Leong, F. T. L., Savickas, M. L., & Leach, M. M. (2011).
Counseling psychology. In P. Martin, F. Cheung, M. Kyios,
L. Littlefield, M. Knowles, B. Overmeir, & J. M. Prieto (Eds.)
International Association of Applied Psychology
Handbook of Applied Psychology (pp. 137-161).
Oxford, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.

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Counseling Psychology

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In this chapter, we will provide an overview of the field of counseling psychology as one of the specialties within applied psychology. We begin with an historical survey, followed by an attempt at defining the field in relation to some similar and overlapping specialties. Next, we attend to the trends and key developments within the field, emphasizing an international perspective. We end the chapter with a discussion of the challenges and opportunities for this field as well as an articulation of the potential future developments in the field. We want to point out that there is a heavy focus on the field from the perspective of the United States, not because of that country's superiority but because the field has been most active there. For example, despite its long history, the International Association of Applied Psychology did not include a division on counseling psychology until 2002. Only recently has there been a growth of counseling psychology training programs and research activities outside of North America. In most countries around the world, psychological training and research related to mental health had been provided primarily by clinical and school psychology for the past several decades while counseling psychology has been strongly embedded and isolated in the mid-western part of the United States.

History

In their review of the history of counseling psychology in the United States, Leong and Leach (2008) suggested that significant changes have occurred since its beginnings, and these developments can be understood from a framework of the first and second halves of the 20th century. During the first half of the 20th century, counseling psychology was shaped by three interrelated areas, the vocational guidance

IAAP Handbook of Applied Psychology, First Edition. Edited by Paul R. Martin, Fanny M. Cheung, Michael C. Knowles, Michael Kyrios, Lyn Littlefield, J. Bruce Overmier, and José M. Prieto.

movement, the mental health movement, and the psychology of individual differences. First, the vocational guidance movement in the United States began with Frank Parsons in 1908 with his pioneering work at the Vocational Guidance Bureau in Boston. His classic book, *Choosing a Vocation*, (Parsons, 1909) outlined the fundamental beliefs of the Trait-and-Factor model for career counseling that provided the beginnings of an organized vocational guidance movement. Since counseling psychology grew in part from the vocational guidance movement, its history can be traced back to Parson's work, particularly in establishing the person–environment paradigm (Leong & Leach, 2008).

Second, the "mental health movement" gave rise to the development of the specialty of counseling psychology in the United States. This movement considered clients' mental illnesses as treatable and that treatment should be more compassionate than previously established in the US. Early mental health pioneers such as Dorothea Dix established mental hospitals and clinics that provided therapies focusing on client health and humane care. These agencies spawned the thousands of community mental health centers, counseling centers, and other mental health clinics that currently exist in the United States (Leong & Leach, 2008).

Finally, the field of individual differences and its tool of psychometrics in psychology were significant in developing the specialty of counseling psychology. As an early approach to the scientific study of human beings, some of the pioneering psychologists (e.g., Francis Galton, J. M. Cattell, Alfred Binet) recognized the significance of developing ways to evaluate and quantify psychological processes and behaviors. Their efforts to develop psychometric methods and tests to assess these processes and behaviors resulted in the field of differential psychology, also known as the psychology of individual differences. This field created the scientific study of areas quite common today such as individual variation in ability factors and personality traits. The accurate assessment and measurement of individual differences has become a centralized component of the discipline of psychology. These intersecting events resulted in a psychological assessment orientation that is a cornerstone for current clinical, school, and counseling psychology.

In fact, it is a psychometric contribution that is one of counseling psychology's major contributions, if not the major contribution, to psychology as a discipline (Pelling, 2004). Specifically, it is the measurement of vocational interests that has always been a cornerstone for the science and practice of counseling psychology. E. K. Strong published in 1927 the interest inventory that still bears his name and is widely used. The *Strong Interest Inventory* measures an individual's resemblance to individuals working in a wide variety of occupations. The closer the resemblance an individual scores to an occupation group, the more likely that occupation could be a good fit for the individual. In the middle of the 20th century, John Holland simplified the matching paradigm for interest measurement by formulating a typology of vocational personality types and work environments. The scores on his popular *Self-Directed Search* indicate the individual's degree of resemblance to the six prototypes. Given the profile of the six scores, the counselor can match clients with occupations comprised of people with similar profiles. Using interest inventories to provide career counseling continues to be a defining feature and core service of counseling psychology around the globe (Tien, 2007). Ironically, the field of psychometrics

in psychology is under threat and a recent task force was established by the American Psychological Association to study how we can attract and recruit more psychology students to enter the field given its diminishing numbers.

World War II significantly altered and advanced the trajectory of counseling psychology in the United States, paving the way for changes during the second half of the 20th century. The end of World War II resulted in thousands of military personnel returning to civilian life. At the time, the mental health system was ill-equipped to handle the massive number of military personnel requiring services. Wanting to respond to the significant needs of not only the veterans but their families, the federal government created the Veterans' Administration (VA). Within the VA, hospitals and clinics were established to assist veterans and their families as they made a massive readjustment to civilian life.

After World War II, the transformation from vocational guidance to counseling psychology accelerated when guidance personnel assisted returning veterans by providing personal counseling (Leong & Leach, 2008). The Veterans' Administration prompted the switch from vocational guidance to personal counseling by asserting that returning soldiers who re-entered the labor market needed more than simply a match to a job. They needed additional personal counseling for mental problems and physical rehabilitation, especially counseling that dealt with emotions surrounding the war and their adjustment. With the emergence of research on psychotherapy by clinical psychologists, the methods of psychotherapy heralded by Carl Roger's non-directive counseling (in contrast to directive vocational guidance) would turn vocational psychologists with an interest in psychometrics into counseling psychologists with an interest in people, not problems (Super, 1957). Concurrently, vocational researchers revised their point of view on the relation of individuals to work as they shifted attention from studying occupational requirements, routines, and rewards to studying the characteristics of individuals and their careers. Based on the success of "counseling" with returning soldiers and attention to studying individual differences, counseling psychologists turned their attention to schools and colleges focusing on students' personal adjustment and personality.

Gelso and Fretz (2001) observed that the significant influx of counseling psychologists into the VA system created a key training ground for counseling psychology as an emerging specialty. They began working in the VA's Division of Medicine and Neurology under the newly created job title of counseling psychologist.

By the end of the 1940s counseling psychology began to detach from its roots in vocational guidance and mental health counseling, and the field began to grow. The Boulder conference of 1949 is still possibly the most influential conference on counseling psychology training models, as programs today continue to evolve based on the principles from this conference. Occurring just prior to the Northwestern Conference where training standards for counseling psychologists were developed in relation to the VA, the Boulder conference developed the scientist-practitioner model as the primary training model for clinical psychologists. This model stresses the interaction of psychological science and practice, meaning that science is the foundation for practice, and practice helps propel the science. Counseling psychologists also found the model beneficial. It was at the Greyston Conference in 1964, that counseling psychologists reaffirmed this model as their primary training model. In addition

to highlighting the interaction between science and practice, this model is important for the field of counseling psychology inasmuch as it enabled the field to differentiate itself from its guidance roots. The emphasis on science, which was associated with the profession of psychology, separated counseling psychologists from counselors. Over 20 years later counseling psychologists again reaffirmed the scientist-practitioner model at the Georgia conference in 1987, and the 2001 Houston and 2008 Chicago conferences continued this principle. Today, though other models are available, very few counseling psychology programs do not directly espouse a scientist-practitioner model.

As counseling psychology developed, it was aided by several other significant events, such as the founding of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* in the 1950s, now established as one of the most widely read, cited, and respected journals in the field. Divisional and related journals have emerged over time, most notably the *Counseling Psychologist*, the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, and the *Journal of Career Assessment*. Additionally, various handbooks have undergone multiple editions such as the *Handbook of Counseling Psychology* and the *Handbook of Vocational Psychology*. A new *Review of Counseling Psychology* will be published biennially, which will include the latest developments in the field. In addition, the American Psychological Association has also signed a contract to produce a new *Handbook of Counseling Psychology* within its newly established handbook program.

The Society of Counseling Psychology within the American Psychological Association (APA) has almost 3,000 members, with multiple interest sections and groups. It is clearly a vibrant division within the APA, with many members holding APA executive and board positions. There are approximately 70 APA-accredited training programs in the country, a significant increase over the past few decades.

Outside of the United States, counseling psychology was also developing to meet the needs of various countries. Within Asia, it was the Association of Psychological and Educational Counselors of Asia (APECA-Asia), which was established in 1976, that was at the forefront of this movement. It was led by faculty members from Chinese University of Hong Kong with colleagues from the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore. They held their 30th anniversary conference in 2006 <www.apeca-asia.com/> and have been publishing a regional journal, the *Asian Journal of Counseling* with Alvin Leung as Editor.

In mainland China, the Chinese Psychological Society has had a clinical and counseling psychology specialization division and in 2007 adopted a set of guidelines for professional registration and code of ethics. At least in China, clinical and counseling psychology are labeled together as the same specialization. This is still a fledgling profession and the training was very varied in the past. The new guidelines require postgraduate training in clinical/counseling psychology at masters or doctoral level, with specified curriculum and training duration. In Chinese, counseling and psychotherapy both refer to a form of psychological help to clients by talking to them and/or applying psychological principles, instead of using other forms of physical treatment. With reference to indigenous approaches in assessment and treatment that have been developed to address special cultural contexts, there has also been some significant development as illustrated by the scientific program of the recent World Congress of Psychotherapy in Beijing in October 2008 <www.wcp2008.org/sprogram.doc>.

Defining the Field

Counseling psychology employs a wide array of assessment and intervention strategies to help individuals, families, groups, and organizations with their educational, developmental, and adjustment concerns. Training programs are generalist in nature, though each program may have emphasis areas depending on the interests of the faculty. The combination of the breadth of the activities undertaken and the training structure have often resulted in counseling psychologists being referred to as the "general practitioners" of psychological specialties (Gelso & Fretz, 2001).

Within the United States, counseling psychology is one of four major applied specialties in professional psychology, the others being clinical psychology, school psychology, and industrial/organizational psychology. The first three are considered health service specialties while the latter is not. When compared with the other three applied specialties in psychology, counseling psychology is most similar to clinical psychology, and a few clinical and counseling training programs are either housed within the same university department or combined programs (Leong & Leach, 2008). Clinical psychology is the largest of all the applied specialties in the United States and comprises one of the largest divisions within the APA. The size of the division is expected given that over 200 APA-accredited clinical psychology programs are in existence compared with approximately 70 APA-accredited programs in counseling psychology. Though there is significant overlap between the two specialty areas when compared to other mental health professions, some important differences exist. One interesting note is that the majority (over 80%) of the counseling psychology programs are housed in colleges and schools of education rather than departments of psychology.

Given its history of emphasizing clients' strengths and assets instead of their deficits and pathology, counseling and clinical psychologists diverge along four primary interrelated dimensions. Counseling psychologists (a) generally intervene with people experiencing adjustment difficulties and moderate levels of psychological problems as opposed to severe psychopathology, (b) stress short-term interventions, (c) typically provide outpatient as opposed to inpatient services, and (d) are unique among applied psychologists in providing individual career counseling and educational interventions. Conversely, clinical psychologists highlight training in psychopathology and are more likely to include a broader range of assessment tools, including projective tests. Both counseling and clinical psychologist overlap significantly when providing individual, family, and group counseling and psychotherapy in that they use some of the same theories, models, and approaches (Leong & Leach, 2008).

It has been repeatedly observed that the two specialties appear to have moved closer together in recent years. Over twenty years ago Garfield (1985) noted that more and more clinical psychologists were beginning to work with less disturbed clients. A part of this trend can be attributed to the larger number of clinical training programs producing a significant number of clinicians, including the development of a growing number of professional psychology schools that tend to produce higher number of graduates. Given the increased numbers of clinical psychologists they have begun to move outside their historical areas of practice (i.e., hospitals, VA medical

centers, community mental health centers). Clinical psychologists have now moved into university counseling centers, a domain previously reserved for counseling psychologists. Clinical psychology has also spearheaded the positive psychology movement that emphasizes the assets and strengths of clients, further blurring the boundaries between the two specialties. Finally, as mentioned above, there are growing numbers of APA-accredited programs that offer combined training in clinical-counseling-school psychology in the United States.

The applied specialty of school psychology also overlaps with counseling psychology, though to a lesser degree than clinical psychology. While counseling psychology tends to focus on adult populations, especially university and college students, school psychology focuses primarily on school children within the K-12 educational setting. There are counseling psychology programs that include child and adolescent components, but most focus on the clinical and research emphasis on adults. School psychologists highlight educational and psychological assessment, and intervention with K-12 students, and evaluations for special education and other placement decisions. They are also engaged in consultation with parents, school administrators, and teachers regarding students with special needs. Unlike counseling psychologists, they are more likely to be engaged in evaluation and consultation and less likely to be involved in individual counseling and psychotherapy with their clients (Leong & Leach, 2008).

Finally, counseling psychology overlaps with the applied specialty area of industrial/organizational (I/O) psychology. Industrial/organizational psychologists apply psychological theories and research to industrial-organizational settings, but it differs from the other applied specialties in that it is not a health service profession. Specifically, I/O psychologists are not trained to diagnose and treat individuals with mental health problems. Instead, I/O psychologists are involved in the assessment and enhancement of employee and managerial satisfaction, effectiveness, and performance in organizations. However, a major area of overlap between counseling and I/O psychology is that both specialties have interests in career and vocational development. They do differ slightly in that counseling psychology approaches career and vocational issues from the individual client's perspective and relies on counseling interventions. I/O psychologists, conversely, tend to use an organizational perspective and approach career and vocational problems in the workplace, due to the fact that they are primarily employed by organizations. Also, counseling psychology includes the career development and choices of children, adolescents, and young adults, whereas I/O psychologists concentrate on the career development of adults and are interested in concerns of career adjustment, job performance and satisfaction, and job tenure (low turnover) (Leong & Leach, 2008). Interestingly, despite its focus on career counseling, the majority of psychologists involved in the new field of executive coaching or life coaching are not counseling psychologists but instead come primarily from clinical and industrial/organizational backgrounds. At the same time, the vocational guidance that served as the historical roots of the field, has now been dominated by masters-level counselors rather than counseling psychologists.

Counseling psychology's primary focus on the individual, whether fitting workers to work or fitting work to workers, distinguishes it from organizational psychology's focus on work structures and from occupational sociology's focus on occupations.

As such, I/O psychology's main objective is to enhance organizational effectiveness even when dealing with individuals' career and vocational adjustment issues. In essence, I/O psychology's objectives are to implement its theories and interventions at a higher level of analysis (i.e., organizational or group level in contrast to the individual level) when compared to counseling psychology.

Roles

As indicated by Gelso and Fretz (2001), counseling psychology has three different but interrelated roles: the remedial, preventative, and developmental roles. Counseling psychologists acting in a remedial role intervene to assist clients with existing or emerging mental health problems. This type of work, especially for those in practice, constitutes the majority of their daily activities. There are a variety of mental health concerns presented by clients that are treated, such as anxiety and depression and marital concerns, among many others. Preventative approaches incorporate ways to avoid the occurrence of certain problems (primary prevention) or the reduction of the severity of problems that occur (secondary prevention). For example, counseling psychologists may offer a primary prevention program in which they offer substance abuse education presentations on campus to first-year students in order to prevent future abuse, while secondary prevention may include a support group for students concerned about their substance use behaviors. Finally, counseling psychologists acting in a developmental role seek to help clients with their normal developmental challenges and transitions such as vocational choices or marital adjustment or retirement planning. Counseling psychologists in their "general practitioner" role consider the whole lifespan and work with children, adolescents, and adults.

In carrying out these three roles, counseling psychology emphasizes four unique perspectives: focusing on strengths, growth and lifespan development, person–environment interaction, and cultural diversity (Gelso & Fretz, 2001). As mentioned above, emphasizing client strengths and assets rather than focusing primarily on deficits or pathology (the "medical model") has had a long tradition in the field. Similarly, highlighting growth and lifespan development means that counseling psychologists work with concerns associated with developmental tasks and transitions (e.g., moving from high school to university, job transitions), thus focusing less on severe psychopathology. Counseling psychologists do treat clients with severe mental illnesses such as schizophrenia, but are generally more likely to treat adjustment problems than severe mental disorders.

Finally, counseling psychology has focused considerably on cultural diversity in the provision of counseling services to its clients. Some have mentioned that counseling psychology has taken a leadership position within the field of psychology itself through the incorporation of cultural diversity into its training, science, and practice settings (Gelso & Fretz, 2001). From the pivotal position paper on cross-cultural counseling competencies (Sue et al., 1982) commissioned by the Division of Counseling Psychology in 1980 to the recent passage of the Multicultural Guidelines for Education, Training, and Practice in 2003, counseling psychologists have influenced psychology considerably by promoting greater attention and sensitivity

to cultural issues in the American Psychological Association. This advocacy for a multicultural perspective in professional psychology has also led to the advancement in the development of theories, models and empirical studies on the topic (Leong & Leach, 2008). Due to its importance within counseling psychology, multiculturalism will be expounded upon below while discussing trends and key developments.

Trends and Key Developments

We have discussed above some of the historical changes that have occurred in counseling psychology in the US, including its beginnings with a focus on hygiology, vocational guidance, health, and prevention efforts. Many of these are still maintained to various degrees, yet other fields have also adopted them. However, as highlighted by Gelso and Fretz (2001), counseling psychology still values an emphasis on strengths, relatively brief interventions, prevention efforts, vocational issues, and multiculturalism at both the national and international levels. Recently the multicultural movement has increased its emphasis on the relationship to social justice, highlighting issues such as counseling advocacy and social activism (Toporek, Gerstein, Fouad, Roysircar, & Israel, 2005). In this section a very brief introduction of multiculturalism and social justice will be presented, followed by an analysis of counseling psychology topics found over the past five years in counseling and counseling psychology journals in Asia, Australia, North America, and the United Kingdom. The purpose of the analysis is to determine common and disparate features of counseling psychology research among geographic regions.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a value of counseling psychology began to emerge over the past few decades, resulting in the development of clinical cultural competency guidelines and an explosion of empirical and non-empirical research. Arredondo and Perez (2006) succinctly outlined the events that led to the recently developed multicultural competence guidelines for counseling psychologists (see Pope-Davis, Coleman, Liu, & Toporek, 2003). They began their overview with the 1964 Civil Rights Act and discussed the complementary efforts among the American Psychological Association, the American Counseling Association, and other organizations to bring about changes to their respective professions. In part because of social movements in the US, the 1970s saw the beginnings of increased numbers of publications that focused on the needs of ethnic minority groups, rather than simply maintaining the ethnocentric bias that what is good for one group works equally well for another.

The 1980s saw an increase in policy papers and publications on culture, including the first paper outlining 10 multicultural competencies (Sue et al., 1982). Other competency papers were constructed soon after and sections and divisions within a variety of psychological organizations developed. Multiple textbooks, professional articles, and culture-specific journals began to be published, and today multiculturalism is considered to be closely aligned with counseling psychology in the US. Due in part to counseling psychology's influence, multiculturalism has spread to many

other fields both within and outside psychology, and it has become part of counseling psychology training and program accreditation at the national level.

As a natural extension of the U.S. multiculturalism movement, in the late 1980s *The Counseling Psychologist*, one of the top counseling psychology journals in the US, initiated an International Forum section. This section was responsible for developing an international focus to counseling psychology, and was one of the first, formal measures taken by the Society of Counseling Psychology to internationalize the field. There have been a number of empirical and nonempirical articles written about the influence of counseling psychology in various countries, and the roles that various psychological constructs play from international perspectives. For example, in just one issue, Leong and Blustein (2000) discussed a global vision for counseling psychology, various authors included articles about counseling psychology in China (Leung, Guo, & Lam, 2000) and Israel, (Barak & Golan, 2000), and constructs such as perfectionism in India (Slaney, Chadha, Mobley, & Kennedy, 2000) and family interactions in Samoa (Poasa, Mallinckrodt, & Suzuki, 2000) were presented. The International Forum has become a central resource for counseling psychologists interested in international issues.

Social justice

In many countries, as in the US, there are population shifts and sociopolitical movements that offer new opportunities and challenges not only to society itself, but to counseling psychologists. New and changing worldviews create both the need and prospects to review and evaluate our current research and training foci. Social justice is both a foundation and a natural outgrowth for counseling psychology, as it combines multicultural issues with strength-based models. It focuses on empowerment at the individual, social, and political levels.

Social justice applications and research have developed over the past decade. For example, increases in immigration have led to immigration summit meetings over the past decade that include the role of counseling psychology in assisting in the transition for immigrants. Sexual orientation advocacy has led to the advent of new research and interventions, led by counseling psychologists. Additionally, recent discussions of the role of religious and spiritual faith in treatment have gained momentum. Regardless of the group mentioned, there has been a significant increase in working toward social justice and equality.

The social justice movement in counseling psychology stemmed from a 2001 counseling psychology conference in Houston and has resulted in a plethora of publications and presentations. Many of the new multiculturally based texts now include sections on social justice, and a handbook has been developed that highlights research efforts, and training and intervention efforts that have been undertaken (Toporek et al., 2005). Given these and other values and emphasis areas described earlier (e.g., vocational, prevention) it is not difficult to make the transition from U.S. counseling psychology to international counseling psychology. In order to determine the values and emphases areas of counseling psychology on an international level, it would be beneficial to the field to evaluate the research using multiple international counseling-related journals. Unfortunately, little is formally known about the content

of counseling psychology research internationally, though there have been recent articles discussing the field of counseling psychology from a global perspective (see the January 2007 special issue in *Applied Psychology: An International Review*). The following section will provide a glimpse of the counseling research areas conducted from multiple countries and published in counseling and counseling psychology journals from four geographic global regions. The purpose of this comparison is to both determine common research themes that have gained importance in these journals, as well as offer some conclusions as to their relationship to U.S. counseling psychology values in order to evaluate common themes internationally.

Journals evaluated

Examining journal content allows readers a glimpse of the important topics of interest to counseling psychology. Much of the literature is based in U.S. journals, though a review of this literature is limiting and possibly ethnocentric. In order to fully appreciate the robust field of counseling psychology, readers should understand and become familiar with the growing amount of literature found internationally. Approaches to counseling topics, emphasis areas, and other areas may or may not be consistent across countries and cultures. Thus, rather than focus exclusively on U.S.-based counseling psychology journals we have perused the literature over the past five years from seven journals that publish counseling and counseling psychology research, the *Asian Journal of Counselling (AJC)*, the *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling (AJGC)*, the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling (BJGC)*, the *Canadian Journal of Counselling (CJC)*, *The Counseling Psychologist (CP)*, *Counseling Psychology Quarterly (CPQ)*, and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology (JCP)*. From these journals, four geographic regions are included (Asia, *AJC*; Australia, *AJGC*; North America, *CJC, JCP, TCP*; United Kingdom, *BJGC, CPQ*) though there can be much diversity even within regions. The structure of the journals should be briefly noted. All of the journals can include special issues or special sections specific to a particular topic, accounting for multiple articles on a particular topic. The APA Society of Counseling Psychology's *The Counseling Psychologist* is structured such that each issue is composed of a major contribution on a specific topic (e.g., heterosexism, vocational theories, methodological approaches to counseling psychology), which may have either one or a few closely related articles, followed by comment articles by experts in the field.

The purpose of this section is to determine common and uncommon topics of study across journals as they relate to traditional counseling psychology values and themes (e.g., the theme that counseling psychology has historically contributed to supervision research and development). Unfortunately, no evaluation has been conducted specifically examining counseling psychology values across countries, so we are initially limited by the values inherent in the country that formalized counseling psychology. It would be expected that counseling and counseling psychology would hold several consistent values regardless of country, though we also recognize cultural features and professional values unique to a particular country. It would also be expected that values and emphasis areas from other regions will emerge from the results.

For the past five years each journal article was evaluated for content areas. Of course, some articles covered multiple areas and could be included in multiple sections. For example, "the relationship between problem-solving efficacy and coping amongst Australian adolescents" (Frydenburg & Lewis, 2009) could fall under topics of coping, culture, and adolescents. The purpose of the evaluation was not to rank-order the most frequently studied topics (in part, due to one article covering multiple areas or a special issues on a topic that would artificially increase its numbers), but to determine general areas of study. Therefore, no cutoff score was used to determine a rank order. However, trends and important content areas can be determined. It should also be noted that because of the diversity of topics examined in psychology, there is greater within-group variation than between-group variation.

Common topics consistent with traditional counseling psychology values and themes

A review of the literature indicated similarities across the majority of journals that are consistent with the traditional values and themes inherent in U.S. counseling psychology (see Gelso & Fretz, 2001). The primary values and themes include multiculturalism, vocational issues, supervision, and prevention.

Multicultural issues. A topic with significant consistency across journals involved multiculturalism. All journals published a significant number of articles that included diversity themes, with the U.S. journals highlighting this area. The *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling* included articles on indigenous mental health, an issue of significant importance given the increased recognition and inclusion of aboriginal populations, mental health benefits, and indigenous practices. The *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, U.S. journals, and *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* published numerous articles on cultural competence. For example, *The Counseling Psychologist* recently published articles on "Multicultural competence and social justice training in Counseling Psychology and counselor education: A review and analysis of a sample of multicultural course syllabi" (Pieterse, Evans, Risner-Butner, Collins, & Mason, 2009) and "Development and psychometric evaluation of the Counseling Women Competencies Scale" (Ancis, Szymanski, & Ladany, 2008). Both capture very different components of cultural competence yet also attest to the continued exploding interest in this area. Other coverage of cultural areas includes *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* publishing a special issue on counseling psychology around the world, and internationalizing the curriculum. The *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* included studies conducted in many different countries and cultures, including China, Israel, New Zealand, and South Africa, to name but a few.

As expected, the U.S. journals focused on a higher proportion of cultural groups within the US, and included few samples from outside the US, which was limiting. They also included more work utilizing within-group theoretical and practical multicultural approaches than found in other journals. Topics included sexual orientation, gender role strain, racism and discrimination, multicultural competence, acculturation, sexism, multiracial issues, internalized heterosexism, xenophobia, diversity and health, religious orientation, social justice training, and racial and ethnic identity with

various U.S. cultural groups. Some of these topics can be found in other journals but not to the same extent. These topics were included significantly in *The Counseling Psychologist* and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, the latter of which included diverse participant samples appropriate for the topics listed above. For example, studies were included examining African Americans and counseling, intergenerational conflict among the Hmong, and acculturation issues among Asian Americans. A special section on the etiology of mental illness across cultures was also included. It was evident by examining the journals that U.S. counseling psychologists have developed and used more instruments designed to assess within-group variations of diverse groups, leading to more published articles in these areas.

Indirectly, practically all journals published articles on cultural issues such as international students, immigration, and acculturation. Given increases in international students and the emergence of increased immigration issues in North America, Europe, Asia, and Australia it is not difficult to see why counseling psychologists would be interested in studying these groups. Related to these issues is the recent emphasis in the US on social justice. Only the U.S. journals offered articles specifically on social justice. This would be expected given the relative youth and origins of the area. It is expected that counseling psychology journals in both the US and abroad will increase their inclusion of social justice issues as the field develops, just as they are focusing on other areas of multiculturalism.

In sum, while all journals published articles in multiculturalism, the U.S. journals appeared to include a greater proportion of them, and focused more exclusively on U.S. samples and within-group variables. Other journals tended to include more samples from a variety of countries, and focused less on within-group variations. Counseling psychology in the US has been historically ethnocentric on a global stage (e.g., Leong & Leach, 2007), and it would be beneficial to include more international studies in U.S. journals. Momentum in that area is underway. Three recent presidents of the Society of Counseling Psychology of the APA have included internationalization as their theme, and the 2008 counseling psychology conference in Chicago emphasized internationalism. Additionally, a special issue on counseling psychology internationally was published recently (see the 2007 issue of *Applied Psychology: An International Quarterly*). To be truly multicultural is to expand beyond borders. The same could be said of many other journals assessed for this chapter. The Asian journal included more countries proportionally than any other journal, though, of course, it was limited to the Asian region. The inclusion of multiple countries may not be the best indicator of multiculturalism, but it does offer some indication of the breadth of diversity.

Vocational research. Both U.S. journals, along with the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* and the *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, have emphasized vocational issues, including applications of vocational models with various samples, evidence-based practices in career development, and career selection among university students. For example, Dewe and Trenberth (2004) argued that the gap between coping research and practice has not diminished over the years given the vast amounts of work-stress research conducted. They discussed the disconnections between the measurements and strategies that coping researchers present, and their limitations in applied settings and multifaceted clinical issues. The authors presented their ideas to

increase thinking in transactional-process approaches when considering stress and coping. As another example, Baudouin, and Hiebert (2007) published a special issue on evidence-based practice in career development in the *Canadian Journal of Counselling*. Special issues devoted to vocational counseling issues were found in the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* and the *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, and both the U.S. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* and *The Counseling Psychologist* frequently published articles on vocational psychology.

Supervision research. The *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* and the *Canadian Journal of Counselling* published a noteworthy number of articles on counselor development and supervision, including a special issue by the *Canadian Journal of Counselling*. Supervision research in the US attained its zenith during the period from the mid-1980s to the turn of the century. Researchers are still actively engaged in this topic, though it appears that counseling journals representing other countries and organizations are publishing more articles and extending the supervision literature wider than those currently being published in the US.

Prevention research. Prevention, another historical value of counseling psychology, was the topic of multiple articles in the *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, especially with regard to children and adolescents, though other journals included articles in this area such as *The Counseling Psychologist* and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. For example, Runions (2008) provided a brief review of aggression literature among young children and presented a multisystemic approach to attending to aggression in earlier grade levels. In the same issue, Larmar (2008) highlighted a strength-based prevention and early intervention program that can be implemented in both home and school environments. The U.S. journals continue to include articles on prevention (e.g., Adams, 2007; Griffin & Miller, 2007; Pössel, Seemann, & Hautzinger, 2008), and the subject area is considered a foundation of counseling psychology research in the US.

Additional areas. As expected, the U.S. journals included a higher proportion of articles covering what are often viewed as traditional counseling psychology topics that have received significant attention over the past 20 years. For example, topics such as expectations about counseling, attachment theory, psychological distress, self-stigma, and identity issues can be found frequently in these journals. In sum, it appears that there is a moderate amount of overlap among countries and journals regarding research on values and themes consistent with counseling psychology. Now we turn to values and themes not specific to counseling psychology.

Common themes not specific to counseling psychology

Trauma. A few common themes were found in the journals that are not necessarily emphasized in the U.S. journals. Practically all of the journals, with the exception of the U.S. journals, published a large number of articles surrounding trauma-related issues, including vicarious trauma and posttraumatic growth. For example, in *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, Sheikh (2008), a UK psychologist, highlighted the

positive variables that contributed to posttraumatic growth based on Tedeschi and Calhoun's (1996) work, such as close relationships, greater appreciation of life, personal strength, hope, and spiritual changes. Sheikh extended the work to counseling psychology practice, addressing both the research involved in practice as well as therapeutic strategies and issues to consider. Recommendations were made based on counselor values and behaviors, and applied to individuals, groups, and families, including cross-cultural considerations. As another example, Kadambi and Truscott (2008), in the *Canadian Journal of Counselling* used a mixed-methods design to create a concept map of traumatizing events that counselors experience when working with survivors of sexual violence.

In a post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and suicide study, Wright, Borrill, Teers, and Cassidy (2006) published an article in *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* about prison officers that examined the mental health consequences after an individual committed suicide while in custody. The study utilized hierarchical multiple regressions to create path models that offered predictions of the variables associated with the post-suicide PTSD. Over 63% of participants did not exhibit clinical levels of PTSD symptoms, largely due to mediators such as optimism, problem-solving style, locus of control, and social support. Optimism and certain problem solving types accounted for the greatest amount of variance with the non-PTSD group, while the PTSD group showed virtually no predictive relationships other than prior experience of dealing with a suicidal death.

Given global events like disasters, wars, and general social upheaval, along with personal traumatic events such as sexual and physical assaults, it is easy to understand the interest in the number of studies related to trauma. Interestingly, U.S. journals focused less on trauma even though recent events such as the World Trade Center attacks, Iraq and Afghanistan wars, hurricanes and other natural disasters, and school shootings, offer opportunities for such research. There have been many trauma-related studies in other journals by counseling psychologists, but trauma content in the two U.S. Counseling Psychology journals is noticeably less frequent than in the other journals examined.

Suicide. Both the UK journals and the *Canadian Journal of Counselling* included a higher proportion of articles on suicide than the other journals. For example, in the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Bostik and Everall (2007) conducted a qualitative study with 50 adolescents to assess the influence of relationship attachment in overcoming suicidal thoughts and feelings given no professional intervention. All respondents reported the existence of a secure attachment with at least one individual. These relationships offered four qualities that distinguished them from other relationships, and helped alter respondents' negative self-perceptions and provided hope. These relationship qualities included being (a) accepting, (b) permanent, (c) encouraging and supportive, and (d) close and intimate. These relationships allowed respondents to feel comfortable and express themselves more fully to the other individual, made them feel less isolated, and helped them to create new life meanings.

At-risk youth. The *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling* included more articles about at-risk youth, the need for increased mental health services, and bully-

ing behaviors. In the *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Eacott and Frydenberg (2008) used a mixed-methods design to implement a universal coping skills program for youth at risk of depression. Their results indicated that the program helped reduce the youths' reliance on non-productive coping strategies. This type of study has implications well beyond Australia's borders. Both the *Asian Journal of Counselling* and the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* included at-risk youth and/or bullying articles.

Also related to youth, the *Asian Journal of Counselling* published a special issue on school counseling in multiple countries, including Japan, South Korea, and Hong Kong. For example, Yagi (2008) discussed the influence of government agency policies on school counseling in Japan, the diverse needs found in and among schools, and the role of counseling within the schools. Overall, journals outside the US were more likely to publish articles on youth, youth services, interventions, and resources. For readers interested in the incorporation of youth issues in counseling psychology it would be beneficial to review the literature from a broad, international perspective.

Additional areas. Both the *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling* and *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* journals included greater numbers of articles related to depression, including coping with depression, than the other journals. The *Canadian Journal of Counselling* tended to include more articles on the "pathological" end of the spectrum, including body image and substance abuse, though it shared a number of articles on eating disorders with the *Journal of Counseling Psychology.* The *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* also emphasized other areas such as grief and loss, counselor development, help-seeking behaviors, immigrants, refugees, and international students, and online services. Both the *Canadian Journal of Counselling* and the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* also included more articles utilizing qualitative designs than the other journals. Though qualitative designs have found favor among many counseling psychologists in the US (see Yeh & Inman, 2007), they are published less frequently in the U.S. journals examined than found in the other journals.

In sum, there are themes such as trauma, suicide, depression, childhood and adolescent risk issues that were not consistent with traditional counseling psychology, at least as it was originally conceived in the US. Most of the non-U.S. journals, especially the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* and the *Canadian Journal of Counselling,* included higher proportions of qualitatively-designed studies than the U.S. journals.

All journals included a wide array of research areas. For example, *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* emphasized a variety of areas including counseling psychology identity issues, cognitive behavior therapy, training and education, and coping. The *Asian Journal of Counselling* displayed the greatest proportional sample variability (smaller number of published articles per issue but greater national variability) in terms of content and research project country of origin. Though not all articles explicitly addressed culture-specific psychological constructs, the samples covered many Asian countries including China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines. While the other journals included samples from a variety of countries, they were the exception rather than the rule.

Trends over time in the US

Since the early days of counseling psychology in the US, the field has emphasized research and intervention areas such as vocational development and prevention efforts. While these and other areas still remain the cornerstone of counseling psychology, a number of trends and areas have occurred that contrast with its history. Given the results of the analysis reported above, this section will address both continuations and contrasts of emphasis areas with the history of counseling psychology.

Vocational research. An origin of counseling psychology stemmed from vocational development, and the trend continues today, though it is manifested much differently than its beginnings. The inclusion of vocational work resulted from service men and women needing career directions and jobs after World War II. Counseling psychology helped fill the need by developing new instruments that assessed career interests and values, and by providing services to assist the returning soldiers. Over the next three decades the vocational psychology subfield flourished through the continued development of new theories, instruments, and interventions. Its popularity resulted in the development of new journals (*Career Development Quarterly, Journal of Vocational Behavior*) which allowed for even further theoretical and intervention development.

Since the 1980s there has been a gradual decrease in the importance placed on vocational development in many training programs, for at least two reasons. First, there has always been a gap between "regular" and "career" counseling, rather than a view of them as intertwined. Unfortunately, career counseling is often considered a stepchild of personal counseling, deemed less important because of the perceived increased complexity of personal counseling. Of course, a vocation is an important component of most people's lives, and is considered an important component of counseling. However, it often becomes a clinical issue only if client concerns are directly related to work. Additionally, many students and faculty have also often viewed them as separate issues. Individual courses in vocational psychology can indirectly lead to perceptions that they are separate from other counseling courses. Overall, there has never been the melding, wished for by vocational psychologists, that integrates vocational issues into the counseling session, regardless of the presenting concern, and career counseling has never attained the status to which it strives.

Second, there are a variety of subdisciplines and fields, and businesses outside psychology, that have increased their own focus on vocational issues and diminished the emphasis within counseling psychology's domain. For example, both clinical psychology and social work have begun to develop career interests and emphases. Additionally, companies have now specialized in vocational development, decreasing interventions once reserved for counseling psychologists. There has been significant vocational theory and instrument development over the years by counseling psychologists, but others such as industrial/organizational psychologists have utilized these theories and instruments in practice and business settings. Companies that utilize career-related services are often more likely to contact an I/O than a counseling psychologist. Though the majority of vocational research is still conducted by counseling psychologists, they are less likely than I/O psychologists to implement their knowledge in educational, business, and organizational settings.

Positive psychology. Though the field of "positive psychology" has fairly recently developed, counseling psychology can claim its roots in its philosophical foundations. Counseling psychology has traditionally emphasized strength-based approaches, viewing the client from empowered and positive frameworks. Individual components previously embedded in counseling psychology approaches are now also areas of study within the positive psychology domain such as hope, coping skills, authenticity, relationships, positive emotions, and well-being. Recently, the emerging area of positive psychology has advanced these underlying counseling psychology values with new research, associations, conferences, and professional journals and textbooks. There are counseling psychologists who conduct research and engage in positive psychology practices, and it is expected that strengths will continue to be a mainstay of counseling psychology. Though counseling psychology has maintained its strength-based focus it is clear that this area is more permeable than previously considered.

Multiculturalism. As mentioned previously, counseling psychology was instrumental in advancing multiculturalism in psychology, and other fields. It was positioned well to include cultural issues and respond to social movements based on its values of inclusion, social justice, and equality. The majority of the work in this area began in the mid-1980s, and its growth is clearly evident. The strength of, and emphases placed on, multiculturalism can easily be found today in counseling psychology journal articles and textbooks, training programs, and conferences. Through collaborations with other APA divisions (e.g., Division 35, Society for the Psychology of Women; Division 45, Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues), many areas of psychology, not just counseling psychology, now include multiculturalism, and it appears that the work being conducted on culture will only increase over the next decade. The recent social justice movement grew from earlier works in multiculturalism and includes advocacy and social action.

Prevention. It is evident from the journal analysis that prevention continues to have a significant influence within the counseling psychology literature in the US. Many articles continue to be published in this area. Additionally, the social justice movement incorporates prevention, as social justice models often include efforts to prevent negative influences and emphasize empowerment within communities. An historical issue in the US is that it is often difficult to obtain funding for prevention efforts in psychology, as the outcomes can be defined differently and may be longer-term than intervention efforts. However, work in prevention continues to be an important component of counseling psychology.

Challenges

The first challenge facing counseling psychology in the international arena is the question of identity. Psychologists in different countries who identify themselves with counseling invest the specialty of counseling psychology with a wide variety of conceptual and operational definitions. The challenge for the future of counseling

psychology and its internationalization is to elaborate some common understanding, a shared vision and mission, that promotes a unified association of counseling psychologists who share a coherent practice and research agenda. This mission must build on past accomplishments yet propel the group into the future. The establishment of Division 16 in the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) certainly was a first step in this identity work in an international forum. The members of Division 16 are working as a multinational group to formulate a superordinate definition of the specialty and to articulate an identity broad enough to include counseling psychologists around the globe while at the same time distinct enough to keep clinical psychology from subsuming counseling psychology in major areas of the world.

Before establishing a home in IAAP, counseling psychologists around the globe seemed to be importing the North American view of the specialty and then adapting it to meet their local needs. This practice has resulted in the current situation in which counseling psychology, from an international perspective, is loosely defined and implicitly understood (Leong & Leach, 2007). We are reminded of the tautological definition of intelligence that defined intelligence as what intelligence tests measure. To some degree, around the globe, counseling psychology is implicitly understood to be whatever counseling psychologists do in that country. The loose definition includes a focus on fostering normal development and facilitating adjustment to life transitions and personal stress. It makes the specialty developmental rather than remedial as it concentrates on helping clients resolve problems in daily living rather than treating serious mental illness. In short, counseling psychologists seek to enhance functioning and improve well-being by helping people solve problems, make decisions, and pursue goals. Its practitioners often work in schools and universities rather than in clinics and hospitals. Its origins in most countries are rooted in providing educational and vocational guidance. The major theorist for counseling practice seems to be Carl Rogers, with some psychologists in various countries viewing counseling psychology as essentially a form of Rogerian psychotherapy. Because of their interest in providing vocational guidance to working-class youth and adults, many practitioners of counseling psychology have become deeply involved in feminist, multicultural, and social justice issues, particularly as these apply to the provision of counseling interventions.

The overarching vision of counseling psychology may be stated as providing interventions that concentrate on the daily life adjustment issues faced by reasonably well-adjusted people, particularly as they cope with career transitions and personal development. Young and Nicol (2007), in a succinct and elegant statement, generalized this overarching conception of counseling psychology as a specialty by emphasizing that counselors help individuals link their lives to the social context in which they live. This distinguishes counseling as a psychosocial intervention as opposed to clinical psychology and psychotherapy which concentrate on psychological issues, often devoid of true attention to context.

The definition formulated by Young and Nicol raises awareness that the complexity of postmodern life has increased the salience of culture issues for counseling psychology. Making and implementing choices is difficult enough for individuals who live in stable cultures and communities. They are required to fit themselves to predictable

circumstances and travel well-worn paths. The adaptive difficulties increase for individuals who in live in less stable cultures and changing communities. They must construct and manage a self in a medium of transforming life trajectories and emerging career pathways. The Young and Nicol formulation provides a conceptual umbrella for counseling in both types of society and comprehensively includes its breadth of applications.

While breadth of application is an important asset to counseling psychology, it may also be its greatest weakness. In a sense, counseling psychologists are the generalists of applied psychology, much as family physicians are the generalists in medicine. This can make it difficult to draw strong boundaries and state what counseling psychology is not. Counseling psychologists present a diffuse identity because they engage in a wide range of activities with varied client groups across diverse life situations in different kinds of setting using a range of theories and techniques. Just a quick scan of the tables of contents in counseling psychology journals shows the diversity of research and practice. This ability to wear many hats may enhance the vitality and attractiveness of the discipline for its practitioners. Nevertheless, it also causes vagueness about what counseling psychologists share in common. Within counseling psychology, it is considered a strength to be a generalist, yet applied and professional psychologists in other subdisciplines strive to be specialists. Counseling psychologists need to balance the roles of generalist and specialist in promulgating a clear professional identity that makes its work distinctly recognizable to clients and colleagues yet does not constrain the innovation and creativity for which it is known.

Part of the breadth, as well as the definitional issues and identity diffusion, arises from the very designation "counseling" psychology. Many mental health specialists view counseling as a process used by clinical psychologists, organizational consultants, school psychologists, and social workers. Other professionals see counseling as synonymous with Rogerian psychotherapy. Claiming what other professionals consider a generic technique as an independent discipline has caused, and will continue to cause, confusion and difficulty. Actually, some counseling psychologists have thought the name a mistake starting with the President of the Counseling Psychology Division (17) in the American Psychological Association when the Division first took that name (Scott, 1980, p. 35).

Another reason that counseling psychology has definitional problems and identity issues is because it lacks a reasonably distinct evidence base. Counseling psychologists typically apply the empirical research and theoretical conceptualizations from other disciplines. It has incorporated as central to its work the psychology of individual differences and vocational psychology, then added developmental and preventative psychology, followed by social psychology and learning theory, and finally multicultural psychology. The core paradigm is not clear. If anything the core would be counseling process research and supervision of the process. With the expansion of applications, the core content domain in North America has moved away from its origins in vocational guidance and career development.

A consistent definition and a coherent professional identity for counseling psychology must pertain to the social realities and specific needs in diverse countries. To date, counseling psychology has been dominated by the West, especially North America, and particularly the United States. It is unlikely that empirical

methods from North America can be easily adopted in cultures that prefer more intuitive and experiential practices. To flourish internationally, counseling psychology cannot be viewed primarily as a Western specialty rooted in logical positivism.

Future Developments

So where do the opportunities lie to meet these challenges and provide a service to communities? While not attempting to predict the future, we do clearly see several possibilities. The first concerns a return to the roots of counseling psychology, believing that as it begins so it will go on. People engage their culture through working. Counseling psychology began as vocational guidance to help newcomers to industrial cities match their abilities to factory jobs. After World War II, with the rise of corporate bureaucracies and a suburban middle class, vocational guidance developed into career counseling. In the American Psychological Association, the Division of Guidance and Counseling became the Division of Counseling Psychology. The early 1950s saw counseling psychologists formulate numerous theories of career development to link personal goals to economic activities in corporate cultures. Eventually, counseling psychology in North America reduced its commitment to career development activities and shifted its focus to the counseling process and supervision concerns and then feminist, multicultural, and social justice issues. With less concentration on career issues, counseling psychologists seemed to develop stronger overlap with psychologists who identify with the Society of Clinical Psychology, Society for the Psychology of Women, and Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues.

Today, as we support the internationalization of counseling psychology, we find that in developing countries and industrial states, counseling psychologists concentrate on vocational guidance and career development concerns. This concentration provides them with a unique identity with which to make important and needed social contributions. While in North America counseling psychologists face many identity issues because of their diffuse interests and activities, the clear focus in European and Asian countries supports strong identity. So, one significant future development is formulation of indigenous vocational counseling models, methods, and materials. We see this already occurring, for example, in Australia (Pryor & Bright, 2009; Patton & McMahon, 2008) and South America (Stead & Watson, 2006). While the models are unique to each country, they share a vision of counseling psychology's mission as helping individuals prepare for and engage in productive work lives. Along with encouraging the construction of indigenous models, methods, and materials, counseling psychologists should support the expansion outside the West of training opportunities for new professionals. Many of the leaders of counseling psychology have been trained in the Euro-American tradition. If they were not actually trained in the West, their research and practice have been strongly influenced by colleagues from those regions. The production of indigenous theories and techniques must be accompanied by arranging opportunities for professionals to be trained in their use by the local experts who constructed them.

In information economies and knowledge societies there is also a need for new models, methods, and materials for career management. As the machine age and corporate culture of the 20th century recedes, these countries face a new social arrangement of work. Stable jobs with health benefits and pensions are fast disappearing. They are being replaced with temporary work positions called contingent, contract, and consulting. In the first decade of the 21st century, Western societies experienced a break with previous forms of the social organization of occupations and work. Rapid advances in information technology and the opening of world markets produced a globalization of economies. Globalization is the process by which cultures influence each other to become more alike through trade, immigration, and exchange of information and ideas. Globalization of the economy is changing jobs, healthcare, pensions, and home ownership. Once taken for granted, these things are no longer guaranteed. Old success formulas no longer work. The knowledge societies of the 21st century require new thinking about work life because things once taken for granted are at issue. The global economy poses new questions about work lives, especially the question of how individuals can negotiate a lifetime of job changes without losing their sense of self and social identity.

In response to this fundamental question of the second modernity, career theories and techniques must change to assist world workers adapt to their vocational situations. Career theories based on a social constructionist epistemology, for example, respond to the needs of today's mobile workers who may feel fragmented and confused as they encounter a restructuring of occupations, transformation of the labor force, world work, and multicultural imperatives. In an uncertain world, developing skills and talents remain important, yet there is no substitute for a grounded sense of self. Thus, these constructionist career theories concentrate on self-constructing through work and relationships. The work ethic of the romantic era of the 19th century agricultural economy involved a calling. The work ethic of the scientific era of the 20th-century industrial economy involved what you were called in that your job title established your social position. The work ethic for the postmodern era of the 21st-century information economy involves the individual calling out for what they seek. In short, the ethic has moved from being called (agricultural economy) to what you are called (industrial economy) to what you call for (global economy). Well-being in knowledge societies requires that individuals take possession of their lives by connecting who they are to what they do. To provide assistance to individuals that moves them from finding their life work to constructing how to make their lives work requires a science of intervention that deals with designing a life and planning how to use work in that life. To this end, career construction theories and life-design counseling concentrate on life-framing decisions.

The counseling practices of the second modernity rest on social constructionist epistemologies, narrative psychology, and qualitative research. New constructs such as biographicity replace the matching procedures of test and tell. In the information age, individuals must rely on autobiographical reasoning to provide a sense of agency and guidelines for decision making as they navigate the multiple transitions they will continue to face. No longer is there a standard life course as described by Super's (1957) meta-narrative of life stages with developmental tasks. Instead, postmodern life is fragmented and episodic. The modern narrative was linear. Super told a story

of coherence and continuity—you graduate from school, leave home, stabilize in a job for life, form an intimate relationship, raise children, and retire. The postmodern narrative may be in any order and cyclical. You may leave home, get married, get a job, lose a job, move your family in with your parents, and return to school. This calls for individualization of the life course with concomitant counseling for life design, rather than translating a crystallized self-concept into a life-time occupation. These new methods acknowledge a period of life or life stage called "emerging adulthood" composed of non-standardized life trajectories. Fundamentally, the new counseling methods view work as a context for human development. Rather than focusing on decision making, they concentrate on the articulation of intentions and the narration of guidelines for living. Work is not assumed to be the core role. In information societies, many people are turning to family and friends as their most salient life roles, with work being what they do, not who they are.

In the first decade of the 21st century, counseling psychologists can lead the way in helping world workers and the global community adapt to the postmodern information era. In this regard, it may be possible to organize international networks of practitioners and researchers to collaborate in addressing issues raised by the global economy and the restructuring of the world's workforce along with the migration and change it continues to occasion. Counseling psychologists are using new information technologies to build practice research networks and international research collaboratories. For example, counseling psychologists from around the globe are networking to build a collaboratory to conduct research on career adaptability and a second collaboratory to craft methods and materials with which to implement the model of life-design interventions. Of course, there are other topics around which counseling psychologists could build virtual communities. This could include interest groups that concentrate on a particular topic of wide concern to the continued internationalization of counseling psychology. These virtual communities could concentrate on issues of social justice, multicultural counseling, migration, and careers in different contexts.

The information era propelled by technology also offers new opportunities to use technology in counseling. While computer-assisted vocational guidance is well established, there are new visions and possibilities for counseling over the internet. The model of life design counseling has opened the possibility of life coaching in which counseling psychologists contract with clients to provide consultation for specified periods. Occupational information has become available as never before. Hopefully, second life technology will soon provide realistic job previews.

So, many future developments in counseling psychology may lie in unification around the definition that counselors help individuals link their lives to the social context in which they live. This provides a coherent and unified identity as specialist in brief psychosocial interventions that foster life satisfaction and well-being. It also enables a conception of counseling psychology that moves beyond the current fragmentation of subspecialties focused on either career or relationships and quantitative methods or qualitative techniques. The new definition leads to a concentration on life-design that foster both/and thinking while concentrating on personal development through work and relationships. Life-design intervention models may provide the conceptual home for methods and materials that previously contested each other.

Rather than focusing on meaning modification and adjustment, life-design counseling may focus on meaning management and adaptability. Whether or not this is the direction counseling psychology takes as it internationalizes its practices, we know that there must be some new direction if the specialty is to remain relevant in the second modernity as it was during the first modernity.

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