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A Psychodynamic View of Counseling Psychology

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Since I have often been represented as bringing psychoanalytic views to bear on counseling psychology and both psychoanalytic conceptions as well as my own have been evolving, I propose in this paper to bring up to date my suggestions for important features of counseling psychology and, incidentally and in a minor vein to differentiate between a psychoanalytic and a psychodynamic view. My review of influences on my ideas will include a proposal for a conception of the psychotherapeutic process which incorporates various psychoanalytic and psychodynamic theories as well as behavioral and cognitive approaches. Following that I propose to discuss concern with development as an underpinning of counseling action, the applicability of James Mann's (1973) time limited pattern of psychotherapy in developmental counseling, and the influence of the views of personality and work on vocational counseling.

Psychoanalysis and Psychodynamics

Psychoanalysis presents so many faces that it is easy to find ground for many alternative, sometimes even contradictory, interpretations of what it represents. Over the half century of his professional life, Freud engaged in a continual process of creating new ideas and revising them in light of his further experience. Never mind the invalidities and the crudities, his insights were stimulating and profound enough to earn him an uncontested prominent place in intellectual history. His observations and speculations created a wave of influence which flowed far beyond the technical confines of psychology and psychiatry. These effects within the more narrow technical field have been felt in the work of those who see or saw themselves as following his thought or as reacting against it. Moreover, psychoanalytic ideas have continued to develop in many directions.

I will not attempt to summarize or give full justice to the varieties and complexities of psychoanalytic concepts, were I competent to do so, which I doubt. I seek only to define those ideas I have drawn from Freud, his supporters and psychodynamic dissenters.¹ Before proceeding with that step, I want to devote a few brief words to intervening variables and hypothetical constructs. The current strong influence of behaviorally oriented positions has carried with it a casting of strong doubts about the scientific status of theoretical propositions whose basic terms are not themselves observables. The fact that psychoanalysis and psychodynamics rely on such foundation terms as ego or self

¹I use the term psychodynamic to refer to any psychological system that strives for explanation of behavior in terms of motives and drives (English and English, 1958). Thus, psychoanalysis is one such system, so influential a one that it has sometimes taken over the more inclusive term. Yet one must include the various psychoanalytic dissenters, e.g., Adler, Rank, and Jung, as well as such self-oriented theorists as Rogers or existentialists as May.

should not be a basis for dismissing them.² Thirty years ago, MacCorquodale and Meehl (1948) called our attention to the place in science of both intervening variables and hypothetical constructs. Intervening variables are fully defined by empirical relations without the surplus meanings and deductions provided by a hypothetical construct. Carnap (1956) pointed to the palpable importance of constructs such as atoms, electrons, etc., in progress in physics, the prototype of successful science. Our guide should not be some shibboleth about form in science, but the requirements for understanding the phenomena of human behavior and experience and for testing the tenability of that understanding. These requirements mean that we must seek to define the significance for observables of our construct and to cast up propositions in a form which makes visible the contraries to such statements (Popper, 1963). This is of course nothing more than the ideas of construct validity proposed for psychological tests (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955).

Personality Structure, Organization, and Development

The study of learning will contribute to our understanding of the fundamental processes through which other persons and circumstances shape the person, but bio-social conceptions of ground plans (epigenesis) are needed to provide an understanding of the enduring themes and styles that characterize individuals. Knowing that new responses are acquired as a function of reinforcement, modeling or cognitive processes, does not in itself alert us to the enduring organizations of response systems that are captured in various ideas of character styles. Starting first from a biological-neurological ground plan, Freud gravitated toward an integration of the biological and nuclear family ground plan in seeking to understand the normative turning points in development and the way that they generated varieties of personality organizations. Within the infinite varieties of possible shaping experiences, biology and the family insure certain patternings of these experiences which in turn create dominant themes in human lives around striving for mastery, sexual love and intimacy and strivings for separateness, uniqueness, and the expression of aggression.

Later evolutions, both within and outside the Freudian group, but still psychodynamic, have brought in an interpersonal perspective based on a social context larger than the family. I have in mind, particularly, the contributions of Sullivan (1953), Horney (1950), and most of all, Erikson (1959). Another evolutionary strand has its roots in the contributions of a Freudian heretic, Otto Rank (1945). It is the currently increasing prominence of the self

²The strength of such behavioral oriented criticisms has diminished as representatives of that position have themselves turned to albeit more limited constructions such as are involved in cognitive behavioral theories and procedures designed to account for self regulation and management.

as a construct in psychodynamic thinking. Where Rank understood the dynamic of the self in the broader terms used by Erikson (1956) in his theories of ego identity, Rogers (1951) concerned himself with the influence of parental value systems on the development of the self. The recently developing theories of object relations (Guntrip, 1971; Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1977) revive and amplify, in addition to modifying, Rank's ideas about the earliest influences on the individual's ability to differentiate self from others and of his or her sense of self.

Conceptions of the Change Process

The prominence given to early experiences in psychoanalytic theory has fostered an almost caricatured view of psychoanalytic treatment as Holmesian detective work using the material of free association and dreams, marked by dramatic, authoritarian revelations crammed down a protesting patient's throat. This misconception is partly captured in the common focus on resistance as an act of rejecting a therapist's interpretation. It is true that there is some ground for these views. For example, Freud's early assumption was in fact that the therapist's task was to discern and reveal the initial traumatic events that gave rise to the present symptoms and some aspects of this view of treatment are still visible within the present very different emphasis. The current view, of which Greenson (1967) is perhaps the most authoritative interpreter, stresses the analysis of resistance and transference resistance in a strong working alliance as the heart of the change process. The key to resistance lies not in unwillingness to accept interpretations but in either the unwillingness or inability to continue with the task of free association. Moreover, the interpretations which trigger the change process are those that call attention to this block toward carrying out therapeutic tasks and focus attention on how that block operates through deployments of attention, affective expressions, cognitive processes, etc. It should be evident that instead of a concentration on the person's early childhood, the psychoanalytic change process focuses on how that early childhood experience has been carried forward into present behavior of a self-defeating form. The patient's self-defeating behavior in therapy is taken as representative of and linked to his self-defeating behavior in the other portions of his life. Thus, the psychoanalytic therapist hopes that by enabling the person to be less self-defeating in the therapeutic hour, this will generalize to other areas of his life. As the reader can easily see, this version of the change process, while not exactly congruent with a behavior therapy version, speaks the same language. Wachtel (1977) has recently argued for the compatibility between psychoanalysis and behavior therapy.

Paralleling the introduction of the construct of self, there has been a strong recent trend toward modifying an earlier strict emphasis on "analytic neutrality" as a prime feature of the therapeutic situation. Greenson (1967) has given this trend its fullest and most authoritative expression in his stipulations of the role of the real relationship and of the working alliance between analyst and patient. Kohut (1977) makes explicit the tie to his thinking about self theory in which the emotionally empathic response of others plays a central role. He remarks, "... man can no more survive psychologically in a psychological milieu that does not respond empathically to him, than he can survive physically in an atmosphere that contains no oxygen. Lack of emotional responsiveness, silence, the pretense of being an inhuman computer-like machine which gathers data and emits interpretations, do no more supply the psychological milieu for the most undistorted delineation of the normal and abnormal features of a person's psychological makeup than do an oxygen-free atmosphere and a temperature close to the zero-point supply the physical milieu for the most accurate measurement of his physiological responses" (p. 253).

Thus, both within and outside of psychoanalysis there is a current active dialectic between views of the change process as a technical versus a personal one. My own tack has been to propose a synthesis which features a more generalized statement of the psychoanalytic concept of the working alliance (Bor-

din, 1974; Bordin, Note 1; Bordin, in press). This more general proposition states that a complex of understandings and attachments are formed when a person in a state of personal crisis, most often the culmination of continuing experiences of psychic pain from inner and interpersonal conflicts, turns to another for his or her expert help and a contract is made. This relationship, which I call a therapeutic working alliance, represents a subtle mixture of explicit and implicit understandings and acknowledged and unacknowledged attachments. Moreover, it is a dynamic, rather than a static phenomenon, growing, deepening with time, sometimes ill-formed and tenuous, always subject to temporary or permanent disruptions. I have arrived at the conclusion that counseling and psychotherapy is best understood as the building and repair of strong working alliances. The person who has collaborated in the building of a strong working alliance and in its repair, rebuilding and strengthening in the face of disruptive experiences, has in that process modified those ways of feeling, thinking, and acting that have contributed to inadequacy, unhappiness, and self-defeat and has acquired reactions useful for greater self-realizations. The working alliance is not to be understood simply as rapport between patient or client and therapist, which makes it possible to accept treatment, follow the therapist's instructions, etc. The treatment resides in the alliance itself. The work of the alliance is the work of therapy.

The technical emphasis in counseling and psychotherapy reappears embedded in the three features of the alliance, which we identify for analytical purposes: mutuality of goals, agreement regarding tasks and responsibilities, and the kinds of bonds and attachments formed. Technical factors are found also in the questions about what characteristics of the alliance, particularly the tasks and goals, will interact with the personal characteristics of patient and therapist to make possible a strong alliance.

In order to make clear how technical aspects of psychotherapy are embedded in the working alliance, influence its characteristics and its strength, it will be necessary to summarize definitions presented elsewhere (Bordin, Note 1; Bordin, in press) in greater detail. Almost every counseling or psychotherapy, regardless of orientation, begins with examination and communication about goals. The necessity of explaining difficulties that brought him/her to psychotherapy plus the impact of the therapist's views modifies and inevitably enlarges the client's ideas of the goals toward which he will work. A strong working alliance depends in part on the degree to which true mutuality of agreement is reached. Each brings hidden agenda — on the client's part, for example, that someone other than himself will change³; on the therapist's part, his or her goals and methods embedded in theoretical convictions and commitments, whether well or ill founded. The development of a strong working alliance requires that all these hidden agendas be aired, their incompatibilities acknowledged and resolved. The early stages of a good working alliance are marked by much negotiation and some element of negotiation continues to be part of the relationship. These bear on how specific or how sweeping are the changes sought and which ones. These statements apply whether these changes are couched in terms of greater assertiveness in specific types of situations or as a general characteristic, e.g., overcoming experiences of loneliness or of isolation from one's self. There is room here for including the views of proponents of all of the rival views of the counseling and psychotherapy process. I will return to the topic of working alliances when I discuss vocational counseling.

One of the most explicit ways in which rival therapeutic approaches differ⁴ is in the tasks they assign to clients/patients and to therapists and in their mutual responsibilities. Free association is a task very different from reporting on the significant experi-

³I am reminded of the patient who after two years of analysis complained that her mother still had not changed!

⁴I suspect that many "new" approaches to counseling and psychotherapy are new only in the way they *talk* about the therapeutic process rather than how they act. Process research is the proper corrective.

ence of your past and current life. Observing and recording the frequency of particular events, e.g. assertive behavior with persons in authority, is a very different task from oscillating between getting into the experience of a particular memory or affect and observing and retrospectively reporting on that reinstated experience, and striving to connect it with other related experiences. This oscillation, in turn, is very different from simply throwing oneself into an experience, e.g. some current affect such as anxiety or anger, free of oscillation. There are corresponding differences in therapists' task and responsibilities which accompany these differences in the client's task. The relative physical and interactive passivity of the analyst is paired with a very active emotional and ideational liability as he or she oscillates between passive and active joining the experience that the patient is going through. This is, in turn, very different from the active stage managing responsibilities assumed, each in his own fashion, by the behavior or gestalt therapists.

These connected differences in goals and tasks along with the kinds of personal bonds needed to support them provide a basis for differentiating *kinds* of working alliances. In a rough way these types of working alliances could provide a structure into which varieties of therapeutic approaches could be mapped. Strong working alliances can occur when the personal characteristics and current state of the person seeking change fit the goals to which he or she is ready and able to be committed and fit the requirements of the associated tasks and bonds, all of which also fit the personal characteristics and commitments of the therapist. Therapists, through trial and error gravitate toward these therapeutic approaches that fit them. The fit for clients and patients depends more on the flexibility of the therapist through some trial and error, too often unfortunately error, is surely a part of the consumer's experience.

The empirical validations of the above stated propositions is, of course, an extensive enterprise. Elsewhere (1974, 1979, in press), I have summarized consistencies with observations obtained from other perspectives. Ryan (1973) and Lehrke (1977) developed alternative ways of measuring the strength of the working alliance, the former through observation and rating of the client's behavior and the latter through coding the therapist's behavior in interaction with the client. Ryan found that a clinical coding of the patient's hope for change and features of his early memories were predictive of the strength of the working alliance. Sarnat (1975), following up the therapies included in Ryan's and Lehrke's investigation, obtained evidence that measure of the quality of the alliance was a nearly perfect predictor of non-attrition and that those who remained and changed had higher quality of alliance scores than attritors and unsuccessful clients. Sarnat found mixed, weak support for the assumption that client capacities/dispositions, by virtue of determining the strength of the working alliance of a particular kind which can be formed, are significant features in treatment outcome. Lehrke (1977), taking advantage of Sarnat's data, did not find that her measures of the degree to which the therapist sought to enhance the fit between clients and treatment demands were significantly related to outcome. This negative outcome should not be taken as definitive since there are methodological problems that are being pursued further.

Developmental Counseling

Having presented, albeit briefly, a summary of psychodynamic foundations that I apply to the tasks of counseling psychology, I turn to its implications for one of the important ways in which our task has been defined, developmental counseling. Very early, a committee of the Division of Counseling Psychology stated, "The counseling psychologist wants to help individuals toward overcoming obstacles to their personal growth, wherever these may be encountered, and toward achieving optimum development of their personal resources" (APA, 1956, p. 283). Unfortunately, instead of expressing this perspective through an interest in individual development through the life cycle, counseling psychology has responded almost as though there was only one

significant developmental stage, adolescence. Even regarding this stage, while much lip service is paid to Erikson (1959, 1964), research seeking to examine his ideas does not feature the work of counseling psychologists or appear in counseling psychology journals, e.g. Marcia (1966; 1975), Bary (1978). Moreover, the life cycle aspects of his conceptualizations (Erikson, 1959) are not emphasized. One very illuminating exception is the issue of this journal (1976, Vol. 6, No. 1) devoted to Counseling Adults. Yet the major contributors to that publication (Brim, 1976; Lowenthal and Weiss, 1976; Neugarten, 1976; and Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1976) are not identified with counseling psychology. When an issue of this journal (Erickson, 1977) was devoted to Developmental Counseling, there was only slight expansion in compass, in that preadolescence (elementary school aged) and moral development were added. Even the developmental approaches to career have been too limited, tending to be confined to the periods leading up to the establishment of a career choice.

It is true that counseling psychologists have pioneered certain versions of a developmental approach, those that feature an emphasis on the interaction between the individual and his community as a source of individual development. That same early committee cited a balance of emphases in counseling psychology among: "(a) the development of an individual's inner life through concern with his motivation and emotions, (b) the individual's achievement of harmony with his environment through helping him develop the resources that he must bring to this task (e.g. by assisting him to make effective use of appropriate community resources), and (c) the influencing of society to recognize individual differences and to encourage the development of all persons within it" (APA, 1956, p. 283). Within the settings of educational communities, counseling psychologists were taking a community as opposed to an individual approach to prevention of maldevelopment and the promotion of personal soundness long before the advent of the Division of Community Psychology, albeit without either the political or mental health rhetoric.

My view is that counseling psychology has become over-weighted in its attentions to the (b) and (c) features as represented in that early committee's analysis. Moreover, community intervention (whether consultation, programming or the like) needs to be informed by understandings and research about the life stages of the individuals involved.

In many ways, the adolescent period of the college years and the period immediately preceding it have been the most thoroughly investigated. We have definite conceptions of the developmental tasks that mark this period, mostly nourished by psychodynamic views of Erikson (1959, 1964) and Sanford (1962) with a touch of Piaget (Perry, 1970). Levinson, former student and colleague of both Erikson and Sanford, has provided a provocative examination of adult careers and the stages through which they might be expected to develop (Levinson, 1977; Levinson, et al., 1974, 1978). Although he ends up by concentrating on work, Levinson is interested in the psychosocial development of men during early childhood and the mid-life transition. He identified specific stage sequential developmental tasks and issues associated with specific years during adulthood. He finds adulthood being characterized by recurring cycles of crisis, transition, and stabilization. Surely such a conceptual contribution, verified and amplified, can provide a basis for new counseling psychology programs in other than educational settings, as well as serving to modify programs in traditional counseling psychology services.

Levinson identified the period of life between 22 and 28 as the "Novice" phase of adulthood. During this time the most important developmental task is the formation of a dream or life structure, a vision or *modus vivendi* of one's future. Often, according to Levinson, a man's life structure is conceptualized in terms of work activities or notable achievements. The fashioning of such a life structure during the 20's is an initial construction to be modified later as a function of subsequent experiences. At about age 40 a critical, often agonizing, period of assessment of the "dream" is encountered in an effort to estimate whether it is

realized, compromised, or betrayed. Levinson identifies two other developmental tasks of the 20's, the development of intimacy, usually in a heterosexual relationship, taken from Erikson, and the development and experience of a mentor relationship. He specifies that the absence of such a relationship will be associated with developmental impairment and problems of individuation in midlife. His specifications include also that the mentor be 8 to 15 years older, taking the novice under his wing, teaching and sponsoring him. Later stages are characterized by individuation from mentors, periods of "flowering and restabilization."

An example of the effects of Levinson's stimulus is to be found in Radin's (1978) investigation of identity and intimacy development in a sample of young men and women in the 23 to 29 age range. He sought to extend Levinson's methodology by including men and women and by giving greater control to the factors of marital status and social class (level of education). His observations were based on interviews and projective measures applied to a sample of 48 men and women. There was striking evidence that this period of early adulthood is marked by only the beginnings of having settled the issues of work and of love relationships. While over 80 percent of them envisioned a future life structure, only 21 percent had already made commitments in both love and work and 42 percent had not made commitments in either of these areas. Contrary to Erikson's (1959) belief that the achievement of a deep intimate relationship awaits mature identity development, Radin found that those with foreclosed identities were more likely to have entered into a current deep intimate relationship. Other parts of his data, in conformity with some of Marcia's (1975) results, suggest that the achievement of a mature identity⁵ is not a stable state, but may fluctuate in succeeding periods of the life cycle.

By including women in his sample, Radin finds some modifications and additions to Levinson's conclusions. While men were more likely to envision a future life structure, they are less likely than women to include both work and intimacy. They are less likely to report a mentor relationship and their ambitions are characterized by a bimodal distribution, peaking at the high and low ends, whereas the women's distribution is unimodal and symmetrical. Data from interviews and projective techniques converged in suggesting that men during this period of life are more plagued by unresolved conflicts than their female counterparts. For example, their TAT stories are more marked by perceptual distortion and by evidence that individuation from parents is still an unresolved problem. In general their object relations lean more than those of women in the borderline and narcissistic direction as shown by reports of early memories.

The fact that half of his sample had completed only high school or less, permitted Radin to amplify the earlier findings of Trent and Medsker (1968) regarding the restrictions in personal and identity development associated with leaving schooling at the end of the secondary level to enter the work force. This group in Radin's sample were more characterized by a diffused identity status as contrasted by a greater frequency of achieved identity for the college educated sample. This latter group displayed a series of indices of a more committed and unconflicted sense of themselves in their careers, greater achievement of intimacy and more mature object relations. The differences obtained as a function of educational level were the most striking features of the investigation.

Radin's strategy strikes me as a very promising one to follow for those interested in a more searching examination of the life cycle. It would call for comparable and even more extensive

searches of each of the decades in the life cycle. This can lead to a clothing of the bare framework that we now have from theories of personality development with a more differentiated conception of the succession of developmental tasks marking a life pattern. This more differentiated view must be able to take cultural, sexual, and similar differences into account, ascertaining the degree to which they limit generalities regarding development. I would envisage the creation of counseling psychology service units geared to individual or group interventions around particular age related developmental tasks and consultative or other types of community and organizational interventions designed to create situational supports for the fuller mastery of those tasks.⁶ This vision of counseling psychology requires a preservation and invigoration of the scientist-practitioner model in professional psychology. It calls for an ongoing dialogue between those concerned with theory and research on personality development with those concerned with the change process on either the theory and research or on the practicing side.

Mann's Model for Developmental Counseling

There has always been an affinity between counseling and brief psychotherapy.⁷ One factor in this affinity is that when a professional or a professional agency sets out to provide services designed to foster personal development, the net will contain many individuals who, while facing the transitional strains and the developmental tasks normative to their period of life, are also coping with chronic pains arising from earlier developmental failures. Thus, when the counseling psychologist engages in individual interventions, it becomes difficult to keep from being drawn into the more encompassing goal involved in rectifying the effects of these past failures. More importantly, it strains the limits of our understanding of personality and of the change process to be able to draw such, sometimes fine, lines. The result is that virtually all counseling centers containing staff with psychodynamic sophistications and skills find themselves drawn into extended counseling and psychotherapeutic relationships which have the effect of clogging the system and creating waiting lists. This in turn gives rise to administrative edicts regarding limits on the amount of time to be devoted to an individual client.

Mann (1973), incidentally a psychoanalyst, developed his pattern of brief psychotherapy around the use of time from a psychological rather than an administrative point of view. Going back to Rank and others, he argued that development to maturity is marked by a movement from the childhood fantasy of life as characterized by unlimited, unfrustrated, undelayed gratification to the ability to accept the finite aspects of living with its existential frustration and its separations, including the ultimate one of death.

Time and its use is a major carrier of this psychological transformation from childhood to adulthood. "Child time" is infinite; "adult time" is finite. The working through of a time-limited finite relationship permits the individual the opportunity to come to terms with those necessary elements in the growth process through which by separation and limitations in certain aspects of relationships we develop the capacity to enter into new relationships which combine deeper levels of intimacy, marked by greater mutuality, and at the same time achieve firmer senses of our own individuality. While Erikson (1959) has located this process in the period of late adolescence, Marcia (1975) and Radin's (1978) data suggest that further stages of maturation are marked by similar or analogous processes. This makes it likely that a treatment designed to enable a person to come to grips with

⁵Radin was following Marcia's definitions of four identity states: *foreclosure*, where commitments are made without exploration; *diffusion*, where choices are explored, but because of intrapsychic or other difficulties, commitments are not made; *moratorium*, where choices are in the process of being explored, presumably just prior to making commitments; *achievement*, where choices have been explored and commitments made on the basis of that exploration.

⁶See Harris and Bodden (1978) for a recently published example of this kind of intervention directed at elderly groups.

⁷Developmental counseling and brief psychotherapy are used interchangeably here, especially where the brief psychotherapy is developmentally oriented. Mann's time limited model is seen here as a particular form of brief psychotherapy which is uniquely suited to the purposes of developmental counseling.

aspects of the separation-individuation process that present special difficulties may be generally applicable for developmentally oriented counseling, especially as conducted from a psychodynamic orientation. Certainly its application seems self evident in work with college students, whose trials and tribulations with regard to separation from parents and "finding themselves" are ubiquitous to the point of making a cliché of the "search for identity."

I will go into detail about the procedure that Mann has evolved, partly because my own experience with it has led me to modifications and clarifications, but also because its high level of specificity makes it a prime candidate for empirical investigation. I must allow an additional missionary motive of engaging the reader's interest in pursuing further this, to me, highly promising method of counseling.

The most dramatic feature of this treatment pattern is that it specifies the time limit, 12 interviews. While Mann does not insist that that particular number is much more than one that he hit on as an arbitrary judgment, it did turn out to fit his observations of a proper amount of time and my own experience confirms it for clients whose difficulties are of considerable duration and are accompanied by intense discomfort. I have found it necessary to shorten the number of interviews to fit counseling work with clients presenting somewhat more transitory and less painful difficulties. In such instances, five to six interview contracts seemed more appropriate to the client's state of mind. Cornfield et al. (Note 2) found a mean anticipation of 9.5 and a mode of 3 sessions among University of Maryland clients. This limit, if it is to serve its therapeutic function, is to be a firm one, without waffling on the therapist's part. Since all of us have some difficulties with accepting limits, therapists will not find this feature of the process free of strain for them, even though these strains may be less than those experienced by their clients. In the just cited Maryland study, Cornfield et al. found evidences of counselors' feelings of reluctance and strain in anticipation of time limited work. A main effect of this can be to undermine the time limit at points where the client struggles with it. The client may ask, "What if I am not finished at the twelfth meeting?" The counselor who has not resolved his or her own conflicts about the limit, might reply, "We will see," instead of Mann's prescribed, "It will be enough," followed by exploration of the feelings that accompany the exchange.

The other central feature of Mann's model is the statement of a focus which articulates the change goals of the treatment and remains in the center of attention through the course of it. In this sense the focus is somewhat analogous to the role of a target symptom in behavioral counseling, but is stated in psychodynamic terms. Unlike the focus in most other brief therapies (Malan, 1976), this one is stated for the client and is the basis for the negotiation of the therapeutic contract. With this in mind, Mann suggests eschewing posing the central issue either in terms of its genetic sources or its adaptive expression. Instead, he seeks to formulate a general statement that speaks to the counselor's understanding of the client's present and chronically enduring pain. Here I quote him:

This is the kind of pain that is recognized by the patient as a consciously acceptable part of his human condition that need not warrant denial. It is one, moreover, that carries with it some degree of feeling unjustly put upon by an insensitive world . . . Statement of the central issues in terms of his own chronic pain immediately brings the patient closer to the therapist out of his feeling that he is in the presence of an empathic helper. The closeness that he feels effectively promotes a rapid therapeutic alliance. (Mann, 1973, p. 18)

Thus, the focus is stated in terms that are immediately comprehensible to the client and easily connected to the kinds of incidents and feelings that precipitated the decision to apply for help. For example, the statement, "Your major difficulty is that

you feel inadequate and chronically depressed as a result of your need to challenge and to pacify men who are important to you," was offered to a young woman who lost her father in early adolescence. Mann suggests that these statements will tend to center around four basic universal conflicts: independence versus dependence (Rankian version: integration versus differentiation), activity versus passivity, adequate versus diminished self esteem, and unresolved or delayed grief. At times I have found it useful to state the focus around certain characterological conflicts, beyond those residing in passivity-activity, e.g. "How you can reconcile your tendency to analyze and plan with your wish to be able to react with greater spontaneity and feeling."

The focus and the proposal to work to a particular end date in 12 sessions are offered to the client in a genuine negotiating process in which the counselor is concerned to elicit doubts and reluctances. For example, the client may introduce modifications and additions to the focal statement. Indeed, the counselor always emphasizes that the statement of the central issue is subject to modification as they go along. In practice an insightfully chosen focus mainly undergoes amplification in its depth of significance through the course of treatment. The other basis for negotiation is the distribution of the 12 sessions. The usual is a once a week basis, but there is no requirement of that schedule, modification being introduced either for purposes of convenience or out of the counselor or client's judgment (usually the former's) about what is most suitable. I have found in a few instances with very sound clients facing developmental problems with a high level of motivation that 12 sessions within a six week period worked exceedingly well.

The typical client reaction to my statement of focus, followed by the proposed time limit is unlike what I encounter from counselors and therapists. He or she tends not to pay much attention to the time limit but to respond both gratefully and with a rush of insight to the focal statement. The result is to agree very readily and to move ahead with great momentum into a self exploration process. I am firmly convinced that Mann has prescribed one formula for attaining a very strong working alliance, one that fosters a high level of achievement of the change goals sought. The first four sessions, in Mann's view, are expected to be permeated by this strong sense of cohesion and purposeful therapeutic work. The client seems to have dropped unresolved ambivalence around limitation in relationships to significant figures and experiences exaggerated feelings of being taken care of along with realistic self discoveries. As the therapist resists the temptation to be drawn into many other issues, but continues to attend to the focus, the client's enthusiasm begins to wane and he or she begins to attend to the limited goals and the time limits in the relationship with the results that the middle four sessions are likely to be marked by the reappearance of ambivalence and of the kinds of concerns that brought the person to counseling. Now comes the hard and delicate work of enabling the client to come to terms with feelings of anger and frustration in a way that permits acknowledging and accepting them without having to reject himself or the therapist or, most importantly, the positive gains from the experience. In essence he learns how to give up a relationship, while, in psychic terms, being able to carry it away with him.

This foregoing description contains a sufficiently high level of specification to provide a basis for empirical investigation of its validity. Some colleagues and I have drawn up an observation schedule designed to provide an index of the degree to which a process adheres to Mann's specifications. It includes concern with time limits, number and patterns of sessions, whether or not there is a statement and the kind of statement of focus, and the process of negotiating the therapeutic contract. This version, which concentrates on the initial nature of the process, has seemed very workable in early informal trials. We plan to add specifications regarding dealing with the time limit throughout the process as well as the treatment of the focus and the ambivalences around ending. Such observations will not only make it possible to evaluate this treatment against alternatives, but

provide a basis, via naturalistic or experimental variations in its parameters to analyze the constituent parts of the package in order to identify which ingredients are in fact necessary to the changes achieved.

Empirical assessments of the Mann package are virtually nonexistent. Charles Gelso and his research group at the University of Maryland have thus far concentrated on the general issues surrounding the use of time limited methods but they have carried out at least one investigation of the Mann approach. Moss and her collaborators (Note 3) found rather striking confirmation of the sequential expectations in the Mann model despite the fact that the counselors represented may have offered only crude approximations of the model. For example, despite the time limit, the number of sessions varied from eight to 14, moreover, there were no checks on the degree of adherence to the stating of a focus or other process specifications. Working with counselors' process reports (they were unaware of the purpose of the research), comparisons were made among each of the quarters of the total time. Certain results, i.e. that time limits were dealt with in the first and last portions of the therapy, that counseling goals were talked about more in the first quarter than in other quarters and that termination issues were dealt with more frequently in the fourth quarter, were not particularly striking since they are likely characteristics of all counseling or of all patterns of time-limited work. Particularly telling were the evidences of more scheduling difficulties in the second quarter and of greater resistances in the third quarter. These would be expected in Mann's model in which the client would be expected to experience disappointment, after rapid improvement manifested in the first quarter of treatment. This disappointment might be manifested in scheduling phenomena, missing appointments, coming late or leaving early, as well as in manifesting defensiveness and negative transference within hours. There have, of course, been comparisons of other psychodynamic models of time-limited therapy with work from a similar general orientation, but without time limits (Munro & Bach, 1975; Shlien, Mosak, & Dreikurs, 1962; Spiegel, Note 4). These investigations produced evidence that time limitation resulted in at least as good and in some instances better outcomes than those obtained from unlimited conditions. This was apart from the greater efficiency in achieving the same results in less time. The last cited study, by Spiegel, had the further feature of comparing time-limits of eight and 16 sessions with a finding of differences of outcome from longer time limits or no time limit for clients below average in initial level of adjustment. This trend, however, was not marked enough to reach statistical significance.

Personality and Work

Concern with the work life of people has always been a very visible part of counseling psychology. The names of major past and current contributors to it are associated with intellectual and professional development in our understandings of career development and vocational counseling, e.g. D.G. Paterson, Williamson, Darley, Super, Crites, Holland, Osipow. Yet there have been times when it appeared as though counseling psychologists felt stifled by their tie to vocational counseling. I suppose that this feeling reflected a wish to view the individual in whole, more humanistic terms instead of confining one's attention to a single segment of life. The influx of psychodynamic thinking from Rogers and other neo-dynamicists sometimes had the effect of influencing counselors to turn away from vocational choice as a task significant in itself to treating the fact that a person sought help with it as a sign of some more pervasive difficulty to be remedied. The turbulent sixties contributed their share. During this period of challenging the most basic assumptions on which our particular social organization rested, the central importance of work and career was being questioned. In its most radical form, the vocational counselor was seen as an instrument for maintaining a capitalistic industrial society as a means of repression in which various minority groups, the poor, women, and the third world of undeveloped countries were the main objects of that repression. From that point of view the collaboration between

client and counselor in vocational counseling was seen as a combination of selfish careerism and conformity to maintaining a repressive system. While this stark statement may not have represented a majority position some aspects of it reverberated in many groups and continues to be reflected in current attitudes. Yet, national and world economic uncertainties grounded in energy shortages, theories that economic growth may not be unlimited, along with tangible economic slowdowns has everyone running scared with the result that young people and their parents have become even more vocationally oriented than they had been.

All this provides a backdrop for my assessment of the impact of psychodynamic thinking on that part of the intellectual and professional concerns of the counseling psychologist that deal with the world of work. Put briefly, the psychodynamic approach to vocational choice and career links them with the larger context of personality development and expression. The work aspects of life made up of a significant portion of it. The earlier dream that technological development toward an automated world in which our material needs were satisfied with minimal effort has come to seem less realizable. Yet all of us seek to circumvent the compulsion of working to gain a means of livelihood by searching for that form of work which can provide the intrinsic gratification of self expression, thereby transforming external compulsion into inner directed and spontaneous action. To the extent that theory and research on personality development construct and document the way in which the individual comes to organize resources into styles of seeking gratification and protecting oneself against anxiety, they provide a base for understanding one important source of the series of choices that make up a vocation. Moreover, understanding the strains associated with normative transitions is personal development along with those reflective of mal or stunted development provide a basis for understanding difficulties both in choices and in working.

Since so much of the research and practical implications of this view have already been fully presented elsewhere (Bordin, 1968, pp. 423-444; Crites, 1969, 1974, 1976), I will not repeat it. I do want to emphasize that the psychodynamic view does not preclude a concern with the individual's being informed about the nature of the world of work, the demands on the worker, and his or her own characteristics. It merely adds that the realism with which this information and the associated perceptions are utilized is influenced by the individual's personality organization and conflicts at that time. Moreover, since personality is not static, vocational and career decisions are not simply matching processes but more complexly dynamic events that are integral parts of an ongoing change process. Vocational decisions sometimes punctuate a period of change, sometimes activate and express that change. In this context, vocational counseling can be viewed as developmental counseling with a decision rather than a change oriented working alliance. To attain a strong working alliance, attention must be given to attaining mutuality of understanding regarding the place of personality factors and needs in the goal of decision making.

I have already mentioned that a natural strategy for dealing with work as a tyrannical imperative, from which only a favored few are exempt, is to transform it into a medium for self expression. This observation has turned my attention to the theoretical and research challenges residing in the fusing of work and play (Bordin, 1979). For the most part attention in the study of work and play focused on the work of adults and the play of children. Yet what marks off play from work is the difference between entering into an activity voluntarily out of its intrinsic attractiveness as compared to engaging in it out of external compulsion. Thus, the fusion of work and play involves various mixes of compulsion, spontaneity, and effort. From this point of view it would be rewarding to examine the work of children and the play of adults or, as Barbara Nachmann has said, how to play workfully and how to work playfully. Such an examination will not only amplify theory and research on personality development and have applications to vocational counseling, but should give direc-

tion to the design of both work and retirement.

In this recent paper, I raised the question of whether the kinds of play that satisfy adults can be free of effort and compulsion. For example, the kinds of joy to be obtained from playing Bach or Beethoven can only be realized after toiling over endless scales and from compulsive practice. The fluid, spontaneous play of the young child soon gives way to formalization and rules, which introduce restraining boundaries to the area of spontaneity. Moreover, the intellectual and physical development of the child is accompanied by an engrossment in ever more sophisticated play with its demands of mastery. Thus, the growth of the individual is accompanied by the ever increasing participation of compulsion and effort, not just in work, but also in play. If this description fits the facts of development, then it provides a basis for the argument that the need to temper spontaneity with disciplined effort is not simply an arbitrary assumption introduced to make a virtue out of the necessity of work. Thus, work and play can under the most favorable circumstances be only finely divided, depending on how clearly the compulsory element is experienced as external.

Vocational counselors have always been aware of the strong drive for the opportunities for self expression and spontaneity evinced in the search for occupation. It is reflected in client stereotypic statements of their wish to find an "occupation that would make me happy and enable me to earn a living." That this yearning for spontaneity is strong enough to survive deprivation and threat can be illustrated by the humor of soldiers at war and the practices of workers on the assembly line. The announcement, "Kilroy was here," painted on enemy tanks in the midst of bloody battles, was testimony that even the most extreme conditions of press for survival cannot fully extinguish the inner need for playfulness. Observations of assembly line workers (Blauner, 1964) reveal two kinds of playful responses to the alienation associated with the dominating role of automation and the extreme fragmentation of tasks. The worker either exercises ingenuity in modifying tools or operations to buy free time or turns destructive by sabotaging the assembly line, gaining freedom through its temporary halt. We can say, then, that there is clear evidence to support a view that there is an epigenetic base for an inherent tendency to fuse work and play. We need to understand and validate conceptions of what governs this tendency. This involves analyzing the chemistry, if you will, of spontaneity, effort and compulsions and what governs the various mixes. I would expect to find situational factors. Sometimes the individual uses play and leisure, regressively, returning to the spontaneity dominated play of childhood, presumably as a respite from long periods of activity dominated by effort and compulsion. In my recent paper, I have argued that situational factors that reduce the voluntariness of activities thereby heighten the compulsive (compulsory) element. Recognition of this turned the attention of Dewey and the Progressive Education movement toward the development of teaching methods designed to introduce greater choice in the learning process so as to release spontaneity in learning.

In developmental terms, we must understand that life free of external compulsion is not attainable. The ideal life to be striven for is one in which there is room for the external compulsions to be shaped to fit inner needs. Personal relationships being central to the quality of life, I argue that the individual needs to learn to integrate his or her own needs and wishes with the pressures from others, which are reflections of their needs and wishes. The individual first experiences external compulsion as pressures from parents or other primary caretakers and these initial experiences set the stage for how the individual will later respond to challenges to mastery of either an interpersonal or impersonal variety. In other words, I see the individual's experience of authority as a major source of the chemistry of effort and spontaneity. I propose that to the extent that parent, teacher, or other caretaker exerts authority as a form of leadership which features mutuality and strong bonds of respect and affection to attain strong working alliances between leader and follower, to that extent will the individual acquire a readiness to fuse spontaneity

with effort free of the debilitating feelings of external compulsion. I think it is no accident that at a time of loss of mutuality between government and people and, especially, between the young and their elders around our involvement in Vietnam, work and career was with greater frequency reacted to as the "rat race" to be escaped or submitted to passively. This was also the period of rebellion in education when sensitivity to compulsion made all requirements, whether of curriculum or of standards, too painful to bear. Similarly, the unusual person who would reject using play interests and skills as a basis for vocational choice because "that would spoil it (the play) for me," reflects such a tenderness about compulsion that he cannot tolerate even an inner compulsion.

My paper points to the kinds of basic research needed to validate this developmental view as well as to provide a base for practical applications. Some of that research, e.g. those addressing how the interactions of parents and children around chores affect effort and spontaneity, will be carried out by developmental psychologists. Others, involving the design of work to introduce greater elements of voluntariness will involve the collaborations of engineers, industrial sociologists, and psychologists. But there are surely places, especially as related to career and the design of retirement, where counseling psychologists need to bring their meld of research and practical experience and skills.

Summary

In this essay, I have tried to call attention to ways that psychodynamic, including psychoanalytic, ideas can be applied to the tasks of the counseling psychologist. I have suggested that the counseling psychologist's developmental counseling orientation should be broadened to include all of the stages of the life cycle, not just the adolescent period. Moreover, just as our intervention programs have been stimulated and supported by research on the adolescent period, counseling psychologists must bring their research energies to bear on each of the decades of the life span. With regard to the developmental counseling process, I have tried to convince my readers that Mann's pattern of time limited psychotherapy provides the dual challenge toward the implementation of an effective method of individual interventions for developmental purposes and toward research evaluation of that effectiveness and validation of the undergirding assumptions. Finally, in connection with our responsibilities in vocational counseling, I have called attention to the psychodynamic orientation which links this decision making process to ongoing personality development. Research in this sphere must go deeper and broader than the decision process itself. Via the relevance of the task of fusing work and play, theory and research must be directed toward the chemistry of effort and compulsion which will require observations of children and their interactions with parents around the precursors of work.

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The Effectiveness of Time Limits in Counseling and Psychotherapy: A Critical Review¹

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For reasons both practical and theoretical, the past few decades have witnessed discontentment with long-term counseling and psychotherapy, and an ensuing development of ways to shortcut lengthy treatment. Many different pressures have influenced this development. Probably first and foremost, an increased demand for services has left mental health agencies with long lists of clients waiting for treatment. Generally heightened awareness of psychological concerns has caused different types of people to seek therapy. Healthy people in crisis have goals far less extensive than the traditional ones of analysis and reconstruction of personality. The extension of services to populations other than the verbal middle class has suggested the unsuitability of the more traditional treatments for many clients. Demands on health insurance policies to pay for mental health treatment have involved insurance companies in investigations of the efficacy of shorter treatments.

Complementing the above developments have been shifts in theoretical orientations to mental health. A growing emphasis on positive mental health rather than pathology has had vast implications for the types of treatment provided. Crisis theorists argued that even healthy individuals occasionally experience difficulties in coping, and stressed the importance of immediate help in order to avert the potential development of maladaptive coping styles. Other theorists took up a similar theme, calling for treatment to be more immediately relevant to adjustment to life situations and warning that the traditional long-term therapies may be ill-adaptive in their attempts to evoke dependency and regression in the very clients who need to be helped to cope in a more independent, mature way. Even among the psychoanalytic therapies, the growth of ego psychology put a new emphasis on strengthening coping abilities rather than analyzing the unconscious, thus leading to treatments more circumscribed in goals and limited in time.

It was within this social and professional milieu that the specialty of counseling psychology was originated and has developed. The social and professional developments noted above should be familiar to all counseling psychologists, for they form

the fabric out of which the specialty was woven. At the same time, and perhaps paradoxically, the problem of long waiting lists seems to have plagued counseling psychology agencies as much as agencies and institutions associated primarily with other specialties. (See, for example, Collins, Gelso, Kimball, & Sedlacek's, 1973, discussion of waiting list problems in counseling centers.) Thus, the search for ways of abbreviating treatment, albeit treatment that was briefer to begin with than traditional long-term insight therapy, has been an important concern of the specialty.

Two main approaches have been employed to abbreviate therapy. The first entails a limitation of goals. Rather than working toward dramatic insight into clients' personality dynamics, the counselor may direct actions toward a focused goal, thus leading to therapy briefer than that in which goals are global and/or unspecified. A second means of limiting treatment is by setting a time limit on duration. Such time limitation has been said to prevent the difficulty of terminating even focused endeavors and to limit goals by virtue of counselor and client realizing they only have a set time period to work together.

Both of the approaches noted above to limiting therapy have often been grouped together under headings such as "brief therapy" or "focal therapy," and have received much attention in recent literature (see Butcher & Koss, 1978). Terms such as "brief therapy," however, are ambiguous as to structure, technique, goals, and duration; and discussions of brief therapy as an entity seem to ignore its diversity and ambiguity. In particular, many theorists and counselors using specified time limits have postulated that time-limited therapy (TLT) may encompass a very different psychological process and thus have a different type of outcome from open-ended therapy no matter how brief.

The present paper is a critical review of the empirical literature on the effectiveness of TLT. We begin with an examination of studies relating uncontrolled counseling duration to outcome. Although such research is severely limited in its ability to permit causal inferences about TLT, we include the duration-outcome findings because of the light they may shed on our later, more central analyses. The second part of the review examines studies on the efficacy of TLT, when that treatment is not compared to time-unlimited therapy (TUT). Finally, the review focuses on comparative outcome studies — those assessing the efficacy of TLT vs. TUT. Throughout, studies are examined in terms of the *sources of outcome measures* used and the *time of measurement*. These appear to be two distinctions that have critical impli-

¹The terms counseling and psychotherapy along with counselor and therapist will be used interchangeably throughout this paper. Drawing distinctions between the terms, and the processes they imply, is usually a difficult endeavor. We suggest it is not a fruitful endeavor when discussing relatively brief, time-limited treatments.