

Diversity in the Ivory White Tower: A Longitudinal Look at Faculty Race/Ethnicity in Counseling Psychology Academic Training Programs

Bonnie Moradi
Greg J. Neimeyer
University of Florida

Scholars have highlighted the importance of recruitment, retention, and promotion of racial-ethnic minority faculty for the field of counseling psychology. This study examines the specialty's progress by chronicling the racial-ethnic composition of faculty in counseling psychology programs across time. The findings summarized begin to reveal the level of progress made toward increasing faculty racial-ethnic diversity within the field. Data generally support the collective success of counseling psychology programs in increasing racial-ethnic diversity of faculty but also highlight some of the challenges that remain to be addressed. Several possible interpretations, implications, and limitations of these findings are discussed in relation to counseling psychology's continuing support of multiculturalism as a distinctive feature of its identity and its objectives as a specialty.

A central aim of this Major Contribution is to provide data that can guide reflection and action regarding selected issues that are critical to counseling psychology academic training programs. In this article, the issue selected for exploration is the collective progress made by counseling psychology academic training programs toward increasing faculty racial-ethnic diversity. In the present contribution, we (a) provide a context for understanding counseling psychology's commitment to increasing faculty racial-ethnic diversity, (b) review literature about the importance of this commitment, (c) review prior data on faculty racial-ethnic diversity, (d) provide updated longitudinal data examining the field's progress in increasing faculty racial-ethnic diversity, and (e) discuss efforts that could promote further progress.

Prior discussions and available data about faculty diversity (including data used for the present study) have focused typically on racial-ethnic minority faculty defined as African American/Black, Asian or Asian American, Hispanic/Latina/o, and sometimes "other" and/or Native American. Therefore, the present discussion of extant literature and data is necessarily limited to prior definitions that explicitly or implicitly exclude diversity in terms of sexual orientation, national background, religion/spirituality, or

Correspondence regarding this manuscript should be directed to Bonnie Moradi, Department of Psychology, University of Florida, P.O. Box 112250, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250; e-mail: moradib@ufl.edu; phone: (352)392-0601, ext. 452; fax: (352) 392-7985.

THE COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGIST, Vol. 33 No. 5, September 2005 655-675
DOI: 10.1177/0011000005277823
© 2005 by the Society of Counseling Psychology

other dimensions included in broad definitions of diversity (e.g., Iijima Hall, 1997; Ivey, D'Andrea, Ivey, & Simek-Morgan, 2002). Consistent with this Major Contribution's spirit of encouraging reflection and action, however, in the section discussing future efforts we explore potential challenges and benefits of adopting a broader perspective about faculty diversity in assessment, research, and action.

Context for Attending to Faculty Racial-Ethnic Diversity in Counseling Psychology

Efforts within counseling psychology to increase racial-ethnic diversity of faculty must be understood within the context of (a) the field's broader commitment to scholarship on diversity issues, (b) changing demographics of the United States, and (c) a broader movement within psychology to increase diversity representation. Each of these factors is discussed next.

Diversity scholarship. Counseling psychology has engaged in ongoing conversation about multicultural training at least since the time of the Greyston Conference (Quintana & Bernal, 1995), and the centrality of multiculturalism to its contemporary commitments is well documented (Neimeyer & Diamond, 2001; Watkins, 1994). Indeed, a sizable body of literature within counseling psychology has attempted to articulate, operationalize, or assess components of multicultural training and multicultural competence (e.g., Abreu, Gim Chung, & Atkinson, 2000; Arredondo et al., 1996; Carter, 2003; Kiselica, 1998; Pope-Davis & Coleman, 1996; Pope-Davis et al., 2002; Sadowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, & Corey, 1998; Sue, 2001a; Sue et al., 1998; Vinson & Neimeyer, 2003).

Special issues and major sections of *The Counseling Psychologist* have been devoted to scholarship on special populations and social justice (Carter, 2003). Counseling psychologists have played a critical role in developing the American Psychological Association *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (American Psychological Association, 2003). Not surprisingly then, addressing issues of diversity and multiculturalism is commonly cited as a signature contribution of counseling psychology to the broader discipline of psychology and is key to its anticipated future (Neimeyer & Diamond, 2001). As Watkins (1994) noted, "By means of our model building and continued research and professional inquiry, we have made major, seminal contributions to and helped advance knowledge about and understanding of ethnic and nonethnic minorities" (p. 319).

Changing demographics. An important impetus for counseling psychology's commitment to diversity scholarship is the changing demographics of the United States, with approximately one third of the population identifying as a racial-ethnic group other than White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). Projections by the U.S. Census Bureau (2004) indicate that by the year 2050 White individuals will barely constitute a majority (50.1%), with Hispanic (24.4%), Black (14.6%), Asian (8%), and "other" (5.3%, including American Indian, Alaskan Native, Pacific Islander, and bi- and multiracial) persons constituting substantial percentages of the population. These shifting demographics underscore the importance of supplementing diversity scholarship with efforts to actually reflect, among counseling psychologists, the growing diversity of the larger population. Such efforts are critical to enhancing the vitality and relevance of the field to the increasingly diverse constituencies that it aims to serve (Fouad et al., 2004).

Psychology and diversity representation. The commitment to achieving greater racial-ethnic diversity representation within counseling psychology is also impacted by a broader movement within psychology to increase diversity representation. For example, the Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs was established in 1980, in part to promote participation of racial-ethnic minority psychologists within the American Psychological Association. Later, in 1994, the Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training was established (American Psychological Association, 2003) to highlight the importance of increasing faculty racial-ethnic diversity and provide recommendations toward this goal (American Psychological Association Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology, 1997). Finally, Domain D of the American Psychological Association *Guidelines and Principles for Accreditation of Programs in Professional Psychology* (American Psychological Association Committee on Accreditation, n.d.) specifies that programs should demonstrate "systematic, coherent, and long-term efforts to attract and retain students and faculty from differing ethnic, racial, and personal backgrounds into the program."

In the context of these broader efforts in psychology, the specialty of counseling psychology has made strides to increase diversity representation in the field. As Watkins (1994) described, "Division 17 has established standing committees, ad hoc committees, or special interest groups for ethnic and cultural diversity . . . ; we have had diversity as our divisional theme for the APA convention (in 1992); we have seen recent posters, articles, even Division 17 presidential addresses (Goldman, 1991) that have focused on the importance of involving underrepresented groups in our division's activi-

ties; we have had issues of our journals devoted to ethnic and nonethnic minorities" (p. 325).

Evidence of the Importance of Increasing Racial-Ethnic Diversity of Faculty

The commitment of counseling psychology to diversity scholarship, changing U.S. demographics, and movements in the larger discipline of psychology each have shaped efforts within counseling psychology to increase racial-ethnic diversity representation. Within this context, several scholars have highlighted why it is important to increase racial-ethnic diversity of faculty. For example, Vaughn (1990) suggested that racial-ethnic minority faculty play a critical role in infusing sociocultural and multicultural perspectives into institutional culture and in supporting other minority faculty. Atkinson, Brown, Casas, and Zane (1996) echoed these points and articulated four reasons for recruiting, hiring, retaining, and advancing racial-ethnic minority faculty in counseling psychology programs. First, they suggested that the presence of racial-ethnic minority faculty is essential for recruiting, retaining, and graduating minority students. Second, the expertise and sociocultural perspectives of racial-ethnic minority faculty are important to their colleagues and students. Third, racial-ethnic minority faculty can make important theoretical and research contributions that integrate sociocultural perspectives into psychology. Finally, they argued that the presence of racial-ethnic minority faculty reflects institutional commitment to increasing faculty diversity and appreciating diversity issues.

Empirical evidence generally supports the critical role of racial-ethnic minority faculty in training programs. For example, the number of minority faculty has been linked positively to indicators of programmatic commitment to multicultural issues such as the number of courses offered on minority issues, training directors' ratings of the importance of minority training within a program, and the proportion of faculty conducting research on racial-ethnic minority issues (Bernal & Castro, 1994; Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999).

The number of racial-ethnic minority faculty and faculty involvement in multicultural research are also correlated positively with the number of racial-ethnic minority students a program can attract (Bernal & Castro, 1994; Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Quintana & Bernal, 1995). Attracting racial-ethnic minority students, in turn, is critical for continuing to increase the diversity of counseling psychology faculty who are vital in shaping the future of counseling psychology scholarship and training and for providing services to increasingly diverse client populations. The demonstrated impor-

tance of racial-ethnic minority faculty, however, does not eliminate the needed commitment, responsibility, and role of White faculty in shaping training programs' commitment to and success in multicultural training of all students as well as recruitment/retention of minority students.

Review of Prior Data on Faculty Racial-Ethnic Diversity

Given the importance of racial-ethnic minority faculty to multicultural training and the continued advancement of the field, Ponterotto and his colleagues (Ponterotto, 1996; Ponterotto, Alexander, & Grieger, 1995) translated aspirations of increasing faculty diversity into concrete recommendations, suggesting that at least 30% of the faculty in academic training programs should be racial-ethnic minority persons (Ponterotto, 1996).

Adhering strictly to the 30% criterion at the program level might be challenging given the reality of the small number of faculty in many programs. Applied across programs, however, such a recommendation can be used to assess the collective progress of counseling psychology programs toward the aspiration of increasing faculty racial-ethnic diversity. Unfortunately, from their review of the field, Atkinson et al. (1996) characterized racial-ethnic minority representation within faculty of graduate programs in professional psychology as "dismal" (p. 231), underscoring that "although ethnic minorities make up approximately 25% of the current U.S. population, with dramatic increases ahead, they constitute less than . . . 9% of the full-time faculty in applied psychology programs" (p. 231).

Despite this unfavorable view of applied psychology programs in general, available data provide a more hopeful impression of the specific progress of counseling psychology programs compared with other psychology programs. For example, data from the 1976 Council of Counseling Psychology Training Programs (CCPTP) annual survey indicated that only 5% of faculty from counseling psychology programs accredited by the American Psychological Association represented minorities, a number that was generally consistent with the 6% reported from the previous year (Banikiotes, 1977).

More than a decade later, however, data from the 1988-1989 CCPTP survey indicated a doubling of the percentage of minority faculty, with 11% of faculty in counseling psychology representing racial-ethnic minorities (Hills & Strozier, 1992). This increase may be distinctive to counseling psychology. In a comparison of 41 counseling psychology and 104 clinical psychology programs, for example, Quintana and Bernal (1995) found that twice the proportion of counseling psychology programs (22%) were composed of 20% or more racial-ethnic minority faculty, compared with clinical psychol-

ogy programs (11%). These data suggest the relative success of counseling psychology programs compared with other psychology programs in attracting diverse faculty.

One troubling trend in prior data, however, is an apparent concentration of racial-ethnic minority faculty in lower ranks in psychology and other doctoral departments (Fouad & Carter, 1992; Guzman, Schiavo, & Puente, 1992; Olmedo, 1990). Hills and Strozier (1992) observed a similar pattern in counseling psychology academic programs, with 20% of assistant professors representing racial-ethnic minority persons, compared with only 10% of associate and 4% of full professors.

The current state of racial-ethnic minority faculty representation in counseling psychology programs is unclear, however, given that available data are fairly dated and provide only sporadic and largely cross-sectional insights into recruitment and retention of racial-ethnic minority counseling psychology faculty. Thus, the purpose of the present study is to provide an updated longitudinal examination of racial-ethnic minority faculty representation in counseling psychology academic training programs. By examining the composition of faculty across an extended period, we hope to identify gains within the field as well as shortcomings that require reflection and action. Because we are interested in progress in relation to faculty recruitment and retention, we examine the racial-ethnic composition of faculty by rank across time. Patterns of gains in the overall proportion of racial-ethnic minority faculty would support the specialty's success in recruitment, whereas the translation of these gains into the upper ranks of academic standing (associate and full professor) would also reflect successful retention and promotion.

METHOD

To assess the racial-ethnic composition of counseling psychology faculty across time, summaries of all available annual surveys conducted by the CCPTP were obtained. The CCPTP survey has been conducted since the founding of the organization and solicits, from directors of training, a wide range of information about their academic training programs. These data include information about racial-ethnic composition of faculty. Data were available for academic years 1981-1982 through 2001-2003 (due to an unusually low response rate for 2001-2002, the 2002-2003 survey reassessed and collapsed faculty race/ethnicity data for 2001-2002 and 2002-2003). Data were missing, however, for the 1985-1986 academic year, and errors in reported data made the 1987-1988 data unusable. Importantly, data before 1986 did not break down reports according to specific race/ethnicity or rank and identified instead only the overall percentage of "minority faculty." Data

from 1986 forward, however, reported faculty by race/ethnicity (i.e., Asian, Black, Caucasian, Hispanic, or “other”) and rank (i.e., assistant, associate, or full), except that the 2001-2003 survey did not include the category Asian in assessing faculty race/ethnicity.

During the 22-year period of review, the number of CCPTP member programs fluctuated, and occasional samples included a few nonmember programs (e.g., Cameron, Galassi, Birk, & Waggener, 1989). As reported in Table 1, the number of programs responding to the survey ranged from 32 to 53, with response rates ranging from 40% in 1981-1982 to 91% in 1983-1984 ($M = 70.44\%$).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For each academic year, the data represent the proportion of racial-ethnic minority faculty across counseling psychology programs collectively. Interpreting these data must be qualified at the outset by the fact that they represent longitudinal, but not within-subjects, assessments. All programs are sampled for the annual CCPTP survey each year, but not all programs respond every year, and data for each responding program are not tracked and matched over time. This inconsistency is related in part to the development and discontinuation of various counseling psychology programs across time (Blustein, Goodyear, Perry, & Cypers, 2005 [this issue]), and the fact that some programs do not respond or provide useable responses in any given year. As a result, the data are neither fully between-subjects nor fully within-subjects; instead they have an unknown amount of interdependency across time that challenges the application of a within-subject analysis on the one hand, and a between-subject's analysis on the other.

Thus, visual inspection is the most appropriate method for examining and interpreting these data (Wilkinson, 1999). Although statistical analyses provide the possibility of protecting against Type 1 (i.e., interpreting changes or trends where none actually exist) or Type 2 errors (i.e., failing to interpret real changes that have occurred) by establishing a standard probability level (e.g., $p < .05$), as Kendall, Butcher, and Holmbeck (1999) noted, “No such ‘objective’ marker equivalent to a probability level is possible for visual analysis” (p. 324).

Rather, interpretation of the present data relies on examination within some meaningful context. Aspirations about faculty racial-ethnic diversity across counseling psychology programs and extant guidelines in this regard provide some measures against which changes in faculty composition across programs can be gauged. Therefore, we combined the results and discussion to allow for interpretation of data in context of the racial-ethnic composition

of the U.S. population and the needs and aspirations identified in the counseling psychology literature.

Inspecting the Data: What Do the Numbers Tell Us?

Representation of racial-ethnic minority faculty over time. Table 1 summarizes the percentages of racial-ethnic minority faculty within and across ranks over time. These percentages reflect the number of faculty from each CCPTP racial-ethnic category and rank divided by the total number of counseling psychology faculty; as such they reflect proportions across all participating programs, not within each program. The CCPTP survey did not assess specific racial-ethnic categories or rank in the earlier years (1981-1982 to 1986-1987). Therefore, only the overall proportion of racial-ethnic minority faculty is reported for these early years.

The critical issue addressed by these data is the extent to which counseling psychology faculty as a whole (not in any single program) reflects the general U.S. population (a) from which it is drawn (largely), (b) which it must serve, and (c) for which it trains students to serve. The total percentage of racial-ethnic minority faculty across time indicates a clear and consistent increase from approximately 7% (in 1981-1982) to 26% (in 2001-2003). Given indications that approximately one-third of the U.S. population identifies as a racial-ethnic group other than White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), in broad terms, the composition of counseling psychology faculty (across programs) has moved closer to the diversity of the larger population. Furthermore, current representation of racial-ethnic minority faculty across counseling psychology programs (26%) far surpasses that of doctoral-level faculty in departments of psychology (10% in 1999-2000; American Psychological Association, 2000). At the same time the present data suggest that counseling psychology programs, collectively, have not yet achieved the aspiration set forth by Ponterotto et al. (1995) to have 30% or more racial-ethnic minority representation among faculty in academic training programs.

Examining the data within specific racial-ethnic minority groups further highlights some qualifications regarding increases in faculty racial-ethnic diversity. As indicated in Table 1 and Figure 1, some racial-ethnic groups reflect greater gains and more closely approximate the general population than others. For example, the percentage of Asian faculty (descriptors used in CCPTP surveys are used here) is relatively small and has made minimal gains across time. The proportion of Asian faculty was about 2% in 1988-1989, when the CCPTP survey began to break out this designation, and 4% in 2000-2001 (the 2001-2003 survey did not assess Asian separately). Likewise, faculty categorized as "other" comprised small proportions (oscillating between

TABLE 1: Proportion of All Counseling Psychology Faculty by Racial-Ethnic Category and Rank From 1981-1982 to 2001-2003

Rank	1981-1982	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Assistant																							
Race/ Ethnicity																							
Asian	.010	.003	.005	.010	.007	.010	.007	.015	.005	.010	.014	.019	.006	.023	.033	NA							
Black	.026	.022	.029	.029	.038	.039	.038	.039	.050	.056	.055	.032	.027	.049	.064	.051							
Hispanic	.008	.014	.008	.014	.011	.013	.019	.024	.028	.030	.038	.027	.039	.023	.034								
Other	.005	.000	.000	.003	.005	.007	.008	.005	.008	.005	.006	.006	.006	.003	.003	.024							
Subtotal minority	.049	.039	.043	.052	.058	.075	.074	.084	.094	.082	.076	.111	.124	.096									
Caucasian	.182	.187	.196	.173	.184	.169	.178	.173	.155	.146	.174	.150	.174	.225									
Associate																							
Race/ Ethnicity																							
Asian	.003	.000	.003	.000	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003	.008	.006	.003	.000	.003	.007	NA							
Black	.021	.017	.011	.016	.013	.019	.024	.028	.030	.038	.027	.039	.023	.034									
Hispanic	.010	.008	.011	.013	.005	.011	.019	.015	.014	.019	.024	.023	.017	.044									
Other	.003	.003	.003	.000	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003	.003	.000	.003	.014							
Subtotal minority	.036	.028	.027	.029	.024	.036	.048	.054	.053	.063	.055	.065	.050	.092									
Caucasian	.276	.259	.265	.262	.256	.263	.249	.245	.244	.294	.299	.265	.268	.276									
Full																							
Race/ Ethnicity																							
Asian	.003	.006	.005	.005	.005	.006	.006	.005	.005	.005	.006	.009	.009	.003	.000	NA							
Black	.013	.022	.011	.026	.019	.022	.013	.015	.011	.025	.021	.026	.037	.031									
Hispanic	.000	.003	.024	.000	.011	.006	.003	.005	.008	.013	.012	.016	.017	.027									
Other	.003	.000	.000	.000	.008	.008	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.003	.000	.003	.000	.014							
Subtotal minority	.018	.030	.040	.031	.043	.042	.021	.026	.025	.051	.043	.049	.054	.072									
Caucasian	.438	.457	.429	.451	.435	.416	.430	.418	.429	.364	.354	.359	.331	.239									
Across ranks																							
Race/ Ethnicity																							
Asian	.016	.008	.013	.016	.015	.024	.013	.023	.025	.032	.025	.040	NA										
Black	.060	.061	.051	.071	.070	.080	.088	.099	.097	.095	.076	.114	.124	.116									
Hispanic	.018	.025	.043	.024	.024	.030	.032	.033	.042	.057	.073	.075	.057	.092									
Other	.010	.003	.003	.003	.016	.018	.011	.008	.008	.013	.009	.007	.051										
Subtotal minority	.104	.096	.110	.113	.125	.152	.143	.163	.172	.196	.174	.225	.227	.259									
Caucasian	.896	.904	.890	.887	.875	.848	.857	.837	.828	.804	.826	.775	.773	.741									
Response rate (%)	40	74	91	78	NA	67	76	75	76	73	74	74	NA	74	76	56	62	71	NA	64	58		

NOTE: Slight variations in subtotals are due to rounding. NA = years for which data were unavailable. Racial-ethnic labels reflect those used in the CCPTP survey.

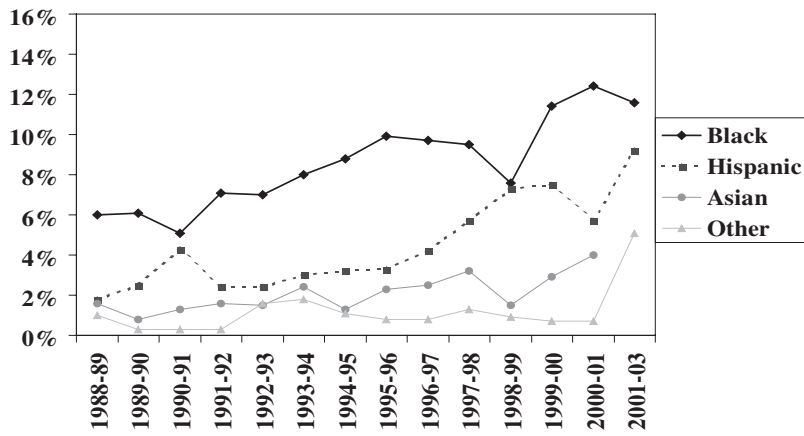


FIGURE 1. Percentages of All Counseling Psychology Faculty Who Were Racial/Ethnic Minority

0% and 1%), and no net proportional increase was seen from 1988-1989 to 2000-2001. The 5% of faculty who identified as “other” in the 2001-2003 survey likely subsumed Asian faculty since the latter category was not assessed in this survey.

Data for faculty who identified as Hispanic or Black, by contrast, demonstrate clear gains over time. Hispanic faculty constituted approximately 2% of counseling psychology faculty in 1988-1989, and this proportion increased to about 9% by 2001-2003. Black faculty composed approximately 6% of counseling psychology faculty in 1988-1989, and this proportion increased to about 12% by 2001-2003.

Comparing the most recent years of CCPTP data to 2002 census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002) suggests that, at present, faculty composition in counseling psychology programs approximates the racial-ethnic composition of the U.S. population in some areas but not in others. More specifically, approximately 11.8% of the U.S. population identified as Black or African American¹ (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). This approximates the representation of Black faculty in data from the last three CCPTP surveys (11%-12%). Similarly, 2002 census data indicated that approximately 4% of the U.S. population identified as Asian. This value approximates the proportions of Asian faculty reported in CCPTP data between 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 (3%-4%). Conversely, census data suggest underrepresentation of Hispanic faculty in counseling psychology programs. The 2002 census indicated that about 13.5% of the U.S. population identified as Hispanic, but the proportion of Hispanic faculty in counseling psychology programs between 1999-2000 and 2001-2003 was about 6%-9%. Thus, although the proportion of Hispanic

counseling psychology faculty has quadrupled from 1988-1989 to 2001-2003, the data still suggest underrepresentation of Hispanic faculty in counseling psychology programs. Therefore, along with continued efforts to recruit, retain, and promote Black and Asian faculty, attending to the representation of Hispanic faculty may be a particular need.

Another important consideration is that the representation of Native American and other racial-ethnic minority faculty in counseling psychology programs is unknown due to the use of the aggregate term *other* in the CCPTP survey to capture individuals who do not identify as Asian, Black, Hispanic, or White. Native American persons represented approximately 0.6%, and individuals who listed other races, or two or more races, constituted an additional 1.9% of the U.S. population according to the 2002 census. If the "other" category in CCPTP data is assumed to include Native American faculty and other persons who did not identify as White, Black, Hispanic, or Asian (e.g., biracial, Middle Eastern, or South Asian), then there is some evidence of the underrepresentation of these individuals in counseling psychology programs, as well. Evaluating and redressing the underrepresentation of "other" faculty require efforts to identify the specific constituents of the "other" group in the CCPTP survey. Providing a range of more detailed descriptors would be consistent with, and extend, the earlier decision to replace the aggregate assessment of "minority faculty" in the CCPTP survey (before 1987) with more specific racial-ethnic identifiers, as has been done since 1987.

Racial-ethnic minority representation within ranks. In addition to the overall trends in racial-ethnic minority faculty representation, examination of the proportion of racial-ethnic minority faculty by ranks reveals additional accomplishments and challenges. As indicated in Table 1 and Figure 2, increases in the representation of racial-ethnic minority faculty appear to have occurred within each rank. More specifically, the proportion of all counseling psychology faculty who were racial-ethnic minority assistant professors almost doubled from approximately 5% in 1988-1989 to 10% in 2001-2003, and the proportion of all counseling psychology faculty who were racial-ethnic minority associate professors more than doubled from about 4% in 1988-1989 to 9% in 2001-2003 (see subtotal minorities in Table 1). The picture for racial-ethnic minority full professors is a bit more mixed but reflects net gains over time. As indicated in Table 1, consistent increases are observable between 1988-1989 (2%) and 1993-1994 (4%), but since that time the proportion of all counseling psychology faculty who were racial-ethnic minority full professors seems to have oscillated, with only small overall gains achieved by 2001-2003 (7%). These data may generally reflect the operation of a cohort effect; as attention turned toward enhancing a

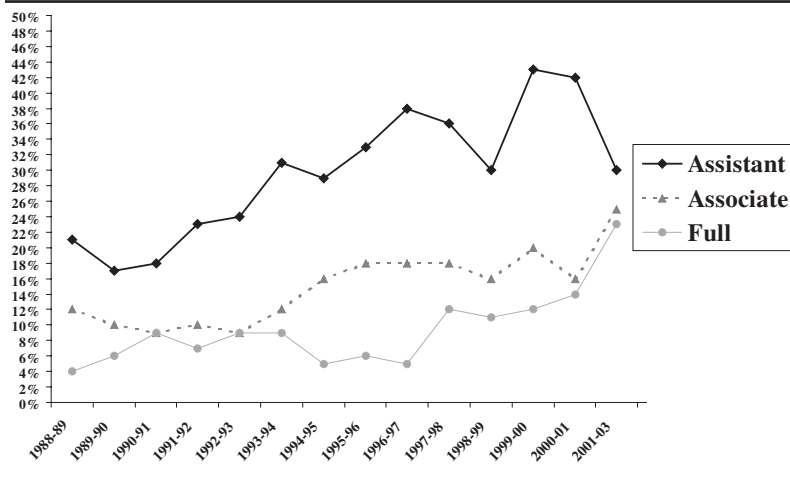


Figure 2. Percentages of Assistant, Associate, and Full Professors Who Were Racial/Ethnic Minority

commitment to diversity, recruitment of racial-ethnic minority faculty was first registered within the entry rank (i.e., assistant professors) and gradually increased as this cohort group matured toward tenure and promotion to the associate rank.

When examined within-ranks (as apposed to across all faculty), the percentage of associate and full professors who were racial-ethnic minority persons was fairly consistently lower than the percentage of assistant professors who were racial-ethnic minority persons (see Figure 2). This pattern is consistent with trends in the broader field of psychology (American Psychological Association Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology, 1997; Guzman et al., 1992; Hills & Strozier, 1992; Olmedo, 1990) and suggests potential challenges in past retention and promotion of racial-ethnic minority faculty to the higher ranks within the academy (Suinn & Witt, 1982). Nevertheless, the substantial representation of racial-ethnic minority faculty in the assistant rank in recent years indicates a promising opportunity for making strides in racial-ethnic minority representation at the higher ranks.

The 2001-2003 data depicted in Figure 2 suggest the possibility that such translation of recruitment into retention and promotion might be underway; a decrease in the percentage of assistant professors who were racial-ethnic minority appears to occur simultaneously with increases in the proportions of associate and full professors who were racial-ethnic minorities. This interpretation must be tempered, however, with the nature of the present data and

the possibility that shifts are due, in part, to variation in programs responding to the CCPTP survey.

Overall, the present data document advances and limitations in increasing racial-ethnic diversity of counseling psychology faculty. These data reflect aggregates across programs and individual programs' successes, and challenges may vary. Nevertheless, the present data can inform collective and individual program goals and efforts to target, sustain, and increase recruitment and retention of racial-ethnic minority faculty. Several experiences and recommendations described in the literature can guide efforts toward recruitment, retention, and promotion of racial-ethnic minority faculty, and we highlight some of these suggestions next. Although many of these recommendations were articulated with racial-ethnic minority faculty in mind, they can be applied to increase faculty diversity more broadly as well.

The Work at Hand: Improving Recruitment and Retention and Fostering Success

Recruitment of racial-ethnic minority faculty must continue to sustain and surpass the advances evidenced in the present data and to address special concerns about the underrepresentation of Hispanic and "other" faculty. The American Psychological Association Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology (1997) provided some recommendations that could promote racial-ethnic minority faculty recruitment. These recommendations included having the program assess its own climate and values with regard to diversity before initiating recruitment, clearly describing the commitment to diversity in position announcements, making the job qualifications as inclusive as possible, and not penalizing candidates with nontraditional work experiences.

Furthermore, based on their experience at the University of California–Santa Barbara, Atkinson et al. (1996) indicated that the single most effective method for recruiting minority faculty was direct and proactive contact with directors of training, faculty, and others who might be aware of promising minority students. Once prospects are identified, they can be contacted to assess and promote their interest and to determine their fit with institutional needs. Atkinson et al. also highlighted the importance of offering competitive salaries and incentives (e.g., hiring partners and travel allocations for partner visit) and ensuring equal treatment regarding workload, tenure, and promotion. Moreover, diversity-oriented research should be valued and its related challenges (e.g., recruiting minority participants) recognized.

Suinn and Witt's (1982) survey of department chairs echoed the importance of these recommendations. According to Suinn and Witt's data, the top 10 reasons that minority faculty finalists refused job offers concerned sala-

ries, geographic locations, representation of minorities in the community, teaching load, levels of perceived support, concentration of minority faculty in the university, fringe benefits, academic rank, concentration of minority faculty in the department, and tenure and promotion policy. Thus, providing a supportive environment that includes other racial-ethnic minority persons, recognizing the potential challenges faced by racial-ethnic minority faculty, and offering resources that address the needs of racial-ethnic minority faculty appear to be key for recruitment.

In addition to these steps, programs must remain vigilant to potential unintentional racism that can impact recruitment and retention of racial-ethnic minority faculty. Examples of such unintentional racism can include shifting the relative value placed on hiring or promotion criteria in a manner that advantages White candidates over racial-ethnic minority candidates, devaluing diversity-oriented research, holding racial-ethnic minority faculty responsible for meeting the needs of racial-ethnic minority students, and assuming that racial-ethnic minority faculty should have knowledge and expertise on racial-ethnic minority issues and research.

Unfortunately, in some cases of successful recruitment, available data and personal experiences of racial-ethnic minority faculty suggest that such faculty might enter a null or hostile environment. A common theme in scholarship about the experiences of racial-ethnic minority faculty is the dangers of invisibility and marginalization. For example, Fouad and Carter (1992) identified social/professional isolation and lack of role models and mentors as critical challenges that face racial-ethnic minority persons (and women of any race/ethnicity) in academia. In addition, Fouad and Carter argued that racial-ethnic minority faculty (and female faculty of any race/ethnicity) might not be taken as seriously and/or be subjected to more critical review and scrutiny than their majority colleagues. Furthermore, several authors (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1996; Olmedo, 1990; Ridley, 1991; Suinn & Witt, 1982) have highlighted conflicting expectations faced by many minority faculty who are stretched between demands for uncommonly heavy service loads (e.g., mentoring minority students or representing diversity on departmental, college, and university committees) and high expectations regarding productivity (Fouad & Carter, 1992; Helms, 2001; Ponterotto, Jackson, & Nutini, 2001; Sue, 2001b; Vasquez, 2001).

Many of these unique concerns are reflected in personal accounts of the experiences of racial-ethnic minority faculty in counseling psychology. Helms (2001), for example, highlighted her experience of being treated as invisible in contexts where majority faculty members are listened to and taken seriously. She described that this frustration was compounded by her colleagues' inability to recognize or validate her marginalization, instead attributing it to her oversensitivity.

Relatedly, Fouad and Carter (1992) suggested that the difficulty of clearly identifying subtle forms of racism can add a feeling of indeterminacy to the already powerful feelings of dismissal or marginalization. Also, given evidence that racial-ethnic minority faculty tend to be concentrated in lower ranks (American Psychological Association Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology, 1997; Guzman et al., 1992; Hills & Strozier, 1992; Olmedo, 1990), for some racial-ethnic minority faculty, feelings of powerlessness and marginalization might reflect the actual power structure of their departments. These structural realities and the small number of minority faculty within programs can exacerbate feelings of isolation, powerlessness, and burnout (Casas, 2001).

Recognizing the special stresses and strains that may be associated with minority group membership is critical in supporting minority faculty. Atkinson et al. (1996) advocated a range of specific considerations in this regard. These included (a) understanding the concerns and experiences of minority faculty regarding tenure and promotion, (b) communicating expectations and values about tenure and promotion, particularly with respect to diversity-related scholarship, teaching, and service, (c) educating the broader faculty regarding the challenges associated with diversity-focused scholarship, teaching, and service, and (d) offering mentoring to minority faculty that includes advocacy, emotional support, coaching, and political management.

The need for senior racial-ethnic minority mentors further highlights the importance of retaining and promoting racial-ethnic minority faculty, given their essential role in the successful recruitment, retention, and promotion of junior minority (and nonminority) faculty (American Psychological Association Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology, 1997; Bernal & Castro, 1994; Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Quintana & Bernal, 1995).

Looking Ahead: What Questions Remain?

A critical step in looking ahead to promoting the recruitment, retention, and success of racial-ethnic minority faculty is to add to the limited data available about what racial-ethnic and other minority faculty themselves perceive as barriers and facilitators of their entering and advancing as faculty in counseling psychology academic training programs. Life stories of multicultural pioneers, such as those published in the *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling* (Casas, 2001; Cross, 2001; Fouad, 2001; Helms, 2001; LaFramboise, 2001; Pedersen, 2001; Reynolds, 2001; Root, 2001; Sandhu, 2001; Sue, 2001b; Trimble, 2001; Vasquez, 2001), provide critical groundwork for systematic data collection (qualitative and quantitative) from racial-

ethnic and other minority faculty who are at various stages of career development and success.

Additional data about the aspirations and concerns of racial-ethnic and other minority counseling psychologists who aspire to succeed as academic faculty are needed. Such voices could provide invaluable information for developing specific plans and strategies to recruit, retain, and promote racial-ethnic and other minority faculty in counseling psychology academic training programs.

Although the focus of the present article has been on racial-ethnic minority faculty as defined by CCPTP data, an important conversation for the field involves the inclusiveness of the definition of faculty diversity. For example, do our goals for increasing faculty diversity include maintaining balance with regard to gender (whether that means actively recruiting, retaining, and promoting women or men)? Do our goals explicitly include striving for greater diversity with regard to sexual orientation? If so, maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of sexual orientation data would be of utmost importance given that discrimination based on sexual orientation is not officially disallowed in many institutions. Do our goals for racial-ethnic diversity include recruiting, retaining, and promoting persons from racial-ethnic groups not acknowledged by American Psychological Association or CCPTP surveys (e.g., Arab and other Middle Eastern persons, Indian and other South Asian persons, or Jewish persons)? Do we consider that persons of immigrant background or international scholars, regardless of whether they are racial-ethnic minorities, add to faculty diversity? This question is particularly salient in light of recent calls for promoting the internationalization of counseling psychology (Leong & Ponterotto, 2003).

Questions about the breadth of faculty diversity also raise challenges regarding the assessment of nonvisible minority status. For example, as a field, do we want to be proactive in promoting the recruitment, retention, and promotion of nonvisible minority persons? If so, how do we identify nonvisible racial-ethnic and other minority statuses in faculty applying for academic positions or for tenure and promotion? Answering these questions and exploring the rationale for each of our answers might help clarify our goals and adjust our methods for monitoring our progress toward meeting those goals.

Refining the methods for assessing progress is especially important given that our methods shape what we know and don't know about that progress. Our experience with the CCPTP survey data can guide such methodological refinement. We reiterate the importance of conducting more detailed assessment of race/ethnicity and other dimensions of diversity. The boundaries of specificity for such assessment will necessarily depend on the breadth of the definition of diversity. One methodological issue regards who supplies

the information about faculty race/ethnicity (or other dimensions of diversity) on the CCPTP survey. Do these reports reflect a single respondent's (e.g., training director's) perceptions of faculty race/ethnicity or faculty's self-identification? The former method could be especially problematic for tracking nonvisible racial-ethnic (e.g., multiracial or other racial-ethnic minority persons who are perceived as White; see Fouad, 2001) and other (e.g., sexual orientation) dimensions of diversity.

Requesting that individual faculty verify the information provided about them might increase the accuracy of these reports. In addition, we reiterate the importance of monitoring and matching data from each program over time. Such information would allow control for fluctuations in data due to changes in the programs responding to the CCPTP survey each year. Having truly within-group data would also facilitate the use of more sophisticated data-analytic strategies that could further inform the field about its progress.

Finally, collecting data on variability in the proportion of racial-ethnic minority faculty across individual programs could reveal the extent to which the aggregate data reported in CCPTP summaries and in the present study reflect patterns in most programs or whether they are the result of averaging proportions in some diverse programs with some primarily White programs.

In conclusion, the present data suggest that genuine gains have been made in increasing the racial-ethnic diversity of counseling psychology faculty. Note that these changes have occurred gradually and over a long time. Furthermore, these gains may be more clearly reflected in relation to some racial-ethnic groups than others and may have been less consistent in higher ranks. Finally, the present study examines racial-ethnic minority representation in only one context within the larger field of counseling psychology. Examining racial-ethnic minority representation in Division 17 membership and leadership, in counseling psychology journal editorial boards, among students, and in other contexts is critical. We hope that our investigation can serve as an impetus for future investigations of diversity representation in the many contexts of counseling psychology.

NOTE

1. When responding to the U.S. census, persons can select Hispanic origin in addition to other racial categories (e.g., Asian, Black/African American, or White) and can choose more than one racial category. The CCPTP survey, however, requires persons to select only one of the following categories: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, or "other." To make the most appropriate comparisons for the present study, percentages of persons who were identified in the following census and CCPTP categories were compared: Hispanic of any race on the census compared with those who identified as Hispanic on the CCPTP survey; White alone (i.e., not Hispanic or any other race) on the census compared with those who identified as White on the CCPTP survey; Black/

African American alone (i.e., not Hispanic or any other race) on the census compared with those who identified as Black on the CCPTP survey; Asian alone (i.e., not Hispanic or any other race) on the census compared with those who identified as Asian on the CCPTP survey; and all other census categories (e.g., American Indian/Native American, bi- or multiracial, and other) compared with those who identified as "other" on the CCPTP survey.

REFERENCES

- Abreu, J. M., Gim Chung, R. H., & Atkinson, D. R. (2000). Multicultural counseling training: Past, present, and future directions. *The Counseling Psychologist, 28*, 641-656.
- American Psychological Association. (2000). *Data on race/ethnicity*. Retrieved September 16, 2003, from <http://research.apa.org/racefig7.html>
- American Psychological Association. (2003). Guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice, and organizational change for psychologists. *American Psychologist, 58*, 377-402.
- American Psychological Association Committee on Accreditation. (n.d.). *Guidelines and principles for accreditation of programs in professional psychology*. Retrieved September 3, 2003, from <http://www.apa.org/ed/gp2000.html?CFID=2265564&CFTOKEN=49841385>
- American Psychological Association Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology. (1997). *Vision & transformations . . . the final report*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Arredondo, P., Toporek, R., Brown, S. P., Jones, J., Locke, D., Sanchez, J., et al. (1996). Operationalization of the multicultural counseling competencies. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 24*, 42-78.
- Atkinson, D. R., Brown, M. T., Casas, J. M., & Zane, N. W. S. (1996). Achieving ethnic parity in counseling psychology. *The Counseling Psychologist, 24*, 230-258.
- Banikiotes, P. G. (1977). The training of counseling psychologists. *The Counseling Psychologist, 7*, 23-26.
- Bernal, M. E., & Castro, F. G. (1994). Are clinical psychologists prepared for service and research with ethnic minorities? Report of a decade of progress. *American Psychologist, 49*, 797-805.
- Blustein, D. L., Goodyear, R. K., Perry, J. C., & Cypers, S. (2005). The shifting sands of counseling psychology programs' institutional contexts: An environmental scan and revitalizing strategies. *The Counseling Psychologist, 33*, 610-634.
- Cameron, A. S., Galassi, J. P., Birk, J. M., & Waggener, N. M. (1989). Trends in counseling psychology training programs: The Council of Counseling Psychology Training Programs Survey, 1975-1987. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 301-313.
- Carter, R. T. (2003). *The Counseling Psychologist in the new millennium: Building a bridge from the past to the future*. *The Counseling Psychologist, 31*, 5-15.
- Casas, J. M. (2001). I didn't know where I was going but I got here anyway: My life's journey through the labyrinth of solitude. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 78-95). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cross, W. E. (2001). Encountering nigrescence. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 30-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Fouad, N. A. (2001). Reflections of a nonvisible racial/ethnic minority. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 55-63). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fouad, N. A., & Carter, R. T. (1992). Gender and racial issues for new counseling psychologists in academia. *The Counseling Psychologist, 20*, 123-140.
- Fouad, N. A., McPherson, R. H., Gerstein, L., Blustein, D. L., Elman, N., Helledy, K. I., et al. (2004). Houston, 2001: Context and legacy. *The Counseling Psychologist, 32*, 15-77.
- Goldman, L. (1991). Participants and gatekeepers. *The Counseling Psychologist, 19*, 117-132.
- Guzman, L. P., Schiavo, R. S., & Puente, A. E. (1992). Ethnic minorities in the teaching of psychology. In A. E. Puente, J. R. Matthews, & C. L. Brewer (Eds.), *Teaching psychology in America: A history* (pp. 189-217). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Helms, J. E. (2001). Life questions. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 22-29). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hills, H. I., & Strozier, A. L. (1992). Multicultural training in APA-approved counseling psychology programs: A survey. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 23*, 43-51.
- Iijima Hall, C. C. (1997). Cultural malpractice: The growing obsolescence of psychology with the changing U.S. population. *American Psychologist, 52*, 642-651.
- Ivey, A. E., D'Andrea, M., Ivey, M. B., & Simek-Morgan, L. (2002). *Theories of counseling and psychotherapy: A multicultural perspective* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Kendall, P. C., Butcher, J. N., & Holmbeck, G. N. (1999). *Handbook of research methods in clinical psychology*. New York: Wiley.
- Kiselica, M. S. (1998). Preparing Anglos for the challenges and joys of multiculturalism. *The Counseling Psychologist, 26*, 5-21.
- LaFromboise, T. D. (2001). Walking through collages. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 14-21). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Leong, F. T. L., & Ponterotto, J. G. (2003). A proposal for internationalizing counseling psychology in the United States: Rationale, recommendations, and challenges. *The Counseling Psychologist, 31*, 381-395.
- Munoz-Dunbar, R., & Stanton, A. L. (1999). Ethnic diversity in clinical psychology: Recruitment and admission practices among doctoral programs. *Teaching of Psychology, 26*, 259-263.
- Neimeyer, G. J., & Diamond, A. K. (2001). The anticipated future of counselling psychology in the United States: A Delphi poll. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 14*, 49-65.
- Olmedo, E. L. (1990). Minority faculty development: Issues in retention and promotion. In G. Stricker, E. Davis-Russell, E. Bourg, E. Duran, W. R. Hammond, J. McHolland, et al. (Eds.), *Toward ethnic diversification in psychology education and training* (pp. 99-104). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Pedersen, P. B. (2001). The seamless cultural connections in my life: No beginning . . . no ending. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 96-102). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (1996). Multicultural counseling in the twenty-first century. *The Counseling Psychologist, 24*, 259-268.
- Ponterotto, J. G., Alexander, C. M., & Grieger, I. (1995). A multicultural competency checklist for counselor education programs. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 23*, 11-20.
- Ponterotto, J. G., Jackson, M. A., & Nutini, C. D. (2001). Reflections on the life and stories of pioneers in multicultural counseling. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M.

- Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 138-161). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pope-Davis, D. B., & Coleman, H. L. K. (1996). *Multicultural counseling competencies: Assessment, education, training, and supervision*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pope-Davis, D. B., Toporek, R. L., Ortega-Villalobos, L., Ligiero, D. P., Brittan-Powell, C. S., Liu, W. M., et al. (2002). Client perspectives of multicultural counseling competence: A qualitative examination. *The Counseling Psychologist, 30*, 355-393.
- Quintana, S. M., & Bernal, M. E. (1995). Ethnic minority training in counseling psychology programs: Comparisons with clinical psychology and proposed standards. *The Counseling Psychologist, 23*, 102-121.
- Reynolds, A. L. (2001). Embracing multiculturalism: A journey of self-discovery. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 103-112). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ridley, S. E. (1991). Faculty development and retraining: Some committee recommendations. In H. F. Myers, P. Wohlford, L. P. Guzman, & R. J. Echemendia (Eds.), *Ethnic minority perspectives on clinical training and services in psychology* (pp. 165-168). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Root, M. P. P. (2001). Negotiating the margins. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 113-121). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sandhu, D. S. (2001). An ecocultural analysis of agonies and ecstasies of my life. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 122-137). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sodowsky, G. R., Kuo-Jackson, P. Y., Richardson, M. F., & Corey, A. T. (1998). Correlates of self-reported multicultural competencies: Counselor multicultural social desirability, race, social inadequacy, locus of control racial ideology, and multicultural training. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45*, 256-264.
- Sue, D. W. (2001a). Multidimensional facets of cultural competence. *The Counseling Psychologist, 29*, 790-821.
- Sue, D. W. (2001b). Surviving monoculturalism and racism: A personal and professional journey. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 45-54). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sue, D. W., Carter, R. T., Casas, J. M., Fouad, N. A., Ivey, A. E., Jensen, M., et al., (1998). *Multicultural counseling competencies: Individual and organizational development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Suinn, R. M., & Witt, J. C. (1982). Survey on ethnic minority faculty recruitment and retention. *American Psychologist, 37*, 1239-1244.
- Trimble, J. E. (2001). A quest for discovering ethnocultural themes in psychology. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 3-13). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2002). *American community survey change profile 2000-2002*. Retrieved May 3, 2004, from <http://www.census.gov/acs/www/Products/Profiles/Chg/2002/0002/Tabular/010/01000US1.htm>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2004). *U.S. interim projections by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin*. Retrieved May 3, 2005, from <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/usinterimproj/natprojtab01a.pdf>
- Vasquez, M. J. T. (2001). Reflections on unearned advantages, unearned disadvantages, and empowering experiences. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 64-77). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Vaughn, B. E. (1990). Recruitment and retention of ethnic minority faculty in professional schools of psychology. In G. Stricker, E. Davis-Russell, E. Bourg, E. Duran, W. R. Hammond, J. McHolland, et al. (Eds.), *Toward ethnic diversification in psychology education and training* (pp. 91-97). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Vinson, T. S., & Neimeyer, G. J. (2003). The relationship between racial identity development and multicultural counseling competency: A second look. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 31*, 262-277.
- Watkins, C. E. (1994). On hope, promise, and possibility in counseling psychology or some simple, but meaningful observations about our specialty. *The Counseling Psychologist, 22*, 315-334.
- Wilkinson, L. (1999). Graphs for research in counseling psychology. *The Counseling Psychologist, 27*, 384-407.