that is, we have added to our generalist role some specific areas of particular interest and expertise, but in the main no other mental health discipline need feel that our traditional areas of expertise encroach on its traditional areas of expertise. Our experience and training are geared toward work with client populations whose egos are as intact as our own. In the course of such preparation, some experience with deviance is essential, but in general you do not prepare yourself to work with ambulatory, functioning people by receiving most of your training with the deviant. Those of us in

*Since 1978 psychiatric residents at Michigan State University have been permitted, through a special program, to apply for admission to the Ph.D. in counseling psychology and work simultaneously toward the achievement of a psychiatric residency and a Ph.D. in counseling psychology.

counseling have studied, researched, and had practicum and internship experience with people who are ambulatory and are usually already reasonably productive.

Where are we employed? Some of us are employed in private practice serving a wide range of client populations, using specialists as needed. Some of us are in community agencies, not as vocational specialists alone but as primary care workers concerned with all major areas of human interaction and activity. We staff college and school counseling and student-personnel centers. These are precisely the places you'd expect to find a primary care worker.

We are very similar to the primary-care physicians in many other ways. Increasingly people search now not only for repairs to their physical health but for *enhancement*. No longer are people content just for the absence of illness, they want vigor, longevity, health, and a sense of well-being. Just on the horizon in medicine is a major new emphasis on "giving medical knowledge away"—teaching physicians how to be patient educators (sound familiar?).

For many years the primary care physician had been relegated to a lesser status than those who became more and more knowledgeable about treating less and less. But primary care is suddenly "in." Federal programs and third-party payment now put care within the reach of many. Former specialists now claim that they too are, after all, really in primary care. Isn't it interesting that although some of us in counseling have gained expertise in working with severely debilitating emotional problems, the major mental health shift has been for those who had been trained to specialize in deviance to now focus their practice in our traditional bailiwick, including the vocational area? Now, if those mental health workers whose major training prepared them to diagnose and treat deviance now want also to serve a broader range of clients and if they can demonstrate that they have since obtained the appropriate knowledge and skills, we certainly should have no reason to object. Similarly, our colleagues should in no way be prevented from working in any area of their acquired competence.

Nonetheless, I believe the future is most promising for those of us who continue in the mainstream of counseling. So-called "normal" people no longer are content to seek help only when they are vocationally uncertain, depressed, grieving or unable to grieve, preorgasmic or impotent. They want prevention and enrichment. They want the wherewithal to anticipate and deal with the many major personal and interpersonal events of living—they want a tool kit along with the car, so that they themselves are able to effect maintenance and repairs when things don't run smoothly. There is a need and a demand for self-directed personal and vocational exploration programs, personal and marital enrichment programs, mental health checkups, and preventive maintenance programs. There is a need for participation of counselors on health teams with workers from other professions and for the further development and dissemination of structured learning experiences in

human interaction as a part of secondary school curricula and in medical, law, and nursing school programs. These too soon will be very much in demand. Also needed are family counseling and family interaction education courses as a routine part of termination of long-term hospital care or prison confinement. Another exciting area for us is the teaching of mutual counseling skills for people to become colleague counselors for each other—physicians, dentists, police. All this I see as the immediate future—the long range possibilities are mind boggling, but let's be conservative and stay with the immediate future for now.

Psychologists?

So then, we in counseling have a legitimate parentage, we have a direction and I think a very bright future, much of which we share with others who call themselves counselors, guidance workers, college and student-personnel workers. What is it that makes us psychologists?

The answer to that question has been very late in coming and, as we in Division 17 well know, has caused us more than our share of grief at the hands of a few state licensing boards. What is a psychologist? *Any* psychologist? On June 4th and 5th of this year, 50 psychologists representing every major APA board and every national licensing and accrediting board, associations of program directors, and at least 18 of APA's divisions met as follow-up to a similar meeting a year ago to define what professional education in psychology is. I was a participant at that meeting, representing this division. A document, *Education and Credentialing in Psychology II*, edited by Alfred Wellner, has just been published (Note 1). A set of definitions was agreed on after two intensive days of work building on months of previous work. The definitions *include* the following statements:

Doctoral level “. . . programs that are accredited by the American Psychological Association are recognized as meeting the definition of a professional psychology program.

The program, *wherever it may be administratively housed*, must be clearly identified and labeled as a psychology program.

There must be a clear authority and primary responsibility for the core and specialty areas *whether or not the program cuts across administrative lines . . .*”

Those statements finally clearly affirm what we have always known—counseling psychologists are, indeed, in the mainstream of psychology, wherever their program may have been administratively housed. The report goes on to spell out what a psychology *program* is and hence what a *psychologist* is.

I'll describe the basic elements and then comment on them. The report states the following:

The program must include supervised practicum, internship, field, or laboratory training . . .

In addition to instruction in scientific and professional ethics and standards, research design and Methodology, Statistics and Psychometrics, the core program shall require each student to demonstrate competence in each of the following substantive content areas. This typically will be met by including a minimum of three or more graduate semester hours . . . in each of these four substantive content areas:

1. *Biological Bases of Behavior*
2. *Cognitive-Affective Bases of Behavior*
3. *Social Bases of Behavior*
4. *Individual Differences*

. . . In addition to these criteria, all professional education programs in psychology will include course requirements in specialty areas.

So there it is—there's the general psychology core—supervised practice, a code of ethics and knowledge, and a doctorate. Much of that core knowledge is very useful, and much of it is a sometimes painful initiation into the profession—a kind of rite of passage that contributes, for better or worse, to professional socialization, and most of us have been through it. I think the core knowledge can and should be more than it all too often is. Memorizing the functions of the ego and how the sodium pump works and the limbic system and the theories of Hull and the research of Pavlov—there is much more to what I think a psychologist's generic core of knowledge is than that.

Bruno Bettelheim has described psychoanalysis as “at least three different things: a method of observation, a therapy, and a body of theories on human behavior and personality structure. They are valid in descending order, the theory of personality being the weakest link of the system . . .” (Note 2). I believe Bettelheim's analysis applies to more than just the works of Freud. I think it applies to every major theorist in psychology and to each of the above core substantive content areas. The theories and the therapies and even the facts are not the essence of a psychologist even though it is these structural elements that are the easiest to define and to hold ourselves and our students accountable for. The core knowledge of a psychologist is a repertoire of methods of observation of data. The psychologist's repertoire of ways of looking at data are different from the ways in which the sociologist, the economist, the biologist, and the social worker would view the same data, and yet our graduate courses in the core areas too often emphasize and hold students accountable for the structural elements rather than for how one views data psychologically.

Counseling Psychologists?

The education and credentialing report states that beyond the psychology core “all professional education programs in psychology will include course requirements in specialty areas.” The definition and description of the specialty area of doctoral programs in counseling psychology is now in our hands. I will not attempt here to define that area in its entirety. That task will be coordinated by the Division under the leadership of Barbara Kirk. I would like to offer you my views on just two facets of that effort. One is the so-called interpersonal skills component (incidentally, when you list the major researchers and developers of systems for specifying and disseminating interpersonal skills it’s apparent that here is one more area of human interaction in which counseling psychologists have provided worldwide leadership) and the other area within the counseling core I will comment on is our need to develop new counseling theories.

INTERPERSONAL SKILLS

If we are to continue implementing the activities I described earlier I believe we must more broadly define interpersonal skills not only for our doctoral programs but for general dissemination as well. What follows is a proposed outline and one that reflects my own biases. Most basic in interpersonal skills are the response modes. These are specific ways of responding to a client’s statement or statements that are designed to elicit information, to encourage the client to describe concerns and areas of misinformation and confusion, and that also give the counselor an opportunity to verify and clarify the ongoing communication with the client. Response modes are designed to promote a sense of trust by the client that the counselor is interested and wants very much to understand the client’s concerns. Counselor response modes are intended to promote communication of important but unstated feelings as well as the client’s mythologies. Response modes are designed to encourage an open and honest examination of the most personal, most intimate areas and issues of a client’s life. There are currently several ways of formulating response modes. Four specific response modes are exploratory responses—responses that encourage elaboration; listening responses—responses that serve to clarify or paraphrase; affective responses—those that focus or draw attention to the feeling qualities of the client’s message; honest labeling or risk-taking responses—those that are unusually frank and candid but are not brutal or rejecting and are designed to encourage a dialogue of content that people usually have difficulty sharing. Such specific response modes as eye contact, verbal following, and body posture are also included in some systems. From a somewhat more global perspective such core conditions as empathy, congruence, and unconditional positive regard are also response modes. These are well known to you and hardly need further elaboration here. These skills, though not simple, can be

learned by anyone and in a relatively short time. When used well these skills alone appear to be a small but statistically significant factor in effective interpersonal relationships. When used poorly they are mechanical, irritating, and can even be used in an authoritarian manner as a new type of psychological “one-upmanship.” And yet when we refer to interpersonal skills or skills training we usually mean only response mode training.

But we know that the student counselor brings to the client a host of stereotypes and prejudices about age, sex, race, body size, and shape and about “good and bad” defenses. Without helping students to overcome these “interpersonal allergies” students will be unable to use or will find reasons to discard shortly after the post-training interview, their newly acquired response modes. The basic psychological reactions in the counselor to the client result in the blatant or more often subtle ways by which the counselor communicates to the client an ability to become involved or not in the client’s concerns, the ability to hear or not the most personal confused or frightening material that the client may present. Counselors must learn to *overcome* their own unique “interpersonal allergies” so that they can genuinely communicate to the client a willingness to relate to the client’s most intimate concerns and, by the way, that also includes a willingness to understand and comply as well with the client’s desire not to share all personal concerns with the counselor. There are methods for achieving these abilities.

The definition of interpersonal skills should include more. Again, not only for our counseling students but for “export” purposes as well. They should include such theoretical constructs that the counselor or the counselor’s trainee has an understanding of the potential usefulness and value of interpersonal skills. The counselor has a well-thought-through cognitive framework for understanding how the use of interpersonal skills can logically accomplish important counseling goals and could explain this framework clearly and simply to others.

Interpersonal skills include also the ability to imaginatively place oneself temporarily outside of the ongoing relationship, to be not only deeply interactive with the client but to be able to be also an observing self. This ability to “step outside” and study oneself during or after an interaction permits one to review and understand one’s own behaviors, goals, and confusion that can then serve to better understand the interaction with the client and then to continue or to redirect the counselor’s efforts. This ability should be included in our definition for our own use and for export (and there are methods by which it can be reliably learned).

Another essential interpersonal skill is the counselor’s ability to learn from client feedback, the ability to carefully observe the client’s reactions to the counselor’s efforts and to sensitively use these reactions as feedback. The counselor’s concerns about client reaction and the counselor’s willingness to accept and learn from client feedback is clearly communicated to the client.

Interpersonal skills should also include the ability to use the interaction itself as content. The ability not only to recognize important messages

communicated in the interaction between counselor and client but also the ability to discuss these observations directly with the client—not only the ability to engage in an I-thou-relationship but also the ability to make that relationship explicit, as content. This, too, is teachable and can be exported.

Finally, interpersonal skills should include seeking, giving, and learning from peer review.

COUNSELING THEORIES

So much for what I would like to see included in our definition of interpersonal skills. There is a second area I would like to offer my views on. I mentioned earlier that a major source of activity for counselor and counseling psychologists derives from the desire of people to receive more than just treatment for their ills. They want prevention and enrichment. In order to meet this exciting challenge we need theories that speak directly to the task in addition to those theories that were developed out of the study of deviance. We need a different *level* of theory and a different *type* of theory. We need theories that can give direction to our work with reasonably functioning people and that can in turn be shared with those whom our students will influence.

Here is the kind of interpersonal construct that I have been using and that I think needs to be further developed and included in our specialty core.

The concept of interpersonal psychological distance seems to be a useful construct for our work. The concept is developed as follows:

People need each other. One of people's most basic interpersonal drives is for some optimal level and frequency of sensory stimulation. People are the best, the most complete potential source of sensory stimulation for other people.

But, people learn to fear each other. Just as people can be the most potent source of satisfaction for each other, people can also be the most potent source of horror for each other. Because one's earliest, most impressionable experiences are as a very small being in a large person's world, vague feelings of fear and helplessness with each other persist in some people all of the time and in all people some of the time.

The basically opposed states, the need for people and the fear of people, manifest themselves in a variety of behaviors.

People are unable to give up attempts to achieve interpersonal intimacy despite their fears of such contact. People appear to both approach and retreat from direct, simple, intimacy with others. The approach/avoidance syndrome appears to be a cyclical process—intimacy followed by relative isolation followed by new bids for intimacy. (This back and forth “waltzing” is especially observable in insecure relationships.) The movement toward-and-away-from people appears to establish a specific range of psychologically

“safe” distances unique for each individual. People “settle in” at a psychological distance at which they are more or less intimate with each other and yet able to feel tolerably safe from the dangers that they vaguely sense in the situation.

The individual’s movement toward and away from others is an attempt to find a balance between the *pain of boredom* and *deprivation when contact is too close*. Because the need for interpersonal contact is basic and life-giving, people continuously seek what they can from an interpersonal relationship yet carefully constrain themselves at a distance by the imagined or vaguely perceived frightening potential of the relationship.

The greater the fear one has of intimacy, the greater the distance one establishes and the more rigidly the individual holds to that position.

The further the distance one establishes, the greater the likelihood that substitutes for human contact will be sought, sometimes successfully but most often, unsuccessfully.

The fears people have of each other become translated into an interpersonal mythology and expectation, a self-fulfilling prophecy in which people make their nightmares happen.

More fully functioning people appear to be more capable of extreme intimacy and more extended aloneness than others. They appear to be able to sustain long periods of intimate involvement (but are not compulsively compelled to) and they are equally capable of comfortably sustaining aloneness without immediate panic. So interpersonal flexibility seems to be a characteristic of the more fully functioning people.

Another manifestation of the approach/avoidance dynamic is in lifestyle or the basic interpersonal patterns that people characteristically rely on to meet their needs in a world they must live in but perceive as more or less dangerous. In terms of behavioral *style*, as well, possession of a repertoire of behaviors seems to be the characteristic of more fully functioning people. We have seen the recent advent of assertiveness training. A taxonomy of behavioral styles and the kinds of theories I believe we need and have been developing would indicate that we should be offering people assertiveness training not only so they can, for instance, stand up in righteous indignation when it’s appropriate to do so, but so they also can graciously give in, remain silent, or change their position when the situation and their needs suggest that *such* behaviors would be appropriate. Some of these kinds of theories and constructs exist. More are needed.

In summary then, we have a legitimate lineage and we are psychologists. As I analyze our training and practice I believe we have emphasized the least important aspects of the generic psychology core, we have grossly oversimplified interpersonal skills, and we have been slow to advance new counseling theories. In my opinion there is no doubt, however, that if we continue to devote ourselves to what has been our historic counseling perspective—primary care, and all that it implies—I believe as counseling

psychologists we can and will have an ever-increasing impact on the quality of life and a very full work schedule.

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PART II

Introduction: The Future of Counseling Psychology

The year 2000 A.D. has been a source of fascination to Futurists, and it has received detailed attention by scholars. A consequence of this attention is a rise in the appreciation of what the various possibilities are for the world at the dawn of the 21st century. Further, the process of considering the world in 2000 A.D. has mobilized the thinking of many people to begin addressing the problems they anticipate. Counseling psychologists, however, have not previously participated in futuristic thinking to any focused extent.

Part II of this book engages counseling psychology in the activity of addressing what the future holds: the consideration of the world at the start of the 21st century, the anticipated needs of society and its members, and the role for counseling psychology. Since this is a new activity for the profession, the principal outcome of inviting a number of counseling psychologists of different generations and very diverse theoretical persuasions to consider their profession in the year 2000 A.D. did not result in a consensus.

In the chapters that follow there is expressed concern about the long-term viability of the profession, and many different conceptions are offered both of the future itself and the directions counseling psychology should take now in order to prepare adequately for a definite contribution at the turn of the century.

In presenting this consideration of the future of our profession, we intend to stimulate our colleagues to address the same topics with imagination.

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Chapter 14

Counseling Psychology in the Year 2000 A.D.

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In this chapter I consider what the world and my profession will be like in my 60th year, which seems a long distance away. My oldest child, now 12, will be 33 in 2000 A.D. My two youngest children, both one year old now, will be 22. Most of the other indices of the passage of time are much less easy to comprehend and are far less predictable.

Writing about the future forces one to think about what the world may be like and should be like. Such an activity confronted me with the realization that the world, and our society in particular, may well be going in directions that are incompatible with my values. Further, there may be (and probably is) very little I can do about possible directions for society that are alien to my preferences—both as an individual and as a counseling psychologist.

Yet in due course the year 2000 A.D. will arrive. What is valuable about projecting over 20 years into the future is that such an exercise forces one to examine alternatives for the future and therefore makes planning possible. Although it may not be possible for counseling psychologists to shape world events or society, it certainly is possible for us to shape the directions the profession takes and thereby influence the impact it has on society.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on what we as counseling psychologists can learn from futurologists in terms of the process of examining alternative futures. The second section presents the world as a number of futurists project it for the year 2000 A.D. The final section addresses the question of what counseling psychology should be in the year 2000 A.D., what changes should be made now to prepare for that future, and what we should consider to be the substantive intellectual bases of the profession.

I. LEARNING FROM FUTUROLOGISTS

There is much that counseling psychologists can learn from futurists. Etzioni (1976) introduced the notion of “heuristic futures,” the discussion and analysis of alternative futures. Although these alternative futures may not all be expected to materialize, their consideration provides “an insight, a feeling

about the things we may wish to pursue (p. 75).” A consideration of “heuristic futures” also may help identify currently unanticipated problems that could develop, thereby making it possible to set in motion planning to alleviate previously unexpected problems.

Waskow (1969) has observed that one should not expect a picture of the future to be achieved as projected. Instead,

we must expect exactly the opposite: that along the way the processes of imagination and creation will lead one to change his imagination. Hopefully, the process will engage wholly new people in imagining the future who do not now imagine it and, by doing that, will engage them in creation of a kind of future which was not imagined by the ones who begin the process [p. 80].

Although the image of the future may not be achieved, “one should expect to move in the direction of it; one should expect perhaps to move in some quite different direction after moving part of the way, but never to it” (p. 80–81).

Counseling psychology traditionally has taken a reactive approach to the future. To this writer’s knowledge, there are no academic courses offered on futurology’s potential contributions to our profession. We have not been required to engage our imaginations in consideration of the future as a first step toward changing our direction of the profession. I can recall no APA Convention program, involving Division 17, on alternative futures. Counseling psychology as a profession will progress much more proactively than it has in the past if it will include the considerations of futurists in its deliberations.

Futurists approach their task in many different ways, and some have more to contribute to counseling psychology than others. Toffler (1976), for example, categorized futurists as “probable,” “possible,” or “preferable” in orientation. “Probable” futurists address what appears to be most likely to occur. Their approach is primarily analytical. “Possible” futurists criticize the planning usually done in society and say that it lacks imagination. These futurists develop previously “unexplored scenarios.” Finally, the “preferable” futurists emphasize the achievement of desirable changes.

In Toffler’s (1976) view, futurists may also be classified according to their concepts of the role of values. Some, who operate from a primarily scientific and technical perspective, consider themselves “value free.” Others consider values to be a basic part of their work and try to make them explicit. (The problem of who and what is “value free” is familiar to counseling psychologists.)

Futurists can also be classified according to their concepts of change. Toffler (1976) identifies one group of futurists who believe the future will be “more of the same.” These individuals are labeled “extrapolationists” or linear thinkers. This approach, although valuable, “works best between revolutionary periods, not in them” (p. 7). Since Toffler considers our society to be in a

revolutionary phase, he feels the extrapolationists will not be as helpful in this “period of upheaval, trauma, upset, reversals, and leaps” (p. 7). Our society, is in his view, “moving into a new stage of technological, economic, and social history, in which the ground rules of the old system no longer will apply” (p. 7). Futurists adopting a “revolutionary premise” use straight-line projections with caution.

A fourth classification of futurists employed by Toffler is based on their attitudes toward numbers and people. Using techniques of the physical sciences, some futurists rely on systematic methodology and quantification of data. Others tend to focus on a cluster of concerns such as quality of life, love, states of consciousness, and the family. Quantification for these latter futurists may be alien to them, at least in part, because the subjects of their concern do not lend themselves to easy and valid quantification. Toffler (1976) does indicate that:

Fortunately, there are technocratically inclined futurists who recognize the severe limits of their tools and are ready to fuse their findings with nonquantified research, along with plenty of concern for humaneness and quality of life, just as there are humanists who know more than a little about numbers, computers, complex models, and simulation exercises [p. 8].

Finally, futurists may be distinguished by the time frame in which they operate (several years, a decade, a century, and so forth) and by whether they are elitists or participationists. The elitists view the future as “too important to be left to the people.” Participationists vary, but one popular current among this group has been anti-intellectualism and anti-expertism.

II. THE WORLD IN THE YEAR 2000 A.D.

A common denominator of the predictions of most futurists is the role of change as we approach 2000 A.D.; the rate of change is expected to accelerate, creating new problems for people. Toffler’s (1976) view is that:

America is going to change dramatically, whether we want it to or not, because the entire world outside, on which we are extremely dependent, is also changing. The planet itself is changing; its climate, its oceans, its forests and rivers, not to mention, of course, its human population. The hidden subsidy that all industrial nations, not merely the United States, received from fossil fuels and cheap raw materials, is being withdrawn—Moreover, the American people themselves are changing socially, politically, morally, and educationally [p. 9].

As Toffler (1976) sees it, the United States is about to move into a “superindustrial stage of development” (p. 3). Change will likely be measured by decades rather than centuries. In the past, industrialism has been based on a world system characterized by:

cheap raw materials; nonrenewable fossil fuel energy; electromechanical technologies; nuclear family systems; mass education; mass communication; high urban concentrations; a predominance of employment in the manufacturing sector, and materialist values and growth ethic [p. 3].

New industries such as aerospace, petrochemicals, electronics, and ocean mining are replacing the electromechanical technologies typical of industrialism. Toffler also notes the radical shift from the nuclear family to more and more single-parent (one out of seven) and "aggregate" (mixtures from several divorces) families.

Papaioannou (1969) sees the period around 2000 A.D. as a major challenge for humanity. The lag between the development of technological advancements and their harnessing for peaceful uses will be great "mainly because of the slowness in the institutional changes necessary to bring them under control" (p. 231). This is the time when the gap between the "rich" and "poor" countries is likely to be very large.

Steinbuch (1969) observes that large-scale technological developments in areas such as nuclear, space, and computer technology were predictable years before their appearance from the study of trends in research and development. After forecasting a steady improvement of existing technology, especially computer-related technology, Steinbuch discusses four emerging communications innovations: direct satellite television that will make television an international communication device; computer-based information banks that will form a public-utility information system; international information guides that will provide fully automated exchanges of information between information banks; and teaching programs that will be accessible by dialing into a computer system.

Kahn and Wiener (1967) offer a framework for speculation on developments between 1967 and the year 2000 A.D. They see the general framework for the world in the early 21st century as follows:

1. We expect the rise of new great powers—perhaps Japan, China, a European complex, Brazil, Mexico, or India.
2. There will be new political, perhaps even "philosophical" issues.
3. There will be a leveling off or diminishing of some aspects of the basic, long-term multifold trend, such as urbanization.
4. The post-industrial and industrial worlds will have been largely realized.
5. Some success seems likely with population control, arms control, and some kind of moderately stable international security arrangements, although probably not a "world government."
6. In the industrializing world, disorder, ideology, and irrational movements will probably continue to play disruptive although geographically confined roles.
7. In the U.S. and Western Europe, there will presumably be either a return to certain Hellenic or older European concepts of the good life, or an intensified alienation and search for identity, values, meaning,

and purpose, a search made necessary and facilitated by the unprecedented affluence and permissiveness of the post-industrial economy [p. 25].*

They foresee affluence as a characteristic of post-industrial society. This writer disagrees, seeing inflation as dislocating the standard of living for the lower and middle classes and depriving them of adequate housing, energy, and health care.

In a section on change and continuity, Kahn and Wiener (1967) projected 100 technical innovations they see as “very likely” to occur during the last third of the 20th century. A number of these “very likely” innovations are quite germane to the practice of counseling psychologists. These include:

1. a major reduction in hereditary and congenital defects;
2. relatively effective appetite and weight control;
3. new techniques and institutions for adult education;
4. controlled and/or supereffective relaxation and sleep;
5. new and more reliable “educational” and propaganda techniques for affecting human behavior—public and private;
6. practical use of direct electronic communication with and stimulation of the brain;
7. new, more varied, and more reliable drugs for control of fatigue, relaxation, alertness, mood, personality, perceptions, fantasies, and other psychobiological states;
8. other genetic control and/or influence over the “basic constitution” of an individual;
9. new techniques and institutions for the education of children;
10. general and substantial increase in life expectancy, postponement of aging, and limited rejuvenation;
11. chemical methods for improving memory and learning;
12. mechanical and chemical methods for improving human analytical ability, more or less directly;
13. home education via video and computerized and programmed learning;
14. new methods for rapid language teaching [p. 52-55].

For the purposes of this chapter, the point is that counseling psychology will confront quite different challenges if only a few of the above prove to be accurate predictions.

Cornish (1977), basing his prognostications on the assumption that recent trends will continue, thinks the world of the year 2000 A.D. will differ from the world of 1977 by being more unified, more standardized, more affluent, more leisured, less integrated by family and kinship, less oriented toward industry in the developed countries, longer lived, more mobile, less

*From *The Year 2000*, by Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener. Copyright © 1967 by The Hudson Institute. This and all other quotations from this source are reprinted by permission of the publisher, Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.

religious, and better educated. However, Cornish sees no automatic increase in human welfare and happiness simply because there will be an increase in scientific and technological capacity:

the growth of human knowledge and ability is accompanied by other trends that have the effect of increasing the need for knowledge and ability [p. 48].

One trend that will increase our need for knowledge and certain abilities is population growth. A world with a population of between 6 and 7 billion, as will be the case in 2000 A.D., requires more social organization than our current population of between 2 and 3 billion. In the past, counseling psychology has not devoted much attention to social organizations and the effects of greater density, including crowding and stress.

Population growth also has an effect on the housing industry. For example, the Orange County section of the *Los Angeles Times* of December 31, 1978, reported that housing prices compounded at a 15% average increase during the 1970s. If that rate continues, the median \$80,000 house in Orange County, California, at today's values will cost \$1.5 million by 2000 A.D. Housing price increases are expected to continue at a faster pace than the overall rise in the cost of living. Trends in housing construction include greater dwelling density and the use of architectural forms that create the feeling of spaciousness, such as vaulted ceilings, lofts, and high-placed windows. People will have to adjust to less privacy, as architecture and population density combine to force a more sociable life style.

A final perspective on the future in this chapter is provided by Harman (1974) and Kahn and Bruce-Briggs (1972). Both works identify the probable new challenges that will accompany expected positive changes. Overpopulation and problems of the aged, for example, accompany the lengthened life span. From advances in transportation and communications systems will come more pollution of the land. Further, the potential for technological and social breakdown in a complex society is increased, as is the overload from too much information. Two consequences may develop from mechanization and efficiency—increased unemployment and dehumanization. In Harman's (1974) view, one consequence of affluence will be increased consumption, which has the effect of both depleting natural resources and increasing pollution. As basic needs get satisfied, there will be a rebellion against nonmeaningful work.

A similar approach has been taken by Kahn and Bruce-Briggs (1972), who identified a number of "mixed blessings" that accompany progress. These include:

1. defunctionalization—partial (but increasing) loss of meaning of many traditional activities through the development of shortcuts to gratification: erosion of "traditional societal levels";

2. accumulation, augmentation, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
3. loss of privacy and solitude;
4. increase of governmental and/or private power over individuals;
5. loss of human scale and perspective;
6. dehumanization of social life or even of the psychobiological self;
7. growth of dangerously vulnerable, deceptive, or degradable centralization of administrative or technological systems;
8. creation of other new capabilities so inherently dangerous as to seriously risk disastrous abuse;
9. acceleration of changes that are too rapid or cataclysmic to permit successful adjustment;
10. posing of choices that are too large, complex, important, uncertain, or comprehensive to be safely left to fallible humans (p. 210).

Regardless of whether one adopts as realistic possibilities the problems anticipated by Harman (1974) or by Kahn and Bruce-Briggs (1972), there is a consensus that progress will bring problems. And many of these new problems may come to the attention of counseling psychologists: loss of privacy, dehumanization, too rapid change, problems of aging, dehumanization of ordinary work, and rebellion against nonmeaningful work.

The extent to which the world will change by 2000 A.D. may be viewed from many perspectives. As we try to envisage the change and begin to prepare for it, several different viewpoints are helpful. For example, writing in 1978, Stanovnik invited his readers to examine with him how 1975–77 looked from the perspective of the year 1950. From 1950 through 1977, the production of goods and services increased 300%. As he stated it:

May I remind you that humanity needed a few hundred thousand years to reach the level of gross national product by 1950 which, in one generation only, was to be trebled [p. 21].

He presented the impact of this period of time on energy consumption in similar dramatic terms:

During this period of 25 years we used just about four times more unrenewable geochemically stored energy resources, that is, about three to four times more than we were using in 1950. And may I remind you that this figure, trebled over a 25-year period, adds up to the total value and the total energy consumed by humanity since its inception [p. 21].

Futurists project an even faster rate of consumption and change over the coming decades than we have experienced in the past.

The population of the world is projected to increase dramatically, as has been noted before. It will also change markedly in its distribution. Echeverria (1978) captured both aspects of our expected changing population when he noted:

The population of the Third World represents, at present, three out of four human beings. By the year 2000, taking the hypothesis of a total population of 6900 million, 5400 million inhabitants will belong to the Third World. By the year 2018, when the world's population will have doubled out of a possible total population of 9710 million, 7730 million inhabitants would belong to the Third World [p. 19].

A world society already straining its expendable energy supplies and suffering famine in some countries is expected to double its population by the year 2018 A.D. This can only lead, if unprepared for, to great social disorganization and disruption.

Affluence, and with it increased consumption, has been frequently projected by futurists. This writer is particularly troubled by the increasing impact of inflation on our society and the inability of our government to control it. Inflation is seriously eroding any real change for the better in the economic circumstances of the overwhelming majority of society's members.

The impact of inflation is readily apparent in the headlines of today. A look back at price increases over the past several decades illustrates this point. The price of energy continues to soar. In Orange County, California, the *Daily Pilot* for May 14, 1979, reports that, since the beginning of 1979 alone, price increases look like this:

- a 24% increase in the price of regular gasoline
- a 21.3% increase for unleaded gasoline
- a 19.7% increase for premium gasoline [p. 5]

Projecting over a longer period of time, the *Daily Pilot* for May 13, 1979, reviewed the past 20 years (1959–1979) of price increases as an indication of the effects of inflation. Coffee increased from \$.59 a pound in 1959, to \$.65 in 1969, to \$.89 in 1974, and to \$2.09 per pound in 1979. A dozen eggs went from \$.35 in 1959 to \$.86 in 1979. One pound of butter cost \$.69 in 1959, \$.83 in 1969, \$.79 in 1974, and \$1.39 in 1979. Ground beef sold for \$.39 in 1959, \$.48 in 1969, \$.69 in 1974, and \$1.89 in 1979. A new sedan that cost \$1895 in 1959 sold for \$5999 in 1979. A one-bedroom apartment on Balboa Island in Newport Beach, California, rented for \$65 per month in 1959, \$120 in 1969, \$250 in 1974, and \$335 per month in 1979. The increase in interest rates on savings accounts went from 4% in 1959 to around 9½% in 1979. Mortgage rates have shown a parallel increase.

The point is that for the average citizen, the cost of everything is increasing at nearly a double-digit rate of inflation (perhaps exceeding 10% a year), and government seems incapable of stopping it. The costs of essentials of life such as housing, food, energy, and health care rise much faster than the earning power of the average citizen.

The potential for social disorganization, increased stress on individuals, technological development exceeding our capacity to harness it, the nuclear family structure under even more pressure, the consequences of excessive

consumption, and affluence eroded and distorted by inflation combine to present our society with a somewhat foreboding prospect for the future.

The discussion will now shift to the potential challenges for our profession in the world of the future and how we must change in order to have an effective role in 2000 A.D.

III. COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY IN THE YEAR 2000 A.D.

The definition of the profession of counseling psychology as it exists in the present and as it has existed in the past has been the subject of extensive debate (Whiteley, 1980). Implicit in the debate has been a set of assumptions about society and counseling psychology's role and unique contributions to that society and the individuals who compose it. Projecting ahead to the year 2000 A.D. requires an articulation of what society will be like. This has been attempted in the previous section. Counseling psychology's role in the future and its unique contributions are the subject of this section. The difficulty of the task is reflected in Gabor's (1969) observation that:

Trying to predict what the world will be like in the year 2000 A.D. would be hopeless. The space of possibilities is so multidimensional, and its limits are so frighteningly wide, that even a coarse description of the contingencies and their probabilities would take more words than have been used up since the discovery of writing [p. 156].

The approach Gabor chooses to follow is to specify how the world *should* be, then specify the obstacles. In his view, the world should be at peace, with no hunger, primary want, and so on. The obstacles to achieving this state for the world are relevant to counseling psychologists. The obstacles he identifies indicate problems of society that the profession might be able to address. Gabor's list of obstacles is in order of ascending difficulty: technical know-how; resources; economic obstacles; financial obstacles (abstract operations as contrasted to real goods and services); ignorance; lethargy; and religious and psychological obstacles.

Many of the difficult problems that society is expected to have in the year 2000, if Gabor is correct, can be traced to psychological and political obstacles to a more humane world. Additionally, preserving an acceptable quality of the physical environment in the face of excessive consumption, unrestrained depletion of nonrenewable natural resources, and a nearly doubling world population will bring increasing stress on people as more areas become urban, current urban areas become more crowded, and individuals are forced to be even more individually interdependent and subject to the breakdown of society's fragile structures for adequate food and energy supplies.

In counteracting the more stressful physical environment expected in 2000 A.D., counseling psychology can contribute by incorporating insights

from environmental psychology and environmental planning into its substantive base. The knowledge thus incorporated into the profession can be translated into both practice and research. In practice, environmental psychology and planning can help clients organize their immediate surroundings to reduce stress and be more productive. From a research point of view there is much to learn about counseling practice from incorporating environmental variables into research design. These variables have been insufficiently incorporated to date, a fact that has unnecessarily restricted research, particularly in group and family counseling.

Counseling psychologists have insufficiently incorporated life-span developmental psychology into the training curriculum. Recent issues of *The Counseling Psychologist* on women and adults have begun to address concerns covering the life span. The American Personnel and Guidance Association has developed a curriculum on aging, and *The Counseling Psychologist* is in the process of conceptualizing a special issue on aging.

Each phase of life has normal developmental tasks associated with it. The transitions between phases of life have special problems and stresses associated with them. Yet there are few, if any, counseling psychology training programs with courses on aging or life-span developmental psychology. This must be changed if we are to be able to help our clients throughout the life span, in the transitions between phases of life. As human life expectancy is extended by advances in nutrition and medicine, counseling psychologists can help individuals master the challenges associated with aging.

A problem our current society has not solved is how to provide for the continued growth of both the man and the woman in a marriage while at the same time assuring a nurturant and stable environment for their children. In the even more intricate society we expect in the year 2000 A.D., it is highly likely that the nuclear family will be under even greater pressure than it is today. Single-parent and aggregate (children from several marriages) families will increase in number.

In order for counseling psychologists to have the knowledge to assist their clients with the problems associated with changing roles for men and women, an evolving nuclear family structure, parenting and problems associated with child rearing, the basic curriculum of counseling psychology must be modified. As with courses on aging, courses on the psychology of men and women, sex roles, parenting, sexuality, and child rearing infrequently appear in the core programs of counseling psychologists.

Gabor (1969) wrote that both psychological and political impediments exist that interfere with achieving a world at peace. Counseling psychology as a profession can impact these by developing more refined approaches to building a psychological sense of community; helping individuals learn to identify their rights and those of others in a situation, then teaching them how to assert themselves to achieve what they want without violating the rights of others; problem solving and conflict resolution; decision making; and, social

organization self-renewal. All of these content areas are represented currently in aspects of some training programs. In order to become part of the professional repertoire of skills, these topic areas need to be better conceptualized, subjected to systematic research, and included within the accepted substantive bases of counseling psychology.

Institutional self-renewal will be increasingly important as we approach 2000 A.D. For example, Papaioannou (1969), who was quoted earlier, said that the slowness of institutional change will impede the application of advances in technology to peaceful uses, and Gabor (1969) noted the clash of wills in the political arena as impeding the achievement of peace. Counseling psychologists can apply their skills to problems of institutions and people as they relate in institutional contexts, helping them to change their institutions much more than they have in the past. Again, we need to develop the rationale for how our skills can contribute, and we must combine our professional skills into one basic professional curriculum and research program to apply to organizational problems.

Helping people benefit from advances in understanding the biological bases of living represents another content area that must be incorporated within counseling psychology training programs. The biological bases of behavior, particularly in learning, memory, and emotion, are being increasingly understood. Yet this new knowledge is only peripherally incorporated within the counseling psychology literature. Psychobiology as a content area should become part of our traditional curriculum, not a haphazard source of ideas for practice and research.

The increased importance of communications and information systems to effective living in 2000 A.D. has been repeatedly predicted. Counseling psychology has recently begun to incorporate some relatively elementary presentations about computer capability into courses intended to convey primarily statistics, data analysis, and research design. The potential for greatly improving career guidance through computer-based career information and decision-making systems has been partially explored. The systems developed so far hold promise for constructive future expansion. Too few counseling psychologists understand how these systems operate. Our training does not include enough background in information and computer science to prepare us to harness the capabilities of the improved systems expected in the future.

Finally, counseling psychology as a profession could benefit from a continued assessment of the future within its regular curriculum. Thinking and writing about the future increases the probability that it can be shaped in more positive directions from perceiving potential problems and working to solve them in constructive ways. As Kahn and Wiener (1967) put it, the result can be "to make the desirable more likely and the undesirable less likely" (p. 3).

Mobilizing the profession to think and rethink where it is going is both

hopeful and presumptuous. It is hopeful in the sense that it presupposes that people can rise to the challenge of solving their future problems. As Boissier-Palum (1978) wrote:

I have no wish to deny either that society is badly arranged and resources unequally distributed or the necessity of overhauling economics and creating a new international economic order. I do not deny the nuclear threat or the kind of self-destruction man is organizing around himself by destroying his environment. But in my view none of all that is really tragic: man is not lacking in intellectual resources, and the mind always finds a solution to any kind of difficulty [p. 61].

Although the future may look difficult, if not bleak, there is hope in the assumption that, as a profession and as a society, we can mobilize ourselves to directly influence the future in positive directions.

Thinking about and trying to shape the future is presumptuous in the sense that this generation of professionals is trying to directly influence the world that generations yet to come will inherit. Although others have done that before us, the need to consider and shape the future is greater now than ever before. As M'Bow (1978) phrased it:

the process of change which the world is undergoing is so rapid and so complex that decisions taken and choices made today can permanently affect the future. Moreover, if mankind is to live in peace and harmony, all the men and women who constitute it must realize what changes are needed both in the way they organize their own lives and the way they envisage their relations with others [p. 10].

Counseling psychology has a continuing role to play in helping people organize their lives and change how they relate to and with other human beings. Constant rethinking of that role is essential, however, if the role is to be implemented to its fullest potential.

IV. CONCLUSION

Counseling psychology has been defined traditionally in terms of three roles (Jordaan, Myers, Layton, & Morgan, 1968): the remedial or rehabilitative, the preventive, and the educative and developmental. There has been a continued debate (Whiteley, 1980; Ivey, 1976) over which role has primacy for counseling psychology. Implicit in this chapter is the assumption that all three roles are important and will continue to be so. Explicit is the assumption that, through the preventive and educative-developmental roles, counseling psychologists have the potential for increasing their impact on society and its members by devising new ways to impart the knowledge of the profession to a greater range of people and their institutions.

In order to have an increased impact in the changed world of 2000 A.D.,

counseling psychology will have to enlarge its substantive bases to include environmental psychology and environmental planning; life-span developmental psychology including aging, developmental tasks, and transitions between phases of life; the psychology of men and women, the growth of men and women within relationships, sex roles, parenting, sexuality, and child rearing; more refined approaches to building a psychological sense of community; assertion training and social organization self-renewal; psychobiology; information and computer science; and, finally, systematic study of the expected future and its alternatives.

How is it possible to expand the substantive bases of the profession without giving up what has been traditional within training programs or prohibitively expanding the time spent in formal training? The first approach is to enrich the formal intellectual content imparted during the year of pre-doctoral internship experience. This can be accomplished by developing self-contained, self-paced curriculum modules to be completed during the internship year. The second approach is to consider one year of post-doctoral study to be the normative training experience. The third approach is for counseling psychology to undertake more cooperative convention programming, research, and writing with groups such as environmental and developmental psychologists, psychobiologists, and marriage and family counselors. These groups are organized formally to accomplish their purposes, and we can gain much from affiliation with them.

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Chapter 15

Counseling Psychology: 2001

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Thinking about counseling psychology in the year 2000 first elicited from me, no matter how I struggled to think otherwise, a “wish list.” For my own catharsis, as well as to indicate my ideals for counseling psychology, let me first share that list. In the year 2000:

1. The latest issue of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* has yet another report of a ten-year follow-up of college students who received counseling. The results indicated (1) that the level of both self-report and inventory-measured aspects of career and quality of life satisfaction exceeded the levels from similar measures completed by the students in 1990 and (2) that the amount of increased satisfaction exceeded that of a control group of students who had not received counseling.

2. In the same journal, another study confirmed that rates of self- and other referrals for individual counseling, over a ten-year period, were significantly lower in groups of (a) elementary children, (b) high school students, (c) college students, (d) mid-life career changers, and (e) senior citizens who had been trained in “helping skills” and “self-management” programs as compared to similar groups of persons not so trained.

3. The newly normed computer-administered edition of the Tyler Life Style Inventory has been praised by reviewers, counselors, and clients. This inventory has been cited as the most valuable counseling tool developed in the past 20 years, aiding the development of clients’ and students’ planful choices among a variety of life styles of commitment to work and significant others.

4. The Department of Labor has continued its major grant program to a consortium of counseling psychology programs that have been designing computer-assisted career assessment and career counseling models for workers wishing (1) to develop skills in enriching their present job duties; (2) to upgrade skills for promotion within their fields; and (3) to change career tracts.

5. The latest *American Psychologist* announced the approval of the 50th counseling psychology training program and 100th counseling center internship, noting that the number of such programs had more than doubled in the past 20 years. Another article in the same journal, reviewing employment figures, indicated continued growth of positions in university counseling centers despite a lack of growth in number of college students.

6. The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) announced that it was now supporting over 50% of the approved counseling psychology training programs based on their innovative service delivery programs to populations not well served by other mental health professions.

7. Division 17 received letters of thanks and appreciation from the APA Board of Minority Affairs, the Ad Hoc Committee on Women, and the Task Force for Gay Male and Lesbian Psychologists indicating that, due in large part to the creative and zestful leadership of Division 17 members, the special needs that led to the creation of these groups have been well responded to on a continuing basis and that the board, committee, and the task force are ceasing their operation.

8. The American Psychological Association, the American Association of State Psychology Boards, and the National Register simultaneously passed policy statements that, hereafter, persons trained as psychologists to provide counseling or psychotherapy, whether in industrial, school, hospital, or community settings shall be known as health service psychologists. Graduates of clearly identified training programs who have satisfactorily met pre-doctoral training and internship standards of their programs and have satisfactorily completed supervised post-doctoral experiences will automatically be eligible for licensing/certification exams in all states and, given successful completion of a state exam, will be eligible for listing in the National Register. This listing will constitute eligibility for reimbursement for third-party payments regardless of the specific psychology training program label of the psychologist—for example, counseling psychology, clinical psychology, community psychology, school psychology.

9. The APA Executive Officer sent Division 17 a copy of a letter received from the Division of Clinical Psychology indicating that Division 17 membership is overrepresented on the boards and committees of the American Psychological Association.

While writing that list I was aware of two antithetical reactions. The first was “Will it really be the year 2000 before we realize such events?”; the second reaction, “It will never happen even by the year 2000.” As I will elaborate below, unless we radically change our present style of operation, it is very likely that counseling psychology in the year 2000 will not be very different from the field as we know it today. What are the realities of our profession that make it unlikely that much of my “wish list” will be realized even in the next 20-odd years? What positions and trends can be cited that make it understandable, and perhaps even preferable, that we continue “business as usual?” Are there actions we might consider as a profession that would help us identify specific goals for the future and how we might achieve them? My personal responses to these questions constitute the remainder of this paper.

The emphasis on the word personal in the preceding sentence is a poignant indicator of the primary reality that affects our profession. The immense diversity with which our profession views its goals, mission, and even its philosophical underpinnings is well documented (cf. Fretz, 1977).

Counseling psychology, it seems, is in the eye of the beholder. Further, whether or not this diversity in identity is problematic seems equally in the eye of the beholder (Super, 1977). Finding the tie that binds seems Sisyphean. The major implication of this diversity is that *there is little collective, long-sustained effort by any significant proportion of our profession toward any one goal*. The attainment of almost any of the goals enumerated above in my “wish list,” or in anyone else’s of similar scope, most likely requires a magnitude of continual professional collaboration that counseling psychologists have not demonstrated beyond that effort in the early 50s that gave birth to our profession.

The lack of broad-scale collaboration has had both scientific and practical implications. Counseling psychology has and remains reliant primarily on theories developed by other domains within psychology. Large-scale, programmatic research by even a handful of counseling psychologists is not visible. Our research accumulates rapidly but in very tiny steps, if at all, in a multitude of directions.

Turning more to professional development considerations, over the past several years, there have been proposals both from within and outside the profession for counseling psychologists to hold another conference like the Northwestern or Greyston Conference. At such a conference, we could, it is said, clarify and explicitly state our mission and the professional and public image we wish to promulgate. “Now that’s a good idea,” is as far as anyone seems to progress. In fact, there are at least two active resistances to arranging such a conference. First, some counseling psychologists have argued that our diversity is our strength, a vital component of the continued vitality of our profession, despite the lack of training grant support from NIMH or the National Science Foundation as clinical psychology has had, and often without significant support within the psychology profession. Would not any attempts to further specify our mission and goals result in a narrowing of definition, a consequential abandonment of some parts of our profession, and, at worst, weaken the “backbone” of a profession that has prided itself on wanting to produce people who are as ready to say “will do” as “can do” (versus “will not do because I have not been trained to do”)?

A second, less frequently overtly stated concern about a professional conference on counseling psychology is that one or more small homogeneous groups in the profession may not be interested in giving “air time” and public visibility to the views and interests of some other small, homogeneous groups within the profession. Do we really want to know what all those who identify themselves as counseling psychologists think counseling psychology should be? Do we want our professional colleagues in other fields of psychology and in mental health professions to know the full range of what some of our members would include in the rubric “counseling psychology?”

The current absence of a consensual, concise, explicit differential statement of our professional mission is a second reality that will probably keep us from attaining many of the possible goals stated at the beginning of

this paper. The lack of such a statement has been cited, informally, by both NIMH and APA as reasons for lack of greater support of counseling psychology training and representation. What do we do demonstratively different in training and service *that we can agree on that all counseling psychologists can and should do?* Without such a statement we are likely to remain in our less prestigious (Granger, 1959) position. Yet, as already noted, there are quite possibly significant losses associated with attempting to arrive at such a statement.

Both of these realities just cited—that is, the lack of collective long-sustained efforts by any significant proportion of our profession and the lack of an explicit statement of professional purpose—strongly affect, of course, the attainment of most any social-change goal that any of us might hold. Although we have seemingly been no more recalcitrant than any other branch of psychology in responding to social issues brought, usually with much effort, into our consciousness, we have seldom shown leadership in responding to these issues, with the exception, perhaps, of Division 17's development of standards for counseling and therapy with women. Given a lack of a clear consensus that it is even appropriate for our profession to be involved in such issues, we seem destined to be in a reactive rather than a proactive position for social issues, responding only when whipped into a raised consciousness by the latest identified group of unequally treated fellow humans.

A third reality that will no doubt limit our attainments is a severe limitation in our research methodologies. In the two scant decades since concerted efforts have been made in evaluating counseling and therapy (Rubinstein & Parloff, 1959; Volsky, Magoon, Norman, & Hoyt, 1965) we have seen little truly impressive new evidence on the effectiveness of counseling and therapy, with the possible exception of behavioristic approaches with highly circumscribed problems. [This is not to say no progress has been made in understanding the issues. Compare what now seems simplicity in process and outcome research in Volume 1 of Rubinstein and Parloff (1959) with Gelso's (1979) identification of the unavoidable problematic ramifications of the choice of any one research strategy.] The disappointments we have experienced in the hoped-for breakthroughs in innovative analyses ranging from Markov chains to $n=1$ designs may very reasonably lead us to believe that another 20 years will not result in a millennium of conclusive, confirmed effects of counseling interventions. On the other hand, the progress of the past 20 years argues equally well for the possibility that continued refinement of research strategies will lead to more meaningful practice and theory. (The use of the word *possibility* is deliberate in the preceding sentence—"business as usual" in our present research holds little promise for improving our profession. The plethora of unreplicated studies of often trivial relationships and artificially contrived situations can easily be matched by another similar plethora. The difficulties of a fine-tuned replication and extension seem all too often avoided for the unexplored but

relatively simple project easily done by comparing yet another two psychological measures not previously used in the same study.)

A related reality, for brief note, is that we must remind ourselves, when evaluating our professional interventions, that they are only temporally brief, no matter how important, interventions relative to the myriad forces that shape human development.

Two realities that no doubt will seriously constrain any hope we have for growth of our profession in its traditional higher education bastion are (1) decreasing college enrollments and (2) relatively poor standing in the priorities of university and college administrators. Student services are all too often the first to go in economically hard times. Yet again and again, at various campuses, when innovative programs effectively reach large numbers of students *and* counseling psychologists present and fight for their services, we find expansion of positions even in the face of declining resources. Before assuming the battle is over, can we ask ourselves “have we yet begun to fight?”

Another disturbing reality affecting potential employment opportunities is that many of the efforts toward licensing and credentialing, both within states and within organizations such as the Veterans Administration, are heavily dominated by clinical psychologists and often explicitly directed toward providing easy access into positions for that group only. Vigilance is needed to assure that, where counseling psychologists’ skills and training are suitable for positions to be filled, those in our profession are not arbitrarily discriminated against for having received their degree in programs with other titles. Laws such as the current Virginia one that requires anyone working in a community mental health center to be eligible for licensing as a clinical psychologist have the potential, if passed in other states, for eliminating what has been one of the most frequent sources of employment for recent graduates of counseling psychology programs (Banikiotes, Note 1). Ironically, community mental health centers are ideologically best suited to our field, given our orientation toward interventions with less disturbed, non-institutionalized patients.

A final reality I will note perhaps brings us full circle to the initial note of our past lack of collective sustained effort, toward any *one* goal, by any significant portion of our profession. The reality created by such a style for nearly 30 years is that we “are one down,” in gamesmanship terms, in most of the “games in town.” From the early prestige studies (Granger, 1959) to the Greyston Conference’s (1964) recognition of our second-class citizenship with regard to the National Institute of Mental Health, to our recent evidence of underrepresentation in the American Psychological Association, we are confronted with empirical evidence of the need to play “catch up,” most especially in the interprofessional relationship domain. As Avis has shown, being “Number 2” does not necessarily mean less visibility; however, it does mean having to try harder. Mills (Note 2) recently outlined a number of ways in which the profession, at large, can “try harder” to develop the professional status that for too many years was a single-handed fight by Barbara Kirk.

All of the above suggests that our field in the year 2000 may not be greatly different than in 1978. Are we that different now from what we were in 1956 (2000 minus 1978 = 1978 minus 1956)? Research strategies and training methods, although more systematic and refined, are not really radically different than those used in 1958. Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, & Epperson (1978) have concisely reviewed changes and developments in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, yet few will deny that in 1978 the *JCP* is clearly recognizable as a closer relative of the *JCP* of 1956 than any other contemporary professional journal.

The preceding paragraph is not to say that nothing will change, only that change seems more likely to be evolutionary than revolutionary, short of revolution in our techniques or in our social structure. As Osipow (1971) has noted, prediction is a very dangerous business, but yet one we can use to provoke ourselves into taking steps that can help us shape, as well as respond, to future events.

Several changes are in progress in the research, training, professional, and public fronts that are already helping our profession in the 1970s evolve toward some of the goals elaborated in the Greyston Conference, in *Journal of Counseling Psychology* editorials, and the like. Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, & Epperson (1978) note that the *Journal of Counseling Psychology's* most clearly identified mission is to publish research related to counseling. Ironically enough, although some persons would argue that even this statement represents an unfortunate narrowing of the domain, at least one study (Carskadon, 1978), shows that graduate students *outside* of counseling most frequently chose studies in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* as most interesting.

The profusion of studies on training models in the *JCP* has the potential for furthering the systematic features of counselor training. Certainly such research has helped new models of training from becoming more faddish than they already seem prone to become. Most counseling psychologists involved in educating counselors are well aware of the very facilitative developments that have occurred in prepracticum and beginning practicum training in the last decade.

The Counseling Psychologist has for the past decade provided manuscripts of broad interest that have received distribution well beyond the profession; the current arrangement with Brooks/ Cole Publishing Company further enhances that distribution and adds to the visibility of the profession.

Some new research areas have become part of our field, most employing fairly familiar research designs, but all adding to our understanding of human development. Research on career maturity, self-management, and structured groups have all brought significant changes to the repertoire of counseling psychologists' interventions. Extended and publicized, they not only can help meet the goals of our field for facilitating development but also can indicate our unique contributions to mental health and personal development. After a rocky beginning, computer-assisted counseling seems to hold promise for

making readily available, in an attractive format, both self- and career-choice appraisal, not only for traditional students but also for returning students and mid-life career changers.

On the professional front, programs and individuals have shown that progress can be made. NIMH has funded training in counseling psychology that demonstrates innovative training for serving underserved populations. By their own concerted efforts in nominating and supporting candidates, there has been some increased participation of counseling psychologists in the affairs of APA and related groups.

And so we might continue to evolve, congruent with our overarching goal of facilitating the development of the potential of all persons (Thompson & Super, 1964). Now, as in 1964, “what will actually happen will depend on our ability to derive strength from variety *and* [italics added] to achieve unity in diversity” (Thompson & Super, 1964, p. 26).

The tone of much of the preceding chapter has hardly been sanguine in terms of what we will probably realize versus what we might realize with more unity. On the other hand, with only minimal continuing attention to the kinds of vigilance and trends described in the preceding paragraphs, I believe we can maintain the niche we have been holding for the past two decades. If diversity is our strength, we must be prepared, with good British spirit, to muddle through again as we have muddled through before. The choices are ours. Counseling psychology in 2001 will most likely be more determined by what we do in 1979 and 1980 than what we do in the year 2000.

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Chapter 16

Counseling 2000: Time to Take Charge!

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In the wise choice of a vocation there are three broad factors: (1) a clear understanding of yourself, your aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations, and their causes; (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work; (3) true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts (Parsons, 1909, 1967, p. 5).

Currently, the specialty of counseling psychology is approaching a balance among emphases on contributions to (a) the development of the individual's inner life, (b) the individual's achievement of harmony with his or her environment, and (c) the influencing of society to recognize individual differences and to encourage the fullest development of all persons within it (APA, 1956, p. 283).

The counseling psychologist was defined in 1968 (Jordaan, Myers, Layton, & Morgan) as engaging in three primary roles. The first is the *remedial or rehabilitative* role, the second is *preventive*, and the third is *educative and developmental*. In essence, the report of the Professional Affairs Committee endorses this tripartite definition, but the ordering of primary roles has changed.

It is believed that the educational/developmental role of the counseling psychologist must now be considered primary with the preventive role serving as the secondary function. The traditional remedial and rehabilitative role is not discarded, but becomes subsumed under a clarified and enlarged definition of counseling psychology [Ivey, 1976, p. 72].

The best predictor of the future is the past. Vocational guidance and its child, counseling psychology, may be expected in the year 2000 to be still

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grappling with their identity. We will likely continue to examine and restate the basic Parsonian equation (understand oneself and the surrounding environment and match the two effectively) and we will also likely continue to argue the appropriate balance of education/development and prevention versus remediation. To some, this continual re-examination and self-study is counterproductive. However, I prefer to think of this aspect of ourselves as opportunity that leads to growth.

The thesis of this paper is that counseling psychology does have a clear and coherent identity. This identity is rooted in the past and provides clear guidelines for the future. There is no need for apology, no need for deep soul searching and stretching for a role in U.S. psychology. Counseling psychology is strong and well . . . it only need realize its strengths and move forward to future contributions. It is time to take charge!

Counseling psychology is perhaps rooted more clearly in the past than any other single discipline within the American Psychological Association. The conceptions of the individual in the Parsonian equation still stand us in good stead and now are reappearing in “person-environment interaction” and “social ecology” conceptual frames (c.f. Barker, 1964; Davis & Schmidt, 1977; Hunt & Sullivan, 1974; Moos & Insel, 1974). The issue of education/development and prevention as compared to traditional remedial approaches is also popular in the current literature (c.f. Albee, 1968; Authier, Gustafson, Guerney, & Kasdorf, 1975; Cowen, Gardner, & Zax, 1967; Morrill, Oetting, & Hurst, 1974). A review of these articles and books and the many others on similar topics reveals that psychology is in many ways repeating itself. Each repetition, of course, brings new themes and variations on older conceptual frames and enriches the broad framework.

Counseling psychology in its constant search for an identity seems to have forgotten that it indeed does have a strong and well-documented history and purpose—the *reasoned search for individual-society or person-environment connectedness leading to the growth of both individual persons and their significant others (family, groups, organizations, institutions)*. The major prediction of this article is that counseling psychology in the year 2000 will be much like it was in 1909, 1936 (c.f. Paterson & Darley, 1936), 1964, and is at present. Being the same, however, does not mean that we do not change and revise our views and methods. The purpose of the remainder of these pages is to examine some of the ways counseling psychology may look in the year 2000.

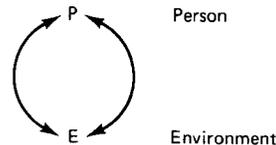
Six predictions for the year 2000 follow. In some ways, the predictions are modest, for they essentially say that our past as counseling psychologists is our future. Yet, new technologies, new theories, and new reworkings of old theories provide a sense of excitement and hope as we look forward. Further, if we consider our vocational roots, the directions of the future somehow make more sense. Counseling psychology, so often in search of identity, has forgotten that the best identity is what one is “right now.” And right now and in our past, the identity of counseling psychology is solid.

SIX PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR 2000

1. The "Parsonian error" will be corrected by more in-depth understanding of person-environment transactions. Although Frank Parsons is to be admired for his foresight and wisdom, he committed a basic error that counseling (and other) psychologists continue to make. Although he talked about the need for consideration of both individual and environmental interventions in the early stages, Parsons gave his primary attention to the individual and too often sought to adapt that individual to her or his surroundings. Although an activist and committed to social change, Parsons found it easier to study the individual and to seek change there rather than in the environment. Accepting the environment as given may result in unintentional oppression of and injury to the client. This is the essence of the Parsonian error.

Counseling and counseling psychology too often fall into the same error. Our roots and training are in environmental intervention, but, in truth, counseling remains primarily an individual process. We have not yet learned how to "counsel" the environmental surround. Despite efforts in environmental ecology, community psychology, and outreach programming, we inevitably return to the individual. A single client is more manageable and understandable than the complexity surrounding her or his development.

By the year 2000, however, it may be anticipated that person-environment *transactions* will be the prime focus of counseling psychology. The word transaction is potentially important for it forces one's attention to the interacting relationship between a person and the environmental surround. Lewin's (1935) classic equation Behavior = Function (Person, Environment) unfortunately tends to focus on behavior, giving insufficient attention to transaction. Other person-environment models tend to center either on the person as the prime target or on the environment. In truth, person-environment transactions are best viewed in a circular relationship:



In this visual model it becomes clear that the environment shapes the person *and* that the person simultaneously shapes the environment. The focus for change interventions must be on the transactions between the two rather than solely on careful analysis of each. Persons do not exist outside the environment nor does the environment exist without persons.

The importance of person-environment transactions for the future of counseling psychology cannot be overstressed. A focus on transaction rather

than person or environment leads the counselor or therapist to focus on interactive processes and the connectedness of environments and persons. By the year 2000, it may be anticipated that "individual counseling" and "system intervention" will be considered quaint echoes from the past. The Parsonian error of separating individuals from the environment will be corrected. Replacing these concepts will be transactional counseling approaches that emphasize person and environment in relation one to another.

2. *Decision making will become increasingly recognized as a central core of the transactional counseling approach.* Any intervention a counseling psychologist makes is based on a decision to act. The counseling interview involves a decision to commit oneself to one-on-one helping, to use a certain theory, to talk to a client in a certain way. Environmental interventions require parallel decisions. The transactional approach, in which both person and environment are examined, also requires a decision process somewhat more complex due to interlacing factors.

D'Zurilla and Goldfried (1971) and Heppner (1978) consider the counseling process a problem-solving or decision-making apparatus. The effective interview seems to follow the pattern of: (1) problem definition in the early stages of the interview; (2) generation of alternatives in the middle or work stages of the session (via an array of alternative theories of action); and (3) commitment to action based on these alternatives (Ivey, in press). Similarly, environmental and transactional interventions follow the same process.

The theoretical models of George Kelly (1955) may be especially important in the development of new ways to conceptualize the helping process as decision. Kelly's framework stresses the person as scientist making hypotheses about a complex and changing world and then testing these hypotheses. The work of George Kelly can be considered a rather broad-based decision model with many specific ideas for determining correct actions on the part of the counselor or therapist. His five-step assessment model provides a broad basis for counselor action that has never been given full attention by our profession: (1) identify the client's problem; (2) identify how the client views the world; (3) determine the client's environmental and situational context; (4) examine your own theories and constructs about the client; (5) make a joint decision with the client what to do next.

The final realization of how decision making and careful assessment relate to the interventions of the counseling psychologist will lead to more systematic action. Among these actions will be a more computer-assisted counseling, a stronger emphasis on psychoeducation models, an emphasis on action and evaluative research, more complete awareness of broad social variables such as economic factors on individuals, and greater emphasis on physical dimensions of healthy living. Out of these new knowledges will develop an increasing awareness of the possibilities of effective use of matching models in education and counseling. The complexity of these new

models will only serve to underscore the importance of person-environment transactions and the decisional process underlying them all.

3. *The psychoeducational model will gain increasing strength and popularity.* As Authier, Gustafson, Guerney, and Kasdorf (1975) have noted, the traditional model used by counselors since the time of Frank Parsons is one of abnormality (problem or illness) → diagnosis → prescription → therapy → cure. The psychoeducational model, on the other hand, suggested that helping be construed in terms of client dissatisfaction (or ambition) → goal setting → skill teaching → satisfaction or goal achievement. In the medical model the counselor decides to find out what is wrong with the client; in the psychoeducational model the counselor listens to the client's decision and seeks to help the client reach her or his own goal.

Routes toward interpersonal transactional effectiveness (or *intentionality*, c.f. Ivey, 1971; Ivey, in press) include training in helping skills (for example, Danish & Hauer, 1973; Carkhuff, 1969; Kagan, 1975; Ivey & Gluckstern, 1974, 1976), values clarification (for example, Simon, Howe, & Kirschenbaum, 1972), family education (Guerney, 1977), and many other alternatives. The thrust of these teaching efforts is to provide skills and qualities whereby people can manage their own lives more effectively.

The psychoeducational model thus far, however, has focused primarily on individual growth and development. Relatively little attention has been given to helping people and their institutions understand and work with the management of their surroundings. Lewis and Lewis' *Community Counseling* (1977) provides an important base for the next psychoeducational leap into the future. They accurately point out the importance of training people in the community to understand the concepts of their relationships not only to one another, but also to larger systems. Outreach efforts and community psychology clinics and mental health centers are useful beginnings, but they tend to fall more into the remedial, medical model of the past. True community counseling will require the training of people to manage their own communities and this would, of necessity, require a psychoeducational model.

The counseling psychologist of the future will be a psychoeducator, but her or his work will move far beyond that of present-day psychoeducation and will focus on the critical person-environment transactions that occur in the community. Welfare systems, Social Security, courts, economic monopolies, and many other systematic causes of individual oppression will increasingly play a part in the lives of an enriched counseling psychology. The dreams of Frank Parsons of people and their institutions interacting harmoniously with each other and simultaneously growing will seem more reachable—or at least the issues required to reach the Parsonian dream will be clearer by the year 2000.

4. *Cultural and social differences will be increasingly stressed in the person-environment transaction and in counseling.* Counseling theories tend to come from White middle-class frames. As one becomes increasingly aware

of the specifics of counseling and environmental intervention (particularly when a careful assessment of the transaction is completed), one becomes immediately aware that men react differently from women and have differing needs, that Blacks and Whites may respond differently to the same problem, and that the rich and poor view the world differently. It is becoming transparently clear that the theories and methods of the past are inadequate to meet the needs of the many special populations we face.

The future calls for new approaches to old problems. Sue (1977) points out that the processes and goals of present-day helping are inappropriate for many people. The cross-cultural training methods of Pedersen (1973) are one effective method to bring people to increased cultural awareness via a psychoeducational approach. The literature of counseling psychology is expanding rapidly in this area and the findings will result in an approach to the person-environment transaction perhaps far different than we can visualize now.

5. *Psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics will become an important basis for understanding the person-environment transaction.* Kelly (1955) has noted that how one thinks about the problem via personal constructs may be as important as the problem and sometimes even more important. If we are to understand people and the way they transact with the environment, we need to know how they think. The personal construct system of Kelly is an important beginning. However, *the constructs people use are manifested in the words and sentences they utter.* Thus, the systematic study of language and language systems as part of counselor training will become increasingly important.

Drawing on Chomsky (c.f. 1965), Ivey (1977) has commented that the goal of helping is freeing individuals to generate new sentences. Freudian clients tend to produce intellectualized analytic sentences, behavioral clients concrete behavioral sentences, Gestaltists here-and-now Fritz Perls' type sentences. Each helper has "freed" the client to generate new words and sentences via the constructs of his or her theory. It should be noted that helping that tends to emphasize only one theoretical alternative fails to consider steps 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Kelly's assessment model in that the therapist simply "lays on" a theory without really assessing where the client is "coming from." Thus, although such theories may help clients grow, clients tend to grow in the model of the theory rather than in the model of their own personal theory or construct system.

Through the detailed analysis of sentences, syntax, and grammar, the operation of decision processes in language will become more apparent, and through this analysis the decisional process that is counseling will become more apparent. The precision afforded by language analysis will lead to improved computer counseling programs for individuals and to computer modeling for analysis of person-environment transactions. Already, the microcounseling model (Ivey & Authier, 1978; Evans, Hearn, Uhlemann, & Ivey, 1979) is being adapted to computer-assisted instruction with anticipa-

tion of systematic analysis of appropriate and inappropriate client responses. Counseling as decision process, of course, melds well with computers. The Bandler and Grinder (1975) and Grinder and Bandler (1976) two-volume series will prove especially important in the ensuing years as they represent an important beginning for bridging the gap between linguistic and counseling theory.

6. *A new synthesized metatheoretical framework for counseling and psychotherapy interventions will evolve.* With an increasing awareness of person-environment transaction complexities, the psychoeducational model, systematic decisional processes, cultural and social differences, and the linguistic base of the entire process, the final gasp of “my theory is better and more perfect than your theory” will be heard. The question now being asked, “which theory or therapy for which individual under which conditions?” will within the next five years offer practical guidance for the beginning counselor. Out of this awareness will evolve a gradual synthesis of old theories into new perspectives more metatheoretical in nature.

Eclecticism is based on drawing from many theories as one “feels” appropriate. Eclecticism is a “lazy” theory as it lacks a rationale for choices. Kelly has noted that as eclecticism becomes more systematic, it tends to lose its eclectic flavor. As research and practice increasingly show similarities and systematic differences among theories and the differential effectiveness of each with different problems, counseling psychologists will discover that certain client and environmental variables lead them to select certain treatment procedures consistently. With this realization, interest in metatheory—theory about theory—will increase. Counseling psychologists will no longer be satisfied with one theory or with the seemingly random selection of treatment techniques; they will be searching for logical consistency in their procedures, and, as this consistency evolves, eclecticism, which now ranks as the “theory” of choice for most counselors, will lose favor to systematic metatheoretical approaches that provide a rationale for what one is doing.

An example of the metatheoretical approach may be found in Ivey (in press). Ivey points out that the counseling interview is a complex process involving many dimensions simultaneously—decision making, use of microskills, use of qualities of empathy, cross-cultural sensitivity, nonverbal behavior, personal qualities of the therapist and the client, specific-surface and deep-structure sentences generated by both client and counselor, and the many alternative theories of individual and environmental interventions available to the client. Failure of the counselor in any of these areas may result in poor or destructive counseling and environmental interventions. To cope with this vast array of variables systematically, skilled assessment procedures, likely modeled after the concepts of Kelly, are required. As assessment is coupled with an understanding of the interview, the life context of the client, and, most importantly, the person-environment transaction, a metatheoretical position evolves, and the helper is confronted with the fact that he or she

does really know what is being done and why. Metatheoretical explorations will raise counseling psychology to new and promising heights of effectiveness. Not only will counseling be “for better or worse,” it will also make a difference in the lives of others.

*SUMMARY: THE MORE WE REALIZE WE ARE THE SAME,
THE MORE WE SHALL CHANGE*

The practice of counseling and of counseling psychology has clearly changed since the time of the Boston Vocational Bureau. The sophistication of our methods and concepts has increased manifold. Yet, the basic issues of managing and facilitating effective person-environment transactions remain the focus of our work. Counseling in the past was (and still often is) practiced in an office where an individual comes for analysis, advice, and guidance. Suggestions were (are) made to enable the individual to adapt to the environment, the “system.”

As counseling has developed, vocational guidance has, to some extent, lost favor. Most likely, this is because the vocational world is so closely related to interpersonal development and the study of the individual and her or his complexities that it is somehow more manageable than the complex person-environment transactions. Counseling psychologists are most likely to be found in middle-class offices talking to relatively verbal clients. The problems have expanded to the social and personal area with vocational issues often taking a back seat. The new movement toward outreach and community psychology has taken counseling psychologists out of their offices and onto the campus and into the streets. Group programs, paraprofessional training, and other innovations have changed the mode of delivery of services. Although the prime emphasis is still on individuals, the Parsonian error of too much attention to the client without considering environmental possibilities has been at least partially corrected. However, we tend to work with individuals *or* systems and still too seldom consider the transaction between them.

For the future, one can predict a counseling psychologist who will be skilled in one-to-one counseling but will be more interested in teaching what he or she knows to others via the psychoeducational model. And, with each individual or group with whom the counseling psychologist works, the emphasis will be first on the transactions, then on the environment. Where necessary, individual counseling interventions will be initiated, but more often systemic and planned interventions to facilitate change and growth in *both* the person and the environment may be expected.

Underlying this model will be an increased awareness of the decisional model underlying the structure of the helping interview, planned change in institutions or environmental services, and the decisional process of the client. Decision making is not new, but our understanding of the process will lead to many new discoveries. Facilitating the decisional process will be computer-

assisted counseling and computer modeling of alternative futures. Aiding in this process will be an increased awareness of the linguistic frames that organize the helping process. Awareness of cultural and social differences will increase.

Vocational counseling is a special example that illustrates the importance of person-environment transactions, the decisional process, and the value and worth of psychoeducation. Career education is a well-tested and highly developed form of psychoeducation that can provide useful models for human growth and development in other areas. The decisional models of vocational counseling have direct analogs for a more complete understanding of the decisions that underlie personal and social counseling. A weakness of vocational counseling, however, has been insufficient emphasis on efforts to change the settings in which people work. As vocational counselors and counseling psychologists have studied the individual, the tendency has been to examine how the person can change and adapt to the environment. A person-environment transactional view requires more in-depth study and action with and on the environment. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have talked about "symbolic violence" that manifests itself in a culture that fails to consider how institutions and work environments oppress people. Professionals can be guilty of symbolic violence even when seeking to help a client in the most kindly and helpful fashion. Unless people are made aware of the vital importance of their unique personal and group relationships with the social environment (sex, age, race, socioeconomic class, and so on), vocational (and personal) counseling are incomplete.

Finally, we may expect to find that new metatheoretical and integrative helping theories will replace the competing models of the present. The increasingly popular question, "Which treatment for which individual (or system) at what time and under what conditions?" will have some important beginning answers. Basic to any metatheoretical statement that evolves will be an awareness of person-environment transaction. And with this increased awareness of how people transact with their environments, we will look back and speculate on the wisdom of Frank Parsons and the Boston Vocational Bureau and realize that counseling psychology is still doing what it did over 100 years ago, but we will be doing the same job with considerably increased effectiveness. Our past is our future, but we must remake and reshape it constantly.

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Chapter 17

On Beating Dead Horses

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I have mixed feelings in commenting on counseling psychology in 2000. Given the genuine concern and doubt I have about the future of this field, that may be appropriate. Admittedly, I have never been ideologically comfortable with the present. I felt that discomfort with the reductionism of Carl Rogers' belief that feelings were the core dimension of human being and growth and that the quality of the counselor's relationship with the client was the profession's most important tool. Rogers was like the Venus de Milo. What there was of him was excellent. But there was, in his writing, no definition or theory of psychological growth, no acknowledgement of the extraordinarily complex and different dimensions (cognitive, moral, social, aesthetic, vocational) on which people live and grow; apparently no differences in clients; an ethical relativism about clients' behavior (how does one unconditionally value a child molester or an anti-Semite?) and a touching, if subtle, way to help everyone. Indeed I believe client centered counseling never was a practicable nor productive goal for psychologists dealing with students' growth and learning in schools. (I recognize that a preoccupation with students and schools is my reductionism!) Rather, it was a splendid myth transposed from the university psychiatric clinic to the public school. The result has been a crippling preoccupation with individual children (and very few of them) rather than the social organizations (family, classrooms, school) affecting them; with feelings as the be all and cure all, and with individual treatment, not prevention.

Nor am I ideologically comfortable with the frantic search for new human aberrations (for example, counseling "gays" or transsexuals) or clients ("recreational" counseling—whatever happened to travel agents?) or for the security blankets of licensure or APA program accreditation that characterize the field today. Job security and third-party payments from insurance companies or the feds are understandable motives. Licensing the "real" psychologists is familiar guild behavior. But the underlying ethic is exclusionary, undemocratic, and privatistic. Psychology isn't to be given away for the general good or welfare; rather, licensed counselors are going to

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get their piece of the pie. And they are to provide and be paid for *mental health services*. As my colleague, Chris Kehas, notes, the irony is that our field began in an effort to wrest the provision of psychological services from the hegemony of medicine and psychiatry. I am reminded of the French expression: *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

As a counselor educator, I find APA curricular and program guidelines to represent obvious political compromises. A course is to be required with my colleagues in physiological psychology as is a course with the experimentalists, and so on. Similarly, the equation of a program in general psychology with counseling psychology seems a definitional cop-out.

A colleague, known for telling directness, said to me on reading John Whiteley's request for a commentary on counseling psychology in 2000: "Does that field still exist?" My own view is that counseling psychology is like the Wizard of Oz at the moment of truth with Dorothy, the Scarecrow, the Tin Woodsman, and the Cowardly Lion. It is apparent that behind the pomp and the mystery is one very frail, aging wizard who is fresh out of magic. If one looks behind the curtain, as Dorothy did, an equally plausible interpretation is of entropy, even moribundity, in what was once a significant ideological and professional movement in American psychology and education.

Having gotten some of the gas off my stomach, let me address several generic problems that counseling faces. How we solve these will, in my opinion, determine our future. A first problem is that there is no unifying theory in this field. I am not aware of any philosophical agreement as to what counseling psychology is. Is the objective to ameliorate human pain and confusion? To promote human development and dignity? To treat neuroses (or, now that they have been done away with, depressive, or other disorders)? Do we seek human bedevilment or actualization, and is our focus on humankind's thinking, behavior, work, emotions, or philosophy of life? Are Freud, Rogers, Skinner, Ellis, and Perls all right?

Of more concern is the absence of systematic theory building, except perhaps for the developmentalists. Nor does there appear the likelihood of a "Council of Trent." I suspect this is because of the diminished influence both of theorists and of university training programs in counseling psychology. Whatever the causes, without unifying theory and vigorous research I believe we will go into decline or Balkanization with what we have. And I fear there may be a tendency to lash ourselves to the mast of psychological disorder, psychodiagnosis, and some version of psychotherapy.

In this connection, my own theoretical biases are on record in this journal. Beating dead horses (my own or others') is an unsavory occupation. Nonetheless, I am concerned with preparing counselors, psychologists, educators, and human service personnel who intend to work in educational institutions: elementary school, high school, college. The traditional conceptions of psychological disorder, individual treatment, and psychotherapy are, I submit, inappropriate to the public practice of psychology in schools.

I assume, with John Dewey, that human development is the aim of education. Human development, and education to stimulate it, are conceived holistically. Thus cognitive, moral, ego, affective, aesthetic, vocational, and physical development should be the objects both of theoretical study and applied research and intervention. Modern developmental psychology (as represented by the work of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Loevinger) is the most persuasive base for understanding these interrelated strands of human growth and competency. Developmental curriculum through counseling and teaching are the educational means to stimulate the various aspects of personal development—that is, human cognition, moral reasoning, affectivity, and so on. The profound effect of social institutions (for example, the school, the classroom, and the family) on child and adolescent development must also be studied within a framework of social psychology, democratic political theory, and organizational analysis. To change these institutions I believe the primary models should be school and classroom democracy and education for democratic decision making in families. And that will involve counselors with the personal development of *all* children, education to that end, consultation with the many others (teachers, administrators, and parents) who affect childrens' growth, and intervention in the climate and structures of the school as an organization. I am not so egocentric as to ask that all of counseling psychology adopt only this preventive developmental ideology. But we desperately need some agreement as to our essential *raison d'etre*.

A second concern is that counseling psychologists operate in a progressively reduced and besieged arena of practice. My impression is that the only preserves in which they may be found in their "pure" state are in university counseling bureaus. I am doubtful that any very generalizable knowledge or influential initiatives can be launched from such isolated redoubts. School counselors are an endangered species in the era of Proposition 13. I think this is not simply a result of the hard times that currently beset human, social, and educational services. We have chosen to devote 85% of our attention to 10–15% of the population, whether in schools or the community. Not only is it ethically untenable to allocate publicly supported psychological services to so few people, it is stupid politics. How many clients are there to really give a damn about what happens to counselors?

In my view the solution lies, in George Miller's phrase, in giving psychology away to the people—to women, Blacks, parents, police, clergy, adults especially, community-groups: to those people who need psychological knowledge and who, willy nilly, provide psychological services. I do not propose, however, that we give away the same services of psychodiagnosis and psychotherapy. Rather, we need to develop new conceptions and new ways of helping the development of individual human dignity for all or self-realization within the community. Teaching police officers to counsel families or fellow officers, training inmate leaders to counsel other prisoners, educating parents

and adolescents in democratic family decision making are examples of what I mean. And there are other proven examples, for those who choose to look.

My final concern has to do with how we generate the wit and, more importantly, the will to insure the future of our profession. Entropy bears heavily on all of us. As President Giamatti of Yale has said (Henry, 1978, p. 52): "We are coming to the end of the 20th century, and the knowledge we bear weighs heavy. Part of our knowledge is the realization that systems, technological and ideological, in which we had such faith, have their limits, and that we may have reached those limits and are being left with only the fragments of our hopes." Following short-term trends or styles in the marketplace (third-party payments, private practice), settling for a creditable competence in our craft, has much appeal. Our present crisis can, however, be one of opportunity and obligation. To quote Giamatti again (Henry, 1978, p. 52), "Because the next years in our enterprise of education will be difficult, because nothing one can see will make them easy, our faith in ourselves and our courage to do what we believe in must be all the stronger." My own belief is that those able to perceive and help create the future will inherit it. Powerful ideas can affect history. Let me reiterate one among several possible visions for that part of our enterprise having to do with educating the young.

We must commit our profession to the personal development of all our people. Every individual (whether Black, female, poor, uneducated, adult, or middle-class college student) should have equal access to our profession. We need to understand and support normal human development and competence, and for education and psychology to effect that aim, to prevent significant numbers or groups of people becoming fixated at lower levels of development or competence, is a far more profound social purpose than therapy for the privileged few. Developmental psychology will be the predominant psychology of the last quarter of the century; developmental practice in education and psychology is imminent.

Further, self-realization can only occur optimally within a community. Individuation presses peculiarly on American youth, but self cannot be actualized without society and social participation. That means it is vitally important for us to understand the effect of our social institutions (for example, schools, classrooms, families, community organizations) on the development of individuals. Reciprocally, we need to contribute psychological knowledge and experience to the development of people who, as adults, are committed to their society and the common good. What we have done as a profession is to make people *less*, rather than more, confident and competent in their ability to help or to care redemptively for one another.

Dewey (1950) said part of this indelibly: "Democracy has many meanings, but if it has a moral meaning, it is found in resolving that the supreme test of all political institutions and industrial arrangements shall be the contribution they make to the all around growth of every member of society" (p. 147). Additionally, psychology can make a tangible contribution to empowering beleaguered intermediate social institutions such as the school

and the family, which function between the bureaucratic state and the alienated individual. Giving the special psychological and developmental knowledge we possess to the people (for example, teachers, students, administrators, parents) in those intermediate institutions that have such pervasive effects on youth development is but one example of a public and preventive rather than a private practice. An even more profound public practice can emerge. School, classroom, and family democracy are powerful models for helping people and their society to create a fuller life. Educators, psychologists, parents, and *most particularly the young* can learn to reconstruct these institutions so that they contribute to enhanced human fulfillment and social democracy. That vision is as revolutionary and as powerful a basis for collective action now as it was two centuries ago.

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Chapter 18

Toward Counseling Psychology in the Year 2000

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The only way to forecast any event is to review the data and try to extrapolate. With that principle in mind, I see a number of very specific trends operating at the present time in the profession of counseling psychology that, if followed to their ultimate end, would lead to some rather interesting developments in the next 20 years or so. Any predictor, however, must recognize that events interact, so that today's trends will produce a counterbalancing effect that will alter the direction these trends take, moderate the rate of their development, and in some way serve as an equalizing force to prevent trends from reaching what might be their natural ultimate by extrapolating from the present.

With those disclaimers in mind, let me suggest several possible items about counseling in the year 2000. First, I predict a continuation of the blurring of the human service specialties in psychology to the point where functionally specialties will be very discreet but nominally they will not. It would not surprise me to see no distinction among the specialty areas in psychology by name, such as clinical, counseling, school, and so on, but I do expect to see highly differentiated functional specialties with regard to the nature and services provided, defined largely in terms of agency settings, goals, populations served, skills and techniques applied, and the like.

Because of the formalized "credentialing" process now in its infancy, it would not surprise me to see that there were more than 300 APA-approved professional psychology training programs (so named) by the year 2000, producing "properly accredited and trained" professional psychologists to provide services in a broad context of human needs.

A second current trend that is evident that will, in my opinion, have a very important impact in counseling psychology is generated by the third-party payment trend. It seems likely that the continuing trend will be toward services provided by the private sector as opposed to the public institutional sector and that these payments will be supported by both private and public

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health insurance funds. This will mean that, whereas in 1950 it was a rare event to see independent practitioners in psychology, by the year 2000 we may have as much visibility in private independent practice as lawyers and physicians do now (if we do not already), with all the corollary problems and benefits to ourselves and to the public. One of the positive features of the independent practice trend should be to remove us from the medical model, thus freeing us to develop innovative methods and settings. Our impact in health psychology should be major.

More substantively, one can now see a trend that should result in highly programmed services available to deal with very highly specialized problems or situations. Career counseling will not just deal with issues of career choice and adjustment, for example, but probably the mental health specialist in career development will have at his or her disposal a series of highly specified programmed techniques to apply to a wide range of concerns that people relate to their careers. A clinical practitioner dealing with family and marriage problems will similarly be likely to have a "cookbook" of techniques to apply to the problems that his or her clientele present. The mental health specialist dealing with the aged population should have a programmed set of gerontological interventions.

These services will probably actually be highly behavioral in nature, which will have the concomitant effect of depersonalizing professional psychological services. This depersonalization will likely enhance the development of specialized services involving humanistic interventions that will focus on human relations, training, interpersonal skills, the display of empathy and warmth, and, in general, provide the kind of nurturing, warm, human interactions that people have found very satisfying in counseling up to the present time.

Another trend that exists now and that should be in full sway in 20 years is the development of a good data base to substantiate the provision of services. At the present time, too much of what we do is intuitive and based on extrapolations from data we already have. The amount that we have to extrapolate and the gaps that have to be covered by intuition hopefully should be substantially reduced in 20 years as we accumulate increasing amounts of data to indicate the impact of various interventions on various human needs.

Specifically, I expect counseling psychologists to be working more extensively than now with the aged, those in mid-life, and in family settings. Furthermore, the consultative role is likely to be expanded for counseling psychologists and will probably see counseling psychologists involved in environmental design, health (not sickness) settings, legal settings not restricted to the expert-witness role, and contributing to the development of social policy in significant ways.

Of a professional nature, I would predict the following: Counseling psychologists will be found in increasingly diverse situations and will be very widely accepted. They may continue to be the closest thing to the general practitioner that the mental health specialties provide. We may not be called

counseling psychologists anymore, and I suspect that we will still be looking for our identity. It would not surprise me to see an edition of *The Counseling Psychologist* (renamed *The Professional Psychologist in Counseling*) devoted to the issues of who we are and what we are all about, sometime in the year 1999.

In sum, the picture of counseling in the year 2000 is very difficult to draw in a way that looks entirely attractive to me. I believe that there are sufficient trends existing now to indicate that counseling psychology as a specialty may be impossible to differentiate from other human service specialties, the result of which will be a loss of certain kinds of useful services to the consumer. On the positive side, what we are engaged in then we will probably perform more effectively.

Chapter 19

The Next Twenty Years

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One of the most important contributions that today's futurists are making to our thinking is the concept of *alternative* projections. No longer are we assuming that what will be is determined by what is and what has been. Forecasting the future requires imagination rather than straightforward deductive reasoning, and the forecasts themselves can influence the shape of things to come. In this instance, the fact that several counseling psychologists have been invited to make these forecasts, independent of one another, insures that there will indeed be alternative pictures of the year 2000 for readers to consider. Here is one of them.

During the next 20 years, the boundaries between counseling and the related psychological specialties will become more and more tenuous until they disappear altogether. Counseling psychology as such will cease to exist. Already in the 70s, there is no clear distinction between the work that clinical psychologists and counseling psychologists do. Counseling psychologists in government service are able to change their classification when they see any advantage in doing so. College counseling centers welcome clinical psychologists to their staffs. Counseling and clinical psychologists who set themselves up in independent practice are not distinguishable in the eyes of the public, and state certification and licensing boards usually make no distinction. The newer specialty, community psychology, overlaps both of them. Under proposed reorganizations of the American Psychological Association, present divisions are likely to disappear, and all psychologists whose primary interest is in helping people manage their lives more effectively will probably wind up in the same subassociation.

This does not mean that specialization will have disappeared, but rather that individual psychologists will specialize more narrowly in particular kinds of service to particular kinds of people. Graduate education will equip them with a broad and deep background of research-based psychological knowledge and a high level of proficiency in general human relations skills, such as "listening with the third ear," interviewing, assessing abilities and personality characteristics, establishing and maintaining constructive personal relationships, and leading discussion groups.

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The specialization will occur when the psychologist starts to work. The nature of the agencies in which this work is done will have altered considerably by the year 2000. With the passage of national health legislation and the setting up of hundreds of health maintenance organizations responsible for promoting mental as well as physical health, the need for specialized agencies—such as agencies serving only college students, veterans, industrial accident victims, the poor, or the aged—will have disappeared. The point of contact for all of these kinds of people will be the community HMO, the staff of which will include professional persons with a wide variety of specialized skills.

Individual psychologists will probably change their specializations several times during their careers as they develop interests in new kinds of problems and people. Whether or not such shifts occur, continuing education will be universally available and required. Through workshops, short courses, internships, and many other channels still to be explored, every psychologist will keep in touch with the new research and practice in one or more specialties.

By the year 2000, very little of most psychologists' time will be devoted to psychotherapy, defined as the detailed exploration of the developmental and motivational roots of present difficulties by means of interview procedures. The "fifty-minute hour" will be mainly a historical curiosity. Already in the 60s and 70s, follow-up studies have raised serious questions about its effectiveness in curing neurotic conditions or enabling people to cope more successfully with life's challenges. For the support and understanding they need in struggling with their problems, many individuals are turning to self-help groups rather than to psychotherapists. By the year 2000 this will have become the standard practice.

The role of the psychologist will be that of consultant to such groups rather than director. He or she will serve as middleman (or middlewoman?) making available to the group the psychological expertise it needs to operate effectively. Dissemination of psychological information will also involve the psychologist in various other activities, such as teaching short courses, preparing programs for computer-assisted instruction, and preparation of booklets, pamphlets, and tapes.

This being the case, it will be more essential than ever before that the psychologist actually know a great deal about psychology. In order to select from the vast literature on the learning process, for example, those principles and procedures most applicable for a group of parents who have come together to learn to discipline their children in nonabusive ways, a psychologist needs to know that literature in some detail. It is not sufficient to have taken a one-term course in behavior modification or to have read a book by Alfred Adler or Bruno Bettelheim. In graduate education of the mid-20th century, there has been some tendency to de-emphasize academic preparation in order to stress personal growth and interpersonal skills. If the psychologist is to serve responsibly as middleman, this tendency must be reversed. Psychologists when they receive their degrees must be familiar with all of

psychology that relates to the world of work, family, and community, and they must keep abreast of new research findings as they appear.

At first glance, this may look like an impossible assignment. However, changes are occurring in the science of psychology that by the year 2000 can be expected to facilitate its mastery. By then the conflicts between theoretical systems, so prominent a feature of the 20th century scene, will have disappeared. Even now behaviorists are making a place for cognition within their framework, humanists are concerning themselves with action as well as experience, and the main insights of psychoanalysis have been incorporated into personality theory. There is even some indication that the psychologies of East and West may be converging. We are ready for a Newton or a Darwin to weld the pieces into a generally acceptable theoretical structure. Such a person may well appear before the year 2000. Right now the most promising theoretical integration seems to be general systems theory.

Psychologists must be able to provide for their clients a wide variety of factual knowledge. By the end of the century they will not be limited to present techniques for locating and communicating such information. They will make extensive use of computer installations programmed to answer clients' questions about occupations and careers, training programs, hobbies and recreational opportunities, voluntary organizations, government programs, sources of funds, and many other matters. No one need ever approach an important decision armed with inadequate or inaccurate information.

Other resources will be widely used. There will be learning centers to which people may go to master rapidly skills required in the carrying out of a life plan. Drugs may be available to prevent senility, improve memory, prevent depression, and produce increases in the functioning intelligence of children. People may have access to many kinds of controlled environments designed to develop new patterns of living. There may be indicator systems for individuals and communities, by means of which a person will know when stress begins to build up, and communities will recognize potential trouble spots before troubles become serious.

The emphasis will have shifted to the prevention of pathology rather than its amelioration. Many young psychologists who in former times would have chosen the clinical or counseling specialty will be attracted to environmental, developmental, or community psychology instead. Positions may come into existence analogous to medical public-health positions. Psychologists who have practiced for a time in roles involving direct service to people may also decide to shift to these "public mental health" roles.

What of research in the human service psychology of the year 2000? Evaluation research, the evaluation of programs and environments as well as changes in individuals, will have come into its own, occupying a prominent place in every undertaking. Psychologists will be largely responsible for planning and conducting it. It will have its own principles and techniques, based only in part on laboratory procedures and classical statistics. In the

graduate training of the psychologists we have been considering, these research methods will occupy a prominent place.

Some readers may be disturbed that, in the picture I have sketched, counseling psychology has lost its identity. But is this really important? What matters is that society provide a framework within which persons with specialized knowledge and skills can bring their resources to bear on the needs, problems, and aspirations of people. This is one possible blueprint for such a framework.

Chapter 20

Counseling Psychology in the Year 2000

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To predict what the field of counseling psychology will be like 25 years from now is a dangerous but challenging task. As in the prediction of human behavior, there are two basic approaches: (1) a statistical approach, based on accurate measures, carefully drawn curves of past trends, and projected outcomes based on those trends; and (2) a more global approach based on the identification of the underlying themes that appeared in the past and extrapolation of those themes into the future.

I am going to use the latter approach. Since it is a somewhat more subjective one, it is helpful for the reader to know what background experiences and biases I bring to the task. Born the year Frank Parsons published *Choosing A Vocation* (Parsons, 1909) and founded the vocational guidance movement, I became a secondary school teacher, then did my doctoral study in vocational guidance and industrial psychology under Morris Viteles at the University of Pennsylvania, set up a university counseling center at Vanderbilt University (1945), and then in 1949 moved to Teachers College, Columbia University where I taught with Kitson, Super, Myers, Jordaan, Adkins, and others until retirement in 1974. My closest professional identification has been with counseling in academic settings, the Veterans Administration, the Labor Department, and private industry. Now I am interested (naturally) in retirement counseling.

Professions, like people, have "careers" with stages like growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. I would put the profession of counseling psychology in the late exploration-early establishment period. Its development to date can be described not only in numerical terms but more importantly in substantive terms. It has drawn on a succession of psychological and social bases for its continuing expansion and adaptation to changing needs. I would describe them as follows:

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<i>Period</i>	<i>Substantive Influences</i>
To 1945	Vocational guidance and trait measurement
1945-55	Nondirective counseling and attitude clarification
1950s	Developmental psychology and self-concept
1960s	Social and economic problems: work, family, education
1970s	Role theory, community psychology, and adult development

The above list is not intended to portray a succession of fads that rose and then disappeared but rather a process of accretion that resulted in a broadening of both function and theoretical foundation.

What *are* the *themes* that appear to have characterized counseling psychology over the past 50 years? To me they are represented by the following emphases:

1. More attention to cognitive and attitudinal problems than to intrapsychic tendencies.
2. More concern with optimal handling of environmental demands than to personality structure change.
3. Preventive as well as remedial goals.
4. Changing the system as much as doing therapy with individuals unable to handle the system.

What does this mean for the year 2000? It means that counseling psychology (and counseling psychologists) will be dealing with the significant *reality problems* of that day, just as they have been oriented toward the reality problems of the 40s, 50s, 60s, and 70s.

What are these reality problems of 2000 likely to be? (Fortunately, I can treat this as an academic exercise.) No one really knows, of course, but it is useful to speculate. Here are my speculations concerning those trends that are likely to involve counseling psychologists:

1. The single-cycle sequence of family life, education, work, and labor-force retirement will break down. *Education will be a life-long process*, interspersed and interacting with work and family.
2. There will be more explicit attention to a broader scope of *life skills*. Just as we now have organized training in educational skills and job skills, so there will be organized training in family skills, community skills, recreational skills, and so on.
3. Mental health will be a recognized aspect of our total health system. Just as we go to the dentist twice a year and have an annual medical exam, so we will periodically go to the psychologist for a "psychological check-up."

In all of the above, counseling psychologists, with their history of dealing with the normal, everyday reality problems of the entire spectrum of

age and level of adjustment will have an increasingly important role to play. They will be located in a variety of settings—educational institutions, government, community and social agencies, and private business and industry. And if psychology ever develops a "general practitioner," (as I think it will) professional training in counseling psychology will be the best preparation for this role.

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Chapter 21

The Year 2000 and All That

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Looking ahead for some 20 years (which I did once before at John Whiteley's invitation, in Super, 1969a & 1969b) is, in this era of rapid change and figurative future shock, an audacious act. But when invited to be brash, the temptation to do so is too great to miss!

Of these things I am sure:

1. I shall not be theorizing, researching, or practicing counseling psychology in the year 2000;
2. I shall not take it with me;
3. It will still be here;
4. It will be different, not because *I* will not be doing it, but because the world will be more different 20 years from now than it is ten years after 1968.

I shall not be active as a counseling psychologist because, having already retired from teaching and administration to research and writing, and expecting to retire two or three more times (Pappas & Crites, 1978; Super, 1978), I expect to be specializing in gardening, cabinet-making, and reading *if* still around in the year 2000.

I don't expect to take it with me because I really don't have that firm a grip on counseling psychology.

It will still be here because, despite environmental deterioration and nuclear threats, *people* will presumably still be here, and where there are people there will be both developmental problems (the counseling psychologist's speciality) and psychopathological problems (a speciality in which counseling psychologists often like to keep the clinicians company).

It will be different because things always are, although not always in the expected ways. A brief look at things 20 years ago, in 1958, in comparison

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with 1978, will demonstrate. Counseling psychology was then young and bold, with its own strong division in APA, its own ABEP diploma, its own free-enterprise (enterprising rather than APA-stereotyped) journal, and a number of landmark books on appraisal, counseling theory and practice, and career-development theory and research. World War II had receded into the background, the Korean War was over, the Vietnam War was not yet even on the horizon, youth may have been politically apathetic but they were studious and hardworking, and schools, colleges, universities, businesses, and industries were expanding, and working in them was exciting. Today—well, the contrast is clear: the old landmarks may not seem so important now, but they are not exactly hidden by more recent monuments. The Vietnam War has come and gone, and with it the old political apathy and some of the Protestant ethic. These have been replaced by minority militancy and a declining birthrate with declining school enrollments. A major recession has resulted in youth unemployment and what, in Britain, is euphemistically called redundancy. *Plus ça change, plus ça change vite*. With the contrast between 1958 and 1978 so great, how can that between 1978 and 2000 help but be sharper?

THE SEARCH FOR NEW FIELDS

Counseling psychology is, like the rest of applied psychology (and, looking sheepishly over our shoulders, experimental and developmental psychology), looking for new fields of endeavor, new areas of application, and new jobs. This shows up clearly in the psychological journals, in the current books, and in recent convention programs. Counseling psychologists are, more visibly and more audibly than ever, claiming a share of the work with school children, in family counseling, in alcohol and drug addiction, in criminology, and in community development and redevelopment. So far we do not seem to have staked a claim (like some developmental and social psychologists) to architecture, but some of us are looking hungrily at art and music. In the meantime, our primary claim to career and vocational development and counseling remains disputed only by industrial and organizational psychologists and by clinical psychologists in industrial consulting, who have discovered that there are individuals inside organizations and that one can make a living helping them in their work settings.

THE SEARCH FOR NEW METHODS

We are busy looking for new methods, too. Behavior modification and modeling are more popular than client-centeredness. Groups are more popular than individuals. Career education has replaced occupations courses (or has it?). Race and sex differences are out and uniraice and unisex are in (and we must be careful to devise and use appraisal methods that are fair to the racial and gender groups whose existence we must in our pluralistic culture

sometimes *not recognize*, and at other times *recognize*, in ways that benefit them). Restructuring the institution, the organization, the community, or the environment to facilitate individual development is in some places more the order of the day than is working through individuals or even through groups. Intrapsychic, interpersonal, and person-situation emphases contend with each other for attention. The balance has shifted somewhat from interpersonal to person-in-situation approaches (where we started) in *popularity* with counseling psychologists although not, so far as some of us can see, in *support for and time given* to it.

SHALL WE BLEND AND BALANCE?

Where will the discoveries or developments of the next 20 years lead us; how will the pressures, the fashions, and the fads change? The pendulums may swing. Counseling methods may become more diversely eclectic according to client needs as we mature professionally. Education and guidance may feel less the seemingly ever-present need for new slogans to help sell old ideas. Unique and plural may settle down to an acceptance of diversity in unity. Working with and through both individuals and situations while considering the psyche in interpersonal, situation-situated circumstances may become commonplace.

OR SHALL WE SPLIT AND SPLINTER?

Will our current diversity, our current search for a place in fields now tilled largely by people in other specialties, and our present-day efforts to break new ground on our several frontiers, lead a significant number of us to move from counseling psychology and from Division 17 to other specialties and to other, perhaps new, divisions? I find myself attracted to the Developmental, Measurement, Industrial, and Gerontology Divisions. Many Division 14 workshops and many elements of the convention programs of those divisions are more in my line than are the workshops and most convention programs organized by Division 17. I have been somewhat alienated by the policy decision that makes the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* so much a journal of *counseling process* that most of its issues are not at all representative of counseling psychology as I conceive of it, important though process is. I have found journals like the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance*, the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, and often *Personnel Psychology* and the *Journal of Applied Psychology* so much more relevant to my work that I find myself reading more of their contents than those of the journal that I helped to found and nourish.

This is not to imply that I am right and that what seem like current trends are wrong. It is only to note that these trends seem to be causing me to drift away, if not actually alienating me from, organized counseling

psychology. This is happening despite my many friends in the Division and my continuing interest in some of its activities. It might turn out to be a good thing for applied psychology if people with interests as seemingly deviant as my active interests appear to be *did* drift to other divisions or found new divisions—in my case, for example, a Division of Career and Vocational Psychology. There might also be Divisions of Adolescent Psychology, Adult Psychology, or Life-Span Developmental Psychology in which I would find APA “homes” (Developmental is dominated by infants and children). Some other counseling psychologists might find their way into Clinical or Industrial, as some now do, and still others might found or join new Divisions of Psychological Assessment, of Marriage and Family, of Situational Therapy, or even of Emotive Rationality. The remaining purged and renamed Division of Counseling Processes might, thus purified, meet its more homogeneous membership’s needs more effectively than it does now. We might all be stronger in APA-united diversity than we are in diversified Divisional-unity. I am not advocating or urging this, just pointing out what could happen, given current trends, by the year 2000. I did point out, in an early issue of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (Super, 1955), that the strong clinical inclinations of some of our members might lead Division 17 to merge, in due course, with Division 12. Despite the movement of some of our members in that direction (and of some of theirs in our direction), such a merger has never, so far as I know, officially been proposed. I rather doubt that it will ever be.

THE FUTURE IS HALF-HIDDEN IN THE PRESENT

In the meantime, there is work to do. I have a British theory monograph to finish before moving back to the United States late in 1979, plus two American research monographs, not to mention two more to be done after I move back, all on career development. I have research and development work under way on career maturity and on work salience in Europe and America. The future will emerge from the present. What I shall be doing may help part of it to emerge. Writing these monographs and getting this research and development work done is probably more important than devoting more than a couple of pleasant hours to speculating about the future.

If things such as these monographs and the work on vocational maturity and work salience are good and have some impact, then they may eventually be seen to have done something to make the Division of Counseling Psychology more attractive to vocational psychologists. They may prove, on the other hand, to have helped build momentum for a new Division of Career and Vocational Psychology. The future is what we make it, but we are not likely to be able to forecast what the next generation will do with this generation’s products.

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Chapter 22

Counseling Psychology in the Year 2000: Prophecy or Wish Fulfillment?

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The fate of counseling psychology over two decades from now is intimately bound to the state of the world at that time. How (or even will) we have solved the energy crisis? What impact will this resolution have made on work life and on levels of productivity? Nearer our professional and disciplinary home, the future of counseling psychology will be shaped by the developments of psychology as a whole. Will we move to even greater organizational barriers among specialized groups? Will the delivery of psychological services to individuals be fully integrated in a medical services delivery system? And what form will that system take—a private or socialized practice model or some third form?

Unlike the physical sciences, prophecy in the social sciences has little deeply structured knowledge to use as the base for prophecy. Even our models for the process of human decision making on which the future will rest are so crude as to make the term *prophecy* a grandiose one. Among the few things we can count on is that the population explosion in births of the 50s will be reflected in the pronounced bulge in the proportion of the population over 55. At this time, it is a chancy guess that sooner or later in the next two decades there will be a marked upturn in the birthrate, giving rise to a U-shaped tendency in age distributions. Thus, candor requires that I acknowledge that my views of the future of counseling psychology represent a small amount of extrapolation of trends plus a large expression of wish fulfillment.

My optimistic, wish-fulfilling stance has me looking forward to a world in which the problems of energy are resolved constructively; so that even though we may not return to the illusion of limitless sources of it, a more rational use of energy permits the even wider distribution of the experience of work as less infused with the tyrannical demand of staying alive and as permitting more of the playful expression of self. My optimism merges with

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grandiosity in anticipating that counseling psychology will make a pivotal contribution in bringing the academic research elements of psychology into more intimate relation to the applied and service-delivery aspects.

This latter happy development will have taken place because counseling psychology will have put theory and research on normal development into action, whereas it previously gave them only lip service. Counseling psychologists will have become leading contributors to ideas and investigations of various stages through the full life cycle. The coming decades will have witnessed the evolution of two new kinds of counseling centers. One of these is a broad based laboratory center devoted to constructing a basic conception of the normal developmental process, its vicissitudes and stages. This type of center would be engaged in refining that conception through research and through trying out delivery systems for target populations representing a particular developmental stage. These delivery systems would be constructed on the basis of the knowledge underlying the model. Such a center would represent a meeting ground for many varieties of psychologists.

Around the understanding and design of environmental factors in development, social, developmental, and community psychologists will join with counseling psychologists in building on the work of Barker (1968), Kelly (1968), and Williamson and Darley (1937). Under the impetus of Sanford (1962), Katz et al. (1968), and Levinson et al. (1978), the field of developmental psychology will have continued its movement toward a greater balance between preoccupations with childhood and later development. The increasing numbers of middle-aged and older groups in our population will have generated funds for and stimulated interest in life transitions initiated by accidents of individuals' histories associated with chronic physical illness and disability. This will have brought counseling psychologists together with physiological psychologists even more than the earlier development of biofeedback and conceptions of the specialized functions of brain hemispheres. The retraining elements in intervention programs designed for the ill and disabled will have provided a ground for rapprochement between experimental and personality psychologists.

The second new kind of counseling center is recognizable as founded in a generalization of the counseling center, circa 1960-70. Instead of a preponderance of counseling centers being directed toward the college years, there will be many varieties of such centers, each designed and directed toward specific target populations. As might be expected, the numbers of such centers directed toward the transitional crisis associated with entering middle age and those associated with diminished productive activity and retirement increased markedly to equal or even outnumber the school and college oriented ones. My crystal ball is cloudy regarding the organizational impact of a shift of focus from the individual to the family. It was to be expected that the shifts in concentration from dealing with chronic emotional or behavioral problems or their extreme crises to the fostering of fuller development and the prevention or early treatment of maldevelopment carried with it a focus on the family unit

rather than the individual. Thus, the movement of the child to school is examined from the point of view of the whole family unit—father, mother, and any other siblings. Similarly, at the other extreme, attention to the impact of retirement leads to a focus not only on the retiree but on the spouse, children, and grandchildren.

Will the result of this orientation lead to the design of all-purpose family centers, requiring a mix of skills for working with individuals, ranging from young children to aging adults? What seems more likely is that such centers, if they do develop, will feature a mix of psychologists, concentrating their skills and knowledge on particular age groups, but perhaps including wider ranges than was customary in the 1970s. I think it unlikely that the strong family orientation will obviate the need for specialized centers directed toward specific target populations defined by their stage of development.

My expectations regarding future developments in how psychological services are delivered influence my anticipation that focused centers will remain an important vehicle, despite the pull of the family orientation toward an all-stage, all-purpose center. My view sees us moving during the next two decades toward some form of socialized psychological services. The base assumption of such a system, comparable to our present assumption regarding education, is that our society's welfare depends too much on individuals having access to such services to demand that they meet a strong economic test in order for that access to be open. Whether tied to medicine, education, both, or neither, this system will necessarily be geared to the various levels of prevention. The comprehensive expression of the various levels of prevention, including early consultative and psychotherapeutic interventions with individuals, consultative interventions with key decision makers, providers of other kinds of social services, and various kinds of educational and skill-building experiences, would probably be most fully achieved through a mix of all-purpose and specialized centers. A side effect of an emphasis on a socialized system of delivery of psychological services will have been the healing of the schism between academic and professional psychologists, because the gaps in their economic interests will have narrowed. Researcher and professional will be fighting the same forces to preserve their interests.

What will be the fate of the counseling psychologist's traditional concern with career decision making and career development? Instead of fading away, it will have become enriched by being embedded in the broader concern with individual development through the life cycle and in turn will have enriched and broadened both theorists' and practitioners' concern with personal development. The big strides toward a greater rationalization of the world's economic system will have made more possible the realization of the ideal that the expression of a person's contribution toward the economic base that keeps him or her and their fellows alive need not be alienated from the meaningful and even creative expression of self. Where before this ideal seemed to be achievable for a relatively limited college educated elite,

counseling psychologists will have joined with social and industrial psychologists and sociologists to foster the design of manufacturing production that dehumanized the machine and permitted the humanity of the worker to be expressed. (This achievement will have been well documented by Studs Terkel, Jr. in the excerpts of interviews published in *Playful Working*.) In fact, this particular form of derationalizing the productive process results in greater productivity rather than the anticipated reverse. Thus, counseling psychologists find themselves with renewed research and consultative functions relating to individual aptitude and personality differences as they relate to both social and individual decisions in work and career. They find themselves working much more with individuals at entry stages much later than career development and helping the individual to sort out how concerns about a particular choice point in career interact with other issues of life involving feelings and relations to parents, spouse, siblings, children, or even grandchildren.

This family-based, life-cycle orientation of the counseling psychologist in the 21st century has gotten her or him so involved in a broad base application of psychological knowledge as to dim that earlier question whether to consider oneself an educator or a clinician. In this socialized organization, various mixes of both sets of orientation and skills were possible, always embedded in social, experimental, and physiological psychological knowledge. Not only that, but the close interaction of research and applied psychology in the field setting stimulated many crossovers. Under these circumstances, the particular mix of mastery of knowledge and action that fitted that person was more salient in professional identity than some formal designation. Yet the need for roots still exerted a force, so that those who placed store in designating themselves as counseling psychologists did so as expressions of their investment and pride in following the steps of those who so steadfastly concentrated their attention, efforts, and understanding on the normative aspects of development of the person through the life span.

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Chapter 23

The Eye of a Beholder

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The opportunity to envision the status of counseling psychology in the year 2000 is attractive and challenging. I expect that readers are—or should be—aware that when one takes this opportunity it is tempting to take one's own prognostications either much too seriously or to endow them with more credibility than they deserve. I shall try to resist but may well succumb to this temptation.

In addition, I should perhaps say that my visions will be limited. My experience in counseling psychology has been primarily in higher education and with counseling centers in such institutions. This background clearly influences the facets of the future that I am likely to envision.

At first thought, the year 2000 seems to be so far off in the distance that any realistic vision of that period must reflect dramatic, drastic change from contemporary counseling psychology as we know it. On the other hand, 2000 appears differently when I reflect back to the status of counseling psychology in 1956. However, this is not the place for reminiscence beyond offering this observation: Yes, there have been notable changes since 1956, but have there been many dramatic or drastic changes? I submit there have not—there have been notable changes but not revolutionary ones, in spite of the 24-year passage of time.

It would not be difficult to envision 2000 (a nice round number) as a form of goal state—a point in time when our imperfections are remedied, our agendas completed, our specialty "arrived." Such visions, however, are imperfect, suffering from extreme shortsightedness; change is not constant. But the examination of the issue of change and the constancy of it does identify one of the characteristics of many counseling psychologists that stands the specialty in good stead. It is the inclination and capacity to create originals. More than 20 years of changes can impact our well-learned practices, theories, instructional methods, and so on; but however upending these changes may be, they will not include producing substitutes for that unique characteristic—the commitment to innovation.

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Many impressions come to mind of the shape of counseling psychology in the year 2000; I will relate three. However, let me begin by noting two dangers that I expect are, to varying degrees, present at most stages of a profession's development. The first concerns the danger of "over-guildism." In the area of certification and licensure many readers will recall their concern over the wording of certain medical practice licensure laws—wording that seemed to preempt much human service work from the domain of the independent, practicing psychologist.

The other danger that can affect a profession's development at any stage is insensitivity, particularly to the actual or prospective consumer of our services. Examples of this insensitivity include our too easy acceptance of the practice of placing help seekers on waiting lists, often for interminable periods; our rare employment of consumer advisory boards; and our infrequent follow-up practices for determining the postcounseling status of the users of our services.

My initial impression of counseling psychology and psychologists in the year 2000 is one of considerable diversity in roles and functions. In reading our literature over the last 30 years one could conclude that counseling psychologists' roles and functions have gradually been diversified. Considering college counseling center settings, for example, it is apparent that the proportion of counseling psychologists' time invested in one-to-one interviewing has decreased; group work has increased; consultative functions have sharply increased; and teaching, training, and supervisory functions have expanded, as has research productivity. I expect 2000 to reveal as much or more diversity—perhaps more because of additional activity reflecting a systems orientation to how counseling psychologists may view their work roles, the kinds of services to be provided to consumers, how the effects of their practices may be evaluated, and how the resulting evidence can be utilized to effect future changes. This application of a systems orientation to the work of the counseling psychologist was one of the Vail Conference recommendations. By 2000, it is reasonable to expect that many graduate training programs will have included didactic instruction and supervised field experience in this area. Similarly, counseling psychology services will reflect this orientation in determining how to invest their resources to effect change. This systems orientation offers a sharp contrast to our typical one-person-at-a-time approach to identifying problems and the means needed to resolve them.

Another reason for expecting an increase in diversity of functions lies in the fact that counseling center directors are still finding that many of the skills that are needed to maintain and develop desired diversity are unavailable. In short, the employers are valuing diversified skills more. Thus training programs will emphasize greater diversity of experience in preparing students, and future graduate students will increasingly take advantage of such diversity in their preparation for employment. The evidence supports this

premise at least for counseling centers in higher educational institutions. I expect the same condition to hold to some degree in other settings.

The second impression I have of our condition in the year 2000 is one of much more genuine sensitivity to—and activity concerning—accountability. One change from the present will be in the underlying motivation for engaging in such behavior. Accountability efforts in recent years seem to have risen from the experience of real or anticipated external threats. This is a case of doing the right thing for the wrong reason. By 2000 we should expect to see counseling psychologists engaged in accountability activity as an integral part of their roles as professionals—in spite of any real or imagined threats.

With the shift in motivation will come an improvement in the quality of the accountability evidence produced. For example, in survey research data-gathering approaches, no longer will $\approx 50\%$ return rates be viewed as acceptable evidence from which to generalize to any population and/or support any program practices. The quality of accountability evidence will also be improved by another notable change—a considerable increase in our sensitivity to our consumers, not only help seekers but students in our graduate programs. As consumers, I expect graduate students will benefit from this increased sensitivity through, for example, the opportunity to observe first hand the senior counseling psychologists at work. In the case of a counseling agency this means that, by the time a trainee left an agency, he/she would have had opportunity to observe each staff member conduct at least one counseling interview. My impression is that extremely few of our annual crop of Ph.D. graduates can claim such experience.

The year 2000 will also find the consumer of our services accorded an increasingly serious role in the development and implementation of services and the evaluation of their effects. As a result, counseling psychologists in 2000 will be much more moved to find or develop alternative forms of treatment interventions than is presently the case. These developments will be particularly noteworthy because they will allow counseling psychological services to (a) be available to prospective consumers with less wait and (b) reach a larger percentage of their respective community members than has historically been the case. The latter observation leads us to expect more developmental, educational, and/or preventive interventions than the 1970s have produced.

Several additional observations come to mind concerning accountability practices in 2000. First, the use of several forms—rather than reliance on a single form—will be common agency or organization practice. Second, as one form of evidence, every n th user of various services will be followed up some time after termination of his/her use of particular services. Third, agencies or organizations once in possession of such data will contrast the characteristics of positive and negative reacting users. They will do so with an eye to identifying any facets of their practices that might be altered. In so doing they will be “closing the loop” between provision of service, feedback concerning consequences, and subsequent modification of such services. Fourth, the

character of accountability efforts will have deepened; it will have moved from present levels of identifying consequences to a level that concerns not only what is being accomplished, but with what degree of efficiency. As a corollary, texts in our field in the year 2000 will include substantially more index references to "efficiency"—a concept that hitherto has been a foreign one to much of our training and our practice.

My third impression of counseling psychology in 2000 concerns the evolution of more comprehensive services for help seekers. "Comprehensiveness" is perhaps not the best description; a better description might be the creation of tiers of services along a continuum of the amount of time and work expected of the help seeker and the time/work invested by the counseling psychologist in providing help. This concept can best be presented via contrast with our present help-giving practices. Present practices seem to me to (a) offer too few service alternatives to the help seekers; (b) require a rather high level of client motivation to expect much benefit; (c) offer the client an insufficient role in determining the level of treatment that would match his/her motivation; (d) utilize our manpower resources rather inflexibly and hence often expensively; and (e) indicate that we manifest limited grasp or application of what we know of individual differences.

In 2000 these limiting conditions should be much less in evidence. I envision the helping agency to have invested the time and effort gradually to evolve a continuum of services for each broad category of problems reflecting help seekers' concerns. The rate at which this evolution occurs will be much influenced by the rate with which systems orientations toward service delivery are adopted. As mentioned above, the continuum is one of degree of time/cost and work involved for both help seeker and for the counselor.

For illustrative purposes let me describe what the counseling psychological agency may be delivering according to this concept. The minimal treatment condition in terms of time and work will be audio/visual and/or bibliotherapeutic. For example, information on causes of indecision and means of coping with them; illustrative role modeling of sound problem solving; and so on. Treatment conditions beyond the minimal would include self-administered and interpreted instruments such as Hollands' *Self-Directed Search* (1971) and related self-guidance materials. The next treatment level might be the clear language printout interpretative analysis of the individual's vocational interests and related data. The treatment level above that might involve a semistructured vocational problem-solving program akin to *Effective Problem Solving* (Magoon, 1969). This program involves learning the process of problem solving and applying that learning to one's own problem of educational-vocational indecision. The program is conducted largely in writing between client and counselor, carried on with many individuals at a time (but not a group in the usual sense) and individualized in a self-paced instructional sense. The next treatment level might involve a fairly structured educational-vocational counseling group treatment [akin to the VEG (Daane, 1972) or PATH (Figler, 1975) programs].

and the following treatment level might involve a more traditional educational-vocational counseling group. The next (and perhaps most expensive in time/cost/work terms) might involve traditional thorough individual educational-vocational counseling including an indeterminate number of sessions.

In 2000 the helping agency will have evolved into a center of diverse treatment modes and will devise means of sharing knowledge of them with the community of prospective help seekers. The purpose of any intake interview process will have been considerably altered. The usual purpose now is to assist help seekers determine what level of time/cost/work would benefit them most, and each help seeker has opportunity to assume much responsibility. What if the determination proves to be faulty? Then the client can shift to a less or a more demanding treatment level. Mobility among treatment levels is facilitated by the fact that the possibility of change was planned for in evolving the treatment levels to begin with. Indeed, this whole conception of service delivery and the particular treatment levels within it are subject to change and should be modified with accumulating experience.

This envisioned future mode of service delivery involves educational-vocational indecision concerns. I would expect comparable development to be feasible with emotional-social conflict concerns or with educational skill development concerns. The implications of such service delivery systems are several: they would enhance focused training of counseling psychology trainees and of paraprofessionals; in terms of efficiency, they would reserve the higher-level time/cost/work conditions for the client problems most responsive to that level of treatment; in terms of consumer responsiveness, they would make some specific treatment modes available practically on demand at any given time. Rarely can present day services claim these desirable properties.

But, realistically, will practicing counseling psychologists identify with this kind of service delivery? Individual differences being what they are, some will not, some will. Earlier in this paper I identified some of the conditions that provide a seedbed for such change. And come to think of it, I don't recall having any of these visions in 1956.

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Chapter 24

Counseling Psychology, 2000 A.D.?

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My immediate reactions to John Whiteley's invitation to speculate on the state of counseling psychology as the millennium turns surprised me. In the first place, I became conscious that, because it would happen in my 81st year, I would probably not see the turning. In the second place, I experienced an instant of uncertainty that counseling psychology would itself exist in the year 2000. And I experienced that momentary uncertainty despite the facts that I might not see the year and that I had just completed rereading Mastroianni's and my brave declaration in the 1960s (Note 1) that it was nonsense to scuttle the APA Division of Counseling Psychology. I know that the Division has essentially held its own in membership, but today's counseling psychologists must honestly face the fact that we are a relatively small band of persons with rather special interests and employments. But I guess that is true of most occupations except for the fact that many other occupations have more members committed to their specialized interests and employments than we do. Perhaps our problem will be how much we care for our special interests and employments in full knowledge of how small our circle of commitment is among the many persons on earth. I believe that is the point on which the existence of counseling psychology in 2000 A.D. hinges. Why?

CIVILIZATION THEN?

At a most fundamental level, whether counseling psychology will exist in 2000 A.D. or not depends on whether civilization itself exists then or not. I remain optimistic that acceptance of interdependent self-interests will advance rapidly enough to meet the many crises of obliteration that are likely to arise in the next 20 years. Hence I shall not attend to this issue first, although this may well be a mistake. Perhaps civilization's survival does depend more fundamentally on making the purposes and achievements of 1980 counseling psychology immediately more universal than I presently

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think. Therefore let's hold this question in abeyance until we gain a stronger base for common consideration of it.

PSYCHOLOGY THEN

I make the assumption that civilization will continue to exist progressively rather than regressively, because I firmly believe that we humans march to the beat of primordial drumming toward becoming the general-purpose organisms evolution seems to favor. I also believe with Julian Jaynes (1976) that the breakdown of the bicameral mind is a part of this general evolutionary trend and that we each guide our evolutions developmentally by our broken-down bicameral minds during the few short years of our lives. It's as if each of us sits in the command seat of a spaceship "I" while we're alive and guides our beings within all the interconnections of the computer systems by which each spaceship "I" is guided when we don't have our manual overrides engaged. And, in our manual override times within the psychoecological matrices of our existence, we have our own best individual and collective shots at deterring or advancing general evolutionary trends of human being.

In keeping with my assumption that human beings are on an evolutionary course of progressing toward more general purposes, I presume that the subject of psychology will itself change in the next 20 years. The changes I foresee are these:

1. Today's so-called behavioral science will be more universally recognized as the behavioral historicity it really is. Such recognition will free the minds of future psychologists to advance their psychotechnologies with vigor without confusing psychotechnology with psychology as we largely do today.
2. The psychotechnologies that my hypothetically more advanced breed of psychologists will develop are those that recognize that a technology can control activity under previously specified circumstances but cannot create within those circumstances themselves either new purposes or successful means for their attainment. Because of this recognition, persons who apply psychotechnologies in the future will have to structure the person into direct relationship with the psychotechnology and work to help the person comprehend both the relationship and individual responsibility in it. The major instructional goal of such applied psychotechnologies will have to be personal understanding of the systems and their feedbacks with which individuals are then in relation in telemonitoring ways. Such instruction will be necessary for each system with which individuals will be encouraged to come into prosthetic relationship in order to enhance their movement along the dimension of living more generally. However, as individuals master two or more systems, new issues will come to their minds, and systems of instruction and help in the clarification and mastery of the unions of such issues will then prove necessary. Such issues will stem from how two or more psychotechnolo-

gies relate and how we can individually live in control of two or more of these psychotechnologies in interrelation. It will be as if a person who is visually impaired and has a broken leg simultaneously comes into relationship with the psychotechnologies of lens correction and cast correction.

For proper functioning, mastery will be required of how to live in prosthetic relationship with two or more such technological enhancements of personal powers at once. Self-constructionist issues then arise. Presumably the prosthetic psychotechnological devices will give persons opportunity for more personal power. But personal power will increase only if the person both masters the operation of the prosthetic devices in interrelation and also of herself or himself in relationship to more power than was available beforehand.

3. As more and more persons come into contact with psychotechnologies that give them greater and greater personal power as they live in appropriate relationships with them prosthetically, the dimension of self-constructionist development will become more and more critical in the society. And counseling psychology can stay alive until 2000 A.D. if we but keep what we do for enhancement of that dimension professional, and not let it deteriorate into the technological. How?

1978-1979 HARBINGERS OF COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY THEN

Several current trends can contribute to adaptation of the future practice of counseling psychology in the direction of facilitating emergence of self-constructionist development. One of these trends is the emerging establishment of development as an acceptable paradigm on which psychological practice should be based. For instance, Piaget's basic work in cognitive development leads to acceptance of the possibility that psychological capabilities develop in stages and that, at the least, difficulty ensues in the mastery of later stages from failure in mastery of earlier stages. Sprinthall and Mosher (1978) have pioneered the application of this understanding in the creation and testing of programs of psychological education (Sprinthall & Ojemann, 1978) that seeks facilitation of ego development (Loevinger, 1976), moral development (Kohlberg, 1969), decision making development (Miller-Tiedeman, 1977), and/ or interpersonal development (DuPont, 1974; Selman, 1976). Perhaps even the Peatling and Tiedeman (1977) group theory of self-constructionist personality reconstruction might have proven sufficiently credible by the year 2000 to serve as a more overarching paradigm for these several now separated but related dimensions of development toward a life of self as universe.

The present trend toward disarticulating the skills of counseling (Carkhuff, 1969) and of instructing in them by techniques of minicounseling (Ivey & Authier, 1978) also facilitates emergence of self-constructionist development. Both of these trends demystify counseling. As counseling

becomes demystified, what it achieves for individuals can become more universally enacted individually.

This trend offers counseling psychology its real choice in 1978-79 of whether it will exist in the year 2000 or not. If we continue to give counseling psychology away to individuals for their better living, we will quickly find that there are enough individuals who need instruction in such living to keep us all growingly busy in such instruction. However, if we continue to try to monopolize counseling as a therapy practiced through us and others trained as we were, we will soon find counseling psychology overwhelmed by the above psychological education trend that in my judgment is the one bound to grow. United States citizens are now being trained to a healthy skepticism of psychotherapy. They are beginning to understand that problems are not only in them but in situations as well. In such understandings they can take the route of projecting trouble into situations or of moving to better understandings of their own implications in the problems of those situations. If we train people to the fundamental understandings of counseling—namely, that the self is in others as well as in one's person and that self-deceit robs individuals of personal or "I" power (Tiedeman & Miller-Tiedeman, 1977; Miller-Tiedeman & Niemi, 1977)—we can perhaps move civilization forward on the primary dimension of character, that dimension in which the individual developmentally moves in successive cognitive hierarchical restructurings toward assumption of greater and greater aloneness of self as universe by learning to control loneliness at individually tolerable levels (Tiedeman, 1978). I believe that development according to the Peatling and Tiedeman group theory of self-constructionist personality reconstruction is the direction by which such character development can be facilitated by means of techniques of psychological education and/or minicounseling.

In keeping with clearer understanding at the present time that development is the paradigm by which we should guide our action and psychological education and minicounseling the means we should use in our action, open-systems thinking offers psychology a scientific philosophy by which it can keep its identity while advancing its cause. Structure presently is the central mind problem in open-systems thinking (Kepes, 1965). Since thought cannot be pursued along all lines at once, thought must be pursued by partitioning various circumstances (space, time, behavior, and so on) and treating each partition in known relationship with all other partitions. By doing so, pathways can be articulated and pursued with choice. Otherwise they can't.

These thought circumstances require structures, the temporary fixation of some things in order that other things can become known under fixed conditions of earlier things. However, the bicameral mind (Jaynes, 1976) remains ours as well and operates in interaction with the tricameral brain and situational structures of the mind that we hold to be seemingly true from one moment to the next. In such interactions, possibilities are introduced into the tricameral mind by the bicameral mind and individuals can, with practice, be

made aware of that transition as human beings. I believe that all humans are capable of carrying that awareness to the state of comprehension, that state in which humans (1) are appreciative of the process, (2) know some of the conditions under which they can use the process to personal and societal advantage under personal control, and (3) grow in their courage to do so for personal mental health and societal vigor.

Instruction in how to grasp this power and to learn to use it involves instruction in planning through open-systems theory that is now being advanced into our field (Jones, Tiedeman, Mitchell, Unruh, Helliwell, & Ganschow, 1973). Open-systems theory is related to behavioral counseling, but only if behavioral counseling puts the person in full control of determining personal goals—that is, only if behavioral counseling is made a technique of the one being helped, not left a technique of the helper alone.

Goal formulation and pursuit are the experiential grounds of the character development that I advocate. Goal formulation and pursuit cannot be experienced sufficiently personally for character development to proceed to the levels of comprehension I have defined unless individuals are given the full right to fail, including that of killing themselves. Character is forged in the cauldron of loneliness in which new dimensions of aloneness can be seen, grasped, accepted, and appreciated. Hence the open-systems theory on which we need to found 1980s "Counseling Psychology 2000" is the system in which adjustment is repudiated as a fundamental concept while assimilation and accommodation are advanced as fundamental concepts. We can no longer rest content that persons can merely cope. We must push our society and its civilization forward to the point where each individual can assimilate and accommodate the process of personal, hierarchical, cognitive restructuring—that process of thinking whereby the self is repeatedly put into those new relationships with both the known and the desired to be known, which then allows the person to comprehend ever more fundamentally what her or his bicameral mind is saying.

COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY IN 2000?

Will counseling psychology exist in 2000, then?

I started by indicating that civilization had to exist in 2000 if there was to be any chance for counseling psychology to exist then. I indicated that I was optimistic about civilization's existence in 2000 but that it might depend more on making counseling psychology's 1980 purposes and achievements quickly more universal than they now are. I indicated that I would return to this question as I now do in conclusion.

Kuhn (1970) indicates that the basic paradigm of a science actually shifts when a scientific revolution occurs. Many scientific revolutions have occurred in our lives and we psychologists, as members of the general public in this regard, probably remain as ignorant of most of their changed paradigms as do most Toms, Dicks, and Marys. But we have universally seen the name of the

news game as television puts us in more immediate touch with news almost anywhere around the globe. We have also universally experienced the first physical step from earth into the universe—the step to the moon. One of us made it!

All of these revolutionary changes shift the ground on which the self as universe can exist if persons as universes can be brought to feel responsible for their aloneness in their perceived universes without suffering from debilitating loneliness. At the present time, development of capacity on earth for all to live in more direct relationship with energy than with matter emerges as the new universal imperative (Fuller, 1969, 1972, 1976). This development of a capacity to live in a more direct relationship with energy can only be done by changing our perceptual relationship in time. International relationships will be sorely strained until that problem is solved to universal satisfaction. Individuals will be the greatest deterrent to the needed universal solution.

Unfortunately, humans tend to keep their eyes on the holes in what they've got rather than on the doughnuts of what they need for survival and further movement toward more general-purposed being. But with counseling psychologists this habit takes an even more pernicious professional form. Many of my counseling psychologist colleagues have for the last two decades or more kept their eyes on the hole of psychotherapy rather than on the doughnut of thought. And this is the key both to whether civilization will exist in 2000 or not and to whether counseling psychology is there along with civilization or not.

Thought is the hallmark of being human. Thinking comes naturally to humans. However, thought makes humans different from each other, and being different from others is neither much encouraged nor facilitated. If counseling psychology were to return to the *i-1* level (Platt, 1970) of its heritage, it could probably move to the *i+1* level of comprehended personal, hierarchical restructuring that I have advanced. But we will have to look both outside ourselves and deeper inside ourselves for this restructuring, because looking only to ourselves and situations as they are now for this restructuring will keep us at the *i* level we presently occupy and monopolize bureaucratically.

The scientific revolutions necessary to counseling psychology's movement to that recommended *i+1* level that will be civilization enhancing are presently all around us. These revolutions include (1) thought (consciousness) as the basic comprehension we should seek to facilitate on a universally operable basis, (2) development as the basic paradigm for others' understanding of our work, (3) psychological education and minicounseling as the basic technologies we use, and (4) open-systems theory as the philosophy of science we exemplify and practice as the applied science of the art of living, that ethic we must establish in the universe in our time or see civilization dwindle.

I do not labor under the impression that counseling psychology will certainly exist in 2000 A.D. The revolution on which I predicate such a

possibility is too massive for me to believe it can certainly happen. However, even at 59, I remain optimistic that it will occur. After all, Whiteley looks ahead and undertakes some of the work necessary for us to see the tacit dimensions of our prior work and its implications for the future. After all, I had opportunity to advance this challenge to those of you whose tacit dimensions approximate mine sufficiently to prove that we are willing to network ourselves for realization of what we can soon advance together. After all, I am alive and can fight for comprehension of thinking processes as ethic whenever I find the chance, with individuals alone or in groups. As with freedom, the price of achievement is eternal vigilance, and I remain eternally vigilant to opportunities to argue that people (1) can think, (2) will think, and (3) can be brought to know (a) that they think, (b) how they think, (c) why they think, and (d) to think. As with freedom also, the price of counseling psychology's existence in the year 2000 will be progress in our mutual achievement of my prescribed ethic.

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Chapter 25

Observations on What Counseling Psychologists Will Be Doing During the Next 20 Years

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Projections are risky business. I have made some in one fairly recent book, (Wrenn, 1973), and others in one fairly ancient one (Wrenn, 1962). Some projections have been realized and some not. Some projections were thoughtful extrapolations of an existing trend; some, as later examination seems to suggest, were simply expressions of wishful thinking on my part. But even the extrapolation of an existing trend can be vitally affected by unexpected developments—accidents, so to speak. I was not likely to have anticipated in 1962, for example, the violence of student demonstrations during the late 1960s, the totally disastrous social and economic effects of the Vietnam War, the rising tide of worldwide political revolutions with all of their attendant violence, or the spiraling inflation of our own and other economies. If I could have done so, I would today be either famous or wealthy or both!

During the past two decades, counseling and counseling psychology have been dramatically affected by social, political, and economic developments not only in our own country but worldwide. Federal support of counseling and counselor education has all but disappeared. Public confidence in the schools and in government has been seriously eroded. The youth of our country (and the rest of us) have seen violence succeed, not only on our streets, but in nations throughout the world. Governmental and business corruption is reported in a commonplace manner. Justice in our courts of law seldom appears to be the courts' major concern. As a consequence of these and other soul-wrenching developments, our clients have changed from those of, say, two or three decades ago. This means that

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our tactics and our strategies have changed or (wishful thinking here, of course) *should* have changed.

As we confront the next 20 years, we *cannot* anticipate social developments with any solid degree of assurance. Yet the professional and personal behaviors of counseling psychologists will undoubtedly be a reflection of the society in which they are currently operating. Pep (Harold B. Pepinsky to those who are not fortunate enough to know him as friend or beloved colleague) recently sent me a short preview of the forecast that he will be presenting in these same pages. He believes that one large factor in the social changes to come will be an increasing contact with and respect for the beliefs of people from all other parts of the world. We will not be allowed the luxury of an American insularity. I can see this happening today—widespread contact through T.V. and travel, foreign capital taking over American land and corporations, American charisma less potent worldwide. How this one pervasive influence will affect American society, and therefore affect counseling psychology, is impossible to predict.

What follows in this modest paper will be simple straight-line projections of *what I perceive* as present movements either in our society or in our professional field. The steepness of the slope of the curve is not indicated, nor can I predict the hills, valleys, or plateaus that may appear in the curve during the next 20 years. I am positive in my thinking that these curves will not drop steeply or be bottomed out, *unless* the trend in question is vitally influenced by major and unpredictable developments such as: the disappearance of democratic societies; a steep increase in the rate of worldwide inflation; nuclear warfare; or direct contact with an alien but more technologically and socially advanced civilization. Nor are these extrapolations presented in any order of importance, for each one is important in its own sphere.

1. *Holistic health cooperation.* Holistic health concepts are very much "with us" in 1980. The human being is perceived as "a body-mind-spirit living in a political, economic, social, ecological environment. That is to say, there is continuous interrelationship and interaction between and among the biophysical self, the transpersonal-spiritual self, the psycho-emotional self, and the socio-cultural context in which the individual lives" (Huff, 1978; this is a precise, scholarly, six-page statement of theory and practice in this evolving field). Prevention is stressed rather than treatment, health rather than illness, integration of self rather than the development of parts. By the year 2000 some counseling psychologists will be members of holistic health teams in which the psychologist works with physician, nurse, social worker, minister, varying the combination with each situation. These professionals work cooperatively to help clients maintain a high-level sense of mental and physical health or to restore health to the ailing. Such psychologists are conversant with the various dimensions of health and are skilled in working cooperatively with other health-care professionals.

2. *Life stage specialization.* Some of the counseling psychologists of the

next two decades will operate as life stage specialists, with knowledge of and skills appropriate to the most commonly appearing crises in each developmental stage of life and at each transition point. They will study behavior at each life stage as intensively as physicians currently study special areas of the body. It will be necessary to have read such books as Levinson (1978) and Sheehy (1976) to understand what is meant by this trend. There will be other "stages" books and still more on the psychology of aging and older people.

3. *Counseling for total life satisfactions.* The counseling psychologist of today is only beginning to be aware of the need of many clients for help in utilizing nonemployed hours in a life-satisfying manner. These satisfactions may be *complementary* to the client's self-involved and self-engrossing occupational activities or *compensatory* to an occupation that provides little sense of self-fulfillment. The satisfactions sought may be either personally creative or socially useful. They may be satisfactions that provide a sense of personal growth, a sense of contributing to the welfare of others or to a more healthy society, or a sense of personal or social enjoyment of the activity involved.

It seems quite apparent that there will be available to the individual an increasing amount of nonemployed time that is now often spent in self-indulgent or self-destructive ways. There will be also an increase in the number of jobs available that are life-frustrating because they are repetitive, uninteresting, give little sense of dignity to the person, and give little hope for advancement. There is need now for the counseling psychologist to counsel others on developing a total pattern of life satisfactions, to be sought through on-the-job activities, and the need by the year 2000 will be much greater.

4. *Career planning for those in mid-life and older.* It is slowly being recognized that there is an incredible waste of talent and a buildup of frustrations for many categories of people aged 35 to 50 and for those who have retired from their major occupational activity. At mid-life there are many who must make a first choice or change their occupational field. There are housewives and mothers whose children have grown up or women who are now widows and who need an increased sense of usefulness and increased sense of self-fulfillment. There are divorced men and women with children to support (currently, according to a report of The International Women's Year Commission, only 14% of divorced women are awarded alimony and only 44% are allotted child support. In this latter situation, less than half are able to collect the child support regularly!). By the year 2000 it seems likely that many fathers will be awarded the custody of their children. They, too, will need counseling assistance in order to adjust to this added major-time responsibility. There are both men and women who by mid-life have become disillusioned by the apparent sterility or the blind-alley nature of their present vocation and who want aid in changing to a new occupation or a new career.

Then consider the men and women who retire early. Increasing numbers of business executives retire by age 65 or 60 or earlier. This is indicated by a

1977-78 study of retired executives made by the College Board in which it was found that 47% of the sample had retired before age 65 (Arbeiter et al., 1978). Military men and women often retire at ages 45-50 after 20-30 years of service. These younger retirees have great need for engaging in a second occupation; society needs their talents, they need either increased income or a sense of social usefulness, need a discharge of their yet considerable vitality. Older retirees, on Social Security and perhaps a personal retirement income, need desperately a sense of usefulness either in on-the-job or off-the-job activity. There is no loneliness greater than a sense of one's being "placed on the shelf" regardless of one's desire to continue being active and contributive. A life of golf, bridge, and passive spectatoritis holds little charm after the first year or two.

Not to be forgotten are men and women who suffer some handicapping disability in their 30s or 40s and who need help in the choice of an appropriate occupational activity to lighten their sense of despair, if nothing else.

Recently I have been editing the manuscript of a book by William L. George, an experienced counselor of adults, which is devoted to an analysis of mid-life career choices. He is convinced that people in mid-life or older need professional help in making appropriate choices. This involves their understanding their interests, aptitudes and personality traits (what they have to offer of motivated talent), the careful selection of an appropriate training facility after a choice is made, explicit awareness of how to apply for employment after training is started or completed. His book carries the reader through a specific sequence of steps to be taken.

In all of this the counseling psychologist is a most appropriate professional to give mid-career or retiree assistance. He is oriented to giving assistance in *both* an understanding of self and an understanding of environmental demands and rewards. It has been an observation of many scholars and practitioners that ours is an age in which people feel more free than ever before to make basic changes in their lives. This is illustrated by the high rate of job changes and marriage breakdowns, sometimes in the early 30s of life, sometimes in the 40s. Arbeiter et al. (1978) states that 40 million Americans, over one-third of the working population between the ages of 16 and 65, are in some stage of career transition or job change.

If counseling psychologists are appropriate helping professionals in this connection in the year 1980, they will be even more appropriate by the year 2000. The need may be greater then and the professional will be more experienced and knowledgeable. Long before the year 2000 we may see the emergence of mid-life career counseling specialists, with career planning denoting *life planning*, not merely occupational choice.

5. *Peer learnings*. There is currently almost a nationwide movement of people engaging in group experiences. These groups are called by many names, they are varied in intent, varied in the degree of emotional expression that is expected, varied in the extent to which the leader (facilitator) intervenes and "manages" the group. The common element is that people learn about

themselves from their peers in the group. I do not see any diminution in the desire of people to learn about themselves from others in a group setting in which there is some degree of trust of each other. Each of our three selves is real; the self I *want* to be, the self that I see myself to *be* now, and the self that *others* see me to be. The "real" self is a composite of all three. The first two insights may be gained in a one-to-one counseling relationship, but the third requires a wider exposure in a setting of group trust.

The counseling psychologist of that far-off 20 years hence (and it is "far-off," for much will happen in every dimension of life during that period) will be using procedures and focusing on relationships that are impossible to predict. He or she *will* be working with groups or having groups meet without a leader; it is of only that that we can be sure. My hunch is that neither the Esalen emphasis nor the NTL (National Training Laboratory) focus will be dominant. The idea of learning from each other will be less new and faddish, perhaps emotional trauma or release will be less, perhaps cognitive learning more. Or, depending on what takes place economically, socially, even internationally in a stress sense, *the reverse may be true*. All that I am sure of is that some forms of group learnings will be one area in which the counseling psychologist will play a significant role during the next two decades.

6. *Counselors of men and women as persons, not as male or female.* I am not proposing that we will be a unisex society by 2000 A.D.—not at all. Male and female uniqueness will be as highly regarded as now, perhaps more so, but uniqueness as a person, regardless of sex, will be even more highly regarded. Respecting women as *persons* first is certainly a present trend, and I see no reason for anything but a continued upward slope to the curve. Psychologists by the year 2000 will be counseling women as they now do men, as equal members of a society. How many times do counselors *currently* say to a man "I'm sorry, I don't think you can do that, you're a *man*?" By the year 2000 they will not be as likely as now to express a similar regret—"because you are a woman." Even without explicit words, psychologists will increasingly see a woman client as an individual, not in terms of her femaleness.

Equality does not mean similarity. Equality in social, political, economic, and vocational terms does not mean that a man and a woman will see the same situation in the same or even similar terms. Not now or then. Women react differently from men in part because they have different genetic and physiological inheritances, in part because they respond to social stereotypes of female behavior versus male behavior. The former is not likely to change in 20 years, but the latter well may. As child-rearing and mate-supporting roles become less and less the *sole* concern of women and as women achieve more and more visibility vocationally and politically, the stereotype will erode.

My daughter-in-law, Margaret Wrenn, has suggested a unique way of determining the extent to which the female/male stereotype is operative. Administer a pencil-and-paper cast study to two randomly selected groups of counselors. The study is worded exactly the same for the two groups except

that for one group the study will use only the *male* pronoun. For the other, the study will use only the *female* pronoun. Analyze the differences in the counseling given, in the conclusions drawn. My addition to her proposal is that this study be replicated each two to five years to see whether the differences are maintained or decrease. My assumption is, of course, that the stereotypes are present now and still influence the counselor's treatments, but that they will decrease materially within the next two decades.

7. *Counseling couples.* The family as a social institution will still be very solidly present by the year 2000. A large majority of men and women need each other in some sort of close and continuing mutuality of support. This may be with or without the sanction of a legal or religious marriage, with or without children. The magnitude and the character of the changes in family life between now and the year 2000 is impossible to predict. If one extrapolated the present degree of departure from the long-standing pattern of couples who live together in marriage and with the expectation of having children, then 20 years from now the proportion of those living together without marriage and/or without children might be in the neighborhood of 10% to 20%. This would mean a fairly steep upward slant of the curve. It could be much less—it is unlikely to be much more.

Many factors influence whether couples live together without marriage, whether they separate or divorce, whether they deliberately have children or not, or delay too long. There is the psychology of desiring social approval or defying it, of having values associated with marriage or not having them, of desiring freedom more than commitment, of observing the psychological and economic effect of separation and/or divorce—all of these are fluid, viable influences, subject to change almost without notice! The state of the economy is a factor in both marriage rate and birth rate. The woman's desire for establishing a vocational or career pattern before marriage and/or having children could increase or decrease. Couples who come from homes where marriage is the pattern are only in the first stages of trying cohabitation. The trend is not certain, and many cohabiting couples eventually marry each other or someone else. Eighty per cent of the million or more divorces each year result in remarriage. The resulting new family may have additional children, so that families of children and stepchildren, siblings and half siblings are increasing in number.

The counseling psychologist of the future must be open to a wide variety of family or couple situations. He or she will need to be very explicit in *not* reading his or her own family and childhood history into the couple or parenting problem that is presented by the client. *Parenting preparation* involving the counselor will increase, for both married and unmarried couples, as child rearing is perceived as significantly difficult under present conditions of violence and an unstable morality. Not only will the counseling of couples and families become more complex in and of itself within the next two decades, but each of the social changes suggested in the preceding sections of this statement will have its own impact on family life and child rearing. This

includes the life-stage characteristics of the clients who seek family or parenting help, their need for securing nonoccupational satisfactions, career change possibilities, the attitude toward men and women stereotypes—all of these may affect the couple or child-rearing problems that they face. Without doubt, this area of counseling is likely to be the most complex of any that the counseling psychologist will face by the year 2000.

8. *All ages in schools and colleges.* The extrapolation of this present trend is easy to visualize. Currently, over 50% of the millions enrolled in community colleges and junior colleges are past age 21. A 1972 report indicates that *at that time* over 15,000,000 people were engaged in some form of adult education, of whom one half were over 35 years of age. The College Board study cited in Section 4 (Arbeiter et al., 1978) also states that more than one half of these 40 million Americans expect to return to some type of education or training. The latest annual report of the National Center for Education Statistics, *The Condition of American Education*, states that in 1976 there were more than twice as many adults in basic and secondary education than in 1972. Such figures as these are impressive and become more so as middle-aged and older people represent larger and larger proportions of the total population. There is a zest as well as a necessity for adults to "keep up" with the world, and the year 2000 will see counseling psychologists in schools and colleges dealing with increasing numbers of adult students.

This will mean that the counselor will often have clients who are chronologically older and, in many dimensions of life, more mature and wise than the counselor. He or she, as a psychologist, will not "instruct," and will not react to the client as one who has had more "experience." Rather the counselor will *facilitate* the client's own perhaps mature ability to solve his or her own problem, set his or her own goals. This psychologist-counselor will be dealing with the several facets of a complex life, all interrelated with a particular client's adjustment problems or developmental needs—living with another, child rearing, conflicts with other adults,¹ or any one of a variety of long-standing disillusionments or misconceptions of self. He or she may well have to be sophisticated in life-stage needs and in the ability to give counsel on nonjob life satisfactions as well as possible occupational rewards. In brief, the counseling psychologist will adapt to several age levels and several maturity levels, perhaps the whole range in the course of one day.

9. *Research by counseling psychologists.* I have no feeling of assurance here except that counseling psychologists have always been research oriented, and so I assume that they will continue to engage in research. What *kind* of research I am hesitant to suggest. Any of my earlier stated projections for the next two decades would require research. I attempted to write further, saying

¹A significant source of help in this particular connection is J. P. Decker, *Solving personality clashes with time-zero*. This 1978 brochure of only 56 pages presents a remarkably simple and direct method for solving conflicts or preventing them, the treatment to begin with the conditions of this moment—"time zero."

"Research, especially in area 1, and so on," but I could not distinguish any one area from another as being possibly research based over the next two decades! It is my opinion that the most needful areas in 1980 are 1, 2, 5, and 6, but another counseling psychologist might see a different emphasis of need.

A basic study of research trends in counseling psychology is found in an article by Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, and Epperson (1978), written in recognition of the 25th anniversary of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. In addition to some very meaningful insights regarding the history of that journal, its editors, and its relation to the Division of Counseling Psychology, there is a careful sequential analysis of the kinds of research presented in that journal over the past 25 years. The research published is in part in response to the point of view of the editor of any given period, in part in response to the kinds of research being carried out in that same period. There has been an increase over the past ten years in the publication of research on the *process* of counseling, the *outcomes* of counseling, *vocational behavior* and *counselor education*. In terms of the particular "focus of counseling" in which research is being published in this journal there appears to be a mild increase in research on *sensitivity and human relations* and a sharp increase on *special behavioral problems*. Such studies as these appear to be basic to the most effective conduct of counseling, and I see no reason why some or all of these emphases may not be projected into the next 20 years. A confirmation of some of these trends may be found in *The Counseling Psychologist* (1979).

My personal hope is that during these two decades we will be concerned with: (1) single subject research, ideographic rather than nomothetic, as we become increasingly aware of the uniqueness of each person's lifespace and aware of the danger of studying the part in separation from the whole; (2) studies of psychological synergism in people (a recent and almost pioneering study was carried out by Sherrie R. Bartell, 1977; Bartell describes four Paradoxes and four Properties of Creative Product that emerge from the interaction of her synergistic pairs); (3) perhaps new research methodologies such as the "Grounded-Theory" qualitative research methodology proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). I know but little of this approach except as it has been called to my attention by former students of mine such as Bartell and Yamamoto. It appears to have the quality of utilizing *all* of the data arising from experiential situations.

It may well be that in suggesting such possible research approaches and areas I am merely revealing the kinds of research that I would like to explore were I to be research-active during the next 20 years! And since I will probably not be active at all during the latter part of that period, I should stop making waves in personal directions.

10. *A sense of caring*. This is an expression of the hope that counseling psychologists, counselors, and members of other helping professions will be known by the year 2000 as persons who show a sense of caring for others as well as persons who are knowledgeable about the human endeavor. This cannot be called an extrapolation of present trends—I have no evidence that

caring is on the increase as much as is knowledge. I can only express a conviction that counselors are more effective if they communicate a sense of caring for the client as well as possess information and skills helpful to the client.

I gave some thoughtful attention to the significance of caring in the last nine pages of *The World of the Contemporary Counselor* (1973). Since that publication I have thought, dreamed, and written more on the topic. "The nature of caring" appeared in *The Humanist Educator* (1977) and "Caring for others when they need you most" appeared in 1979 in the same journal. A third essay, "Caring within the four walls of a room," is currently being prepared for publication in a nonprofessional journal. I will not repeat here what is contained in these articles, but from a statement on "some beliefs about people and life," not yet completed or submitted, I will quote these brief paragraphs:

Caring for a person may be shown by being *with* the other person or by doing something *for* him or her. Sometimes by being with a person in his or her perceptions of self and with them in their feelings about themselves, you need not *say* anything nor solve any problems. Perhaps it is enough simply to sit quietly within his or her world, making it your world for those moments or those hours, because in so doing you are giving him or her the greatest gift you have to offer—the gift of yourself.

I will be most free to care about others when I have learned to care about myself.² This means that I have learned to accept all of me, denying neither my weaknesses nor my strengths. In this I will be trusting myself as a person, neither free of faults nor always consistent.

I would rather be remembered as a *caring* person than as a *knowing* person. Sometimes one aspires to being known as a wise person. *Wisdom*, to me, is one part knowing and two parts caring.

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Chapter 26

Counseling Psychology— 2000 A.D.

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"I have no desire to be an old counseling psychologist." This was a statement made by John G. Darley in a conversation at the Greyston Conference in 1964. It has been occasional food for thought ever since. It also fits the content of this paper. Careful perusal of the conference report gives one the impression that the conference has cast many shadows into the future. For those concerned with the future of counseling psychology the report is well worth another reading.

There is a tendency for writers and speakers to go back to the beginning of time and wear out the audience before they reach the present. Mercifully, the past has been taken care of in *The history of counseling psychology* (Whiteley, 1980) so that brevity is possible and desirable here.

COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY IN THE YEAR 2000 A.D.

Writing this material is not a particularly happy task. Although I have invested many years in the interests of counseling psychology, my crystal ball provides cloudy and very dark images. To predict a hopeful journey into the years ahead one must see sophisticated growth and sound maturation. Such outcomes must meet the demands of adaptation for survival, and survival, for many psychologists who earn livelihoods from tax-supported sources, is indeed "iffy." Demagogues seeking money from local, state, or federal funds still identify the United States as "the richest country in the world"! A much more accurate statement is "the most indebted country." Our national debt can never be paid off and the carrying charges are a staggering burden. In California, Proposition 13 passed by the voters in 1978 by a two-to-one margin. This cut \$7,000,000,000 from state and local tax rolls. A number of other states have similar proposals on the ballot in the near future. Pressures on Washington for spending and taxing limits are heavy and increasing. In

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terms of the increasing probability for some form of repudiation of the national debt and the drying up of state and local funds, the future for the military, police, and fire fighters is somewhat brighter than for professional psychologists of whatever persuasion. *The first prediction*, then, is there will be little financial support for counseling psychologists.

A second prediction is that counselors at the M.A./M.S. level will increasingly replace those with doctorates. To some degree, Gresham's law in economics provides an analogy. Gresham stated that when two metals circulated side-by-side as media of exchange, the poorer would drive out the better. (How long since you have found a silver quarter, half-dollar or dollar in your change?) With the scarcity of public funds increasing, unless those with doctorates can produce overwhelming evidence that their services are very superior and necessary, employment opportunities will decrease markedly. This is not as serious a condition as one might imagine. The day-by-day, routine counseling in educational institutions has not been a major occupation of counseling psychologists. The majority of those with the doctorate have held teaching and/or administrative positions. The wiser ones have achieved a place as tenured faculty members in colleges and universities. Supervised graduate students, or those not holding the Ph.D. or Ed.D. degrees, have tended to carry the counseling work load. Secondary schools have not made a practice of employing counseling psychologists for routine counseling duties.

The third prediction is that the distinction between clinical and counseling skills is vanishing steadily. If one wishes to observe this trend, the *Position(s) Open* section of the *APA Monitor* gives evidence in every issue. Openings for "clinical or counseling psychologists" occur more frequently than do those for counseling psychologists.

Providing adjustment services is cheaper than more complicated approaches. Counseling centers based on the early University of Minnesota model are more expensive than the simpler interviewing methods of adjustment psychologists. The need for psychometric staff, scoring machines, psychometric supplies, specialized outside scoring for some test instruments, and much clerical help piles up costs. Many of the skills required in the interpretation and communication of test and inventory results need no longer be staffed.

Many are forced to agree with Carl Rogers' early claims that the personal attention of someone perceived as a status figure, semiprivileged communication, and a safe place to bitch and ventilate have real therapeutic values. This even though the practitioner may be trained far short of full competency as a psychotherapist. Adjustment services for most normal clients are much less costly dollar-wise than dealing with adaptation-distribution. If the client does not know the difference between his or her real needs and the services offered, so what?

Training institutions, like the Sorcerer's Apprentice in the Mickey Mouse scenes of the motion picture *Fantasia*, seem to be unable to shut off

floods. The oversupply of psychologists, legitimate and questionable, is becoming worse. Quoting Asher and Asher (1978):

Wellner estimates that about a third of psychology licensure applicants have doctorates from the 140 APA-accredited professional psychological programs, and the report estimates that there are an additional 350-450 programs that students are currently using to get into psychology. It would be the proposed commission's task to identify which of these are in fact psychology [p. 8].

Prediction four is that Division 17 may not be in existence 20 or fewer years from now. Movements are afoot, and growing in strength, to review the training of professional psychologists in several areas. In 1977 the American Association of State Psychology Boards set guidelines for scrutinizing training programs, and Alfred Wellner edited a report titled *Education and credentialing in psychology* (Wellner, 1977). There is concern about "What is a psychology" among and between APA divisions, within divisions, and in APA central office.

It appears an impossibility to define with any clarity or clear rationale just what psychology counseling psychology is. Not that some of the other divisions are too much better off, but they have an easier time in describing work areas and partially discrete methods of operation. Counseling psychology, after seven years of agony, jettisoned *guidance*. If there is a clear professional psychology that describes a reasonably discrete area of methodology and identifies an area of social usefulness, Division 17 might gain new horizons by aborting *counseling*.

Is there a free floating, unclaimed, professional psychology in which an appreciable number of present Division 17 members are competent and could find reasonable satisfactions? From the writer's standpoint, there is. Appreciable numbers of nomethetically oriented psychologists exist who are expert in the assessment and evaluation of personality for the purpose of working with clients in order that they may better understand what, and who, they are. They are found in industrial, consulting, military, counseling, and rehabilitation settings. Unlike the counseling psychologist, who tends to deal primarily with adolescents and young adults, these professionals operate across the full age range of the "normal" individual from adolescence into old age. Whereas the counseling psychologist deals with the *becoming* life period, these personality analysts include *being* and *having*. Further, these personality specialists have a promising area of private practice. They can go well beyond what most counseling psychologists in educational institutions can supply to youth. Women re-entering the world of work; mature persons caught in a "professional trap"; those wishing to shift careers; those seeking satisfying avocations; those nearing retirement—all tend, at times, to seek professional aid.

From the training standpoint, psychology departments and schools are

almost the only sources. Internships are possible in business, industrial, and government personnel departments. Emphasis can be placed on adaptation and distribution without neglecting necessary understanding of general adjustment problems. Competition with those who perceive themselves, or are perceived by others, as overlapping in practice (clinical-counseling) is reduced or eliminated.

Whether Division 17 goes in this direction or some other division adds to its name by including these psychologists, they have an identity that will eventually obtain official recognition. A proposal of this nature was discussed informally with others at the Greyston Conference. I even floated a "lead balloon" titled *Psychoevaluation* in 1963. "But the South will rise again."¹

In the midst of all this gloom do not counseling psychologists and Division 17 have some offsetting advantages that might project a happier future? Perhaps the answer lies in a story about Bernard Baruch, adviser to many U.S. Presidents. Baruch appeared at a national meeting of the American Association of Retired Persons to give a talk. He began by saying "Ladies and gentlemen, my topic tonight is 'Some advantages in growing older.'" He looked down at the floor. Ten seconds of silence passed. Twenty. Thirty. The audience began to fidget. Suddenly Baruch looked up and smiled. "I'm trying to think of one," he said.

Let us close where we began. Like John Darley, and many respected former counseling psychologists, I have no desire to be an old counseling psychologist!

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¹Lest one think that all of the worms are in one apple, see Kelley, Goldberg, Fiske, and Kilkowski, 1978.

Chapter 27

A Counseling Psychology for the New Age?

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SOOTHSAYING FOR FUN AND PROPHECY

The prudent prophet, it seems, is either extraordinarily prolific or exceedingly vague. In our time, professional seers appear to prefer the former route. They flood the media with myriads of predictions, often of a most specific kind. This or that celebrity will take this or that drastic action, meet with an untimely end, and so on, and so forth. And having thrown out so many seeds, it becomes more likely that the sower will have at least some germinate. Those that do not, of course, are quickly forgotten. Who, for example, saves a February sports section through to October to check on the accuracy of the local pundit's baseball prognostications? Who remembers Jean Dixon's predictions for the present year as it winds into its last months?

The second course is based on a classical model. The Delphic Oracle to which the ancient Greeks turned for counsel in many critical periods had the knack of supplying immediate, concrete, specific responses to any query, but these responses were, in truth, capable of accommodating almost any eventuality. For example, when asked about the wisdom of a particular military adventure, the Oracle would say something like, if X crosses River Y, a great nation will be destroyed. Now although the "hawks" of the day would rejoice having received a divine endorsement for their project, defeat obviously would not discredit the Oracle. For in that case, too, the prophecy would be fulfilled, although clearly the nation destroyed would not be the one the bellicose had in mind when they beat the drums of war.

In his *Powers of the mind* Adam Smith (1976) reports the results of using the *I Ching* with Wall Street analysts to predict the course of the market. He found that the analysts immediately "understood" the wisdom of whatever response that venerable Oriental prognosticator vouchsafed in response to their casting of the dice. In each case, the "meaning" taken from its aphorisms and cryptic images could be interpreted to be verbalizations of previously

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unarticulated hunches. The results seemed to have a promising level of accuracy.

There may, indeed, be greater merit in such a procedure than the specious accuracy derived from ambiguity of its predictions. Each day it is obvious that we know more than we can articulate. There are, after all, many more things that we can do than we can explain; things that we recognize but cannot describe; things that, done automatically, flow smoothly but that, accorded attention, go badly. Perhaps, then, the function of any oracle is to distract us, to lure us away from our usual modes of thought, away from analysis, from the types of cerebration that depend so much on what language can capture. Perhaps the task is like that of the kloans of the Zen masters or the mantras of meditators—that is, to keep the plodding sequential aspects of us busy, so that a more serviceable mode of mentation may be heard.

On a more pedestrian plane, but to the same point, the research literature that grew up more than a decade ago around the issue of "person perception" tells much the same tale. The analytical, rational approach of seasoned clinicians well schooled in the applications of their respective theories regularly lost out to global, impressionistic suppositions of neophytes and nonclinicians in the behavior anticipation derbies.

Thus, in what follows, I shall presume to look at counseling psychology and its world *sub specie aeternitatis* in the hope that the sweeping Delphian conclusions that result will evoke greater lucidity on the part of the more gifted prognosticators who may read them.

THE ENGINES OF CHANGE

Any prediction, it seems, must take into account the fact that the world in which counseling psychology moves is in the throes of radical transformation. From the lofty perspective I have arrogated to myself, some extensive changes appear to be inevitable if (and this "if" looms uncomfortably large) civilization in any recognizable form is to continue. Not the least of these changes must be in attitude, in thought, in *Weltanschauung*. That is to say, some of the pivotal assumptions on which our society turns, aspects of the common sense of our culture, will succumb to the recognition that, however useful, however valid these notions may have been, they have now become at least dysfunctional and, more probably, deadly delusions.

Let us consider several that seem most critical:

1. *The Growth Myth*: Bigger is better. More is to be preferred to less. The larger has greater survival potential. In a pinch the larger will inevitably swallow up the smaller, as the fox the hare.

2. *The Imperative of Possibility*: If it can be done, it should be done. If it is possible to build a larger transport, a faster jetliner, a taller building, a longer pipeline, it is mete and right that it be accomplished. If a wooded hillside can be "developed," it would be a shame to "waste" it. If it is possible to produce widgets, widgets ought to be produced. People can then be trained to want widgets and indeed, ultimately to believe that they *need* them.

3. *The Linear Course of History*: New forms of virtually anything are unexceptionally superior to their antecedents. Time has winnowed technology and culture and the chaff has been discarded. Hence, we now have a higher quality product than before and can safely assume that what preceded it was either a false start or an evolutionary step to it. When we look back, we look down.

4. *The Subjugation/Domestication of Nature*: Happiness and meaning are to be wrested from the external world that, after all, is our oyster. It has been the genius of the West to recognize the possibility of conquest and hence to set about devising ways and means for doing so. Other civilizations have tended to acquiesce, to strive merely to adapt gracefully to whatever it was that Nature proffered and to put their hopes in other realms of being. What became clear to the Occidental mind by dint of reason and of its progeny—technology—is that a measure of control over the external aspects of life heretofore attributed only to the gods lies within the human reach. Do we not exert our will over space and time, over disease, to an extent incomprehensible to other cultures? Do we not shape the way in which the elements impinge on us so successfully that weather is merely a charming diversion that has little impact on our comfort for most of the day?

THE WORMS IN THE APPLES

Stated so boldly, but not unfairly (I think), the flaws in these assumptions, more often acted out than reflected upon, become evident. Although it is true, for example, that our economy is structured so that the rampant consumption (which we have cleverly transvalued as “growth”) seems necessary if the system is not to fall in on itself, there is the inescapable sense that the present course cannot be sustained much longer. The chain letter must end somewhere and shortly. For as Schumacher (1973) has it, we have been expending irreplaceable capital as if it were income. That is, the present arrangement requires the consumption of natural resources at a profligate rate, as if they were indeed infinite or science were omnipotent and capable of creating something out of nothing or as if there were no tomorrow.

The whole enterprise is, of course, sustained by the second proposition as well. The belief is that everything must ultimately turn out well for it is ordained by God or Nature. When Abraham prepared to kill Isaac on the altar, he did so with the confidence that in following God’s command he could not be in moral error no matter how it appeared at the moment.

But whence can this certitude be derived in the present case? Indeed, our experience is rife with examples to the contrary. Again and again in retrospect a consensus is possible that this or that possibility should not have been pursued. The Nazis, to give but one disastrous example, pushed the doctrine energetically, finding in it a sort of international hunting license. In their version, the Superman was mandated to rip his Destiny, the ultimate human destiny, from the recalcitrant world. Regrettably, “lesser” members of the species having served their time must occasionally be swept from the stage to

make way for the hero's pursuit of his own goals, the final flowering of the race.

Nor need we trade on nostalgia to establish the fallaciousness of the linear view of our era. It is not merely a matter of appealing to a sense of a Lost Eden that appears to be such a common part of the human experience. Not at all. Rather, when we take time to look, we find in virtually every field of human endeavor superior ideas, techniques, and tools from earlier ages that have had to be reinvented or need to be. The West took a millennium to replicate the plastic surgery of the Hindus and many more years to recognize the value of sterile surgery, an integral part of ancient Egyptian practice. We have just begun to scratch the surface of medical botany, bringing into focus the utility of plants used to great advantage for centuries by "less advanced" peoples. Yogic practices many times older than the Christian era are at last gaining recognition among us as powerful means for sustaining human vitality. Hypnosis as an analgesic was abandoned some years ago when chemical anesthetics emerged. But this ancient craft has now been resurrected, in part since these chemicals have proved to be more hazardous than previously acknowledged. Similarly, energy-conserving elements of architectural design were discarded when the invention of the furnace started us thinking that we need not consider such things but could freely impose our will on the environment. True, it required prodigious expenditures, but we drew, we thought, from an infinite energy account. In fact, the list of better ideas now forgotten that any of us could generate, given some thought, would probably be imposing indeed.

And where is the evidence for the contention that happiness is externally generated? To the contrary, those few hardy souls who have studied "happiness" have tended to find that state to be unrelated to the number of positive and negative events in one's life. That is, in general "happy" people are not distinguished from their unhappy neighbors by circumstances. What appears to be critical is what individuals choose to focus on. For example, when over a period of time college students rated the high and low points of their day and then characterized the day as a whole, "happy" students persistently took the "high" point for the "mode" and "unhappy" students the low.

Swami Satchidananda teaches that the perennial wisdom in Genesis, in God's proscription of Eden's Tree is the realization that human beings are created in the image of God. Consequently, in so far as they keep in touch with their essential nature, they are sufficient in themselves. The primal error, the Original Sin, is the futile search for what is within among agencies beyond the Self.

Ivan Illich (1973) pushes the matter a step further. He invokes the classical Greek images of *hybris*, "overweening pride" or "immoderate aspirations"—that is, the wish to be a god—and Nemesis. In the Greek tradition those who overstepped the human role were guilty of *hybris* and were inevitably brought low by Nemesis. What is more, the fruits that they

pursued so passionately were usually the ultimate instruments of their destruction. Midas, for example, dies of starvation. He cannot draw sustenance from food or water turned to gold. Similarly, the technology that was to make us free and independent has, in fact, enslaved us. For instance, any interruption with the supply of electricity can render our ultraconvenient homes virtually uninhabitable. There is no way to heat them without power to run the furnace, the thermostat, the fan, or the pump. Consider the automobile, that symbol of autonomy and personal power. Does it not allow us to get where we want, when we want, and with unparalleled alacrity? Illich (1973) argues to the contrary. He says that the automobile has in the final analysis made transportation more onerous, more time consuming and expensive.

The model American male devotes more than 1600 hours a year to his car . . . using it and paying for it (four of 16 waking hours riding in it or gathering his resources for it) . . .

In countries deprived of a transportation industry, people manage to do the same, walking wherever they want to go, and they allocate only 3 to 8% of their society's time budget to traffic instead of 28% [p. 120].

There is another change in thought that deserves attention. It is, to be sure, more parochial than the four we have just reviewed. But it is of immense concern to counseling psychologists. It is the decline, if not the outright dismantling, of professionalism. The pivotal event in this scenario is likely to be the movement of our society "beyond a disease-oriented, doctor-centered" conception of physical health. The success of medicine as a profession incredibly autonomous, rich, and powerful clearly contains within it the seeds of its own destruction. Indeed, medicine has become the *reductio ad absurdum* of the idea of a profession. As such, it appears that it must inevitably fall of its own weight, having outgrown its superstructure. At the same time the barbarians are at the gates exerting ever greater pressure from without. For one thing, the traditional notion that health can be understood as a purely physiochemical phenomenon is under heavy attack and the assault is being pressed. Nor is the position of the defenders improved by the increasing suspicion that "professions" unreasonably limit the amount of benefit we receive from available resources.

The argument is that the enfranchising of the few is the disenfranchising of the many. The restriction of the use of certain tools to the exclusive use of certain individuals and the investment in others that only a few can operate is justified by appealing to the commonweal. In fact, it seems that the results are quite the opposite: the welfare of the largest number of individuals is thereby impaired. An elite is enabled; the rest are disabled—that is, cut off from the means of self-care. As Illich (1973) puts it, "Professional imperialism triumphs even where political and economic imperialism have broken down"

(p. 46). But medicine may well be coming to that point at which this disadvantage is experienced with sufficient poignance that changes will be initiated. Naturally, the eviction of the prototypical profession from paradise is an event with far-reaching ramifications. Not the least among them is the catalyzing of many potentially catabolic forces within society toward the entire genus "profession."

*AFTER THE FALL: WILL THERE BE A COUNSELING
PSYCHOLOGY IN THE POST-DELUSIONAL ERA?*

Precisely how the change to the "New Age," to a PD-society will come about, whether by the dawning of awareness or by apocalypse, is, of course, not a matter of indifference to any of us. Nevertheless, our present purposes restrict us to the exploration of a future in which the transition has come about noncatastrophically. Hence, the question becomes, what is the survival value of counseling psychology? Or, put another way, what, if any, contribution can our discipline be supposed to make to persons in a world undergoing the metamorphosis we have discussed?

From my Olympian perch, a few answers can be discerned. In the first place several tasks are emerging as significant in the transition, tasks that seem plainly related to the historic mission of counseling psychology.

1. *Facilitating the "inward quest."* It is unlikely that the shift from a world offering, albeit meretriciously, the possibility of finding happiness in the external realm is going to be an easy one for most of us. That our society has reached the limits of its outward thrust and is imploding poses a mammoth challenge to people accustomed to finding themselves in an expanding external world.

There will be, for example, the problem of establishing some sort of autonomy from the environment. In a world less buffered by privacy-protecting artifacts and living arrangements, a world more densely populated and hence more intrusive, individuals' ability to maintain their boundaries to find places of quiet and tranquility within themselves may well become critical.

If the last several centuries of Western history featured the attempt to realize oneself by means of changing or appropriating things outside of ourselves, to be *someone* by "having" (to use Fromm's (1976) term), we must now begin to find what we found in consumption within ourselves, in our "being." Consequently, our relations with ourselves, long recognized as extraordinarily important to us as individuals by a welter of influential theorists—for example, Kierkegaard, Adler, Horney, Lecky, and Rogers—become something of significance to the commonweal. Hiding from ourselves among our possessions and losing ourselves in consumption are likely to diminish as options in any case. Thus, self-acceptance will become an indispensable part of our societal survival kit.

An alternative to prevailing life styles, Fromm's (1976) "being mode,"

can be promoted in part by the cultivation of the potentialities of the nervous system that have been largely neglected in the Western quest to consume as much as possible of the world's wealth and to put our stamp on the last extremity of creation. The idea was that by transforming external reality our internal reality would be transfigured and satisfaction secured. On the other hand, evidence from other cultures and from individuals within our own bespeaks rich possibilities within. John Lilly (1972), for example, found—as a few others in our land and many others elsewhere—that the “human biocomputer” is capable of generating such a wide range of experience out of its own structure that it beggars in comparison what we create externally. More widely familiar are instances of dreaming, of imaging, that at least on occasion are experienced as more compelling and enriching than any externally produced diversion—for example, television, movies, and so on—and lend vivacity to such relatively Spartan (that is, minimally consummatory) endeavors as exercising, reading, or listening to music.

2. *Maximizing human development.* This overworked phrase cannot be left to refer simply to the distributive process associated with Parsons and the birth of counseling psychology, but to the thoughtful cultivation of frequently underdeveloped propensities within the human personality. Two instances must suffice for illustration.

a. *The moral sense.* Recent developments in anthropology seem to support the conclusions of such social psychological observers as Alfred Adler and Erich Fromm to the effect that humankind is by nature far from Freud's a- or anti-social creature. Indeed, it appears that a person's own selfhood is fulfilled only by investment in a larger cause or community, what Adler calls “social interest.” The argument is that a lack of confidence in one's ability to obtain a tenable place in the group by constructive means is the primary source of destructive behavior. Conversely, then, psychoeducational experiences not unlike some of those presently employed by counseling psychologists to quicken empathic involvement and vicarious identification with others could well make a contribution to the general quality of human society.

b. *The creative élan.* The need to maximize human creativity in the face of monumental cultural implosion requires little comment. The barriers of common sense, the worn pathways and grooves of habitual thought and perception, the old paradigms, must be transcended more rapidly and generally than ever before. The number and complexity of our problems require a full mobilization of the creativity of our species. We need a lot of good solutions and, to get them, we need all the brains we can get thinking about them as creatively as they can. Moreover, the ability to experience the heady wine of creativity, even on a small scale, to see in a new light though dimly, may be a critical ingredient of a saner personal lifestyle. Satisfactions in the Post-Delusional Era must be those of creative activity rather than of passivity or consumption.

There is in the wind the promise of progress in tapping more reliably into

the creative matrix of human personality. And there is much to tap. Nobel Laureate Sir John Eccles points out that the human cortex is "as a level of complexity, of dynamic complexity, immeasurably greater than anything . . . created in computer technology" or "discovered in the universe," for that matter (Popper & Eccles, 1977, p. 243). Each brain cell, each neuron, is after all a sophisticated biocomputer in its own right—firing or not on the basis of data patterns transmitted by over 100 (or more) input channels and analyzed in astonishingly brief durations (Eccles, 1973). Now remember that the human brain is composed of some *10 billion* of these cells, and it becomes obvious that the claim that we have but scratched the surface of human potential emerges as much more than an empty boast. The fact is that the hardware at our disposal is something to wax lyrical about. It is the "software," the programming, that must be held accountable for the absurd parodies of the brain's potential we see on every hand. The rub is that the limits attributable to the usual programming are commonly mistaken for those of the human biocomputer itself. It is as if the assessment of an IBM 370 were to be made wholly on the basis of its performance using a program written by the rankest amateur out of a FORTRAN primer.

But just how is it that counseling psychology is to contribute to achievement of these lofty goals? First, counseling psychology must itself be supposed to be in evolution. The promise is for new paradigms, new tools, and new contexts.

1. *Paradigms.* We stand as a culture on the brink of a much more sophisticated epistemology, one that will at last take us beyond the more simplistic prescriptions for knowing that are still allowed to appropriate the term *science* for their exclusive use (Allen, 1978). Even allowing for the amount of cultural lag we have experienced in the past between breakthroughs in other disciplines and developments in our views, the turn of the century can be supposed to have provided us with adequate time to have digested this work sufficiently to have taken sustenance from it. By then, for instance, we may have joined the physicist in construing natural phenomena as stochastic processes, transcending the billiard-table conception of things that characterizes and likely confounds many of our present formulations. Freed of the assumptions that "reality" is fundamentally a collection of invariable causal sequences, the rigidity of which is merely masked by their complexity and our obtuseness, and that probability is merely a comment on the state of our ignorance, we will become open to human possibilities that have heretofore eluded us. Indeed, the resultant advances in our understanding may be analogous to those in the natural sciences arising from success in finally shaking the Platonic assumption that since circles were the most perfect geometrical forms, the celestial bodies must naturally pursue circular courses and the proscription of negative numbers as "irrational." In both cases we were suddenly permitted to "see" what had been before us for centuries but what we had been carefully schooled to ignore.

For counseling psychology, the impending paradigm shift may well

result in a clearer recognition of persons as integrated wholes, as systems in which purpose and nonlinear, nonmechanical energy transformations are central.

2. *Contexts.* Even given only the skills and perspectives that characterize counseling psychologists presently, it is clear that we could make a substantial contribution in many more settings than those to which counseling psychologists have historically gravitated. What is more, even within traditional settings the role the counselor plays has only begun to scratch the surface of the possible.

For instance, as the delusions undergirding the traditional views of physical health and dysfunction are eroded, the significance of the tools of the counseling psychologist to these issues become salient (Allen, 1977). And business for a variety of reasons, including both an expanding awareness of the interdependence of employee welfare and productivity and a burgeoning sense of the social responsibility of business, has developed interest in some of the strategies and skills widely identified with counseling psychology—for example, Gordon, 1977. Indeed, a survey of Division 17 would probably reveal that counseling psychology's contribution is already being made in a truly astonishing variety of settings. Often, to be sure, one would be speaking of persons in a particular kind of setting.¹ Nevertheless, these individuals frequently will have demonstrated the relevance of our discipline to those enterprises and made it reasonable to suppose that their numbers will increase.

What is more, the role of counseling psychologists within familiar contexts may well be expanded. For example, the tentative glimpses of a "psychology of discovery" of creativity, which filter through to us (Bronowski, 1966; Koestler, 1964; Polanyi, 1958; & Maslow, 1970) suggest that counseling psychology may indeed have a contribution to make to virtually every field of human endeavor. Nor am I referring merely to the more "traditional" image of psychotherapists as dissolvers of "neurotic blocks to creativity" or foes of "the fear of success." My reference is rather to the fostering of a vigorous intrapersonal dialogue between the public and the private, between intuition and fantasy, on one hand, and discursive thought, on the other. It is a part that is natural to counseling psychology in so far as it retains its historic preoccupation with the development of the potentiality of individuals, with the fecundity of the subjective, and, moreover, with the incredible productiveness of the interplay of inner and outer realities. For it seems that the most remarkable achievements in art and science, in letters and technology, flow from deeply personal sources to which the inevitable pressures of mass cultures for conformity, publicness, and consensus pose a continuous threat.

As counseling psychology enters new realms and finds new homes, it will

¹For starters, I know of a counseling psychologist who was the dean of a law school and another who is a "personality" on a major radio station counseling volunteers "on the air."

of course, itself grow at a rate far in excess of that enjoyed in the "good old days" not long past when we were comfortably and securely ensconced in college centers working on "educational, vocational, and personal issues" brought to us by one of the most homogeneous large groups of people ever contrived. Intercourse with a wider range of problems, the crossfertilization of schema, the exposure to broader samples of human behavior must needs have a powerful effect on our paradigms and capabilities.

3. *Tools.* Technical developments in both hardware—for example, electronics—and "software"—for example, notational systems—could well play a part in the elaboration of counseling psychology. Advancements in electronics have made instruments for the monitoring of psychophysical parameters convenient and practical for the individual clinician. To cite a small personal example that may be a harbinger of the future, I have found it most useful to evaluate the degree of relaxation or arousal of a client either during the counseling dialogue or in the course of relaxation training/desensitization by means of skin conductance and peripheral skin temperature data. In addition the advent of the microcomputer makes it possible to collect and utilize more "objective" data concerning the vicissitudes of work with individual clients. For example, I have found that it is possible to program Radio Shack's TRS-80, one of the most inexpensive and flexible of the present generation of microcomputers, to give and score short personality inventories. Thus, for example, it is possible to have a client respond to an instrument while in the waiting room, to run the results through the microcomputer, and receive a print out on a television monitor of a raft of potentially useful information almost immediately. For one thing, one could conceivably secure a graph comparing today's results with those obtained at other sessions. One could also arrange for the computer to compare individual items/scale scores from today's performance with that of any specified data and print out those that are statistically suggestive, using the item's or the scale's standard error of measurement to estimate the significance of differences between scores. My own use has thus far been restricted to scoring questionnaires but it is clear that even the bottom of the TRS-80 line is fully capable of the foregoing and much, much more. Data and programs are recorded on regular audio cassettes.

Mathematics may as well come to be much more a part of the counseling psychologist's kit bag as time moves on. Certainly to restrict the use of mathematics to the various modes of assessing "statistical significance," a concept of increasingly dubious utility, seems likely to be substantial waste. Consider the promise of such developments as René Thom's "catastrophe theory" (Zeeman, 1976), an ingenious topological method for describing and perhaps predicting behavior.

But, if the perspectives of counseling psychologists are to be broadened, on the one hand, to include a sounder grasp of the *lingua franca* of the sciences, the realization of its destiny requires participation in a much more vigorous (and rigorous) humanism. Humanism here should not be

understood as relating to groups promoting "instant intimacy," the bland assertion that evil is an illusion, or the proposition that permissiveness is next to Godliness. Rather the reference is to a thorough and disciplined (*horrible dictu!*) immersion in the humanities, those aspects of culture that have endured or that seem likely to endure by virtue of the fact that they provide some important insight that illuminates the phenomenon of the human being.

Out of this matrix have come a number of important tools, not the least of which are images and humor. When in the early 70s I gave a paper illustrating the power of imagery in counseling, I felt a bit like a voice in the wilderness. Now the feeling is that of being lost in the crowd. Imagery is an important means of information storage and retrieval. It functions as a critical bridge between "the subjective" and "objective," between the esoteric and the exoteric. Much of what would be lost if coded in discursive language can be captured and utilized through images. What is more, images seem to be capable of mobilizing the emotions to a degree inconceivable by other modes of communication. And years and literally hundreds of experiments later, work on Autogenic Training unequivocally concludes that concentration on images of a particular physiological response can produce that response with surprising reliability. But apart from the Autogenic formulae, it is clear that some of the most provocative and profound images arise from the mythopoetic efforts of the great artists. Similarly, humor—so long excluded from counseling as unworthy of this noble and solemn undertaking—is emerging as an indispensable part of the process precisely because the issues confronted in counseling are often of grave and serious import. Again it is the humanist, the artist, who shows the way. Mark Twain observed that "the human race has only one really effective weapon and that is laughter." Humor is, as Koestler (1964) demonstrates, a creative act of a piece with art and science. Evidence is now accruing slowly but steadily that laughter is a healing act in a physical sense as well. Norman Cousins' "Anatomy of an illness" (1979) is, of course, the most arresting datum to date. As is now generally known, Cousins who was suffering from a serious illness with minimal chances for full recovery took charge of his own treatment. He substituted megavitamin theory (vitamin C) and humor for the conventional medical regimen. After each bout of laughter generated by classic comedy films assessments of his physical status made by analyzing blood samples showed significant improvement that had not been forthcoming following massive dosages of drugs. His recovery was slow, but steady and complete. One can expect that other investigators will now pursue the matter in hope of securing further empirical verification of this notion so dear to many artists and outstanding clinicians—that humor heals both mind and body.

Obviously there are many pitfalls twixt here and the millennium. Some of these are evident in the discussion of the challenges and the opportunities. At least one more deserves to be mentioned.

It should be apparent to any competent observer that many of the features that have defined counseling psychology as a speciality from its

inception have more recently become "growing edge" developments for clinical psychology and psychiatry. There is, for instance, the emphasis on "hygiology" even within pathology (Super, 1955), on viewing persons within their wider social fields, on environmental interventions as methods of responding to intrapsychic difficulties, and the use of nonclients as models for understanding the human experience (APA, 1956). All of these have become shibboleths around which new movements within other helping professions—for example, community psychology within clinical psychology—have organized.

This leadership is derived from the fact that counseling psychology's roots are in education. Education is, after all, etymologically the "leading forth" of potentialities from within persons. It must needs be concerned with individuals in context, and it is perennially exposed to the panorama of normal development and the possibilities thereof. However, the accelerating concern with licensure poses something of a threat to this vital connection. The best organized and determined efforts to counteract attempts to make counseling and psychotherapy a part of the medical monopoly comes from clinical psychologists. They do not object so much, it seems, to the notion of a monopoly as they are eager to become members, probably the last members, of the firm.

It is as if the stage is being set for a rerun of the struggle between clinical psychology and psychiatry. In this case clinical psychology's role will be played by counseling types and psychiatry's by the "clinciers," but the script will be the same. Already counseling psychologists drawn by the desire for a more secure legal and economic status for themselves and their students appear more eager to emulate and gain acceptance from their clinical colleagues. In part, this movement is characterized by the attempt to minimize the differences between the two specialties and to seek closer ties to departments of psychology, even at the expense of involvement with education. Thus, the health of counseling psychology is threatened by these events, for they will serve, in effect to remove it from its native soil and, by so doing, either to kill or relegate it to the status of a minor parasite.

In the long run, of course, the entire conflict around licensure—that is, of sociolegal legitimacy—must logically change its focus. Attention must shift from "input" to "output," from certification on the basis of paper credentials to practical accomplishments, from matters of degrees to measures of effectiveness. But in keeping with tradition we appear determined to retrace the unrewarding and hazardous path taken by medicine. Paradoxically medicine is now beginning to take seriously what applied psychology has known for at least two decades: that neither traditional medical school admission criteria nor grades in medical school correlate with competence in clinical practice, that licensing examinations are of little use for this purpose and that peer review is so fraught with difficulties as to be of dubious utility to the consumer of medical services (McLachlan, 1976). Still we have persisted,

hungering and thirsting after a licensing arrangement in the image of the medicine.

The hope is that we need not, like Pirandello's damned players, replay the entire scenario even unto its bitter end. The gravity of the issues we will confront in the next two decades do not afford us this "luxury."

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Chapter 28

You Tell Me What's Going to Happen

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I am not aware of any prophet who, 20 years earlier, could forecast comprehensively and accurately what is occurring now. In the particular case of counseling psychology, a professional specialty with which many of us are happily identified, the track record of prognostications over the years may look better if only because such efforts have been conspicuous by their elusive generalities and because many of us have dedicated ourselves to keeping the idea of counseling psychology alive and thriving. If one may infer validly from the contents of this volume, the latter condition is as evident today as it was on a number of previous occasions, beginning with the conference in 1951 when the infant specialty was named.

In writing this brief note, pointing toward the next 20 years and counseling psychology's possible future in that period, I shall first say a few words about the task. Then, a glimpse backward will lay groundwork for remarks about present events that seem to impinge upon counseling psychology as we know it today. Finally, I shall point to some trends and variables that may well affect the future of our specialty.

My initial comment is methodological. To essay a prediction about counseling psychology over the next 20 years, it seems to me, presupposes an ability to account for present and past events so representatively and so coherently (in a formal sense) that one can also predict into a remote future. Pauline Pepinsky and I (Pepinsky & Pepinsky, 1954, especially pp. 258-262) drew on ideas of the late Egon Brunswik (1939, 1943) to make this and a related point about the assessment of counseling process and its outcomes. *Ceteris paribus*, one could predict with the greatest accuracy the contiguity of minute events, closely related in the time of their occurrence, and under rigorously controlled conditions. On the other hand, what Brunswik referred to as the most "environmentally probable" events—those most likely to occur in everyday human lives and, by implication, the most interesting—were the

Clifford Hurndon and Pauline Pepinsky read and criticized an earlier draft of this paper. This is the first publication of this article. All rights reserved. Permission to reprint must be obtained from the publisher.

least likely to be accessible to view under these circumstances. And so, one could enrich one's purview at the risk of losing precision of inquiry and increase one's predictive accuracy at the expense of being trivial.

A quarter of a century later, Zimmer (1978) came on a later statement of Brunswik's (1956) about "representative design" in psychological research. Zimmer (1978) used this and a secondary source to appeal for a more global perspective on counseling and its more remote outcomes, thus increasing the "ecological validity" of research in that area. The opportunity cost to predictive accuracy remains, however, as suggested by the research of Kenneth Hammond, one of Brunswik's productive students (for example, Hammond, Summers, & Deane, 1973). It also appears that human judgments, expressed with the greatest confidence, are the most likely to be fallible (Einhorn & Hogarth, 1978). What saves us from slitting our throats over the consequences of our fallibility, it would seem, is an enormous capacity for individual and collective self-deception (cf. Weizenbaum, 1967).

I am one of those who believe in the social utility of this human capacity to rationalize and its implementation by people collaborating artfully to make things happen like common sense, common understanding, and collective accomplishments (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Patton, Fuhrman, & Bieber, 1977). Because we assume that people do thus require socially to construct realities for their common use, it is certainly without derogation that I thus identify counseling psychology as a socially useful myth created of a people, by a people, and for a people. From this perspective, however, I can better understand than explain the current status of our specialty by reference to accounts of its past (cf. von Wright, 1971, pp. 1-33 and 132-167). Lacking the comfort of Zimmer's (1978) explanatory framework, to say nothing of the breadth and depth of "factual" knowledge that it presupposes, I am less able to predict confidently the future course of the specialty.

With these *caveats* about my qualifications as either seer or historiographer in reference to our specialty, I invite you now to share with me in reflections, first, on things past, and, second, on things current, that seem likely to impinge on counseling psychology in the years to come. While completing with colleagues an article commemorating the 25th anniversary of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, & Epperson, 1978), I was startled to realize the extent to which the Division of Counseling Psychology and its parent organization, the American Psychological Association, had allowed the Division to turn away from the training of school counselors, just when there was about to be ample government funding for this purpose. The resultant National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and its by-products related to counseling—notably, the NDEA Guidance Institutes—were vigorously promoted and shaped through efforts of officers representing the American Personnel and Guidance Association and its divisions. That took place in 1958. Funding of the NDEA Institutes in schools and colleges of education, coupled with the allocation of federal funds to

states for the creation and staffing of positions for school counselors, was attended by a sizeable increase in the number of positions open to persons who would be training the counselors. In consequence, most of the training programs for this purpose developed quite independently of departments of psychology.

Yet today we have a curious reversal of the earlier trend. Twenty years later, programs of professional education are encountering budget troubles; school counselors and their trainers and work supervisors, also, are less likely than heretofore to be the objects of special funding. It is not uncommon for "counselor educators," who once referred proudly to their core activity as "counseling," now to designate it as "therapy." Students in training for doctorates under these auspices, who earlier might have sought internship placements in educational settings, now are often prompted to seek placement in mental health centers or in private offices, where they can be supervised by psychologists. A *desideratum* is for any such supervisor to be properly licensed as a practitioner and for the setting to be APA-approved. One inducement for trainees is to be able to obtain employment in psychological settings and, ultimately, themselves to become licensed practitioners of psychology. An added inducement is to become properly "credentialed" as psychologists, so as to become eligible for third-party payments (for example, by insurance companies) of their clients' fees.

My impression is that these inducements thus have made the additional title of psychologist attractive to persons whose prior identification has been with counselor education in schools and colleges of education. Several first-rate programs housed in education much earlier received accreditation as APA-approved training programs for counseling psychologists. More such programs have been approved in recent years, and persons in still others are seeking approval. At the same time, several schools of professional psychology have APA-approved programs in one or more of the specialties in which accreditation is given; more are on the horizon. Yet by stated intent, many of these programs are quite distinct from traditional programs of graduate education in psychology. So, we have a crazy quilt of actual and potential training programs for persons who would call themselves psychologists. The prospects are grim for some, confusing for many. It is evident, too, that the demands on all persons to demonstrate certifiable competence as psychologists are becoming increasingly severe.

Now all this makes for interesting trends. There is a countervailing one that should also be noted—a consequence in part of professional psychologists taking quite literally and for lucrative purposes George Miller's admonition to "give psychology away" (Miller, 1969). An accompaniment is the encouragement of self-help services. These have developed partially because they provide the only viable alternative to no services in communities that are not attractive to professionals in search of gainful employment. Partially, however, the idea of self-helping individuals and communities has been nurtured by psychologists and other professionals working to dispel

what they regard as the myth of professionalism. These persons believe and act on the proposition that professional help for services is often unnecessary, prohibitively costly, and ineffective by contrast to guided self-help (Kaswan, unpublished).

Assuming that the maintenance of professional status is a matter of self-interest to counseling psychologists, I have a warning against the unchecked efforts of those who would thus labor assiduously to make traditional services obsolete. An example of what can happen if the promotion of collective self-help is successful may be found in the widely publicized "industrial democracy," that has become manifest over the past 15 years in Norway and Sweden. In these countries, rank-and-file workers have been accorded an increasingly large measure of control over policy making and other managerial activities within their work organizations. Concurrently, there is a markedly lessened dependence on experts from outside, hitherto suffered to furnish knowledge and skills in such areas as personnel selection, counseling and training, organizational development, and evaluative research.

The saga of "work democratization" and the impetus provided for it by teams of social technologists, working in the two countries with the collaboration of representatives from labor, management, and government, is fascinating to read (Herbst, 1976; Gardell & Gustavsen, 1978). It is a tribute to professional accomplishment on a national scale, without parallel in the USA. As an accompaniment, the expulsion of experts from outside (native as well as foreign—for example, Scandinavia is no longer fair game for exploitation by American entrepreneurs) became a goal of the social technologists, who came to regard a lessened need for their own services as a mark of success. As Gardell & Gustavsen (1978) suggest, however, the long-range effect may be costly:

This means that . . . there is very little systematic follow-up and analysis of what actually happens. Although this may yield some short-range advantages—for example, the avoidance of criticism that is not always justified—we still believe the long-run effects to be mostly negative [p. 11].

Other events, external to counseling psychology, are likely to affect its future and those of currently affiliated professionals. As the USA becomes less and less militarily, economically, and politically powerful in the view of decision-makers elsewhere in the world, people in the USA are likely to be made increasingly aware of beliefs and practices contrary to their own. Counseling psychologists have already been confronted with problems of this sort in reference to serving clients of groups whose members have been singled out as victims of societal discrimination—for example, ethnic minorities, women, homosexuals, older people. My belief is that people in the USA, counseling psychologists included, will be less and less able to ignore citizens from other countries who own more and more of their land, are increasingly visible as tourists—the shrinking of the dollar versus other world currencies

has already made the USA much less expensive for others to visit—and otherwise dominate a greater and greater proportion of economic life in the USA. In the process, we'll either become more aware of and resourcefully adaptive to ideologies alien to our own or suffer the consequences of predicting and adapting badly out of ignorance. I have in mind here the premium we place on individual achievement, to say nothing of our very focus on and concern with the individual—in contrast to those persons from other cultures whose concern is with the collective. Such persons, for example, are likely to worry about the collective's ability to express itself *qua* collective and to achieve fulfillment in terms of what the collective offers. With the influx of foreigners, also, people in the USA will be exposed increasingly to persons whose dominant religious beliefs and customs may be considerably at variance with those of Christians and Jews—as with conservative Muslims.

As indicated above, counseling psychologists already have had ample warning that they would have altered positional requirements vis-à-vis groups of persons with special problems and demands. Many such groups, as pockets of vested interest, seem en route to identification as separate entities. The additional problem this trend poses is the likelihood that we in the USA are headed toward an increasing internal tension—at least in the short run. The tension is between anarchy and centralization—as a compensatory attempt at collective social control. Awareness of the trend has given added incentive to the proponents of self-help for communities (Kaswan, unpublished), whether ethnically, sexually, chronologically, or geographically defined, in which the social control is decentralized.

Where does all this leave counseling psychology's prospects for survival, even, in the year 2000? All I can say with assurance is that many things can happen between then and now, with many options open to us as individuals and as persons allied through identification with a psychological specialty. *If the specialty does continue to exist, my fallible judgment tells me, it will be because its members will have accommodated to each other out of self-interest, not out of a selfless desire to cooperate.* The latter state-of-affairs, it seems to me, is a romantic fiction, which, when violated, impels the wakened dreamer to a gnashing of teeth or a wringing of hands. That kind of response to idealization-frustration-demoralization—over counseling psychology's current status—was manifested by some of the contributors to the December 1977 issue of *The Counseling Psychologist*. A very few appear to have been comforted by an optimistic appraisal of the specialty and by rosy dreams of its future.

I find myself somewhere in between these views of things. In our commemorative article on the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, & Epperson, 1978), my collaborators and I could reconcile evidence of counseling psychologists' diverse interests and activities with their evident search for unity of thought, again represented in contributions to the December 1977 issue of *The Counseling Psychologist*. We found *The Counseling Psychologist* to be a nice outlet for the expression of members'

diversity. The *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, with its emphasis on the process of counseling as a unifying theme, we inferred to symbolize members' need to believe that unity of thought existed—or ought to exist—among those who identified themselves as counseling psychologists.

For Kay Hill-Frederick, Douglas Epperson, and me, however, the focus of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* was more than symbolic. Out of our own experience, we could see merit in the provision of training in individual counseling to ensure a basic sense of artisanship or craftsmanship as a foundation for many other possible activities that professional workers might engage in. We pointed to the analogy between (a) counseling as a craft whose acquisition paves the way for development of competence in later and diversified professional activities, by counseling psychologists; and (b) drafting as a basic skill to be acquired prior to engaging in subsequent and varied kinds of artistic endeavor (Pepinsky et al., 1978). The additional merit of some such basic competence for counseling psychologists is that it enables them to obtain essential information about their own behavior and that of others. Another hunch is that a similar kind of root competence will be subscribed to if counseling psychology is to continue to exist as a specialty. Beyond this conjecture, you tell *me* what's going to happen!

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Chapter 29

Counseling Psychology of the Future

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What will counseling psychologists be doing in the year 2000 that they are not doing today? With the current "tax revolution" now in progress, the counseling profession is under increasing pressure to justify its existence. Counselors are being challenged as inefficient and unproductive, and counseling budgets are under attack. The time is past when counselors could assume their efforts were worthwhile and expect others to agree. To continue to receive societal support, counselors must now account for what they do.

Let's eavesdrop on a conversation between two imaginary counselors in 2000:

Jean: Hi, Bill. How was that workshop on friendship behavior? Did you pass the competency?

Bill: I got through the program on the first try. It was really a well-designed training package. I learned how to use video modeling and cueing procedures to increase social perceptiveness behavior. I have some clients who could really benefit from this.

Jean: Are you going to apply to be credentialed to operate a friendship behavior learning program?

Bill: Well, I have to demonstrate my competency on several more techniques first. What are your performance objectives lately?

Jean: My current goal is to establish an alternative careers center on campus to help people learn how to change occupations.

Bill: Who would use it?

Jean: My clients will be men and women in mid career who want to try something different, retired people looking for part-time work-hobbies, as well as young people making initial career decisions.

Bill: We sure need a center like that. But how will you be evaluated to get your merit pay raise?

Adapted from an article originally published in the *Canadian Counsellor*, 1972, 6(3), 172-177. Reprinted by permission.

Jean: Six months after clients leave the Center, I will have to find out whether they made decisions consistent with their own values, whether they report accepting responsibility for their decisions, and whether they know what decision-making steps they should take if they should ever want to change occupations again.

Bill: What if your clients don't accomplish those goals?

Jean: Well, you certainly wouldn't want us to return to those reactionary years in the 1970s when we got rewarded just for going through the motions of trying to help clients. If my first techniques don't work, I'll experiment until something else does.

By 2000, many of the problems affecting the counseling profession today may be resolved: counselors' responsibilities and competencies will be clearly defined, their training will be systematic and current, and their certification and evaluation will be contingent on client performance outcomes.

FUTURE COUNSELOR RESPONSIBILITIES

To Account for Results

When applied to the counselor/client contract, accountability means that counselors' performance will be evaluated on how successful they are in devising and implementing treatments that help clients attain their objectives. A counselor's behavior, style, and methods will be judged by the outcomes, not the reputation, brilliance, or intent of the counselor. Evaluation, then, will be of the product, not the process. Counselors will define client goals in concrete, unambiguous terms, so that assessment of progress can be clear and precise.

To Define Specialized Areas of Competence

Global changes in modern society will make their imprint on the counselor of 2000. In particular, growing diversity of the client population in terms of age, race, lifestyle, and socioeconomic level will require that counselors become as equally diverse in the types of clients and client problems that they are competent to accept. Already specialization is evident in the growth of marriage counseling, mid-career counseling, and peer counseling. Future specializations will include counselors who concentrate on problems of the retired, newly divorced, or of adults returning to school—to name but a few. Specialization in function will be matched by specialization in fieldsetting. Increasingly, counselors will be entering diverse settings, although schools will continue to be the major employer.

Since traditional integrative agents, like the church or school, have become less effective in organizing communities, community counselors may

take over this role. Community counselors would serve a preventive function for social problems such as alienation, alcoholism, and family strife. They might arrange neighborhood social and educational activities as well as counseling with troubled individuals.

To Prevent Client Problems

Preventive or early-intervention counseling will grow. As counselors attempt to attain their performance objectives, they will recognize the advantage of early intervention and of its logical extension, prevention. This will lead counselors to focus on identifying and altering the environmental determinants of problem behavior in their field settings. Academic and social environments will be altered to promote more desirable consequences when such environments are found to contribute to problems in the client population. For example, counselors may advocate changes in the design of college residence halls or plan specially tailored group activities to decrease the influx of students to the counseling center complaining of social isolation.

Counselors will define their general functions and goals in terms of performance objectives—objectives that clearly specify what they intend to do, the level of success they intend to attain, and the target deadline for completion. A team of counselors might commit themselves to design and execute a treatment to teach and promote social approach behaviors for clients complaining of loneliness, with the treatment being judged successful if, within three months there was a defined increase in social approach behaviors and a decrease in self-reported alienation.

Performance objectives will transform counseling into a research enterprise in which assumptions or unexamined strategies are put to a demonstrable test. To reach their performance objectives, counselors will have to experiment with old and new techniques, to exercise their creativity and clinical skill in designing new treatments and learning experiences, and to share their ideas and findings with others in the field. Counseling will thus be less a victim of untested biases, self-reports, or assumptions of effectiveness.

To Design Individualized Learning Experiences

As education becomes increasingly competency based, counselors will be engaged in organizing individual learning experiences and programs for students. As the economy changes and new vocations are created and familiar ones diminish, people will be returning to educational training centers at different periods of their lives. Counselors will have to deal with these clients' problems of transition and help them design learning programs to meet their vocational and personal needs.

As alternatives in lifestyle and vocation continue to proliferate, people will face an increasing array of decisions in their lives. Counselors will become more involved in helping people with decision-making problems or with

anxiety over new social developments or alternatives. Counselors will have to absorb and confront much of the "future shock" to come.

FUTURE COUNSELOR TRAINING

The changes in the counselor role will require major changes in counselor education. As counselors become increasingly specialized, counselor-educators will have to arrange for individualized training programs with discrete sets of competencies relevant to the specialization. Counselor-educators, then, will function as counselors to their counselor-trainees in helping them define their objectives and providing the necessary learning experiences for them to reach their goals. Counselor-educators should also find themselves increasingly acting as consultants in helping school and community counselors attain their performance objectives.

Counselors-in-training will have to produce evidence of competence in numerous skill and knowledge areas—as demonstrated in behavior samples—role-play, knowledge tests, and actual changes in client behavior. For example, they will present evidence of their ability to use the best procedures to reduce fear and anxieties. They will show they can teach effective decision-making. They will be able to help clients from different ethnic backgrounds with different problems to change their behavior in mutually agreed directions. Classes will be replaced by short-term workshops in specific skill and knowledge areas. Standard learning packages containing all the films, tapes, readings, simulations, and evaluation devices necessary to teach a specific skill will be widely used. Degrees, credentials, and licenses will be designed flexibly so that the attainment of specific sets of counselor competencies can be certified.

FUTURE CERTIFICATION AND EVALUATION

Changes in the certification of counselors should parallel the changes in counselor training. As with the granting of degrees, certification will be based on demonstrated evidence of performance, with certificates clearly stating the areas and limits of the individual's competence.

The life-long license and credential will be eliminated. If credential practices are to support counselor effectiveness, then credentials must be issued for limited durations. Periodically, a counselor will be required to account for, or show evidence of, the competence designated by the credential. Its renewal will depend on demonstrated evidence that the counselor has satisfactorily mastered new information and techniques and on the counselor's recent success in achieving client outcomes. As research in counseling techniques advances and as society changes, well-rehearsed counselor behaviors that were once quite effective will cease to be so, or will be superseded by more effective methods. Like an athletic champion or

prizefighter, the counselor will have to keep in shape to maintain and improve performance.

The counselor will be aided in efforts to stay current by competency-based inservice training programs organized by university training centers, professional organizations, private contractors, and state and local education agencies. Inservice training in two- or three-day workshops will become commonplace. Counselors will "cycle" through the programs until they demonstrate in a competency exercise (role-playing, for example) their ability to use the new technique or to master the new information.

For accountability procedures to be ultimately effective in promoting counselor productivity, promotions, salary increases, and retention will be highly contingent on a counselor's success in achieving client or prevention outcomes. Success will be reinforced both by increased financial rewards and heightened professional prestige.

At first counselors will resist attempts to evaluate and reward their performance. Since many counselors have not learned efficient methods of accomplishing client outcomes or observing client success, anxieties will be high. The most successful programs will involve counselors themselves in specifying precise methods for evaluating success. A no-fail educational program will reduce resistance still further by giving bonuses to counselors who show evidence of improvement but continuing employment at a constant salary for already-employed counselors until they begin to accomplish results.

FUTURE PROFESSIONAL STATUS

The counseling psychologists of 2000 will be competent, goal-directed, and more productive than they are today. They will actively engage in self-assessment. They will be alleviating both specific problems of particular individuals and more global problems affecting diverse subgroups in the population.

With accountability procedures operationalized and implemented, the counseling profession will be enjoying heightened professional prestige and increased governmental and public support. Greater demands and responsibility will follow increased competence and demonstrated effectiveness. By 2000, counselors will be in the happy position of being able to make more competent responses to a greater variety of crucial problems.

Chapter 30

Reflections on Chronic Health, Self-Control, and Human Ethology

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Until recently the year 2000 was the time I would be retiring, not that I gave it much thought. Eliminating the mandatory retirement age of 65 may change things, yet I still relate to the coming of the third millennium as a time when I'll be putting the finishing touches on my professional career. Earlier in life the only significance the year 2000 had for me, besides being a time when science fiction fantasies would come true, was that I wondered if I'd still be alive then. I can vividly recall thinking about it in high school—the year was 1950. Back then the year 2000 seemed so far off, all those decades. After reading Orwell even 1984 was too distant to be real. I might get killed, I thought, in some future war; at that time the Korean "police action" was in full swing. I might die suddenly as my father had in my early 40s from something called heart disease. Today I know that he really died from his lifestyle, that is, from the long-term consequences of daily habits and patterns—heavy cigarette smoking, high blood pressure, excessive body weight, and inadequate nutrition and dietary habits, such as high saturated fats along with a great deal of salt, caffeine, and highly refined carbohydrates. Most importantly he experienced a great deal of chronic stress in his daily life.

I understand now something that was well beyond me in 1950: each of us creates the future by the ways we live in the present. Back at midcentury, success to me was money, the means to obtain conspicuous signs and symbols of position and status. Success required a constant struggle, an incessant striving to win at whatever you did. Winning was often at someone else's expense—"my win is your loss." My father, as an immigrant who arrived penniless from Norway in the early 1920s, constantly had to strive and struggle against time and people to succeed, some might say to survive. Seldom did he relax physically and mentally, seldom did he feel calm and serene, seldom did he enjoy himself, family, and friends by having time to listen actively, to relate warmly, to do things calmly.

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Three decades have passed. Those fleeting reflections of a high school youth on the faraway future—the year 2000 and beyond—now have a tangible reality. At mid-life I now know that a decade comes and goes with the speed of a summer vacation. During the 20 years or so I've been working as an educator and psychologist, I have become aware of several evolutionary changes within myself and in the field of counseling psychology. I call them evolutionary because they have occurred with a great deal of continuity, if not a kind of natural selection, in that the more "fit" ideas and methods have tended to survive with experience (I think the term *revolutionary* is too commonly used, ignoring the evolving patterns of change). These changes have suggested for me some visions of the year 2000, some possible directions for the field of counseling psychology. Mindful that they are the biased product of my own experience and versions of reality, I offer them as possibilities to consider. They center around the related themes: health and the problem of chronic stress, self-managed change, and human ethology.

BETTER HEALTH, MORE HAPPINESS?

It is commonplace nowadays to hear that good health is far more than the absence of specific diseases. This observation closely parallels modern concepts of mental or emotional abnormality; optimal mental or emotional health is more than the absence of diagnosed mental illness or abnormality. Nothing gives rise to more human suffering and pathos than the *loss* of one's health—"the passage of the power to live a full, adult living breathing life in close contact with what I love" as Katherine Mansfield once put it (quoted in Dubos, 1978, p. viii).

John Knowles, a physician and president of the Rockefeller Foundation, has captured much of my concern about health in a recent edited book, *Doing Better and Feeling Worse* (1977). Knowles and others (for example, Fox, 1977, and Richmond, 1977) document a dilemma: we are relying more and more on highly specialized medical and other health professionals for treatment at higher and higher costs with less and less positive results. We are demanding health and happiness from medical institutions ill equipped to provide them. We are expecting others to insure our health and guarantee our happiness. Stated in the extreme,

The technical and nontechnical consequences of institutionalized medicine coalesce and generate a new kind of suffering: anesthetized, impotent, and solitary survival in a world turned into a hospital ward. . . . Health, however, corresponds to the degree to which the *means* and the *responsibility* for coping with illness are distributed amongst the total population [Illich, 1975, pp. 165-166, italics added].

Health has been medicalized, if not hospitalized, removing it from where it truly belongs: as the personal responsibility of the individual *and* the social responsibility of the family and the culture. In a Western cultural sense,

we have in the 20th century played havoc with evolutionary history. By dramatically altering the social-psychological and physical conditions of living we have created environments markedly different from those under which biological change took place gradually over thousands of years (Dubos, 1978).

The individual in all this change has been deemphasized and diminished. Death has been removed from our direct experience for the first time in human history. The intimate and vital connection between birth, life, and death in humans has been severed. Even our pet animals die in hospitals, away from our direct experience with their death.¹ Health and happiness is now viewed as a *right*, something that social institutions, such as medicine and government, are supposed to provide. Health has lost its historical meaning as a personal and moral *responsibility* of the individual (Vaux, 1978). As Knowles (1977) notes:

The health of human beings is determined by their behavior, their food, and the nature of their environment. Over 99% of us are born healthy and suffer premature death and disability only as a result of personal misbehavior and environmental conditions [p. 79].

One obstacle, I suspect, in solving major health problems is the common experiences of health and normality; it's kind of a "no news is good news" phenomena. Things are deemed all right if there is no immediate sensory pain or discomfort. One has only to cut or bruise a finger or a toe, for example, to become aware of how often that part of the body is used. We simply do not experience the immediate consequences of health or normality in the way we relate to a migraine headache, an abscessed molar, or a myocardial infarction. Hence we are not encouraged to change; we lack the motivation to stop, to look, and to listen to ourselves and to others. Perhaps this is why we so often come to our senses in illness and sickness. This complacency problem, although understandable, is, I suspect, the major health and perhaps happiness problem confronting us today.

Simply put, our misguided notions of health and our misconceived beliefs of how to live the good life are destroying and debilitating us at an epidemic rate (cf. Marx & Kolata, 1978; Farquhar, 1978; Knowles, 1977). Today slightly less than one million die each year in the United States from "diseases" of the heart and blood vessels (for example, 994,513 in 1975) (see Figure 1); over 200,000 of these deaths are considered premature, because the victims are under 65 years of age. (Personally, I do not believe that 65 and over is necessarily the time for a mature death!) By contrast, less than one half that number die of all other causes combined. Another one million persons who

¹The work of Kübler-Ross (1969) and others on the experience of death and dying and the renaissance of natural childbirth, sometimes at home with the father participating, evidences a growing concern for a return to the direct experiences of birth and death as a complete yet natural cycle.

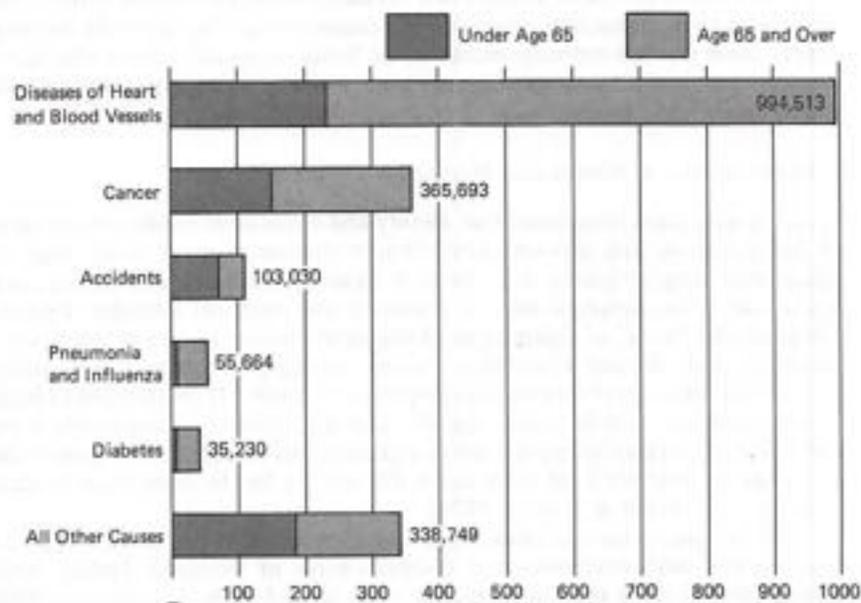


Figure 1. The leading causes of death in the United States in 1975. Numbers of deaths are shown at the bottom of the columns in thousands. (Source: National Center for Health Statistics, U. S. Public Health Service, DHEW; ©reprinted with permission of the American Heart Association. From Marx and Kolata, 1978, p. 4.)

each year survive heart attacks and strokes experience severe personal, social, and financial problems for the rest of their shortened lives (for example, the chances of surviving a second infarction, for example, for most persons after five years is about 50%). The direct and indirect costs of cardiovascular disease in the United States, such as physician care, hospital, nursing, medication, and lost productivity, are staggering: more than 30 billion dollars a year. Incidentally, a comparable figure for all health costs is in excess of \$130 billion per year (cf. Fuchs, 1978), an amount that has almost *tripled* in the last decade. Unfortunately the benefits in terms of better health and reduced disease have not tripled. Indeed, some argue that benefits have not improved but may have worsened (cf. Knowles, 1977; Illich, 1975).

Why am I as a psychologist and educator discussing what appears to be such an obvious medical problem caused by physical disease processes? Because cardiovascular disease, the leading cause of death and suffering today, is at heart a social-psychological and educational problem, one of faulty living intimately tied to how persons *think, feel, and act* in their daily experiences at home, at work, and in the community. In today's jargon it is a

cultural lifestyle problem, an issue tied to routine habit patterns of living. I am convinced that counseling psychologists concerned as they are with helping others solve the less extreme problems of living, especially those related to occupation, family, and school, can play a major role in promoting and maintaining good health.

Chronic Stress: A Health and Happiness Problem

By now most have heard that dietary and nutritional habits are involved in heart disease and strokes. The chronic consumption of foods high in cholesterol and saturated fats, such as eggs, prime beef, and butter, are associated with increased risk of coronary and cerebral vascular disease. Certainly the "evils" of cigarette smoking have reached common awareness, although most do not know that chronic smoking produces substantially more cardiovascular problems than respiratory cancer.² Hypertension or high blood pressure, usually when systolic and diastolic are consistently over 160/95, is also typically recognized as a cause of premature death, despite the fact that in over 90% of such cases the causes for hypertension remain unknown (cf. Marx & Kolata, 1978).³

What has remained unexamined until recently are a broad range of psychosocial and environmental factors—ways of thinking, feeling, and acting—that may be the crucial pieces in the lifestyle mosaic associated with the increased risk of cardiovascular death and disabilities. Clearly the major health problems today are not the physically infectious types, identified with a specific microorganism as the culprit that does its work in a limited time frame (cf. Glazier, 1973). Rather, the degenerative disease processes are the villains, subtly yet relentlessly doing their work gradually over decades of living. These "biopsychosocial" processes, as the term implies, gradually interact in a systems fashion to bring the organism to an abrupt halt at mid-life or an impaired state for life's restricted duration.

The Type A Concept

In 1974 Meyer Friedman and Ray Rosenman, two cardiologists, popularized some of the health factors we have just discussed in a book entitled *Type A Behavior and Your Heart*. Long before they had discovered in their clinical work that coronary and stroke patients seemed to behave in a

²Despite the common knowledge and the dramatic reduction of smoking among adult males in the higher socioeconomic classes over the last decade, the rise of smoking among early adolescents, especially females, is cause for great concern. See Danaher and Lichtenstein (1978) for a thorough discussion of smoking cessation programs as well as Perry, McAlister, & Farquhar (1978) on smoking prevention and cessation methods with teenagers.

³Hypertension, often called the "silent disease" because it lacks direct symptoms, is, in many ways, the tip of the "iceberg" of chronic stress and arousal. It is a readily measurable consequence in search of a variety of possible causes, such as obesity, excessive sodium intake, chronic stress, angiotensins (a protein influenced by kidney enzymes such as renin), and prostaglandins (lipid hormones).

fairly consistent fashion: preoccupied with time, always in a hurry, constantly striving to succeed—to win, to beat the competition; quick to become angry, frustrated, and act in a hostile fashion; constantly polyphasic, always thinking and/or doing two or more things at the same time. Significantly, William Osler, the famous turn-of-the-century physician, had observed something quite similar in his work with patients suffering from heart problems. He spoke of them as always running at full throttle, constantly struggling to succeed. What Osler and others before and since observed was that cardiovascular disease seemed to be associated with certain types of individuals, coronary-prone personalities.

In the 1950s, Friedman, Rosenman, and their colleagues started a series of studies at Mt. Zion Hospital in San Francisco on how "Type A" persons differed from non-Type A's (often called Type B). The most noteworthy study was an 8½-year prospective study, in which over 3400 "normal, healthy" adult males between 39 and 59 employed in several Bay area corporations were studied annually. Major findings confirmed their belief: the Type A behavior pattern was associated with at least twice the deaths and disabilities when compared to non-Type A persons, even when other "risk factors," such as hypertension, family history, or serum cholesterol levels were taken into account. Further, for Type A's who had an infarction or stroke the chances of death were over 5 to 1 compared to non-Type A's. Since then this finding has been partially replicated over a comparable period of time in another major field study called the Framingham Study (cf. Haynes, Levine, Scotch, Feinleib, & Kannel, 1978a and 1978b). Importantly, the relationship in this study was also found for women. The Type A behavior pattern has also been shown by means of angiography (a type of photographic X ray of the heart and its arteries) to be associated with occlusion or blocking in the arteries of the heart (coronary atherosclerosis), even when other risk factors (for example, serum cholesterol levels, smoking, hypertension) are statistically controlled (cf. Blumenthal, Williams, Kong, Schonberg, & Thompson, 1975, 1978; Frank, Heller, Kornfield, Sporn, & Weiss, 1978; Zyzanski, Jenkins, Ryan, et al., 1976).⁴

Other studies have yielded marked positive relationships between persons designated Type A and their serum cholesterol levels, daytime norepinephrine levels, and blood coagulation (clotting) time along with heightened psychophysiological arousal on several measures in structured task situations, such as doing anagrams under time pressure or estimating time latency (cf. Friedman, 1965; Glass, 1977; Dembrowski, MacDougall, Shields, Petitto, & Lushene, 1978; Jenkins, 1978).

In effect we now have a broad, roughly defined concept—the Type A Behavior Pattern—consistently associated with a variety of factors believed implicated in several degenerative disease processes. The relationships are

⁴Some studies have failed to demonstrate a significant relationship between behavior patterns and degree of coronary artery occlusion (for example, Dimsdale, Hackett, Hutter, Block, & Catanzano, 1978). Such studies have used paper-and-pencil self-report measures of Type A rather than performance measures, such as the structured Type A interview.

fuzzy, the definitions vague, and the causal mechanisms obscure. Yet that is the way science works, from recurring correlations to hunches and hypotheses, often viewed at first as quite deviant, if not devious, to established principles and accepted explanations.⁵

The swirl of current issues and controversies surrounding the Type A concept have to do with better ways to operationalize the concept—its reliability and hence validity as a scientific concept—and with the beginning efforts to alter the Type A pattern in adults and youth. Currently I am involved with Meyer Friedman and a group of psychiatrists, psychologists, and cardiologists in a five-year clinical trial or field experiment (The Recurrent Coronary Prevention Project) in the San Francisco Bay Area with about 1100 adults who have already had at least one myocardial infarction (cf. Marx & Kolata, 1978). The major purpose of the intervention study is to evaluate the relative effects of a behaviorally oriented self-management treatment with a program offering modern cardiological care and advice. Will learning how to reduce stress-related experiences, such as a chronic sense of time urgency, frequent anger-hostility experiences, continued polyphasic routines, and a constant sense of competitive striving, substantially reduce the rate of death and recurrence of infarctions? One group ($n=600$) is receiving the behavior change program coupled with cardiological information while another group ($n=300$) is getting only the cardiological treatment. A third group of patients ($n=200$), under the regular care of their physicians, is also being studied over the five-year period.

The task is formidable since we are trying to help adults at mid-life alter some well entrenched ways of living. Problems concerning marriage, family, and career abound. If this clinical trial succeeds (for example, if the estimated five-year mortality rate of 45–50% is reduced to less than 10%), it will raise a host of challenging questions for counseling psychologists, among others, to answer: What components of the group counseling protocol are the most potent ones? Which characteristics of the Type A pattern seem more amenable to change and which are more associated with reduced death and recurrence? How do spouse, family, and child factors interact with persons variables to influence behavior changes as well as mortality and morbidity? What career and work environment/organization variables are highly related to successful individual change? Perhaps the ultimate question is this: can we start to create ways to alter the Type A behavior pattern *before* it contributes to debilitating disease and death?⁶

⁵The National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute of the National Institute of Health recently held a conference on the Coronary Prone Behavior Pattern (December 1978). A major conclusion of that conference was that substantial evidence exists that behavior patterns, such as Type A, are clearly implicated in cardiovascular problems above and beyond other risk factors and deserve major attention in terms of research and clinical work.

⁶Currently I am exploring with Lynda Powell and others the "collegiate version" of the Type A pattern among Stanford students. In addition, we are also looking for earlier evidence of chronic stress patterns among adolescents and adults in several California communities—part of the Stanford Heart Disease Preventive Program (cf. Farquhar, Maccoby, Wood, Alexander, Breitrose, Brown, Haskell, McAlister, Meyer, Nash, & Stern, 1977).

I can think of nothing more pressing and yet more promising for the field of counseling psychology than working cooperatively with colleagues in medicine and the other behavioral and social sciences to reduce the unnecessary deaths and needless human suffering caused by cardiovascular disease. We have much to learn from other disciplines just as they have much to learn from us. I fear, however, that the current training of most counseling psychologists ill equips them to participate. To be sure the deficits are no more real for counseling psychologists than for other professionals, such as physicians and health educators. Yet I remain concerned about how to provide the right kind of continuing professional training for those interested in expanding their efforts in the health behavior area. We clearly need some creative and innovative methods. Somehow reading books or attending weekend lecture-type seminars fails to provide what is needed.

THE SELF IN CONTROL

For the past decade I have been exploring ways to integrate the admirable goals and aspirations of "humanistic" educators and psychologists with the impressive techniques and strategies of "behaviorally oriented" professionals (for example, Thoresen, 1969, 1973; Thoresen & Coates, 1978). The rigid dichotomy between humanistic-experiential-phenomenologist positions and behavioral-positivistic views has always seemed unreal. It struck me as another simplistic slogan so popular in counseling and therapy; a case of creating caricatures complete with the good guys and gals (white hats) and those black-hatted others. The lineup includes directive versus nondirective, structured versus unstructured, counselor-centered versus client-centered, and inner-directed versus outer-directed. These sharp dichotomies existed, in part, because of the lack of well conceptualized scientific theories of human experiences and problems. Unfortunately when in doubt, we have dichotomized—a tradition going back to Aristotle. Too often we have created two categories, accentuated their differences, and ignored their overlapping similarities. The problem resembles the median-split method in statistics. With a fairly continuous, normally distributed sample, approximating a bell-shaped curve, we divide at the median and call those above it "Type 1" (for example, humanistic) and those below "Type 2" (for example, behavioral), ignoring the fact that the vast majority of cases hovering on either side of the median are much more similar to each other than different.⁷

With the help of students and colleagues at Stanford, I came to realize that a more meaningful reality lies in the moving, incessantly flowing waters between the two banks called behavioral and humanistic.⁸ The exciting

⁷Science does require simplification to facilitate understanding of how complex things work. In many ways science is the art of simplification—reducing without doing too much violence to the reality of what is being studied. Dichotomies are clearly needed at certain times to simplify. The problem lies in getting beyond this first step.

⁸The analogy of a flowing river and the banks containing it comes from Herman Hesse's *Siddhartha* (1962).

conceptual and clinical issues from a scientific standpoint existed in the dynamic, rapidly moving waters, not in the static fortifications built on the high ground facing the river.

As an initial step I suggested building a bridge termed Behavioral Humanism to open traffic for at least a few "visiting scholars." The logic was straightforward: behaviorists were hard at work engineering powerful means to alter human behavior while humanists were busy articulating what optimally functioning humans ought to be able to do. Why not work together, bringing heightened purpose and meaning to the technology of social engineering (cf. Thoresen, 1973; Thoresen & Mahoney, 1974)? Building such a bridge was not, however, warmly embraced; it received a poor environmental impact report, something about polluting paradigms. People were too busy remodeling structures on the banks. After all, bridges are precarious things, known to fall down unexpectedly. Perhaps B. F. Skinner reflected the reactions of many. Responding at the time to my analogy of a team of behavioral horses pulling the humanistic wagon he observed that the interface of the two was a horse's ass (Skinner, 1973)!

In retrospect, it was probably naive of me to expect that firmly entrenched behaviorists and humanists, each richly reinforced by partisan reactions to their respective works, would resonate to shared purposes and mutual concerns. Still, a significant insight emerged from these efforts to synthesize. The only major area where little disagreement existed was with the individual's *rights* and *responsibilities* to act, with the person's need to take more charge of his or her life by "exerting influence in the right places"—within and without. From this I began to focus on the processes of behavioral self-control (cf. Mahoney & Thoresen, 1974; Thoresen & Mahoney, 1974). How could persons better learn to control and thus manage the many sources of influence in their lives? How could these multiple influences be best conceptualized? What types of planned learning experiences could be created to help persons learn how to take charge more and become more effective managers of their lives?

Several conclusions emerged from seeking answers to these questions. First, both humanistic and behavioral notions of self-control suffered badly from their isolated positions on the river's bank. Once in the water it was readily apparent that there was far more to it than translating operant conditioning principles into self-reward terms or using humanistically sounding labels for vague inner forces or personality types. Rather, the phenomenon of self-control appeared to involve a complex exchange of several *simultaneous* and *reciprocal* influences within the person *and* external to the person—in the physical and social environment (cf., Bandura, 1976; Thoresen, Kirmil-Gray, & Crosbie, 1978).

Basically a person is responsible for the quality of his or her existence. But that person needs help in learning skills and in acquiring cues to be able to act responsibly, often in the face of hostile environments. Advocating individual responsibility without acknowledging the crucial role of sociocul-

tural and environmental responsibility is the rhetoric of the ultraconservative—somehow the person is held totally and unilaterally accountable. B. F. Skinner (1953) was indeed right in describing self-control as similar to any type of social control: a matter of learning how to alter the variables (the sources of influence) of which behavior is a function. But what are those variables and how might we learn to alter them? Certainly the social contingencies of reward (and punishment) play an important role, but not an exclusive one. Somehow the “private environment” of the person needs to be considered as well.

Self-Change as Reciprocal Influence

Recently Thomas Coates and I have tentatively suggested that the concept of self-control may have reached the point of being more hindrance than help, at least conceptually (Coates & Thoresen, in press). What is the dividing line between “self” and other (“nonself”)? The physical boundaries of the body may fit a physical or biochemical definition, but, for the conscious, socially oriented persons of a particular culture who can transform “real” or imagined events forward and backward in time, the confines of the body fail to capture the self.⁹

Trying to adhere to a vigorous definition of self-control techniques requires one to establish some very arbitrary divisions. The problem becomes especially difficult if one is operating from a willpower framework (cf. Mahoney, 1974; Mahoney & Thoresen, 1974; Mahoney & Arnoff, 1978). If a person is observed to do something in the face of obstacles without noticeable help from other persons or things in the physical environment, then the experience is often labeled an act of heroic self-control, obviously due to a strong willful character. Of course if the person fails, the attribution is usually one of lacking such character. However, another person faced with the same challenge who is observed being helped by others, with perhaps some aid from a supportive physical environment, is often not credited with exercising much self-control. Why? Because this person was assisted by others. Circumstances are considered favorable, and it was thus “easier” to succeed. But has the first person actually demonstrated more self-control than the second person?

The answer is unclear for several reasons. We lack information on the full range of experiences involved—including conscious thinking, deciding, and other cognitive processes along with the range of events preceding and following the successful actions of each person. For example, the second person trying to alter an addictive problem, might consciously plan events so that close friends would assist rather than hinder as well as rearrange physical settings to be more conducive to change. By contrast, the first person is seen as

⁹The earlier discussion of health and degenerative disease, viewed from a “biopsychosocial” perspective, also reflects the inadequacies of narrowly defining the person in strict biochemical or physical terms.

"gutting it out, going cold turkey, and succeeding." For many the subtle actions of other persons and events fail to be noticed and thus acknowledged in the first person's presumably solitary success.

Basing the degree of self-control on the apparent effort and assumed difficulty involved fails to provide us with rigorous criteria for self-control. Indeed, it might be agreed that the second person, in *consciously* using more methods to change, was exercising *more* rather than less self-control. The major issue here is the futility of trying to make the case for self-control either way. A far more useful strategy may lie in thinking about personal change, individual growth, and development in multi-method and multi-modal terms.

A clear understanding of how the *processes* of personal change work over time, especially in natural settings, is currently lacking. Figure 2 presents some concepts relevant to personal change. Some have been studied but others remain essentially untried. Although some fragmentary knowledge exists on the *short-term* outcomes of personal change treatments for *some* adults with *certain* problems (for example, Lewinsohn, Muñoz, Youngren, & Zeiss, 1978; Coates & Thoresen, 1977; Danaher & Lichtenstein, 1978), we still remain ignorant of the way these changes occur (Karoly, 1977; Richards, in press). We must be concerned, particularly in the long run, with *how* personal change takes place if theories and techniques are to improve in meaningful ways. Stated differently, we must devote more energy to refining theory by pondering the results of carefully designed process studies, both observational and experimental, that seek to understand how persons use cognitive, behavioral, and environmental events to change. Although I object to the rigid dichotomy implied, we do need a more balanced blending of "basic" as

Figure 2. Some variables influencing human actions: Social learning perspectives

LEARNING: WHAT HAS THE PERSON LEARNED TO DO?

- person acquires specific actions by direct experience and vicariously by observing models—for example, child learns to eat using utensils by trial and error; child learns physical aggression via media or by observing parents.
 - incentive conditions may promote learning—for example, parent praise motivates child to attempt to ride bicycle and provides feedback regarding adequacy of initial attempts.
 - physical and cognitive development may set limits on what can be learned.
- includes learning about structure of the physical world, social rules and customs, personal constructs about self and others.
- includes cognitive processes: ways information is perceived and processed; methods that behavioral sequences are committed to memory; sequences of behavior to retrieve information on specific situations.

*PERFORMANCE: WHAT DOES A PERSON DO IN A SPECIFIC SITUATION?**Environmental Influences*

- antecedent stimulus conditions signify events to come and indicate probable consequences that can be expected when specific actions are performed.
- reinforcement conditions indicate what the person must do to gain positive outcomes and avoid punishing outcomes.
- provide standards/criteria to judge personal performance and incentives to perform according to personal standards.

Personal Influences

- the environment influences a person through cognitive mediation—what meaning do certain events have for the person? How does the person transform events?
 - for example, stimulus-outcome expectancies: based on past experiences, person makes predictions about relations between stimuli and events to come.
 - for example, efficacy expectancies: based on past experiences, person makes predictions about how successfully he/she will be in performing needed skills in given situations (for example, to relax when feeling stressed).
 - for example, behavior-outcome expectancies: based on past experience, person makes predictions about alternative actions open to him or her and the probable consequences of each.
 - for example, subjective values: emotional values associated with environmental stimuli or by available courses of action.

Behavioral Influences

- specific actions influence the social and physical environment.
 - for example, if person consistently refuses invitations to get together, others will stop offering them.
- specific actions influence the person's beliefs and attributions.
 - for example, behavior-outcome expectations may change; evaluations of personal abilities may change.

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well as "applied" research. I am confident that we stand to discover our own counterpart of the modern physicist's charmed particles in studying human experiences in natural settings and in doing so come to redirect much of our clinical efforts in helping persons help themselves.

"I Know I Can"

The concept of "self-efficacy" deserves special mention in discussing personal change. *Self-efficacy* refers to a person's convictions or expectations about his or her ability to do certain things that, in turn, will lead to successful outcomes.¹⁰ Bandura (1976) has suggested that *all* types of counseling and therapy may be successful in the long run to the extent that the client's convictions about learning and using specific skills to solve their problems are enhanced. The role of expectancy for success (or failure) in counseling and therapy has long been recognized. But the more specific contributions of the level and magnitude of a person's convictions about being able to do certain things successfully has been ignored. The distinction lies between expectancies about final outcomes versus expectancies about intermediate processes. That is, efficacy refers to what the person thinks are the chances of successfully carrying out the specific tasks in therapy—the process—as distinct from a person's view of the overall chances of success in therapy. I can, for example, as a client seek lasting relief from migraine headaches by deeply relaxing myself daily for 20 minutes using muscle relaxation, or I can successfully recognize the early physical cues of oncoming arousal and use them to relax. What is the degree of my conviction in being able to take certain steps successfully, which will lead toward resolving my problems?

Figure 3 presents some items used to assess a person's level and magnitude of self-efficacy in being able to participate in groups. In this example performance is broken down into specific tasks graduated as to the increasing level of difficulty. The person is asked prior to attempting the task if he or she believes he or she can do it *and* how confident he or she is about doing it successfully on a scale of 10 (quite uncertain) to 100 (certain). Note that persons may differ as to their beliefs about efficacy compared to outcomes. Two persons, for example, may be convinced that they can do each thing listed in Figure 3 with complete confidence. Yet one may believe that, despite carrying out these actions successfully, the outcomes of these actions would be neutral at best or even negative. The other person, however, may be convinced that strong and positive outcomes would ensue. Thus the relative influence of efficacy expectations is tempered by beliefs about the overall consequences of doing certain things well. There are, of course, other

¹⁰Recognizing the importance of a person's sense of efficacy is not new. This crucial link in the chain of factors influencing the exercise of individual responsibility has been observed by others (for example, Maslow, 1966; White, 1973). Bandura, however, in presenting the concept in a more detailed fashion with a focus on the processes involved, has greatly enhanced the possibility of studying this phenomenon empirically.

combinations of efficacy-outcome expectations, such as being low on both or having high expectations about outcomes but modest self-efficacy beliefs.

An intimate connection exists between helping persons take more charge of their lives—a sense of mastery and responsibility—and the level of self-efficacy. Conceivably this concept of personal efficacy might be one of the crucial “ghosts in the machine”—a mediating process that separates successful long-term personal growth and change from shorter-term changes that fade away with time.

I suspect that many of the current versions of “do it yourself” therapy suffer overall in failing to convince the person that the “right” kind of specific skills have been learned and have been sufficiently mastered to be used successfully. I also sense that some of the barriers faced in career counseling stem from problems of inadequate personal shells in general and a limited

Figure 3. Self-efficacy ratings on specific tasks of “being in groups”

<i>BEING IN GROUPS</i>		
	<i>Can Do (Yes-No)</i>	<i>Confidence (10-100)</i>
With partner, attend a small group of acquaintances and remain 5 minutes	_____	_____
Without partner, attend a small group of acquaintances and remain 10-30 minutes—minimal conversation	_____	_____
With partner, enter into conversation with 1-2 friends for 5 minutes	_____	_____
With partner, talk with 2-4 people for 5-10 minutes	_____	_____
Talk with 1-3 friends alone	_____	_____
With partner, talk with an unfamiliar person for several minutes	_____	_____
Talk with unfamiliar people alone for 5 minutes	_____	_____
Enter a larger group of people with partner and talk with others for 5-15 minutes	_____	_____
Enter a larger group of people without partner and talk with others for 15-30 minutes	_____	_____
Enter a larger group of people without partner and give a short presentation on some topic of expertise	_____	_____

sense of self-efficacy in particular (cf. Thoresen & Ewart, 1976). Further, some provocative questions concerning efficacy expectations are raised about the role of face-to-face contact with a professional helper. Perhaps there is a minimum amount of personal contact with someone perceived as professionally knowledgeable before any set of skills will be sufficiently mastered in ways that promote enough self-efficacy.

HUMAN ETHOLOGY: A METHOD FOR ALL SEASONS

Over the past decade I have grown more and more skeptical along with others about what passes for rigorous scientific research in the helping professions (cf. Thoresen, 1969; Thoresen, 1979; Goldman, 1977; Bergin & Strupp, 1972). My doubts have been nurtured by the rigid beliefs I encounter in research textbooks, at convention programs, and among editorial board members about what constitutes "scientific" research on human problems. What stands out are strongly held beliefs about what is a "real" experiment, the dire necessity of using complex inferential statistics, and the crucial need for always studying large samples and measuring change in a pre- and post-treatment fashion. The paucity of clinically significant results produced by "proper" strategies has prompted me to look elsewhere for answers.

The experience has been an encouraging one. I have a renewed faith in the possibilities about doing good research and getting meaningful results—finding out more about persons and ways of helping them solve the problems of living. I have learned that formal experiments need not always involve two or more randomly assigned groups of subjects, that inferential statistics often obscure information and confuse crucial relationships, and that scientific inquiry in general can never remain rigid for too long about what constitutes proper methods. I have discovered that carefully controlled observational studies on one or a few persons, using multiple measures and modes of assessment over time, can and should be done. Indeed I have come to realize that the origins of science are primarily found in the careful intensive study of phenomena over time periods of months and sometimes years (cf. Thoresen, 1977, 1978, in preparation). As it turns out, science is a very intimate human affair. When it is done right it deals closely and carefully with its subject matter. In essence, that is how scientific knowledge differs from "common-sense" perceptual knowledge. Some things just aren't what they seem whereas others change dramatically, depending on the level of analysis. As a human enterprise, science ends up as a highly refined art form—perhaps the art of conscious simplification—rich with traditions and techniques along with metaphors and a wealth of assumptions that have gradually evolved over the centuries (cf. Crombie, 1961; Mahoney, 1976; Weimer, 1976).

Current versions of behavioral sciences today have rejected too much of their physical and biological science heritage—a long tradition of painstaking documentation, rigorous description, and detailed observation (cf. Mead, 1976). Behavioral scientists have been caught up in trying to prove the truth of

their conjectures, seeking confirmation of broad explanatory generalizations without having at hand a valid and reliable body of information—a source of data on what and how persons live their lives in natural settings. Indeed, the information typically available is strange. As Bronfenbrenner (1977) recently put it, the study of research in child development, for example, is almost exclusively

the strange behavior of children in strange situations with strange adults for the briefest possible periods of time [p. 513].

What persons experience, such as thoughts, psychomotor reactions, imagining, and verbal behavior, in a contrived and controlled laboratory setting or while completing a lengthy questionnaire is not an inherently valid nor reliable source of data. In our own lives as professionals we have often experienced the artificiality of various tests, questionnaires, and surveys, conscious of answering certain questions or items in ways not genuinely valid of us as persons. We have gone through many interviews, sensitive to what we say and how we respond; we have sometimes failed to provide information about ourselves, mindful of how discrepant it is with life as we knowingly experience it. I know I have caught myself wondering if I am describing what has actually happened or what I believe should have occurred. Am I portraying myself to be seen as a highly consistent, thoughtful, empathic individual whose “means justifies his ends?” Have I so reconstructed events that they bear only the faintest resemblance of things actually past?

Commenting on such distortions of our experience hardly offers something new. I vividly recall my excitement about reading Freud as a college student, discovering how we as humans alter actual events, often unconsciously, via many processes (for example, projection, introjection, denial, and transference). I also recall my early enthusiasm for projective techniques, measures that appear to disclose the “real” features of motivation and personality. A year-long practicum in administering and interpreting Rorschachs, TATs and other measures, however, tarnished the initial luster. So much of the scoring appeared to lie in the eyes of the beholder. The logical circularity and the reasoning underlying these assessments impressed me. Everything seemed to be interpreted to confirm and substantiate the theoretical beliefs and orientations of the assessor. Data didn’t seem to speak enough for themselves, in part because the form of the data required such elaborate interpretation.

These earlier experiences left me believing that there must be more clear cut and straightforward ways to assess and evaluate the human problems and experiences. I delighted in learning that a few psychologists shared my concern. Hans Eysenck’s seminal articles and books (for example, *Behavior Therapy and the Neuroses*, 1960) arrived just in time. Here was someone who spoke about human problems in a very direct and specific fashion. The “symptoms” one observed in persons were not always superficial signs of an

underlying pathology. Rather, they were what needed to be changed. That Eysenck has consistently exaggerated the claims for behavior therapy and misinterpreted the effects of psychoanalytic therapy compared to "placebo" effects is another matter.

I soon discovered other sources such as B. F. Skinner's *Science and Human Behavior* (1953) and others who stressed working directly with the client in helping alter specific actions and using performance-type goals (cf. Thoresen & Hosford, 1973). The message of these sources made good sense: *what people actually do* should be the main focus for counseling. To find out what persons actually do one had to get out of the consulting room and into the client's environment and in some way observe what was happening in a systematic fashion.

The strengths and limitations of behavior and social learning approaches are many and are not at issue here (cf. Thoresen & Coates, 1978). Rather, my point relates to the need to expand research tools and clinical skills to capture much more fully the "lived life as it evolves over time" (Levinson, 1978). I suspect most would deem it naive and nonsensical to do research on the life and times of elephants or egrets based *solely* on observing them in the San Francisco Zoo. Nor would we put much stock in longitudinal data gathered over the life span of any creature born and raised in an artificial environment, *if* we were primarily concerned with various life events experienced by creatures in their natural habitat.¹¹

Ethology as the descriptive-observational study of the behavior of organisms in their natural habitat offers an interesting and, I believe, much needed perspective on helping us better understand human problems, especially in building a more solid scientific base for theory construction and clinical practice. Ethological studies offer a framework for enriching the impoverished base of data about what people actually do in their daily lives, not only in terms of physically observable actions, but social physical events in the environment as well as specific thoughts, self-talk, and imagery.

Established as a new approach to animal behavior by zoologists earlier in the century, ethology has recently been expanding into the human sciences, particularly in developmental and child psychology and child psychopathology. Although some popularized writings have overstated conclusions from ethological data with animals (for example, Morris, 1967; Ardrey, 1967), others have presented strong and compelling arguments for ethological research with humans (Lorenz, 1974; Blurton-Jones, 1972; Tinbergen, 1965).¹²

The intellectual heritage of ethologists is heavily evolutionary in a

¹¹Comparative studies of animals and other organisms raised over many generations in controlled laboratory settings can provide valuable information on genetic-physiological-biochemical processes. However, such organisms are not the most valid source of data on life experiences of these organisms in the natural settings.

¹²Some of the current controversy about sociobiology centers on the validity of extrapolating ethological data gathered on insect and animal studies to humans (cf. Wilson, 1975).

Darwinian sense. Thus, much of what humans do tends to be seen as a function of biological adaptations to environmental elements over thousands of years. Rene Dubos' award winning book, *So Human an Animal* (1968), nicely captures the ethological flavor. Dubos speaks of persons functioning as integrated systems, often automatically, in response to common experiential cues and consequences that have repeatedly taken place over thousands of years. Some of the research now being done in child development and psychology has been moving toward an ethological approach, although studies still basically rely on indirect measures, such as semistructured interviews and general rating scales. Seldom are direct time-series observations used of children in the natural settings, such as the dinner table, the school playground, and classroom (Sackett, 1978).

Unfortunately, with teenagers and adults, scientific work at the descriptive-observational level has been almost exclusively limited to structured interviews, questionnaires, and rating scales.¹³ The work of applied behavior analysts who extrapolated the direct observations methods pioneered in animal laboratory studies by B. F. Skinner to human behavior in home, school, and clinic/hospital settings stands out as an exception. Unfortunately this strategy has been closely tied to operant conditioning theory, which stresses the frequency counts of behavior that can be observed by others. This theoretical affiliation has discouraged its acceptance and use by others working outside this model, particularly those not interested in trying to change externally observable behaviors. Applied time-series methods, where one or more measures are gathered repeatedly over long time periods, also relate to an ethological approach (cf. Glass, Willson, & Gottman, 1975) as does the work of ecological psychologists (cf. Barker, 1968). Despite these efforts we do not at present have valid and reliable ethological data on important human experiences.

What might we gain by doing human ethological studies? Answers lie in issues concerning the improvement of theory, research, and clinical practice. Information has long been available in the form of anecdotes and recollections, especially in the form of fiction (novels), poetry, and biography. I suspect that daytime televised "soap operas" offer another source of data. These kinds of data, however, have been highly stylized and selective, richly interpreted by the author's sense of reality. Thus Erikson's *Gandhi* (1969) offers a markedly psychoanalytic interpretation on the reconstructed life of this famous Indian leader, and Frankl's (1963) autobiography of the horrors he encountered (and survived) in a Nazi concentration camp is reconstructed through his logotherapy perspective. Even the radical behaviorist recounts adult experiences through a highly interpretative lens, explaining changes in

¹³For an interesting exception see Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, and Prescott (1977). High school students carried audio beepers that cued the subject eight times daily to record what they were doing. In one sample students were found to spend over 40% of the monitored time talking to peers. Also see Coates and Thoresen (1978) for an example observation in their home environments using trained observers.

behavior, while hospitalized from an auto accident, in exclusively operant terms (cf. Goldiamond, 1976; Thoresen & Wilbur, 1976).

The longstanding methods of biography, poetry, journals, diaries, and fiction clearly are valuable sources of information. But a valid science of human experiences demands multiple methodologies, each concerned with carefully documenting human phenomena. Painstaking concern for the validity and the reliability of the data observed, collected, categorized, and interpreted is crucial. The issue is *not* with the antiquated dichotomy pitting the physical "hard" science objectivity against the "soft" science subjectivism. Mead (1976), in her Presidential Address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, effectively dispenses with that misguided stereotype. Research and development in the human sciences, she noted, requires a rich combination of old and new methodologies, some of which remain to be developed. Mead, as a renowned cultural anthropologist, cogently argued that a major first step in the human sciences should be the creation and evaluation of tools for systematically observing and describing persons as they go about life in their natural environments.

The Lived Life Over Time . . .

The popularity of Levinson's *Seasons of a Man's Life* (1978), based on the study of 40 adult males over several years, testifies to the enormous appetite for knowing much more about the ongoing structure of adult life. Levinson and his colleagues offer a developmental pattern during adulthood of stable and transition periods as depicted in Figure 4. A person's life structure—the basic pattern of life at a given time—cycles through seasons, a series of periods marked by continuity and change. Men between the ages of 35 and 45 from four occupational groups—business managers, professional university biologists, writers, and factory workers—in a few selected corporations and universities on the East Coast were individually interviewed weekly between 10 and 20 times with a follow-up interview about two years later. Prime reliance in this study was placed on the interview method; each person was asked to reflect and recall his or her adolescent and young adult experiences. Spouses were also interviewed once, and some efforts were made to examine the work environment.

Findings from this study are overflowing with fascinating implications for counselors and others concerned with human problems, spanning child-rearing practices, marital problems, job satisfaction, friendship patterns, self-esteem, and health behavior to name a few.¹⁴ I was intrigued, for example,

¹⁴Robert White's *Lives in Progress* (1966) is an earlier example of study of the flow and sequence of adult experiences, perhaps a more sophisticated one. White also relied primarily on interviews but he varied the interviewers and also used a number of standardized tests. Notably, he recognized the need for direct behavioral observations and observed "There are plenty of things that people cannot tell about themselves and cannot very well be inferred from interviews" (p. 99).

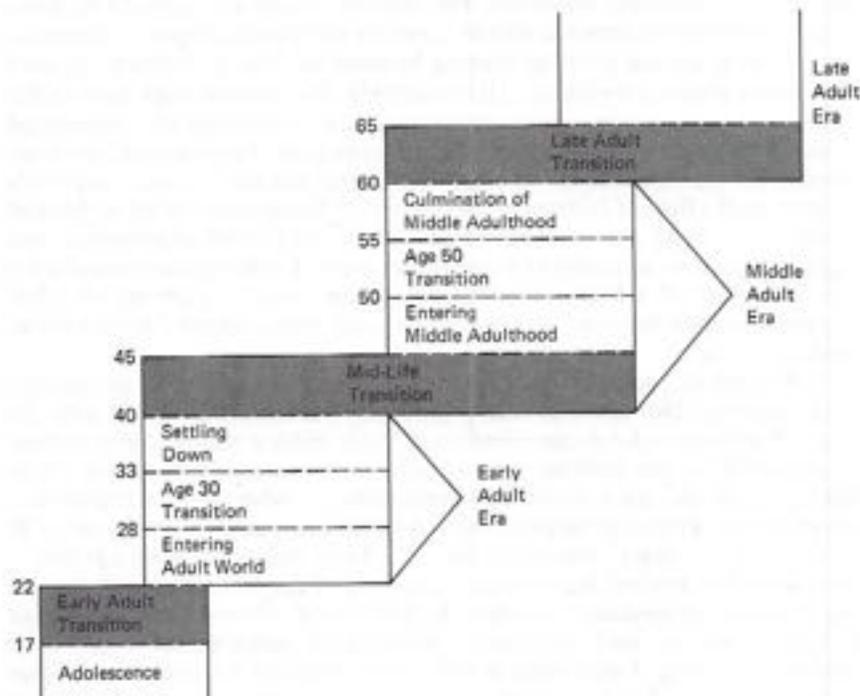


Figure 4. Eras and periods in adult life. (From *The Seasons of a Man's Life*, by Daniel J. Levinson. Copyright © 1978 by Daniel J. Levinson. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.)

with the "mentoring" phenomena that seemed a crucial factor in the lives of these men in helping them successfully handle transition periods (for example, the Age 30 period and the Mid-Life Transition). The mentor was typically an older male peer (8 to 15 years older) who seemed in effect to function as a prestigious social model, demonstrating how to do many things at work and also providing strong support and encouragement on a consistent basis. Mentors in the lives of some of these men, notably those who appeared the most satisfied, came and went. Thus the mentor for a person at 30 trying to find a satisfying career as an adult differed from a mentor at 45, someone influential in facing the transition into middle adulthood. Those men who lacked these older male models suffered more frustration and dissatisfaction with their careers, their families, and with themselves. I was impressed, in reading excerpts from the interviews, with how crucial a mentor appeared to be in establishing and maintaining a strong sense of personal efficacy, the conviction that one knows how to act, how to do certain things that will in

turn lead to successful outcomes. The chronic despair encountered by some men was strongly associated with the absence of valued mentors in their lives.

I am of course guilty of reading between the lines to confirm my own conviction about self-efficacy. Unfortunately, the methodology used in the study, the retrospective interview, simply cannot provide well controlled empirical data on this and a host of other questions. Yet systematic data are needed on the "lived lives" of adult males and females, to use Levinson's phrase, on the flow of daily events occurring in life over time. What we have at present are brief yet exciting snatches of recollected experiences and significant events occurring at home and at work. To the extent that we lack a solid bedrock of reliable information on the various patterns of adult experiences collected over time, we are seriously handicapped theoretically as well as clinically.

Personally, many of us "know" that as evolving adults we go through many changes. Our sense of reality gradually yet inexorably shifts with the years. Without careful documentation of those shifting realities, with all their implications for the problems and choices confronting adults, we are left as helping professionals without a complete sense of what persons experience. From a human ethological perspective, I can imagine another study, say of 20 men and 20 women in their early 20s—the Early Adult Transition period—who would be studied *in vivo* using a variety of assessment modes, such as paper-pencil procedures, on-the-job behavioral observations, colleague behavior ratings, and structured video-taped performance tasks in a laboratory setting. A rich blend of self-observational techniques on cognitive and imagery processes would be particularly valuable. From such data we might begin to understand better how self-talk, imagery (for example, fantasies), expectancies, and attributions function as causes and consequences of particular events in the social environment. In addition, these cognitive experiences may also influence and be altered by what the person observes himself or herself saying or doing. As Bem (1972) and others have suggested, what we believe about ourselves comes, in part, from what we observe ourselves doing and saying.

I do not believe that a genuine human science will ever come to be unless we carry out the kind of studies that documents the breadth and depth of human experience in a rigorous and systematic fashion.

LETTING OUR MEANS JUSTIFY OUR ENDS

As the last two decades of the second millennium pass, I suspect that more counseling psychologists will expand the range of their interests and participate in problem areas traditionally of concern to other professionals. Defining the "role and function" of counseling psychologists will become even more difficult than it now is. Human problems have never conformed to the disciplinary divisions created by the professional helping guides. Rather, the plights of human living have consistently spilled over and across the expertise

of physicians, counselors, nurses, clergy, social workers, teachers, parents, police, and bartenders. I confess to a mushrooming fascination with the concept of health in the fullest and richest sense of the term coupled with how to understand better the exercise of personal responsibility within a bewildering complex of environmental forces and influences. Since so little is known in a scientific sense about the rich complexities of human experiences as they occur over time I am also intrigued by the methods of ethology, a science of the everyday natural experiences.

What I have expressed may strike some as irrelevant to the work of counseling psychologists, now or in the future. Yet I hope that a few may find some interesting opportunities to ponder. I have consciously ignored the issues of territoriality (an ethological term!)—whether health, for example, properly belongs with medical personnel or with clinical psychologists or even in the new division of Health Psychology (Division 38) of the American Psychological Association. Nor have I pursued the many problems of professional training at the pre- as well as post-doctoral level related to what I have discussed. I suspect that some form of a one- to two-year post-doctoral training experience will become the rule rather than the exception. Clearly the departmental and disciplinary isolation that currently exists in training programs must be reduced. Engineering such changes amidst stiff competition for resources will prove difficult—but not impossible.

When the year 2000 arrives I hope I am alive and well, satisfied that I have been living a meaningful, health enhancing life, especially one that shows a genuine equity between the means I have used and the ends I have experienced. There is one thing I do know for sure: now is the time to create the conditions and to make the choices that will allow me to experience such satisfactions in the year 2000.

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Epilogue: 2000 A.D.

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This concluding chapter is written after having read the series of preceding chapters addressing counseling psychology in the year 2000 A.D. I found these daring ventures in prophecy to be fascinating and useful.

There are, as one would expect, great variations in the forecasts. Yet there was enough consistency to justify the following generalization: Counseling psychology will probably still be around in 2000 A.D., at least in the person of those who continue to do what has been most closely associated with our field in the past and who wish to identify themselves as counseling psychologists. However, how we choose to identify ourselves and whether the field exists by this or any other name, are rather inconsequential matters. What is important is that psychologists should be serving our society, our communities, and our clientele well, drawing on the advances in science and applying them much more on a macro- rather than micro-level.

I would add one more analysis to the many excellent ones in those papers. In a very important sense it derives from a philosophy like Ivey (Chapter 16), as it is exemplified by the notion of the "Parsonian error" as well as by the $P \times E$ orientation of the proposed University of Massachusetts program. The E , writ large, includes our socioeconomic system in totality. The validity of any prognostication depends, it seems to me, on the degree of accuracy of the estimate of the future changes in our economic system. In my view, there is every reason to expect that, 20 years hence, our country will still be governed by a capitalist economy and that the dominant profit motive will still be operative. I don't doubt, as several authors predicted, that there will be considerable moves toward a socialized health system and that we in professional psychology might well come under its dominion. I do believe, however, that if the essential features of our economic system persist, professional psychological services will continue to be given privately, perhaps even to a greater extent than at present, considering the decline in the number of psychiatrists and the increased need and demand for human services. At the same time, forces will compel the government to provide funding to pay for psychological services; and although some of this will go to

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public, nonprofit agencies (for example, Health Maintenance Organizations or HMO's) some of it also will go to private practitioners, more of whom will probably practice in groups.

This analysis bears on the work of the Committee on Standards for Providers of Psychological Services (COSPOPS). Although only one of the six members is in private practice and all six of us, I have no doubt, are supportive of strong shifts of emphasis toward prevention and a community-oriented psychology, we are obliged to deal with the here-and-now as well as with the future as we conceive it. We must set standards for the present and not for a future that we would like. My attitude is that, although many of us are dissatisfied with much that exists in the present and much that we expect in the future, we can on the one hand struggle with all our might to alter the present and future while, on the other hand, we prepare our students (and ourselves) to live and serve in the real world of today and tomorrow.

What is it that we seek to alter? Here is where the concept of the Parsonian error can be crucially important. I remember as vividly as if it had occurred yesterday the comment of a speaker at one of the very first meetings of the NVGA I attended shortly before World War II. It was in New York. A woman with a cloyingly sweet smile said: "There really is no such thing as prejudice. Any boy or girl in Harlem can be anything he or she wants. Providing, of course, that they have the ability." I was dismayed, but then I was still very naive. It was only some time later that I came to realize that the guidance field, in the words of a sociologist, was dangerously close to being "the hand maiden of the status quo."

The statement of this NVGA speaker is useful for our purpose. She denied that an environmental problem existed for the Harlem children so far as career was concerned, because she either was ignorant or conveniently used the mechanism of denial. Most counselors of her day were more enlightened. They knew such a problem existed, but they saw their role as one of helping the client (the Parsons' way) adjust to it. By now, some in psychology, and specifically in counseling psychology, have gone beyond that point in their efforts to change the environment.

So far I have made reference to only one aspect of the environment, the obvious one, to which our NVGA speaker alluded when she said the Harlem student "... can be anything he or she wants." That is *E* as we usually define it, the variables that impinge upon the individual in carrying out educational and career plans, including the job market, unemployment, and racial and other types of discrimination. However, she made indirect reference to still another aspect of the environment when she added "Providing, of course, that they have the ability." By which everyone in the audience knew she meant "providing their IQ was high enough and they could get good grades." This statement, which seemed so reasonable and beyond question at the time, turns out to be a reflection of one of the greatest burdens our clients have had to bear, a burden imposed by us in counseling psychology and other branches of psychology (and a burden that we, too, have borne). I am referring to our

theory. Although there are great limits as to what we can do to alter the *E* that relates to unemployment, poverty, shattered homes, the idealization of machismo, violence, and so on, we have unlimited control over the theories that guide our practice, the theories we teach our students and that we impress on those who seek us out for consultation. The theories of intelligence, for example, have been brutal in their consequences, as brutal as Binet predicted when he saw how the use of his test and others was violating what he understood to be the malleability of humans.

We have begun to see how those theories have been "the handmaiden" and have begun to have some doubts about that major tradition in our field. But here, I think, we have only scratched the surface, and the future holds great possibilities of correcting our serious theoretical mistakes. I believe that the *P* and *E* in the $P \times E$ concept are reciprocal in more than one way: the more we broaden the definition of *E*, the more we see individuals as products of social-historical developments, not only of immediately contemporary situations and certainly not only of the environmental contingencies subject to reinforcement. That is, the more we have that broad view of the *E* factor, the less we are likely to see the origin of conflict and problems as residing within the Person.

I see the move to a family-systems theory as a healthy development. Even that is restrictive if it gives the counseling psychologist the impression that the problems and conflicts emanate from the family. Although, to be sure, the individual and the family are helped within the context of the family, in our heads, at least, there ought to be an understanding of the social and historical sources of the conflicts. The counterparts of the mediated interaction between person and environment are the interactions between individual and family, and of family and community. Just as most of us regard as absurd the notion that the conflicts of an individual are entirely or largely intrapsychic in character, we can see as equally absurd the notion that conflicts within a family are largely intrafamilial in character. Hopefully the moves toward interactionist theories will help us in counseling psychology avoid the Parsonian error in the fullest sense, so that "changing the environment" will mean, first of all, broadening our definition of *E* and, secondly, recognizing that our theories, over which we have enormous control, are very much part of that *E*.

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