We live in a hypercomplex society where the individual faces growing diversity in all areas of life. The idea of a stable identity has become an illusion, and self-reflexivity has become the central basis when dealing with the post-traditional order of our society. We feel obliged to constantly develop – at work and in our private and social lives.

A brief analysis of societal changes will be presented as the basis for justifying the use of coaching and coaching psychology in general. The main question is: How can we best help clients to navigate in a social world characterised by growing restlessness, diverse lifestyles, social disorientation, multitudes of 'local truths' and, therefore, a loss of commonly accepted values and meanings?

The purpose of this article is to formulate some key societal pre-requisites for coaching psychology, pre-requisites that can also serve as an argument for: (1) the growing importance of values as a central dimension in a reflective coaching process; (2) focusing on meaning-making as a central dimension in the coaching dialogue; and (3) a relational and narrative foundation of coaching psychology.

A practical consequence can be concluded: It is not always beneficial to define a goal at the beginning of the coaching session, but to allow narratives to unfold and to reflect on our values and those of others as the basis for our thinking and conduct.

About 15 to 20 years ago, few people used the terms ‘coaching’ or ‘coaching psychology’ in the way we use them today, as, for example, in this article. Generally, coaching was associated with and connected to the world of sport. Only in small niches of business life was coaching beginning to be introduced as a tool for the professional development of leaders and selected employees.

The history of coaching and coaching psychology can be traced back to two roots: One root is anchored in sport psychology. Already in the 1970s in the US, and probably a decade later in Europe, terms from the world of sport such as ‘competition’, ‘motivation’ or ‘top performance’ became attractive to business leaders, who adapted intervention strategies and tools from sport psychology to develop their employees (Rauen, 1999; Bönning, 2000). The focus was exclusively task-oriented, and concentrated on performance enhancement – a typical approach in sport psychology. The second root of coaching and coaching psychology was highlighted by Grant (2007) in his discussion of the Human Potential Movement (HPM) of the 1960s and 1970s, with its strong focus on humanistic and existential psychology.

With its eclectic orientation and a wide range of self-development strategies, i.e. encounter groups, personal growth workshops, and community living experiments and various therapeutic methods, the HPM had a stimulating influence on the growing interest in psychology and personal develop-
ment. HPM provided invigorating impulses for the further development of coaching and coaching psychology into today’s quite different and more sophisticated forms. But what has happened since? What are the issues and challenges for coaching psychology today? What role can coaching psychology play in our society today? This line of inquiry inspires further investigations, and the following questions will form the structure and the content of this article:

- Why is coaching as a dialogical tool such a wide-spread phenomenon today?
- What are the fundamental individual and social challenges in our world that are paving the way for coaching psychology?
- What agendas for coaching and coaching psychology are emerging in light of these societal challenges?
- What forms of coaching can be recommended as a means of helping individuals and groups to deal successfully with individual and social challenges?

**Societal anchoring of coaching**

A strong argument for the importance of coaching and coaching psychology is societal change: During the last 20 to 30 years, our society has transformed fundamentally and radically and in a way that has had great impact on all its members. These changes have had a radical influence on people’s professional and private lives in general, and more specifically, on the way we generate knowledge, construct self and identity and make sense of our lives.

In the following section I will refer to a number of social scientists – diverse in their approaches – who have done major research work in the area of social change and its impact on human living conditions. My presentation – tracking from global to more local aspects – can offer only a brief outline. But the essence of my message is that the various dimensions of societal change testify to their impact on coaching and coaching psychology – a facet not sufficiently explored in coaching literature.

**A world of globality**

The first aspect that has an influence on the current forms and future development of coaching and coaching psychology is related to the changes in our world caused by growing globality. Ulrich Beck (2000), the famous German sociologist, stated:

Globality means that we have been living for a long time in a world society, in that sense that the notion of closed spaces has become illusory. No country or group can shut itself off from others (p.10).

The recent financial crisis presents clear evidence of the impact of globality on the life of almost every person. Climate change, migration, media coverage are further examples of how globality invades every workplace and household. Beck (2000) discussed some consequences:

Globality means that from now on nothing which happens on our planet is only a limited local event; all inventions, victories and catastrophes affect the whole world, and we must reorient and reorganise our lives and actions, our organisations and institutions, along a ‘local-global’ axis (p.11).

Local and global are interconnected. Some of the challenges we are faced with and that should be dealt with in a coaching dialogue must be seen in the light of globality. We may have to adapt to a reality where progressively fewer elements of our lives can be controlled locally. Even the idea of control might be devalued by the influence of globality on individual lives. On the basis of these brief reflections, the consequence seems to be: We must learn to be more open-minded and try to live together, despite social, economic, ethnic and other differences!

**Hypercomplex society**

In our late or postmodern society, the individual is faced with a growing diversity of social spheres, each with its own autonomous ‘developmental logic’. Different social settings shape their specific form of organisation and culture, and their members develop their own ways of commu-
nicipating, as befitting the local culture. But society in general loses an inner coherence. The German sociologist Luhmann (1998) put it like this: ‘The system tends towards ‘hypercomplexity’, towards a multitude of opinions and interpretations about its own complexity’ (p.876; own translation). Following this line of thought it seems to be utterly impossible to achieve a uniform and consistent sense of specific social contexts. We face a growing challenge with regard to handling social diversity and the interaction between different social spheres, where everyone speaks their own language and has different interpretations at the same time.

To become a member of a specific and often dynamically changing culture (e.g. in an organisation), the individual must have the competence to assimilate and adapt. Furthermore, employees will have varying understandings of a working situation; husband and wife will each have different views of their marriage – as long as they are not in conflict with one another, these differences will not matter much, but as soon as they want to convince the other of their viewpoint, their disagreement will grow.

As a consequence – also for coaching psychology – the following can be stated: What counts as ‘truth’ depends on the context and on social agreements in the local culture, so truth becomes a matter of either power or social negotiation. Coaches, organisational consultants or coaching psychologists need to support and enlarge the cultural understanding of their coachees, both in organisational and personal contexts which are often interrelated (e.g. work-life balance). The coaching literature discusses intervention strategies which consciously include this systemic perspective in their approach (e.g. Cavanagh, 2006).

A society of reflectivity
In this section I will highlight some aspects of the work of the English sociologist Anthony Giddens. One important question he asked was about how people’s everyday lives were affected by the massive social changes of late modernity. Giddens (1991) stated:

Each of us not only ‘has’, but lives a biography reflexively organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, ‘How shall I live?’ has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat – and many other things – as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity (p.14; italic in the original).

Giddens regarded self-identity as a kind of permanently running individual project where coaching can contribute in a positive manner, as a tool for self-reflection. Giddens (1991) declared:

The reflexivity of modernity extends into the core of the self. Put in another way, in the context of a post-traditional order, the self becomes a reflexive project. … Modernity, it might be said, breaks down the protective framework of the small community and of tradition, replacing these with much larger, impersonal organisations. The individual feels bereft and alone in a world in which she or he lacks the psychological supports and the sense of security provided by more traditional settings’ (pp.32–33)

How might this social analysis influence our work as coaches and coaching psychologists? The prevalent trend in the coaching industry is to offer solutions or to be goal-oriented (e.g. Jackson & McKergow, 2007; King & Eaton, 1999; Pemberton, 2006). But following Giddens’ analysis, coaching should not (only) strive towards solution. Coaching cannot function as the quick fix. Our social world has become so complex that there might be greater value in offering a reflective space where coach and coachee have time for self-reflection; such a thoughtful pause might, in the end, allow for new ways of acting in specific and sometimes challenging situations.
Self and identity

Self and identity have become central psychological issues in our late or postmodern societies. Kenneth Gergen, a social constructionist and a leading figure in social psychology, has set the stage for a new understanding of the individual in contemporary life. Coaching psychologists can greatly enrich their work by taking a closer look at the socio-psychology underlying the understanding of the central challenges that confront individuals in today’s world.

Gergen (1991) made the following significant statement: ‘The postmodern being is a restless nomad’ (p.173). In his view, the postmodern self is overwhelmed by innumerable possibilities and ways of acting on the one hand, and disoriented about what to do and how to behave on the other hand.

The Norwegian psychiatrist Skårderud (1998), who has had extensive experience in treating patients with anorexia nervosa, and who wrote about the psychological challenges faced by individuals in our time, spoke about ‘unrest’ – a state of mind which has led to forms of experimentation in search of purity, control, and meaning. He described how one group of individuals finds expression through socially accepted behaviour such as marathon running and extreme sports; others end up with psychological or psychiatric ‘dysfunctions’ like eating disorders, cutting, stress and depression.

The societal change forces psychologists to find other interpretations and approaches that may serve them better in their work with clients. A move from an egocentric to a socio-centric model of self and identity can lead to new perspectives. Sampson (1985) was one of the researchers who sketched this path nearly a quarter of a century ago. Approaching the self from an intrapsychic standpoint does not seem to help us ‘handle’ societal challenges was his assumption. Instead he proposed a socio-centred perspective as a means of allowing new possibilities to emerge.

This line of thought has been further developed by the German social psychologist Keupp (1999) who spoke about identity as a construction of discourse. He introduced the term patchwork identity to describe the dynamics of self and identity: There are the single patches which describe the diversity of behavioural possibilities depending on the social context the person momentarily is part of, but by viewing the whole, the individual’s identity might show greater coherence. Keeping the contextual influences of identity development in mind, Gergen (1991) spoke about the self as relational, meaning that self and identity are shaped in the specific social context and relationships of which the individual is part.

Consequences and perspectives for coaching psychology: Broadening the coachee’s reflective space

On the basis of the societal influences described in the last sections the following central question arises: How can we best help clients navigate in a social world that leads to growing restlessness, diversity of life styles, social disorientation, multitudes of ‘local truths’ and, therefore, also a loss of commonly accepted values and meanings?

I suggest that a key objective of the coaching dialogue is to strengthen the coachee’s ability to reflect. In a globalised world we must learn to accept, or even better appreciate multiversality, which means the ability to regard different worldviews and perspectives of others as an invitation to enrich one’s own attitudes towards life and work. Ultimately, the coachee will learn to absorb the hypercomplexity. Furthermore, a focus on personal and social meaning-making – a process that includes the coachee’s different life contexts – will widen the individual’s horizon. And finally, a narrative perspective may offer a helpful approach for the facilitation of the coaching dialogue with the objectives: (1) of strengthening a sense of coherence in the coachee’s self-identity; and (2) of coupling various events and integrating past, present and future into a whole.

On the basis of this societal analysis, the main focus and the guiding question is:
How can coaches help to develop a reflective space in coaching dialogues? In the following I will discuss three aspects of the coaching dialogue whose application can lead to a broadening of the coachee’s reflective space:

1. Focusing on values.
2. Giving opportunities for meaning-making.
3. Making space for the unfolding of narratives.

**Focusing on values**

In our society, which is characterised by a growing diversity in social and organisational values, we must encourage coachees to reflect on values as guiding markers to help them organise their private and professional lives. These values are no longer timeless and universal, but are rather grounded in the practices and events of the local communities. The ultimate aim is to facilitate and improve leadership, communication and cooperation, not by focusing on specific goals, but by reflecting on key values as a feature of the human condition.

A coaching process that focuses on values is called a *protreptic dialogue* or *protreptics*. Based on the ideas of the Danish philosopher and leadership theorist Ole Fogh Kirkeby (2008; in press), the following summary can serve to define and elaborate on these terms. Protreptics, or meta-coaching, is a Greek idiom for the art of turning oneself and others towards the heart of one’s life. Protreptics is a method of self-reflection and dialogic guidance of others and has been applied in the Greek executive academies for ‘top managers’ and commanders since 500 B.C. Protreptics is a form of ‘non-psychological’ but philosophical coaching which focuses exclusively on the reflection on values and not on current and future action patterns. The dialogue between coach and coachee is *symmetrical*, meaning that both are equally engaged. Both participate in the dialogue and reflect on terms or general issues such as ‘responsibility’, ‘freedom’, ‘cooperation’, etc. Unlike the usual (asymmetrical) coaching dialogue, this symmetry is important: both coach and coachee are involved and interested in the investigation of specific values, especially because they can be of general interest for all human beings.

The objective of a protreptic dialogue is to help the individual step back from him- or herself and particular situations and actions. The idea is to establish conditions for a reflective space and create moments of understanding by forming the dialogue into a number of events where the focus is on a different level of self-consciousness. In these moments, coach and coachee do not try to understand themselves as ‘empirical’ persons, but strive to get in touch with what is ‘universal’ in their nature. In that sense it might be easier for a leader to function as protreptic rather than as a ‘normal’ coach, because the focus on values is of general human interest and does not put the coachee into a subordinate position where he/she is obliged to share specific challenges with ‘the boss’.

In the normal (asymmetrical) coaching dialogue, coachees are recognised as the experts with regard to the challenges they face. The *conditio sine qua non* of a fruitful coaching dialogue is when it is the coachees who choose the topic and articulate their interest in further reflecting on it, perhaps with the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of the situation or of working towards a solution of a specific problem or challenge. A central pre-requisite for an asymmetrical coaching dialogue is mutual *trust*.

The prospect of coaching exclusively in the protreptic manner might be beyond the readiness of many coachees; they often present specific needs and want to handle concrete challenges. But keeping in mind the social analysis presented earlier, a change of perspective may help broaden the coachee’s horizon and ‘world view’.

Figure 1 (overleaf) illustrates the importance of values with regard to the individual’s orientation toward specific situations and actions.
The figure shows that the development of values and preferences in connection with behaviour is central for an individual’s conscious and intentional orientation in situations and for the process of meaning-making in general. If people have a clear understanding of meaning and values, they are able to clarify the purposes and goals that govern their actions. The interrelatedness between these three levels underlines the importance of meaning-making.

Giving opportunities for meaning-making
Meaning-making is considered one of the main approaches to facilitating the coaching dialogue (Stelter, 2007). Meaning is fundamental, because we ascribe specific values to our experiences, actions, our interplay with others and our life and work. Things become meaningful, when we understand our own way of sensing, thinking and acting, e.g. by telling certain stories about ourselves and the world in which we live. Meaning is far from being the same as ‘information’ – as used in the concept of data processing. Meaning-making is based on past experiences and expectations about the future, and holistically integrates past and present experiences as well as ideas about what the future holds. Meaning evolves in the interplay between action, sensing, reflecting and speaking.

Meaning-making is an integration of individual and socio-cultural processes. In the following I will (analytically) distinguish the two lines of meaning-making:
1. Meaning is formed through the actual experiences and (implicit) knowledge that the individual acquires in various contexts in life. From this predominantly phenomenological point of view, ‘meaning is formed in the interaction of experiencing and something that functions as a symbol’ (Gendlin, 1997, p.8). This symbolisation often takes a verbal form, but could also be expressed by other means, such as painting, drama, dance or writing.
2. Meaning is shaped through social negotiation and narratives that describe the life practice of the person in focus. From this social constructionist standpoint, meaning is negotiated between the participants in specific social settings. Gergen (1994) writes:

There is an alternative way of approaching the problem of social meaning: removing the individual as the starting point opens a range of promising possibilities. Rather than commence with individual subjectivity and work deductively towards an account of human understanding through language, we
may begin our analysis at the level of the human relationship as it generates both language and understanding (p.263; italic in the original).

Ideally, coachees realise that their position and opinion is only one of many possibilities, only one world-view. Hence, open-mindedness and curiosity about whether others see the world in different ways or how they regard a specific task, is extremely helpful in the negotiation process or social discourse. The views of others may inspire an individual’s personal or professional growth. If this perspective is accepted by all members of an organisation, it would enable all to grow and mature in their perception of the world and ideally come to a form of agreement or acknowledgement of differences.

Meaning-making in two integrated streams in the coaching dialogue

With the theoretical background in mind, I would suggest seeing meaning-making as comprising two streams in the coaching dialogue. In this process of meaning-making the two streams – one from phenomenology and the other from social constructionism – are considered integrated. (The distinction is made only for analytical reasons!). These two streams of meaning-making are presented in the following two sections.

A. Individual experiences and meaning-making

In the first stream, the focus of coaching intervention is on individual experience and personal meaning-making. Together with the coach, coachees strive to understand their subjective reality or a subjective experience of their culture. Their focus is on the implicit and embodied dimensions of their being. As the starting point of the conversation, the coachees study detailed descriptions of certain activities and recount how they felt (Gendlin, 1997; Stelter, 2000) at the time, in order to better understand their thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Gendlin (1997) a leading practitioner-researcher in this field, defined the felt sense as a form of inner aura or physical feeling about a specific situation, event or person. But this felt sense is often pre-reflective, namely pre-conscious and not verbalised. The coach’s sensitive questioning helps the coachees get in touch with these implicit, embodied and pre-reflective dimensions of their being. But this form of inquiry remains a challenge, because it is difficult to find words for experiences that are personal and embodied. Stevens (2000) mentioned that it depends on ‘how articulate, how skilled and expressive’ people are in speaking about their experiences. Another challenge for Steven is ‘that the words used relate to a diffuse network of semantic assemblies both for the speaker and the listener’ (p.115), meaning that both speaker and listener have to create their universe of meaning together. One of the best ways to articulate experience is through metaphors (Parkin, 2001; Stelter, 2007).

From a narrative perspective, White (2000, 2007) spoke about revisiting the absent but implicit, thus emphasising the importance of personal meaning-making. His idea was to relate forgotten experiences and episodes and join them with a storyline which is more uplifting than the initial story the coachee may have presented in the beginning of the session. By revisiting the absent but implicit reality, for example by remembering the importance of a teacher in one’s first school years, the coachees have a chance to re-tell and enrich their stories on the basis of their cultural background and their life history. This opportunity may lead them to modify story plots and couple events in a new way, thus leading to the creation of a more uplifting storyline and a positive, encouraging reality.

B. Co-creation of meaning – developing alternative stories

In the second dimension of meaning-making – which is integrated with the first in the actual coaching conversation – the focus is on the socially co-constructed reality. This constructive process takes place in the dia-
logue between coach and coachee, but more significantly in dialogues among a group of coachees. The dialogues are initiated by the coach through a form of intervention called outsider witnessing (White, 2007). In a group coaching session, outsider witnesses are participants who reflect a conversation by expressing what has been important and valuable from their perspectives. Their positions may help the coachees to see certain challenges or events from a new perspective.

Social constructionists and narrative psychologists suggest that reality is shaped in a process of co-action and social and linguistic discourse. This form of discourse is comprised of collections of statements and other verbal constructs which, in a given context form the basis for development of meaningful linguistic systems. In these discourses, knowledge, understanding and concepts are shaped in a way that meets acceptance in the social context and verifies the very same context. One of the central aspects of the discourse between coach and coachee or among various coachees is the co-creation of values and meaning: Which values do we find central and meaningful? Why do we do the things we do? Could we do things differently so that our activities would be more fun, more efficient or beneficial to our performance? The coach’s questions or the contribution of others – if we are in a group context – can enrich the current reality of every participant in the dialogue and thus make space for new meanings and the unfolding of new and alternative narratives. It is through relating to one another in words and actions that we create meaning and our ever changing social reality.

Gergen (1994) spoke about the communal origins of meaning. In a team context, this would mean that all participants co-construct the culture which they are part of at the same time. In this communal process, co-creating narratives and storytelling play a central role.

Making space for the unfolding narratives: Integrating the experiential and relational in narratives

In the following I will take a closer look at the narrative perspective and its importance in stimulating the reflective space of the coaching dialogue. The concept of narrativity and narrative psychology can be understood as a further development of the social constructionist perspective – a new approach which integrates the experiential and subjective with the relational and discursive dimension. This is an objective I am also striving for in this article, where I present the two streams integrated in the coaching dialogue. Crossley (2003) wrote:

I felt there was a need for a different kind of psychology – one which retained the ability of appreciating the linguistic and discursive structuring of ‘self’ and ‘experience’, but one which also maintained a sense of the essentially personal, coherent and ‘real’ nature of individual subjectivity (p.289).

Crossley (2003) took Carr’s ideas a step farther:

The whole point of Carr’s argument is that the necessity of achieving a sense of structure and order in the course of our everyday activities stems not from an intentional act, but from our practical (obviously embodied and affective) orientation within the world. ... The whole process of narration and the implicit orientation towards narrative structure operates to transform a person’s physical, emotional and social world (pp.296–297).

Other researchers who share the position of integrating the embodied-experiential with the relational-discursive concept are Shotter and Lannaman (2002), Stam (1990) and Sampson (1996). They all see the possibility of linking phenomenological with social-constructionist thinking by establishing a third – a narrative – position. They are far from taking a naturalistic standpoint, e.g. by regarding personality as anchored in more or less stable traits. Instead, they strive
towards a culturally oriented psychology, where experience and emotions are the basis for forming narratives whose personal and communal values shape self and others. As Bruner (1990) stated ‘[values] become incorporated in one’s self-identity and, at the same time, they locate one in a culture’ (p.29). Telling stories to one another and developing and sharing narratives and accounts, either in a coach-coachee relationship or in a group setting, is fundamental to the process of social meaning-making; the grounding of an individual in a cultural context is always based on specific values and meanings. Bruner (2006) highlighted the significance of storytelling as follows:

*The* principal way in which our minds, our ‘realities’, get shaped to the patterns of daily cultural life is through the stories we tell, listen to, and read – true or fictional. We ‘become’ active participants in our culture mainly through the narratives we share in order to ‘make sense’ of what is happening around us, what has happened, and what may happen (p.14).

Narratives serve to structure events and to join them together in a timeline. They make stories – the source of meaning-making – coherent and as a result, life makes sense. Narratives establish temporal coherence and shape how events, actions, other persons and ourselves can be experienced and perceived as sensible and meaningful. The plot of every story is the basis for the development of an inner structure and drama (Sarbin, 1986, an early psychologist with a narrative orientation). By telling stories and listening to them, our lives become meaningful. Carr (1986) put it like this: ‘Lives are told in being lived and lived in being told’ (p.61).

One of the central objectives of coaching can be to help the coachees further develop their stories and perhaps also develop alternative ones. The following strategies might support the process of co-creation of alternative stories, a process upon which the alliance between coach and coachee is founded:

**Focusing on positive exceptions.** Although we tend to focus on things that do not work, cause trouble or create conflict, there are always elements in situations which can be defined as positive. An example: If two colleagues come to you, the coach, complaining that they cannot work together because they are always fighting, your question to them could be: ‘Can you remember a situation where you actually worked together in a good and constructive way?’

**Focusing on elements of success.** This strategy is similar to the one described above. Here the focus is on elements of success. So even though you and a colleague are finding it difficult to co-operate, there might be elements of success upon which to focus and cultivate in greater depth.

**Connecting stories with an experiential and embodied implicit.** Events and situations hide implicit dimensions which need to be unfolded. These hidden elements are by their very nature difficult to discuss, but if we learn to identify and describe them, we might find a way to enrich our stories and eventually our lives. By talking about a specific current situation, the coachee might remember an uplifting moment from the past which can be connected to the current situation, and in that way enhance the story about a current event or situation.

**Giving the story a name.** By asking ‘what would you call this story?’ the coach invites the coachee into the ‘landscapes of consciousness’ (White, 2007) – a reflective space where the coachees try to establish the meaning of the story in their own world.

**Enriching stories by relating them to values and questions of identity.** The art of storytelling is to make stories richer, to develop a detailed plot which is clear and explicit. It is useful to ask questions about values that are based on concrete and embodied experiences and that evoke memories of events, as well as questions dealing with identity and personal and social meaning.

**Linking events to one another.** Stories always unfold by linking events. Stories unfold in a new way if we link certain events in a way not
done earlier. And suddenly the storytellers are caught by surprise, because their actions can now be seen and understood in a new and different light.

Building bridges between stories and imagined future actions. By further developing their stories, or creating ‘alternative’ or ‘new’ ones, the participants become better equipped to take action on matters they have reflected upon and talked about. Furthermore, the values and meanings that emerge from the storytelling by the participants and coachees grow vivid and provide motivation. The focus turns to purposes and goals anchored in values based on personal and social meaning-making.

Epilogue
The central objective of this article has been to widen the awareness of the coach psychologist towards societal challenges, challenges we all face and must manage and cope with. In our hypercomplex society and work it may be illusionary and even inappropriate to strive for full control of the situation. Surely there are challenges that the coachee can learn to handle with specific approaches (e.g. solution-focused, cognitive behavioural), but from a postmodern perspective it is worthwhile to keep in mind that our society is too complex to be controlled. Here I wish to promote my term ‘reflective space’: it always makes sense to reflect upon how life in general or specific situations and tasks may be meaningful for me and my neighbour. And through this focus on meaning and values we may open a new territory where the coachee can experience freedom of mind and the possibility to grow.

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