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A historical approach to the identity development of counselling psychology

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a historical account of the development of the professional identity of Counselling Psychology. Through the historical account of the development of the discipline, the milestones of the identity development are outlined. The scientific and social forces that have influenced its course are described and analyzed. Eight major periods are outlined and the important developments scientific and social developments in each of them are followed and provide a sketch of the discipline of Counselling Psychology. The manner in which Counselling Psychology developed its identity is traced back to its beginnings and the major theoretical and foundational philosophical axioms are described.

Key words: Counselling, History of counselling psychology, Professional identity.

Counselling psychology has developed as a discipline over the last 100 years. The occurrence of several social and educational events during this period contributed significantly to its identity formation. In this article we will historically trace the development of the discipline and present the milestones of its identity formation.

Counselling psychology appeared in the beginning of the 1900s in the United States of America. Since then, it has expanded in all parts of the world and enjoys recognition at an international level. Yet, the heart and the politics of the discipline still reside in North America where the major conceptual shifts and professional developments take place. Consequently we focus on the historical development of the discipline's identity within the North American context. While parallel developments in the area of Counseling Psychology have been taking place in other parts of the world, like Great Britain and other European countries, their contribution

to the development of counseling identity is both limited and beyond the scope of this article. Readers interested on the influence of the European tradition in the formation of the counselling psychology identity can refer to several European sources (cf. Pedersen & Leong, 1997; Whiteley, 1980; Woolfe & Dryden, 1996).

There have been several ways that the history of counselling psychology has been presented and different approaches as to what were the most important social and political variables that affected its development. One of the most popular and standard classifications of the major periods of development is offered by the special edition of the *Counseling Psychologist* (1984), where seven periods of development are identified. We will follow this classification as the vehicle that will provide the impetus for an analysis and interpretation of the significant scientific and social events that are related to the development of the discipline's

identity. The seven historical periods are: (1) the period of its initial conception (1900-1950); (2) the period of the first definitions of the discipline (1951-1956); (3) the period of emerging differences (1954-1962); (4) the period of positive initiatives (1963-1967); (5) the period of alternative directions (1968-1976); (6) the period of re-evaluation of the discipline's identity (1977-1983), and, (7) the period of professional development (1984-1990). In addition to these seven periods we propose an eighth one that covers the period from 1990 to today, and in terms of professional identity development coin as: (8) The period of transition: between the two centuries (1990-). As it can be seen, half of the entire lifespan of counselling psychology has been allocated in the initial formation of the discipline, while the other periods are shorter in time and represent the rapid changing and evolving discipline within the specific social and political 'zeitgeist' that influenced the course of the discipline's identity development.

1. The period of its initial conception

During this initial period (1900-1950), two separate forces gave birth to the discipline of counselling psychology; social and societal changes that furthered the cause of human social services, and scientific developments in the general field of psychology. During these first fifty years of development five major and initial roots have been identified as contributing to the genesis of the discipline (Howard, 1992). These roots provided the context and the parameters within which the first elements of its identity were born.

The first root centers on the work of Frank Parsons and his contributions to the growth of the vocational guidance movement. During this period, social and political changes in the USA resulted in an increase in productivity and industry and a drastic expansion of the secondary school enrollment. This generated, for

the first time, the need for vocational counselling. In response, Parsons and his associates initiated the first vocational counselling services in Boston. He provided vocational assistance to young adults through the Bread Winners Institute, a branch of Civic Service House. In 1908, the first Vocational Bureau was established in Boston, with the mission to relate occupational aptitudes and interests to the vocational choices of job-seeking adults.

The second root refers to an increased interest in the study of individual differences, which in conjunction with the development of the psychometric movement allowed for new exciting developments and applications. The work of Binet, in the beginning of the 1900s on the identification of children's intellectual abilities provided the thrust for further psychometric developments in the area of vocational and aptitudes measurement. The two World Wars necessitated the identification of conceptual criteria and the construction of tools to measure and evaluate human characteristics. During both World Wars, Army personnel were given the task to assign civilians to appropriate military positions based on specific personality characteristics, aptitudes and abilities. The emergence of counselling psychology adopted and incorporated these two traditions, and these traditions found counselling psychology to represent a conceptual place appropriate for their subject matter. The identity development of counselling psychology, especially after the mid 1950s, was heavily influenced by the individual differences and psychometric traditions (Dawis, 1992). This second root is still very active in the discipline's identity.

The third root refers to the development of the mental health movement at the beginning of the century. This movement advocated a more "human-centered" approach to mental illness. During this period the public lost its confidence on the appropriateness of the usage of asylums for the treatment of the mentally sick, and on the wide usage of lobotomies as a dignified way of

treating humans. Consequently, there was a growing disenchantment with the medical and psychiatric professions. Advocates of the "reformists" proposed a more human and dignified treatment of patients and an alternative philosophical framework of understanding and treating mental illness. During this period the issue of mental illness and mental hygiene surfaced and several non-medically specific variables were identified as therapeutic. It was proposed that caring, respecting, and having a good therapeutic relationship with patients was therapeutic and beneficial. The discontentment with the mental institutions was deepened by the publication of the *A mind that found itself* by C. Beers (1908), where the conditions in mental hospitals described – from an autobiographical perspective – , provided many details of the inhuman treatment of the mentally sick. As soon as the humanness treatment of the mentally sick became public knowledge, it resulted in an increased sensitivity and in a movement dedicated in improving psychiatric treatment and conditions. Counselling psychology sprung out of this mental health movement and contributed to the establishment of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in 1909.

At a parallel track, the writings of C. Rogers contributed immensely to the development of a treatment program centered on the patient. Rogers proposed a non-medical treatment program founded on full respect, privacy and dignity to the client. This person-centered approach to psychological health and treatment became the fourth founding pillar of the discipline of counselling psychology. There was a development of counselling and psychotherapy practices that provided for a non-medical and non-psychiatric approach to mental illness. The work of Rogers (1942) provided the first powerful arguments against the medical character of treatment, suggesting that psychotherapy can be practiced by non-medical professionals. This, in conjunction with the fact that the interest until then had laid exclusively on

assessment and diagnosis – an influence led by the psychometric movement –, incorporated individual counselling and psychotherapeutic practices into the tasks performed by counselling psychologists. In the early years, these practices took the form of interviews concerning selection, classification, testing and psychological screening in the army, and on the form of provision of academic and vocational support in colleges and universities.

The fifth root constitutes the overall social context that facilitated the development of the profession. On the one hand, these changes centered on the personal and career problems that returning veterans faced in re-adapting into civilian life. On the other hand, changes in the educational system generated employment opportunities that, in turn, necessitated the creation of a counselling process where decisions about one's life, usually in terms of studies or work, are taken.

These five roots provided for the parameters within which counselling psychology developed its identity. During these first 50 years of development, the discipline established itself and identified the basic principles on which it was based. The philosophical context provided by the mental hygiene movement and the contributions of Rogers (1942), established the humanistic character of the discipline, while the psychometric and individual differences traditions provided for the developmental character of the discipline, the adoption of measurement as a means of identifying human characteristics, and the appreciation of individual differences.

During this first period of the conception of counselling psychology, several theories of personality, counselling and psychotherapy, on the one hand (Adler, 1917; Fenichel, 1945; Freud, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1926; Fromm, 1947; Hull, 1943; Pavlov, 1927; Rogers, 1942, 1945, 1946, 1948; Watson, 1919) and several theories on vocational psychology, occupational choice and career development, on the other (Bordin, 1943, 1946; Hendrick, 1943; Paterson, Elliott,

Anderson, Toops, & Heidbreger, 1941; Paterson, Gerken, & Hahn, 1941; Strong, 1943; Super, 1939, 1940, 1942, 1949; Viteles, 1932) were proposed. While these theorists and their theories cannot be considered as being an exclusive part of the counselling psychology discipline – at the time even the name was not in place – they definitely belonged to the greater conceptual area of applied-clinical-personality-developmental psychology framework that provided the ideas, concepts and principles for the birth and development of counselling psychology. Several of the theorists (with C. Rogers being an obvious example) have been identified equally with the development of other fields of psychology such as psychotherapy, personality theory, vocational theory, or clinical psychology.

During this period, the discipline was accepted as a separate division in the American Psychological Association (APA), separate from clinical psychology, under the name of Division of Personnel Psychologists (Counseling Psychologist, 1984). The discipline changed name four times before acquiring the current name. A few years later, the name was changed to *Division of Personnel and Guidance Psychologists*, later to *Division of Counseling and Guidance Psychologists*, and then again to *Division of Counseling and Guidance*, and finally in 1951, to *Division of Counseling Psychology*, a change in name that was not officially accepted by APA until its 1953 annual convention. These changes in name did not represent a mere choice of words but rather a shift on the identity of the field. Counselling psychology emerged as a discipline centered around employment and career development to only broaden its scope to involve all developmental tasks and environmental demands made on the individual.

While the discipline during these years became a recognized entity with its first set of guidelines and principles, it was only the beginning in a long process of defining and identifying its nature, character and subject matter. During this period, the issues and the

tasks that needed to be accomplished were identified. It was later, in the second period of the development of the discipline, that the inaugural definitions of the profession were established.

However, the first seeds in terms of attitudes and principles that were to govern the profession in the future were planted. The recognition of a non-medical model of psychological interventions, the concept of developmental tasks and developmental changes – especially in career and re-habilitation issues –, the adoption of the psychometric tradition, and the study of individual differences – what is to be later identified as 'diversity issues' – provided the initial conceptual and philosophical framework of the profession. More than that, the emergence of counselling psychology provided an alternative applied force that was neither medical nor medically-guided (as compared to clinical psychology). The social and philosophical forces that advocated individual rights, respect and humanity in the treatment of mental problems found in counselling psychology the vehicle for the application of these liberal and progressive ideals.

2. The period of the first definitions of the discipline (1951-1956)

During this period, the discipline came to provide an identity for itself and a 'niche' for counselling psychologists. Through a series of conferences and task forces, the members of Division 17 formed their professional identity and specified their role in the greater family of psychology, science and society. During this period, a period of economic growth, the need for well-trained individuals to join the work force, as well as the continuing rehabilitation and re-integration of the veterans and their families, provided the social springboard for the development and growth of the discipline. Since the services provided were designed for functioning individuals who faced developmental

challenges, it was the Education Departments that were training counselors and guidance counselors to serve in educational institutions and in the business world. During the process of identity formation, a distinction between clinical and counselling psychology was attempted. Counselling psychologists pressed and gradually gained recognition and appreciation for their contribution in non-medical settings. The discipline identified its strengths as encompassing vocational counselling and life planning interviews, and as facilitating the process of helping healthy individuals to reach their full potentials. Counselling psychologists emphasized the environmental conditions and forces, centering on the manner the environment impacted on the individual (Ivey, 1979). In that sense, the discipline can be characterized as being more 'inter-psychic' than 'intra-psychic' oriented, a characterization that was often given to clinical psychologists. The new discipline aimed to contribute positively in a variety of settings – excluding the medical ones –, and distanced itself from the medical tradition. Counselors and guidance counselors (as they were called then) were employed in business and industry, schools, youth organizations, churches, and rehabilitation, community, and vocational centers.

In providing the definition of counselling psychology it was noted:

«At the present time the specialty of counselling 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 (for example in 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 developments of all persons within it.» (American

Psychological Association, 1956, p. 283).

In trying to distinguish itself from clinical psychology, counselling psychology:

«...does not concern itself only with the more extreme problems presented by individuals who are in need of emergency treatment. In other words, counseling psychology does not place special emphasis upon the development of tools and techniques necessary for intensive psychotherapy with individuals whose emotional growth has been severely distorted or stunted. Counseling psychology, then leaves to other psychologists the major responsibility for the emergency treatment of psychological disasters.» (American Psychological Association, 1956, p. 283).

Several major distinctions between clinical and counselling psychology started to emerge among which were the medical vs. the non-medical character of services offered, the inter-psychic vs. intra-psychic emphasis and the severe psychopathology vs. developmental issues. During this five-year period counselling psychology formed its first set of philosophical criteria that were to become the pillars of the discipline for the years to come.

Having settled on its character, the discipline organized its first criteria for doctoral studies and formed practicum training guidelines and specialty definitions. The name of the Division was changed to 'Counseling Psychology' and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* was founded. This was one of the most creative periods, with the emergence of several new theories, and with significant gains in the domains of research, diagnosis and measurement. Among the most significant developments in personality writing and theory were the introduction of Gestalt therapy (Perls, Hefferline, & Goodman, 1951), the continuous influence of Rogers (Rogers, 1951a, 1951b, 1951c, 1952, 1953; Rogers & Dymond, 1954), the work of Sullivan (1953a, 1953b) and Skinner (1953), while at the same time the vocational movement was enriched by the contributions of Ginzberg

(Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951).

This is a period where the discipline developed mostly thanks to the contribution of scholars who helped define and develop the subject matter of counselling. This is a critical period for the establishment of alternative forms of interventions that operate outside the boundaries of the philosophy of science of the medical model and framework and that concentrated on, and elevated the subjective personal experience and human contact to the realm of therapeutic. During this period non-medical theories and approaches were developed and alternative to the psychiatric conceptions of 'human nature' notions were proposed. In terms of identity development, counselling psychology distinguished itself from clinical psychology in terms of non adhering to the medical model, of accepting a developmental and educational component in its armamentarium – it is not by chance that counselling psychology programs developed in Education Departments –, and of providing a more interactive explanation of human behaviour that rests heavily on the environmental conditions, demands, and impacts.

3. The period of emerging differences (1954-1962)

This period brought into light internal differences, strife, and questions related to the nature, scope and subject matter of counselling psychology. Several approaches and propositions emerged as to what the mission of the discipline should be. This period has been considered the "Middle Ages" of counselling psychology (Dawis, 1992), as the disagreements were intense to the point that out of the four major positions as to the status of counselling psychology, one was totally suppressed and the other three did not appear in print but were published by Whiteley (1980), some twenty years later. Among the different positions presented,

were the proposal of a merger with clinical psychology, a closer association with education rather than psychology, the return to the guidance model where vocational psychology would be the center of the activities, or even the re-definition of counselors and the creation of a new discipline altogether.

In terms of identity development, certain principles were articulated and the philosophy underlying the discipline became more explicit. In the presidential address of the Division 17 in 1954, counselling psychologists distinguished themselves by other specialties based on their expertise and their conceptual specialization within psychology. This represented a change in attitude, where the profession established its existence not by comparing itself with other disciplines and especially clinical psychology – as it was done in the past –, but rather with the identification of certain criteria and principles. For example, counselling psychologists were seen as working with clients and not patients, a distinction that addressed both a practical issue, that is, counselling psychologists deal with reasonably adjusted individuals, as well as a philosophical stance that implies a respect for and recognition of the client's participation in the counselling process. The client is seen as collaborating with the counselor, in an equal and equitable manner. Similarly, counselling psychologists identify themselves as experts in assessment and appraisal of vocational-educational-social living, while they also emphasize inter-psychic attitudes by encompassing behavioral, cognitive and rational theories of human beings. Finally, counselling psychologists identify themselves as valuing and working with positive psychological strengths and not as diagnosing and remedying psychopathology.

During this period important identity issues were resolved, and the identity of counselling psychology was better defined, at least in comparison with other disciplines in the general area of applied psychology. This period can be seen as a developmental task that prepared the

discipline to face the challenges of the future and transcend itself into a modern specialty with a discernible subject matter of study.

4. The period of the positive initiatives (1963-1967)

It may be that, in terms of identity formation, the most important event of this period was the Greyston conference (1964). This conference came to address the important issues and debates that surrounded the identity of counselling psychology. Coming out of a period of theoretical confusion and disarray, this conference provided guidance and resolved some of the entanglements of the past. It provided guidelines on identity issues, and directions for the future. There were several important reports that came out of this conference yet, the most significant contribution was probably the Cottle report (Cottle, 1967), which provided a definition and refinement of the identity of the profession. Following the same criteria that were identified in the previous period, this report identified six dimensions of identity and provided definitions of the counselling psychologists in each one of them. These six dimensions were identified as: goals, functions, roles, tools and procedures, settings, and nature of clientele.

In terms of *goals*, it was stated that counselling psychologists help individuals develop systematic problem solving, and guide them through conflicting situations in their life span development. The identification of these goals have important implications in terms of emphasizing normalcy, in providing a developmental model of interventions, in focusing on the strengths of the individual, in teaching different behaviors and in including vocational and career development as central in the core of counselling psychology. These goals provided for the establishment of the subject matter of the discipline and reaffirmed its earlier commitment

to a health-oriented approach to psychological issues.

In terms of *functions*, it was clarified that counselling psychologists have a realistic and an inter-psychic approach to life. Without excluding the intrapsychic dynamics, the emphasis was put on the strengths of the individual and on the relation between the individual and the environment. Counselling psychologists intervene, assess and focus on the world of career and socialization. They use assessment data to help their clients help themselves.

The *roles* of the counselling psychologist are that of the invited professional who helps reduce conflicts, facilitates relationship development, consults and provides advice in various settings. These roles emphasize the preventive-educational character of counselling psychology as well as the applied, supportive-therapeutic non-medical setting of therapy. The implications of this identification of roles facilitated the involvement of counselling psychologists in the realm of individual and group counselling and psychotherapy.

The *tools and procedures* include mainly the interview and the assessment process with the application of psychometric tools. In addition, all the scientific elements of other social sciences and specialties within psychology are included and this involves the use of statistics, the research endeavor and the techniques acquired through classical and operant conditioning and behavior therapy in general.

The *settings* include primarily educational and business settings with some private practice.

Finally, *the nature of the clientele* is defined as being healthy individuals who are willing in a collaborative environment to resolve issues and conflicts that revolve around school achievement, vocational choice, job satisfaction, and other developmental interpersonal issues.

This clarification of the nature of counselling psychology provided a thrust in the development of the discipline. It clarified not only the areas of specialty but provided a theoretical and philo-

sophical framework for the further development of the discipline.

In the realm of counselling and personality theories, the behavior and existential therapies came to the forefront and their theoretical tenets were debated. This is the time that Eysenck (1964), Wolpe and Lazarus (1966), on the one hand, and Boss (1963), Frankl (1963, 1965), Jourard (1964), and May (1967), on the other, exchange ideas as to the nature of human beings. Original works by Anna Freud (1965) and Adler (1963, 1964) are also produced and influence the constellations of personality and counselling theories, while the works of Super (1964) and Holland (1966) are prominent in the sphere of vocational theories.

This is one of the most productive periods in the development of counselling psychology, where the principles of development, growth and health take a prominent position in the counselling identity. The discipline develops and expands its role in the family of applied psychology, offering both a philosophical alternative to the one of the medical tradition and proposing a model of identity development that takes place not in comparing disciplines but in proposing principles that clarify their separate foundational philosophical beliefs and axioms.

5. The period of the alternative directions (1968-1976)

During this period, the nature, identity and future of the profession were once more questioned and alternative directions were proposed as to where the discipline should go and grow. The central mission of the discipline was reexamined and, by the end of this period, the discipline reached consensus on the most detailed definition of a counselling psychologist. In 1968, the definition of the counselling psychologist appeared in the Dictionary of Occupations as follows:

«PSYCHOLOGIST, COUNSELING. Provides

individual and group guidance and counseling services in schools, colleges, and universities, hospitals, clinics, rehabilitation centers, and industry, to assist individuals in achieving more effective personal, social, educational, and vocational development and achievement. Collects data about the individual through use of interview, case history, and observational techniques. Selects, administers, scores and interprets psychological tests designed to assess individual's intelligence, aptitudes, abilities, and interests, applying knowledge of statistical analysis. Evaluates data to identify cause of problem and to determine advisability of counseling or referral to other specialists or institutions. Conducts counseling or therapeutic interviews to assist individual to gain insight into personal problems, define goals, and plan action reflecting his interests abilities and needs. Provides occupational, educational, and other information to enable individual to formulate realistic educational and vocational plans. Follows up results of counseling to determine reliability and validity of treatment used. May engage in research to develop and improve diagnostic and counseling techniques.» (Whiteley, 1980, pp. 179-180).

In terms of identity development three complementary roles were adopted: *remedial or rehabilitative, preventive, educative and developmental*. The remedial role addressed the applied, therapeutic aspects of counselling and was defined as helping people in periods of distress. The preventive role comprised two separate functions; the reaction of the discipline to societal conditions and structures, inasmuch as in informing the public about the possible psychological pitfalls of certain practices and procedures, and the identification of skills and methods that individuals could use to avoid psychological distress or difficulties. Finally, the educative and developmental role was closely associated with the idea of planning, benefiting and gaining the maximum out of an individual's psychological potential. This latter component stemmed out of the contribution of the humanistic

school (Maslow, 1970; Rogers, 1951a).

These developments in the identity formation of Counselling Psychology did not represent 'smooth' transitions but lively exchanges of different views and ideas. Many colleagues – among the most vocal Ivey (1979) – advocated the return of the discipline in the guidance and education transition supporting a psycho-educator model of counselling. The Vietnam War and the Watergate scandals highlight the political and social reality, and the political climate welcomed the discovering of one's own self, and of acquiring internal balance and harmony. There is a "wellness" movement and preoccupation with self-help and self-development. Counselling psychology was partly supporting the movement of self-growth and self-actualization while partly emphasizing prevention and psychoeducation.

New theoretical developments took place and influenced its identity. A new generation of behavior therapists and the cognitive movement appeared with the works of Bandura (1969), Beck, (1971), Lazarus (1968, 1971), Mahoney (1974), Yates (1976), while also the work of Erikson, (1968), Adler (1969), Maslow (1970), and the appearance of rational-emotive therapy with Ellis (1968, 1971, 1973) contributed significantly to the development of the thinking in relation to human nature and counselling approaches. Finally, the developing trend of Gestalt therapy had its significant contribution through the works of Fagan (1974), Perls (1969a, 1969b), Polster and Polster (1973), and Rosenblatt (1975).

6. The period of the re-evaluation of the discipline's identity (1977-1983)

This period was characterized by a re-visiting of the issue of identity and in specifying the role of the discipline. Continuing the trend that had started in the two previous historical eras, counselling psychology continued to define itself not in relation or comparison to other specialties

(especially clinical psychology, psychotherapy, social work and community psychology) but rather by outlining its own area of expertise. Keeping in line with the coming trends of the scientist-practitioner model, counselling psychologists promoted their role as clinicians, researchers and educators-administrators. Several programmatic projects were undertaken and the discipline conducted research in understanding the counselling process, or in identifying variables that are related to several therapeutic and growth-promoting processes. All the major initiatives taken during this period aimed at developing the discipline's identity, promoting a "wellness model" of functioning and projecting itself into the future. (The Counseling Psychologist, 1984).

During this period, the works of Super and Hall (1978) and Holland, Magoon, and Spokane (1981), are central in the area of vocational theory while in the personality theory development and research, the issues explored are related to psychometrics, student development, behavior change, vocational psychology and career development. During this period, women's and cultural issues start to become important in society, and counselling psychology is one of the first disciplines to inquire into the psychological differences between men and women, to promote acceptance of the 'other' and to embrace diversity.

7. The period of professional development (1984-1990)

Two separate forces affected the future of the profession. The first was the societal pressures and influences that came outside the profession and the second was the need to re-define itself and project itself into the 21st century. During this period, the profession sought to actively involve a wider base of counselling psychologists in a dialogue addressing the important issues of ethnic minorities, women issues and multicultural

issues addressing therapeutic and educational components. Counselling psychology continued to build its research armamentarium, developed better research programs and publicized its services and mission to the public. The new challenge of the discipline is to prepare itself to address issues of special needs, and needs of special populations, as well as, to re-address the issue of prevention (one of the roles that counselling psychologists claimed earlier), and to re-integrate it to the core of counselling psychology.

8. The period of transition: between the two centuries (1990-)

After the 1990 the discussion on the professional identity of the discipline re-emerged. Several proposals surfaced by the end of the 1980s (Hamilton, 1987; Meara, Schmidt, Carrington, Davis, Dixon, Fretz, Myers, Ridley, & Suinn, 1988) and continued in the nineties (Norcross & Freedheim, 1992; Neimeyer & Norcross, 1997; Watkins, 1994). The major issues discussed were focused on the possible merger with clinical psychology and on the development of the discipline so as to encompass the social and economic changes that were taking place. Hahn (1980) predicted that the distinction between Counselling and Clinical Psychology will cease to exist. Norcross and his colleagues (see Neimeyer & Norcross, 1997) examined the selection criteria for graduate programs in clinical and counselling psychology, finding more similarities than differences in the admission criteria, the profile of the candidates and the rate of acceptance. On the other hand, differences were found in the theoretical orientation and research interest of the faculty members. Clinical psychologists were more psychodynamic or behavioral oriented than counselling psychologists who were more of the humanistic persuasion. Similarly, their research interests were different, with counselling

psychologists being interested more in interpersonal and developmental issues (gender differences, homosexuality, psychotherapy process, diversity), while clinical psychologists were interested in psychopathological issues (i.e., ADHD, autism, personality disorders, schizophrenia). Similar findings were reported by Neimeyer and Diamond (see Neimeyer & Diamond, 1997). They found major philosophical differences between the two specialties and reported several dimensions in which clinical and counselling psychology were different, including the commitment of counselling psychology on issues of life span development, the scientist-practitioner model, prevention, education and diversity. Whiteley (1999) proposed a change or a shift in the paradigm of counselling psychology suggesting that a contextual paradigm will address better issues of identity taking into account the socio-political changes as they take place (i.e., globalization, social changes, different sensitivities). Similarly, the role of vocational and career psychology in the realm of counselling psychology is re-examined and while the discipline in theory continues to support the vocational character of counselling psychology, in practice there is a decline in the interest of counselling psychologists. While the discipline continues to discuss the issues of professional identity, it also develops, in terms of scientific subscriptions and professional training.

Conclusions

This presentation of the development of counselling psychology as a distinct discipline aimed at depicting the genesis and the development of its professional identity. Over the years, different writers and thinkers have interpreted and analyzed the historical trends and have offered different explanations as to the development of the discipline. (Domke, 1982; Fitzgerald & Osipow, 1986; Mills, 1984; Schneider, Watkins, & Gelso, 1988; Watkins,

1988). Yet, when all is said and done, there are a few basic premises that have been repeatedly identified and seem to represent the crux and soul of the profession.

First, counselling psychology has selected a model of wellness representing a founding pillar of the profession that advocates the mental hygiene movement and the rehumanization of psychological services. Counselling psychologists still value and work with the strengths of the individual and focus in helping individuals develop their potentials rather than treating their dysfunctions. They approach their clients as able to deal with their life and as possessing the abilities to live a full and happy life. As Whiteley (1980) noted, counselling psychologists are cautious of pathology and of pathologizing, because the process of pathologizing shifts the focus from the 'individual' to the 'disease' and from 'health' to 'illness'. In other words, counselling is about the client and not about the problem that he or she carries. This principle can be seen emerging in the first years of counselling psychology when the emphasis was put by counselling psychologists on the human treatment of hospitalized patients and later on, when the interest shifted in re-integration and re-entry of the unemployed in the work market (Worthington & Juntunen, 1997). Over the years, the profession has emphasized issues of development, health and progress, adhering to several theoretical orientations that aim at understanding human behavior within a health conceptual model. It provided for a unique subject matter and defined itself and distinguished itself from other disciplines. Yet, this is not to say that the boundaries with other disciplines are always well distinguished. In a survey of the presentation of counselling psychology in the introductory textbooks of psychology in the USA, the differentiation between clinical and counselling psychology was difficult to be made (Dixon, Vrochopoulos, & Burton, 1997). This does not necessarily indicate, however, that counselling psychology is not well

defined but alternatively that there has been a conceptual shift in the other disciplines that brought them closer to counselling psychology. Consequently, there have been propositions for a closer association with social psychology (Forsyth & Leary, 1997), or a connection with personality and developmental psychology (Gelso & Fassinger, 1992). Yet, others, insist on the unique character of counselling psychology and argue for a further differentiation from other applied disciplines (Hanna & Bemak, 1997; Tyler, 1992; Watkins, 1988).

Second, counselling psychologists understand their clients as being situated in a realistic geographical and social context. The context is integral in understanding the client and the presenting problem. The environmental conditions are part of the issues at hand, and the best fit between the individual and the environment becomes prominent, especially in the realm of career and vocational counselling as well as in rehabilitation and re-integration of clients. In that sense, counselling psychologists are more aware of and focused on the inter-personal components of the client rather than their intra-personal components. This issue of 'best fit' between environment and individual has taken different forms over the last 100 years. In the beginning it had the almost exclusive meaning of vocational or educational choice, but it has developed to include the concept of equality and rights especially as the social and human rights movements developed in the 1960s and the 1970s. Consequently, counselling psychology became sensitive to the issues of equal rights, attention to the rights of the client, and to the ones of different, marginal, or often disadvantaged and socially excluded populations. The impact of the environment in perpetuating inequalities and in keeping select groups socially excluded, became central in the writings and practices of counselling psychologists.

Third, counselling psychologists work with their clients in a developmental approach and

attitude. They approach the issues of their clients as developmental tasks to be completed and mastered. This developmental approach can best be seen in the psycho-educative and preventive role that counselling psychologists take in various settings. They are concerned with the development of skills, abilities and tendencies so that the individual moves towards self-actualization at school, work or in family and groups. As it was early identified by the Directory of Occupations (Whiteley, 1980), counselling psychologists aim at helping their client develop and fulfill their potentials. In this sense, counselling becomes a developmental process that characterizes health and development and not an exclusively remedial therapeutic process. In terms of identity, this attitude represents both the influence of the education component of counselling psychologists – since they have been trained in education programs – and the initial aim of the discipline in helping people become functional again. The writings of personality theorists, applied psychologists and psychotherapists have selectively influenced the discipline and have contributed the most in providing a theoretical framework compatible with this developmental attitude. The works of Rogers, Ellis, Holland, and Super have significantly contributed to the theoretical framework of counselling psychology.

Fourth, counselling psychologists are *par excellence* the providers of vocational and career counselling, and psychological assessment (Ivey, 1979). They do this via a developmental and growth-related perspective. Counselling psychology represents within psychology the discipline that from its early days accepted and nurtured both the 'individual differences' and the psychometric traditions. The presence of the discipline in schools, colleges and educational as well as work training settings has been prominent (Worthington & Juntunen, 1997). One of the pillars of the identity of the discipline comprises the commitment in addressing issues of individual differences, in understanding the

'other' and in studying gender, ethnic and social diversity issues.

Fifth, counselling psychologists adhere to a scientist-practitioner model. The third national conference for Counselling Psychology (Rude, Weissberg, & Gazda, 1998) reaffirmed the belief of the profession and its adherence to the scientist-practitioner model.

«The scientist-professional model is an integrated approach to knowledge that recognizes the interdependence of theory, research, and practice...[and that]...emphasizes systematic and thoughtful analyses of human experiences and judicious application of the knowledge and attitudes gained from such analyses.» (p. 425).

While this adherence is not exclusive to counselling psychology, it marks the continuing support of the discipline for the development of psychologists as fully as possible encompassing all possible roles and positions.

Sixth, counselling psychologists share certain beliefs about their profession and their role in providing their services. As Howard (1992) noted, counselling psychologists seem to put more emphasis on diversity, the importance of the scientist-practitioner model, growth and development, enhancement of awareness of oppression, the importance of the environment and on a mind-body holism.

The counselling psychology profession developed and changed over the last 100 years. This change was necessary and provided for the adaptation of the discipline. Counselling psychology sprung out of social necessities and changes that brought the individual needs and the respect of individual life in the focus of the attention. The increasing demand for helping healthy individuals to deal with the growing environmental demands, in a fast growing and changing environment, have provided for a complex social and humanistic framework. This framework combines both Enlightenment ideas, namely the commitment to rationality and proof that necessitates sensory observation and

mathematical reasoning – as expressed in research methodologies and scientific endeavors (Herman, 1997) –, and elements of Romanticist thought that focus on the complexity and diversity of human life as a unitary phenomenon to be understood and prized through empathic understanding, where the individual uniqueness is to be respected rather than be analyzed or explained away in a deterministic fashion (Howard, 1992).

This combination of forces has provided a unique identity of Counselling Psychology that is ever evolving and provides for a healthy forum where new and alternative ideas can compete, be tested and evolve.

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