



A Multi-Sectoral Approach to Career Development: A Decade of Canadian Research

Une approche multisectorielle du développement professionnel : Une décennie de recherche au Canada

Robert Shea and Rhonda Joy– *Editors/Rédacteurs*



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Professionnel: Une Décennia de Recherche au Canada**

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Preface

In January 2002 the *Canadian Journal of Career Development/Revue canadienne de developpement de carriere* published its first issue. The publication and dissemination of that first issue at the NatCon conference in Ottawa was the culmination of over four years of discussions and development to create the foundation for what has become *Canada's* own Journal of Career Development .

The original call for articles and expressions of interest was launched from Memorial University and in only 48 hours we had received 116 expressions of interest and support from across Canada. The support across Canada was overwhelming and has provided the inspiration for the past decade. In fact, as the *Journal* evolved, support in the form of articles submitted for review has grown exponentially from around the world.

The *Journal* was originally conceived to be an online journal. Over the past decade, the financial support of the Counselling Foundation of Canada and now the Canadian Education and Research Institute for Counselling (CERIC) has allowed us to publish both through open access and in hardcopy. Support provided through the former ContactPoint organization and now CERIC has allowed the *Journal* to be disseminated at no cost to individuals through open access and for those attending the CANNEXUS conference each year. All at no cost for career practioners, students, community and researchers around the world. It is truly a gift to the world of career development.

This book is the culmination of a decade of Canadian articles published in the *Canadian Journal of Career Development/Revue canadienne de developpement de carrier*. We have chosen predominantly Canadian articles, as the impetus for the journals birth was the development of a resource that was pan Canadian and provide a singular vehicle for the dissemination of Canadian career research. We are pleased that the past decade has allowed us to do that.

This book is more than just a compilation of articles - it is a symbol of the creative and thought provoking research occurring across Canada, indeed around the world. It is a testimony that Canada is, and continues to be, a significant purveyor of research creativity and leadership in the world of career development.

A book of this nature is both a vehicle to disseminate the ongoing career research in Canada and a opportunity to celebrate the world of career development. We use this opportunity to celebrate the researchers and practioners who each and every day devote their talents, competencies, and passion for the world of career development.

To each of you, no matter what role you play in career development – this is your Book. It is a book that we hope you will treasure for many years to come. A book that by its very nature is a thank you for the work you do each and every day to support career development in Canada!

Rob Shea, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Rhonda Joy, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dedication

This book is dedicated to our families for their constant support, encouragement, and guidance as we have navigated our personal and professional lives

(Rob Shea & Rhonda Joy, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Acknowledgements

Over the past ten years the Journal has received unwavering support from numerous individuals – to which we owe a debt of gratitude! You all know who you are - and to each of you we say thank you for the role you have played in the development of this initiative.

Special thanks to the Counselling Foundation of Canada and the Canadian Education and Research Institute for Counselling for your financial and moral support. Special thanks to the people that comprise these organizations – the board, staff, and volunteers. Each of those individuals believe, and continue to believe in the Journal. Each of these individuals continue to show by their daily philanthropic and lifework that we must always be cognizant of those who need us most. We believe and have observed that your own life work is about building bridges for those who travel this life journey behind you. Thank you for that!

To Diana Leadbeater the *Journals* associate editor and the person who has ensured that this book would come to fruition- many thanks for making this a reality and continuing to embrace the learning potential that your work with the journal and the book has provided!

Thank you to the authors of articles, career practioners, researchers, professors, instructors, and individuals from every walk of life who have supported us in our quest to create a journal and now a book that is truly Canadian and celebrates the wonderful work that is career development in Canada.

To the thousands of individuals involved in the career development field across Canada and around the world this book is for you! Enjoy!

Introduction

Rob Shea, Rhonda Joy, Diana Leadbeater

This book is a culmination of the many and varied career development topics which have appeared in the *Canadian Journal of Career Development/Revue canadienne de développement de carrière* over the past ten years. The myriad of methodological approaches which researchers have utilised to study and research career issues have been as varied as the topic of career itself. In fact this healthy approach to career development research embraces the complexity of career development.

This complexity has brought our readers an amazing plethora of insightful, engaging, and stimulating articles. Each researcher followed their own interests and perspectives to uncover issues surrounding work and career development that engaged them and by all accounts engaged our readers each and every day. In the following section we will provide an outline for this book and highlight a number, but not all, of the articles which have spoken to our readers over the past decade.

This chapter, and in essence the entire book, will use as a framework the following sections - research briefs, social factors, health, youth, new realities, psychological factors, post secondary and the all encompassing world of work.

Research Briefs

The *Canadian Journal of Career Development (CJCD)* acknowledges that the world of career development is constantly changing and as a result many research projects that are submitted to the journal are ongoing or exploratory in nature. The editors of the *CJCD* have decided to address this area of research through research briefs. Research briefs are articles that provide readers with short reports on in-progress research, new programs currently under study, brief reports on completed surveys, or summaries of national surveys. These briefs allow the research community to provide preliminary results or introduce new programs before they are fully implemented.

In the article “Formula for success in career building” Jarvis introduces the blueprint for a life/work program. Designed to overcome the limitations that traditional education and training systems have when it comes to life and work transitions, the article provides a brief explanation of how the program works and where it can be used. Another article by Maranda and Leclerc provides an overview of results from a study looking at the psychodynamics of student course work in the context of job scarcity and economic insecurity.

Research briefs also include articles that propose new evolutionary tools for secondary and post secondary educational programs, as well as private businesses. Darou in ‘Measuring effectiveness in clinical settings’ details a new questionnaire that clinical counsellors can use to measure their client’s progress while in therapy. These research briefs have allowed career counsellors and practioners with innovative tools as they are in the process of being developed.

Social Factors and Career Development

Social factors play a influential role in career development decision making. As with all counselling, it is difficult to take a “one size fits all” approach to career counselling, it has to be adaptable to the needs of an individual. Individuals present themselves for counselling with varying backgrounds, cultures, gender orientations, education, learning capabilities, living arrangements, and experiences. All these social factors influence who we are as adults.

One such social issue is bullying. Bullying has come to the forefront as a very serious issue for children as well as adults worldwide. Organizations, educational institutions as well as the media are attempting to educate people about bullying and to find ways to counter and reduce its occurrence. Despite bullying being a global issue research on the impact of childhood bullying on an individual’s adult life has received little attention. In “The tentacles of bullying: the impact of negative childhood peer relationships on adult professional and educational choices”, Roberge examines how childhood bullying influences such factors as adult resiliency, participation and motivations for post-secondary choices, and perception of authority.

It is critical to target specific social factors when developing guidance and career development programs as these factors influence the choices an individual makes at many levels. One such social factor is physical/domestic abuse. Though its’ incidence is reported in both genders, Guenette focuses on the interaction of domestic abuse and work for women, and the challenges faced after escaping abuse and attempting to re-enter the world of work. The importance of having specifically designed guidance and career development programs to address such social concerns is emphasized.

These are a few examples of the many social factors shown to influence career decision-making and the success of career counselling. It is anticipated that as more research explores the social factors that may impact the career decision-making process, we may better understand how these factors interplay and influence an individual’s career decision making and how career counsellors may best support the needs of these individuals.

Health and Career Development

Advancements in science and assistive technology have not only increased life expectancy but have enabled many individuals with learning disorders, mental health issues and physical limitations to become more independent and to further their education and obtain employment. An individual with a severe reading disability can use computer technology to read and to write while an individual with a physical disability no longer has to leave their home to access university courses. Career counselling plays an important role in connecting individuals with the services available so that they can maximize the world of opportunities they can now access. Over the past decade career counselling has expanded steadily in an effort to meet the growing needs of its clientele. One such chapter considers career counselling issues specifically related to individuals with fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD), and individuals who have survived and are living with cancer.

Shepard and Breen argue that traditional career models do not meet the needs of individuals with FASD and suggest how career counselling services can be modified to benefit this group. The authors’ research is grounded in social cognitive career theory

and they suggest that practitioners use this approach to develop transition and career interventions for youth with FASD.

While cancer affects thousands of people each year, medical science advances have significantly increased the survival rate and life expectancy of many cancer patients. Often with medical advances, come social and psychological challenges as individuals attempt to cope with their illness and its impact on their lives and the lives of those around them. Samson and Clark in “The role of career development in the process of psychosocial adaptation to cancer: Re-visiting the task model approach” examines how cancer survivors adapt to the impact cancer has had on them and their lives. The article discusses issues such as employee work life, re-orientation of one’s career, re-adaptation to work, and discrimination. The authors also propose an innovative approach which may help to understand how cancer survivors adapt/cope with chronic illness.

The articles in this section emphasize the importance of understanding the needs of the clients we work with on a daily basis. It is hoped these articles may assist counselling professionals in developing best practices for these unique populations.

Youth and Career Development

Youth is viewed by many as an exciting yet tumultuous time in an individual’s development. Despite this being a time of uncertainty, youth are expected to have the foresight and wisdom to make career decisions that will impact the rest of their lives. The support of a teacher, school counsellor, and/or parent is very important during this important decision-making period as youth attempt to gather accurate and valid information about career options. Career development is a lifelong process with some secondary schools providing students with opportunities to learn about various occupations through programs such as “take your child to school”, field trips to job sites, temporary work experience programs, or in-school work education programs. While some students may have already made career decisions others struggle. What factors and/or influences encourage career indecision or decision? Why is it that some youth already know the career direction their life will take while others struggle with that decision well into adulthood? How can career counsellors support students as they navigate through these life-altering decisions?

In this section the articles deal with youth and factors that impact their career-making decisions and choices. The first two articles deal with the effects of context and experience on the scientific career choices of Canadian adolescents while the last article discusses the integration of a career development program at the secondary level.

In “The effects of context and experience on the scientific career choices of Canadian adolescents”, Urajnik, Garg, Kauppi, and Lewko explore the differential utility of contextual and experiential factors in the prediction of scientific career aspirations of secondary students. Being able to predict students’ career aspirations would not only assist teachers and counsellors to properly direct students interested in science but would also bring about new theoretical and practical implications for career development practices. Students interested in studying science have limited opportunities to learn about the subject in secondary school. Creating programs to ignite this interest will greatly influence youth’s post-secondary choices and the scientific work force. In relation to this notion, Garg, Kauppi, Urajnik, and Lewko also carried out a longitudinal study of the effects of context and experience on the scientific career

choices of Canadian adolescents. This study tracked Canadian adolescents' changes in science/math career choice development, and examined the impact that contextual and experiential factors had on later choices. Participants' current field of study or nature of work, as well as other factors were examined to determine if there was congruence with their 2007 model.

Another article explores the integration of a career development program at the secondary level. Career decision-making is very important during adolescence with many youth remaining undecided about the direction they wish to follow. With the global economy opening an expansive list of possible choices available in the world, youth should be provided with enough time, information and guidance to enable them to make an informed career decision. Youth look to many sources for career information and guidance, for example fellow students, parents, guidance counsellors, the internet, those working in their field of interest, teachers, and material provided by educational establishments. However, research shows that students do not necessarily go to their teachers or school counsellors for career development needs first. In "Integrating career development in school-based curriculum: Preliminary results of an innovative teacher training program" Slomp, Bernes, and Gunn provide readers with some tentative outcomes of the pilot program "Career Coaching across the Curriculum". This program is designed to train new teachers to integrate aspects of career planning into their curriculum. The ability of teachers to infuse career decision-making information into the curriculum may assist all youth but particularly those youth who are less inclined to seek out guidance as they navigate through their career decision-making process.

New Realities

The new realities of our competitive global economy do not allow for career development and counselling to be confined to secondary and post-secondary institutions. Rapid change, growth, and expansion are the new reality so it is vital that young and old alike be prepared to live in this new world. Theories and programs have to be constantly revised and adjusted as new information becomes available. Career counselling is becoming as vital to the world of work as it is to the education system with employers realizing the importance of this service to their companies' survival in the competitive job market. The editors of the Canadian Journal of Career Development have developed a separate section to address this ever changing aspect of career development. This section contains four articles that broaden the frontier of career counselling and development. Each article examines a new topic area in which career development and guidance is not well known for or has not been well researched. These articles look at new ways that career counsellors can assist adults through the use of new theories or models, or new frontiers in the area of career counselling and development.

Today's career counsellors not only champion the needs of individuals they are champions for the needs of society as a whole. In "Career practitioner's views of social justice and barriers for practice", Arthur, Collins, McMahan, and Marshall examine how career counselling intersects the area of social justice. Social justice is defined as the idea of creating a society or institution that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity, that understands and values human rights, and recognizes the dignity of every human being. The authors investigate how career practitioners define

social justice and identify barriers that arise from counsellors' attempts to implement career development interventions related to social justice. This article highlights the success of career practitioners in implementing career interventions related to social justice in our society.

Career services reach beyond our educational establishments into our local community. Massey, Chan, Field, and Smith demonstrate how career services can assist and support the local community in making changes to attract and retain creative workers. Understanding the dynamic range of career services that can be provided to communities can only benefit all sectors of our ever changing society.

In "An examination of rural secondary student's post-secondary education decisions", Kirby and Sharpe consider two new models of how students choose their post-secondary education and whether students will choose a university or a non-university program. Such research illuminates our constant desire to understand more about how students make those significant life choices.

Lastly, Kalbfleisch and Burwell report on ground breaking research from their national survey which gathered data to describe the overall view of the typical career counsellor. This article summarizes the results of a national survey which focused on four aspects of this role: practitioner's background, professional identity, practitioner's skills and knowledge, and employee's perspective of career practitioner education. This article highlights the strengths and weaknesses of such aspects of the role as career training, definitions, and job titles. This information is vital to the continual growth, development, and expansion of the career development and guidance field.

Psychological Coordinates & Career Development

Psychology is an integral part of the field of career development. Many of the models and theories of psychology are utilized to increase the effectiveness of career programs. This section contains four articles that discuss various areas of psychology and their impact on career development, career counselling effectiveness, online workshops, and on what qualifications future career practitioners may require.

Personality influences everything from the way we act and think to the type of job we choose. It can also determine if an individual will seek counselling and the type of counsellor or counselling approach that is best suited to the individual. The client-counsellor relationship would be enhanced if this information could be utilized. In "Effective career counselling: relationship between work personality, learning style and client intervention preferences" Penny and Cahill propose a new assessment tool for use in determining an individual's preference for career counselling. The Career Counselling Preference questionnaire allows counsellors to select a counselling plan which works best for each individual client based on their work personality and learning style. Using tools such as this will provide clients with more appropriate career counselling so that they benefit fully from the counselling process.

While the above article examines the impact of personality on career counselling choices, Dahl, Austin, Wagner, and Lukas focused on the relationship between emotional intelligence and negative career thoughts in their research. Negative career thoughts can impact anyone at any age. Negative career thoughts can cripple an individuals' current and potential career paths as mental barriers to success are created. It is quite common to encounter clients in this field who are "stuck" in negative career

thoughts. Having knowledge of the connection between emotional intelligence and negative career thoughts may assist career counsellors to identify and work with this population more effectively.

In addition, psycho-educational workshops in the field of career development are becoming more common not just through traditional in-person workshops but also through on-line workshops. Making psychoeducational workshops on career development available online reduces barriers such as class size, distance and financial constraints. These on-line workshops enable individuals from around the world to access the workshop and continue to broaden their knowledge-base. Lalande and Deboer in a “Evaluation of an online psycho-educational career workshop” evaluate the online workshop entitled “Ex-Scope: experience student and placement education online workshop”. This article argues that online workshops can not only be a beneficial tool but that psycho-educational career workshops work just as well online as they do in-person.

The final article in this section considers the future professional identity of career counsellors and guidance counsellors and what type of work they may do based on their education and training. The article, “Deliberations of the future of career development education in Canada” by Burwell and Kalbfleisch reports on a pan-Canadian discussion. They discuss a model of career development education which includes guidelines regarding career practitioners training, educational experience required for specific counselling services, and counselling certification amongst other items. The idea of specific career development training and qualifications for career practitioners has been an ongoing issue within the field. While the problems and challenges of implementing such training may seem overwhelming it is critical to the continual advancement of career development and services that this topic continue to be discussed.

Post-Secondary

While post secondary education has become more accessible to all adults it has also become more necessary in order to gain employment. Students must make choices about the direction of their career path which can have drastic implications for their future careers. While post-secondary institutions offer career and student services programs to assist and guide students in their decision-making, many students arrive at their post-secondary institution with minimal or no skills to assist them in their career search. These feelings of inadequacy and career indecisiveness often lead to anxiety, stress, confusion and indecision. Students often feel the pressure to choose a career path and in their haste begin a journey that is unsatisfying and costly. New courses and programs are being designed to include academics and faculty in the student decision-making process. The Hung and Waddell/ Bauer’s articles examine and review career planning and development intervention programs. These authors purport that students benefit from these intervention program as seen by their decreased anxiety, increased confidence, and reduced indecision regarding career choice.

Career choice is really the culmination of a series of critical steps which allows the individual to make an informed decision about their career path. In order to create the necessary tools and programs to assist students in this process, we need to know how students go about making these decisions. Crozier and Doval explore the career and relational values that female students consider when making career decisions. Mani

examines the perceptions and social forces that influence women's decisions to enter careers in the field of social sciences. Knowing the various factors that influence choice and how these factors interplay, having broad models that help explain career choice, and decision making is critical.

Man-Nor Hoi and Hiebert examine one such model to determine how these factors influence first year university students' choice of a career/college major. Knowing the efficiency of such models and the factors that decrease its' efficiency will allow student services and guidance services to better serve its' population. Morgen and Ness examine another model which considers career decision-making difficulties. The model is designed to help understand how various difficulties contribute to career indecision, and how it relates to career decision-making self-efficacy, sex-role identification, and stage of identity development. This information will allow for the continual advancement of post-secondary counselling and guidance by researching the efficacy of factors and models that may need to be revised.

In a time of fiscal restraint families are careful in how they spend their money. This economy has impacted the way people think about post-secondary education. While the economy is making it harder to financially afford post-secondary, it is also affecting employment opportunities for those graduating from post-secondary institutions. Hausdorf and Galler review this problem by discussing a new model which assesses the impact of economic hardship, work involvement, and job search effort on employment quality. Their research into this area also shows how post-secondary institutions' tuition increases can affect students' future careers. As post-secondary institution fees increase so has the competition for student enrolment as students consider the overall cost of education when deciding which institution to make application. Being able to show that an institution's programs and services are on par or above other institutions nationally or internationally is one way to overcome this financial factor. Elliot and Manning examine the service practices used by various Canadian business schools' Career Centres and compare them to the top performing business schools in the United States of America. Their findings about current best practices used in Canada will allow business schools to not only create top career centre programming but also to use that information to attract students who might consider applying elsewhere.

World of Work

Career development is a lifelong process. Career changes may occur for a multitude of reasons. Job loss or restructuring are certainly common themes of late that have forced individuals to consider returning to school and/or a career change. With such a competitive job market it is critical for employees and employers to ensure an individual is a "good fit" for their company. Having access to as much information as possible to evaluate this fit would be beneficial to all parties. Roberta Neault in "Thriving in the new millennium: Career management in the changing world of work" addresses the need to know what characteristics are foundational to effective career management. Having information that will allow employees as well as employers to better manage their careers can be useful for all involved. In relation to career management, many employees work toward promotion, yet it alludes them. While experience and educational upgrading can increase the chance of receiving a promotion,

there are other factors outside the control of the individual which can, unfortunately, prevent or delay promotion. In “The intersection of gender and race: effects on the incidence of promotions” Margaret Yap explores the reasons for promotion and then the rate of advancement for white women, minority men, and minority women. This study suggests that additional programs must be put in place to help assist the continued career development of individuals.

Mentoring is a useful strategy in many aspects of one’s life, particularly in the workplace. Mentoring benefits not only the protégé, by assisting them to grow and make wise decisions, it also allows the mentor to share their experiences, knowledge, and assist their protégé in overcoming hurdles. ‘Mentoring and the world of work: a references model’ by Christine Cuerrier presents a new model to develop mentoring in Quebec. Building on other models and mentoring programs, the Quebec model provides practitioners with tools and knowledge to enhance make the mentoring programs to work more efficiently.

Reflection is important to one’s overall development but has particular meaning when an individual encounters career uncertainty, restructuring, promotion, or job loss. Reflection on work practices and decision making can be valuable to employees. It assists them in maintaining an acceptable work-life balance and in making changes to areas they may not have noticed require addressing. Tom Strong summarizes in “Relentless accountabilities and co-authoring our professional lines” activities from a workshop for the career development of counsellors. This article suggests how readers can reflect and re-connect with their counselling practice and accountabilities. In addition to employees reflection, continuing education and workplace learning has become increasingly important in modern times. Changing technology, population aging, changing retirement age, increasing requirements for skilled laborers, and job reduction has given rise to increasing job loss of older workers. Unlike past decades it is no longer anticipated that an employee will spend their entire career with one company and leave at retirement. Job loss for older workers can be more difficult and challenging than it is for younger workers.

Roers and O’Rourke in “Health, job loss and programs for older workers in Canada” examine the impact that unemployment has on older adults’ health and review the employment programs available to this group. These retraining assistance and continuing education programs are invaluable for older workers to adapt and to continue to feel useful in society. Some businesses are starting to assist their employees in upgrading their skills while on the job. Continuing education courses are helpful for upgrading as long as the choice of courses is beneficial. This decision no longer needs to be left up to the employee. Employers can now help guide employees to get the learning necessary to keep their workforce competitive. John Stewart examines how portfolios can be used to direct workplace learning. His article details how using a portfolio benefits both employee and employer.

Career decision making and choice can be a life altering task. While most make this decision while they are young and single, there comes a time similar decisions must be made with a partner in mind. Decision making becomes increasingly difficult when the needs, values, and career of a partner collide. Brosseau, Domene, and Dutka investigate the impact and connection that partner involvement has in determining career decision making difficulties. Their findings about the roles and involvement of the partner will help counsellors assist their clients in recognizing these impacts and take steps to address them. Satisfaction with career choice whether individually or with

a partner is important to work enjoyment. The modern workforce allows both genders to cross over into jobs not typical of their gender. Both men and women still encounter barriers and stereotypes which can affect their satisfaction with their career choice. Twomey and Meadus explore the world of nursing and the men who made the decision to enter this field. The findings from this study provide new information that can assist in attracting men into the nursing profession, as well as guide recruitment, retention and career development strategies.

The work world is complex and employees will face new challenges upon entering the workforce. Transitioning from post secondary to the workplace is filled with expectations, misunderstandings and disappointments. While some employees have gained experience in their chosen position, many will be coming in with a clean slate. Because of this there can be disconnect between the expectation of new employees and the realities and workings of the organization. Carolin Munro examined this occurrence and proposes a template for fostering academic-business partnerships which will ensure new recruits in the professions receive positive experiences. This edge should allow new employees to excel in their chosen fields, as well as benefit the employer by creating an attractive work environment for potential workers.

The difference between those workers who attain supervisory roles is discussed by Robert D. Hiscott. He examined the patterns and factors that influence supervisory experiences. The findings indicate that the likelihood of receiving a position is not equal across the board. Challenges also arise when employees have to leave their country for work terms and then return. Adjustment to foreign cultures and culture shock has been researched, and many businesses have plans to account for this when sending their employees to other countries. What is lacking is information on what employees' experiences when they return home. Having adjusted to the culture they were working in, sometimes over many years, the changes they will experience once they returned home are at times unanticipated by both the worker and the employer. Susan MacDonald and Nancy Arthur bring awareness about the repatriation experiences and adjustment strategies that employees use when returning to Canada. Their work shows why it is necessary for employees to have a positive and effective repatriation experience.

The time of having one job at a time has become impossible for many individuals in Canada. On the other hand, some individuals seek out self-employment rather than work for someone else. What is it that brings people to belong to one of these two atypical employment categories? Simard and Chenevert answer this question by identifying factors that influence individuals towards one of these two categories. Their findings are of importance to business who want to retain their employees, as well as satisfy their employers expectations.

With all the challenges, barriers, and changes occurring in the world of work, it no longer looks like what it was at the beginning of the century. In 'New realities in the work world: the impact on workers and on the professional practice of career counsellors' the authors provide us with descriptions of how the work worlds has changed over the last half century. We are introduced to new types of employment, career path diversity, complexity of career choice, and how work is now socially represented. They then show how all of these changes are impacting the practices of career counsellors.

The following pages will allow the reader to explore the numerous facets of career development research in Canada. While these articles highlight the wide variety

of career research occurring across the country – it is only the beginning. The next decade of career research will undoubtedly push new boundaries. Boundaries which we do not even understand exist.

Our economy and the economic realities around the world will challenge career practitioners to develop new and existing programs to meet the needs of society. It will further challenge researchers to delve into the new and uncharted waters of career research. We hope you enjoy the following chapters.

Post- Secondary

- 1** The Relational Career Values of Post-Secondary Women Students
Sharon Crozier and Cynthia Dorval

- 2** A Career Development Course for Academic Credit: An Outcome
Analysis
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- 3** Career Planning and Development for Students: Building a Career in
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- 4** Career Development of First-year University Students: A Test of
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- 5** Contextual Factors that Influence the Career Decision-Making
Process for Indo-Canadian Young Women Entering the Social
Sciences.
Priya S. Mani

- 6** Job Search Outcomes for University Graduates: The Role of
Economic Hardship And Work Involvement.
Peter A. Hausdorf and Mary Galler

- 7** Effective Career Services Practices: The Case of Canadian Business
Schools
Catherine Elliott and Linda Manning

- 8** Career Decision-Making Difficulties of First-year University
Students
Tracy Morgan and David Ness

The Relational Career Values of Post-Secondary Women Students

Sharon Crozier
University of Calgary
Cynthia Dorval
Private Practice Psychologist

One of the most salient criticisms of the state of career development theory today is that it is ill-equipped to explain the vocational behavior of women (Brooks, 1990). Career theory has traditionally been a domain entrenched with male ways of being (Marshall, 1989). Although some theories have been revised and expanded to more adequately capture women's career development, many of the major career theories were originally formulated based on the career experiences of men (Gallos, 1989; Patton & McMahon, 1999). Due to this male bias in career theory, many of the variables and dimensions unique to women's career development have not been explored (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). The investigation of such things as the meaning and expectation for fulfillment of women's career values has not been a focus of social science research.

Relational aspects of women's identities have been noted and examined by several feminist researchers who suggest that this factor has been neglected in the traditional theories of human development. Gilligan (1982) found that women tend to define themselves in the context of intimate relationships whereas men define themselves in terms of non-relationships, which focus on separation and autonomy. Women in her studies used words such as "caring," "giving," "being kind," and "not hurting others" to describe themselves, suggesting a value system deeply influenced by a genuine concern for others. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) researching women's cognitive development found that women develop a "connected" way of knowing which can be described as contextual, values experience, and connects concepts to personal knowledge and events. The "self-in-relation" model (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991) posits that for women particularly, connections and relationships with others enhance psychological well being. It is recognized that relational ways of being are not gender-specific, but gender-related whereby women are more likely than men to endorse them (Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988).

The new ways of understanding women's psychological, cognitive, and moral development within a relational context have implications for explaining women's career experience (Crozier, 1999; Forrest & Mikolaitis, 1986; Stonewater, 1988). Forrest and Mikolaitis (1986) reasoned that individuals with a relational identity would prefer environments such as the helping professions, where this orientation could be expressed. They suggested that work environments should be assessed for the "skills, values and preferred problem-solving styles" to see if they are "more associated with helping, not hurting, and maintaining the interconnectedness between people" (p. 83). Stonewater (1988) hypothesized that women would approach the career decision-making process differently than males seeking careers where they could be connected to others in a helping role. Crozier (1999) identifies a number of ways in which a relational identity would influence women's careers such as in career choice, stages of

career development, multiple life roles, career decision-making process, and definitions of career success. The connection between relational identity and traditional careers is self-evident. However, women need to be encouraged to consider nontraditional careers, and increase their awareness of the ways they can “offer relationships, be helpful to people, and make a meaningful contribution” (Crozier, 1999, p. 237). Despite the fact that overall research on the career development of girls and women has grown exponentially in the last decade (Phillips & Imhoff, 1997), there has been little attention paid to these relational constructs or underlying relational meanings in women’s careers.

Values are a critical component of one’s sense of identity (Josselson, 1987). Values are expressed in a variety of life roles, such as the work role (Brown, 1996). Values can be conceptualized as “the degree of importance personally given to modalities of being and behaving that are relevant to the work context and activities” (Perron & St. Onge, 1991, p. 80). Work values have been incorporated in varying degrees and permutations into various theories of career development.

Donald Super introduced the concept of work values to the field of career theory over 40 years ago advocating for their inclusion in vocational appraisal which had for so long been limited to measures of abilities and interests (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996). Super (1957, 1980, 1990) noted that people differ in their values and that values partly contribute to a person’s career pattern and satisfaction. In her model of women’s achievement related decisions, Eccles (1987) discusses “Personal values”, conceived of as one component of the “subjective task value” or importance attached to the different career options individuals believe are available to them. She suggests that gender role socialization could lead men and women to develop different core values (interest in people versus interest in things, for example). Consequently, tasks involving different characteristics would have different values for women and men. More specifically, self-schema and “personal values” will influence the “value” one places on various career options.

The values-based holistic career model developed by Duane Brown (1996) gives values the central place in the career decision making process but by no means are they the only basis for decision making. Behavior will be most strongly guided by a small number of values, which are ranked hierarchically. In Brown’s framework, factors such as culture, gender, and socioeconomic level have an impact on the development of values. Life satisfaction depends on values being satisfied in a variety of life roles, which are interactive. Brown recognizes the limiting effects that social structures can have on the availability of opportunities to satisfy values.

Brown (1996) suggests that highly prioritized values are determinants of life role choices, such as the selection of an occupation. Therefore accurate values-based information about an occupation or environment must be available for the most effective decision making. Unfortunately, this type of information is not always readily accessible, and furthermore the stereotypes that people, especially young people, have about various occupations are “typically ill-informed” (Eccles, 1994, p. 143).

Recent qualitative research studies in the area of women’s career development have revealed the centrality of relational values to women’s career identity (Jones, 1997; Lalande, Crozier, & Davey, 1998; Richie, Fassinger, Linn, Johnson, Prosser, & Robinson, 1997; Schuster, 1990; Young & Richards, 1992). Some researchers have described relational ways of being as comprising the “core” or “essence” of the reported career experiences of the women in their samples (Lalande et al., 1998; Schuster, 1990;

Richie et al., 1997). Career plans of women are about more than just finding a “satisfying” career (Schuster, 1990). The opportunity to maintain relationships and connections with others on the job is a very important factor for women. When asked to discuss the most salient aspects of their work, distinct themes suggestive of relational values emerge in the career stories of women, such as teaching, giving to others, helping others, and communication. The support of others such as mentors is also mentioned (Richie et al., 1997; Young & Richards, 1992). Relational values, more global in perspective, also emerge in working for social change to improve the human condition, advocating for others, being involved in the community, and generally making the world a better and more equitable place in which to live. Interestingly, the samples utilized in these studies are not homogenous. In fact they were very diverse, incorporating women of different ethnicity (Jones, 1997; Richie et al., 1997); age (Richie et al., 1997; Young & Richards, 1992); fields of study (Jones, 1997; Lalande et al., 1998); sexual orientation (Jones, 1997) and profession (Richie et al., 1997; Schuster, 1990).

The significance of relational values, such as altruism, connection, helping, and concern for others, for women in traditional professions has been documented through research (Ben-Shem & Avi-Itzhak, 1991; Chatterjee & McCarrey, 1991; Schuster, 1990). More inconclusive are the results concerning the relational values of women in nontraditional professions. Women in these professions have been found to be more oriented to masculine values, such as autonomy and risk (Chatterjee & McCarrey, 1991). They have also shown a desire to satisfy relational values in their professions, such as contributing to society (Ambrose, Lazarus, & Nair, 1998), and being connected to and helping others (Richie, et al., 1997; Schuster, 1990).

The current research attempts to explore the existence and importance of relational values in women’s career role. The research and theorizing of such feminist writers as Miller (1976), Gilligan (1982), and the Stone Center Group (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991) suggests that women possess relational worldviews, valuing connections and interdependence. Thus, “women’s vocational identity may be organized around perceptions of their workplace self as responsive, interdependent, and empathic” (Giordano, 1995, p. 5). One of the difficulties of fully appreciating women’s values in the workplace is that they are often examined through a traditional male lens. The ways that women define achievement and success in their careers may differ from the commonly accepted definitions of those constructs. While there have been numerous calls to examine relational ways of being in the career roles of women (Forrest & Mikolaitis, 1986; Gallos, 1989), there has been little research conducted in this area.

Method

Research Design

The qualitative research being discussed in this article is part of a larger study which combined both quantitative and qualitative methods to understand women’s relational values overall and in the career role (Dorval, 1999). Gender role orientation and age, two factors that have been suggested to influence values, were also examined in Dorval’s study. The qualitative analysis process, according to Dey (1993) consists of three parts: describing the phenomenon under study, classifying the data, and finally making connections within the data. This simple model was followed in the present

study. The first step, describing, involves activities such as summarizing the data, and pulling it together through relating central characteristics. Ultimately, description provides the basis for interpretation. Classification entails, “organizing data into categories or classes and identifying formal connections between them” (p. 275). Finally, connecting categories involves, “identifying substantive connections by associating categories or linking data” (p. 275). Qualitative analysis was conducted with a computer software program entitled HyperQual (Padilla, 1990), designed specifically for the qualitative analysis of text-based data.

The quantitative component of the research involved participants completing the Life Values Inventory (LVI) which is a unique values inventory as it promotes holistic thinking by including a variety of life roles (Brown & Crace, 1996). The LVI was chosen for the study because of its inclusion of a variety of values which could be considered relational, such as belonging, concern for others, and loyalty to family or group, concern for the environment, and spirituality. Other values measured by the LVI include achievement, creativity, financial prosperity, health and activity, humility, independence, privacy, responsibility, and scientific understanding. The LVI was also chosen because in its design the authors were particularly sensitive to the unique concerns of women (Brown & Crace, 1996).

The LVI uses a Likert rating scale for 14 values, open-ended qualitative questions and then a ranking process for values overall and values expected to be satisfied in four life roles: job or career, student, family and important relationships, and leisure and community activities. The qualitative component of the study focussed on the ranking of values, on the LVI, that women expected to have satisfied in their job or career. The following question was presented to each participant, with ample paper to write her response on: Please review the values you ranked as important to be satisfied in your job and indicate in what ways do you hope to have these values satisfied in your job? If possible, provide specific examples.

This question was piloted with a small sample to test for clarity and comprehension. The question was designed to solicit the “underlying meanings” of the career values for these women by understanding the “ways in which they hoped the values would be satisfied” and “through the examples given”. Quantitative analysis can often be enriched by qualitative information that provides “depth” and “understanding” behind the numbers (Polit & Hungler, 1999).

Research Participants

Participation in the study was voluntary with recruitment using numerous methods: e-mail messages, notices, campus newspaper and newsletter articles, and presentations in relevant classes and undergraduate clubs. Ninety-eight full-time female undergraduate students, from a university in Alberta, participated in the study. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 52 years (Mean = 24.9, S.D = 6.1). A small percentage of the participants were married or living with an intimate partner (20%) with most of the participants identifying as single (80%). A small percentage of the sample had children (11%) with the majority of those having two children (64%).

The traditional group, 50 participants, was made up of 18 from social work and 32 from nursing. The nontraditional group, 48 participants, included 31 from engineering and 17 from science (excluding biology). A faculty was considered traditional if seventy percent or more of the total enrollees were women and

nontraditional if thirty percent or less of the total enrollees were women (Lavalley & Pelletier, 1992). Biology is no longer a nontraditional career area for women (Nevitte, Gibbins, & Coddling, 1990), in fact it is the only department in the Faculty of science where female students outnumber males.

Results

Interpretation of the results highlights the significance of relational meanings in the values that women hoped to have satisfied in their career role. The values women hoped to have satisfied in their career role included achievement, concern for others, responsibility, financial prosperity, belonging, concern for the environment, and spirituality. Each of these values will be discussed revealing the relational themes that were embedded within the meaning of the value.

Achievement

The relational theme in Achievement was evident in the desire to help others or connect with others in some way through the job. Women in nursing and social work, mentioned such things as “making a positive impact on people’s lives,” “achieve good relationships with patients and help them to lead happy, healthy lives,” and “relating to and understanding individuals.” One nursing student stated that, “If I am able to help only one person or an entire community, I will feel achievement.” A social work student mentioned that she would feel personal achievement through witnessing or learning of the achievements of her clients. Helping others to achieve their own goals and success seemed to be an important part of achievement for some women in the sample, particularly those in the traditional group. Only one woman in a nontraditional faculty, an engineering student expressed Achievement in a relational way stating, “I want to do something that really affects the world. I want to help others, and push myself to my limit.”

Concern for Others

Concern for Others was a value that appeared very frequently in the data and by definition would be expected to have relational meaning. Mentioned by women in both the traditional and nontraditional group, it was most frequently discussed by the former. The major way that Concern for Others was expected to be accomplished was through “*Helping others.*” The responses ranged on a continuum within this theme with some less directly relational, such as “helping others by sharing knowledge” as one engineering student commented. Two women from nontraditional faculties explained that concern for others in their career would mean “*Teaching*” or instructing others. Other comments were more directly and deeply relational as expressed by this social work student, “A deep understanding of others’ situation as we walk through their troubles together.” Many women in the traditional faculties alluded to the fact that Concern for Others is inherent in their job by virtue of the nature of the work. Some of these women noted this as the reason for entering the profession.

Some women in both traditional and nontraditional faculties mentioned nurturing, caring for, and comforting others, as well as helping others to attain hope, solace, happiness, and self-actualization. A nursing student phrased her point of view

in this way, “One of my greatest joys is to calm frightened people, help hurt people and just generally help people out when they need it” and “My concern for others drives me and enables me to help people in that really personal way.”

The desire to help others was also expressed on a macro level. Some women in both the traditional and nontraditional group stated that they wanted to help communities or contribute to the betterment of society as a whole. Improving the quality of life of others was also mentioned, particularly of those who are less fortunate. An engineering student stated, “I hope to one day go overseas to work with under-developed countries and assist them with water purification/irrigation/solid waste management.” A science student noted, “I hope to have a job that allows me to improve the quality of life for other people or animals or aspects of the environment.”

A few of the women in both groups mentioned acting as an advocate for those in need, with another theme being “*Responsibility to others*.” An engineering student stated that concern for others should be kept in mind because “a civil engineer’s work is for the direct use of other people; safety and utility must be remembered in what an engineer constructs.” Another engineering student had similar sentiments suggesting that “by entering the engineering profession, the welfare of the public and environment is the main priority; it is the first priority in the Code of Ethics.” This theme is closely connected to the relational dimensions found in the value of Responsibility.

Responsibility

The majority of the women in the study, who stated that they wanted the value of Responsibility to be satisfied in their career role, suggested that this would be possible through being “*Trustworthy*”. It could be argued that by its very definition, the word “trustworthy” implies a relationship, whether this is with another person or a larger entity such as an organization or company. The responses comprising this theme, however, differed as to whether or not they explicitly mentioned demonstrating trustworthiness to someone else. For example, one engineering student stated, “I hope to be known as a responsible engineer. I plan to satisfy this by applying good work ethics, and just doing my job to my full potential.” More obviously relational were the comments such as this statement from another engineering student, “I want people to be able to trust me and depend on me to do what I promise I’ll do and be able to help them.”

Many women in both groups noted that in their careers they would be relied upon and counted on by co-workers, supervisors, organizations, and clients or patients. A few women in the traditional group described the trustworthiness needed to be in a position where one is dealing with patients or clients in great need. Trust seemed to be considered an important precursor to good relationships with others. A science student wrote “It is important to me to know my supervisors and co-workers consider me reliable, and can be trusted.” Similarly, a nursing student stated, “As a nurse it is important to instill a level of trust between the nurse and patient in order to provide optimum care.” Others noted that being in a position of trust carried with it ethical and legal obligations. An engineering student noted, “As an engineer, I will be responsible for every design or procedure I approve. This is a large duty because if anything I approve was to cause damage to property or human life (i.e. collapsed building or

bridge that I designed) I could be held personally accountable, incarcerated with criminal charges...”

Another relational theme that appeared in the data was being responsible through "*Making Contributions*" to others or making a difference in another person's life. A social work student revealed that she personally had been helped in her life and felt responsible to help others through her work. Four students mentioned the responsibilities they had to others such as family members or partners. For example, a social work student stated, "as part of a family, I am responsible for earning a living through working." A science student remarked that there are certain duties that she expects and accepts in her roles as friend, daughter, and girlfriend.

Financial Prosperity

A theme within Financial Prosperity that emerged, "*Provide for family*," had obvious relational overtones. Making enough money in one's career to support one's family was mentioned equally by women from traditional and nontraditional faculties. Some women in both groups spoke about children they already had, "When I have my degree I will be making enough money to support myself and my son" noted a nursing student. Others, like this science student, were planning for the future, "financial prosperity will be satisfied in my future job if I am paid well and given benefits for myself and my potential family." A science student noted that she wanted to be in a position financially to take the time to go to the school concerts of her children and spend time with her husband.

Belonging

Feeling a sense of affiliation, inclusion, or acceptance in the workplace was a desire expressed by some of the women from both groups. Some, like this engineering student, commented on the desire to feel like a valued member of a work group or team, "Belonging would be satisfied by working as part of a team where I feel that my part on the team is important." Developing friendships, bonding with co-workers, and "fitting in" were all discussed as ways of cultivating a sense of belonging. An engineering student expressed that she wanted to be "well-liked" by her co-workers. Another engineering student noted that in order to enjoy work, it is important to get along with co-workers. Expanding beyond co-workers, one nurse mentioned feeling belonging as part of a larger team of health professionals. The nurse-patient relationship was also mentioned as a situation in which one feels a sense of belonging.

Concern for the Environment

Caring for the environment through protection of natural resources, or improving existing conditions (air pollution, water quality, deforestation, and so forth) was important for some women, particularly in the nontraditional faculties. Making the world a better place to live for humans, other animals, and plants was a priority. Some engineering students mentioned, "contributing to society," "making a difference," and "creating designs that will make life better for people." One engineering student noted, "I want to be able to go home at night and feel that aside from just making money, I did

something real. Something that is good for the environment that goes beyond making money.” Another engineering student felt a responsibility not only to humankind at present, but was also concerned about the future stating that it was “our duty to conserve the earth for the generations to come.”

Spirituality

A few women in both groups discussed the ways in which their religion or spirituality could influence their behavior and activities in their careers. An engineering student mentioned incorporating integrity and honor into her work as a method to “glorify God” through her career. Some women in the traditional faculties expressed the fact that Spirituality could be satisfied in their career through putting the needs of others before their own, and helping those who are suffering or in need. A science student stated that she lives her faith by her example. Sentiments regarding feelings of connectedness to God or a higher power and to others were common among both groups of women. A science student revealed that she feels a connection to a higher power through her connection with nature and therefore hoped that her work as a geologist would “get me into nature a lot.”

Discussion

Relational themes are present in women’s expectations of having their career values satisfied, whether they are enrolled in a traditional or nontraditional faculty. Relational themes are obvious within values, which have a “caring” or “concerned” connotation, such as Concern for Others. However, there are also relational themes present in values such as Achievement, where the traditional or “male lens” would generally not display a relational understanding.

Helping others was a major relational theme across the values; this was conceptualized both as helping individuals but also on a more global level of helping society. On an individual level, it included helping others by offering hope or solace but also by assisting them to achieve happiness and self-actualization. Helping others was a very strong theme in the value of Concern for Others and in Spirituality but also, perhaps surprisingly within the value of Achievement. The “usual” definition of career success includes factors such as “career advancement, stable occupational roles, and levels of status symbolized by power and money” not helping others (Hashizume & Crozier, 1994, p.106). Powell and Mainiero (1992) note that the traditionally male vision of career achievement, “getting ahead” in an organization may be “dated” due to the new realities of the workplace such as decreased job security and downsizing. For some of the women in the study, a sense of Achievement was experienced through helping others. Making a difference in the lives of others constituted achievement for these women. Unfortunately, the literature does not often recognize or give credence to this meaning of achievement. Gallos (1989) noted the absence of a language “to talk about what does a career look like that is simultaneously high on achievement and high on relationship” (p. 124).

Three core achievement styles: direct, instrumental, and relational achievement, have been suggested by Lipman-Blumen, Handley-Isaksen, and Leavitt (1983). Relational achievement is when a sense of achievement is attained through collaborating with others, contributing to a group task, or experiencing it vicariously

through the achievements of others. Relational achievement in the career role, note Hashizume and Crozier (1994) is not a contradiction in terms, however when it is mentioned, it is often pathologized. The relational meaning for achievement found in this study offers support to some previous research that found a correlation between achievement/self-development and altruism (Pryor, 1983; Hendrix & Super, 1968).

Helping others is a value that has been well documented in previous research as significant for women (Di Dio, Saragovi, Koestner, & Aube, 1996; McConatha & Schnell, 1997; Skoe and Diessner, 1994). It makes intuitive sense those women who choose a traditional career such as social work or nursing would value helping clients and patients in a variety of ways. Although helping others was definitely more prominent for women in the traditional faculties none the less, it still was mentioned as a value with relational connotations for women from the nontraditional group. This supports the findings of Subotnik and Arnold (1996) and Ambrose, Lazarus, and Nair (1998) who found that women in nontraditional fields have a desire to be helpful or useful to others and to society to serve a greater good.

As noted, helping others on a macro level was also a significant theme, expressed across the values of Concern for Others, Concern for the Environment and Spirituality. The theme here usually involved making the world a better place in which to live on a more global basis. This suggested feelings of connection with not only humankind but also other living things such as plants, animals, and even at times Mother Earth. A feeling of being connected to a higher power was expressed by some women when doing their work. This theme also often involved a longer time dimension of not only helping now but into the future, projecting that the work one does now may have a long lasting positive impact. This is similar to a finding by Lalande et al. (1998) of women in science and art faculties who expressed a connection to the larger universe and a need to make a lasting contribution.

Being connected to others in meaningful relationships at work was another relational theme that appeared across the values of Achievement and Belonging. These women expressed a desire to be part of a team and to have satisfying relationships with co-workers, supervisors, and clients. This theme of affiliation appeared for women planning to work in both traditional and nontraditional areas. It has been recognized that “expressive” traits like connection may play an important role in a nontraditional career like engineering given the amount of teamwork involved (Jagacinski, 1987). One of the most significant ways of being connected was to be in a trusting relationship with others, which was expressed through the value of Responsibility. It was desirable to these women to be viewed as trustworthy or dependable by others, which has definite relational connotations. These women want to be in relationships, which involve being responsible for the safety and welfare of others, whether this is dealing with an ill patient or building a reliable bridge. The women in this study showed a valuing of those relationships whether they were directly or indirectly involved with people, they are still meaningful to them.

Making a contribution was another relational theme that emerged in the values of Responsibility and Financial Responsibility. Many of these women felt it was their responsibility to contribute to the well being of others. One way that this was expressed was towards their families, both in the values of Responsibility and Financial Prosperity; women noted the wish to contribute financially. Although Loyalty to Family or Group was not a highly ranked value to be satisfied directly in the career role

the connection to family, need to balance work with family, and this desire to contribute to family did appear across various values.

Findings of the present study contribute to our understanding of values. Particularly interesting are the relational connotations that emerged from the qualitative data, adding new dimensions to the commonly accepted definitions of certain “work” values such as Achievement, Responsibility, and Financial Prosperity. Moreover, women in both the traditional group and nontraditional groups mentioned these expanded definitions of values that are usually not considered relational. Themes of connecting with or helping others in some way, while endorsed by more women in the traditional than the nontraditional group, were evident for both groups as important facets in career.

The findings of the present study support the theorizing of feminist researchers such as Forrest and Mikolaitis (1986), Gallos (1989), and Crozier (1999) who suggest that a relational dimension should be incorporated into theories of career development applicable to women’s careers. The inclusion of this construct could serve to more fully understand and appreciate the career choices women make. As women’s participation in post-secondary education increases and particularly in the nontraditional faculties researchers may expect to see more traditional or relational values being expressed by women students in nontraditional faculties. The findings of the present study suggest that women desire to have relational values satisfied in their future career role whether they enter a traditional or nontraditional faculty. For women in the traditional group in particular, Concern for Others was the most important value in the career role. However themes of helping clients, patients or society as a whole; being trusted by co-workers and employers; making a meaningful contribution; and feeling a sense of camaraderie with co-workers, emerged from the qualitative data in the present study as important factors for all women. These variables are left largely unaccounted for in the major theories of career choice and development.

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A Career Development Course For Academic Credit: An Outcome Analysis

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Despite the significant body of scholarly knowledge on career development issues, factors, and strategies which have been gathered, researched and reported in the last century, there is a dearth of opportunities for Canadian students to study and apply these understandings to their own career choice and development issues. Although the integration of career development into the academic curriculum is receiving increasing interest in a number of Canadian post-secondary institutions (Crozier, Douglas, Dobbs, & Hung, 1998) only three Canadian universities have awarded credit at the undergraduate level (Crozier, 1998).

In response to the student need for a more knowledgeable approach to their own career issues, and in recognition of the study of careers as a legitimate academic pursuit, Dalhousie University has recently been offering an elective half credit course open to all Arts and Social Sciences and Science undergraduates: Introduction To Career Portfolios (ASSC/SCIE 1100.03).

This course examines theoretical and practical issues in career development. The class explores the scholarly work of career development researchers, economists, demographers, educators, writers and theorists as their work relates to issues in career choice and development. Through an experiential learning model (Kolb, 1984) which is incorporated into discussions, exercises, weekly labs, exams and research papers, students also develop a portfolio which documents their theoretical applications as they reflect on their work and learning history. Through assessing personal and environmental factors impacting on decision-making over one's life span, students create a purposeful context for viewing their careers as well as reflect upon and propose career development strategies.

The course content includes principles, theories and practices relating to the meaning and nature of work, leisure, self and identity; career choice and decision-making; issues and strategies in self-assessment; occupational research; and, the future of work. Special issues are also considered such as gender, culture, special needs, dual careers, stress, burnout, job loss and career management in an uncertain economy. Students are encouraged to tailor the research assignments to meet their personal areas of interest.

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of this course by conducting a quantitative analysis of factors related to the students' experience of their study and application of career choice and development constructs and issues. The factors which were analyzed were measured on indices of Career Maturity, Career Indecision, Generalized Indecisiveness, Career Certainty, Career Choice Anxiety, Need For Self-Knowledge and Need For Career Information.

Method

Participants

After obtaining the Institutional Ethics Review Board's approval, all students enrolled in this course in 1999 and again in 2000, were invited by the professor to participate in this study. An independent consultant also met with the classes and explained how anonymity was ensured and the safeguards in place to ensure the professor was blind to who was and was not participating in this study. The consultant collected and analyzed the data, interpreted the results to the class, and was available for individual consultation. The class was comprised of students from all years of undergraduate study from primarily Arts and Social Sciences and Science Faculties. After signing an informed consent form, forty eight students (53%) anonymously participated in both pre- and post-course quantitative assessments.

Instruments

Quantitative measures were gathered through the pre- and post- course administration of three career assessment instruments: The Career Decision Scale (CDS); the Career Maturity Inventory (CMI); and, the Career Factors Inventory (CFI)

The Career Decision Scale (CDS) was introduced by Osipow et al. in 1976 and was revised in 1987. It is "intended as a rapid and reliable instrument for surveying high school and college students about their status in the decision making process. The scale provides an estimate of career indecision and its antecedents as well as an outcome measure for determining the effects of interventions relevant to career choice or career development ... " (Osipow, 1987, p.1). Norms are provided for college students for both the Certainty Scale and the Indecision Scale. Test-retest reliability coefficients range from .70 to .90. Percentile scores (grouped as low, middle and high) are provided for both scales. Certainty scores at or below the 15th percentile (low) and Indecision scores at or above the 85th percentile (high) are considered significant. The Career Decision Scale has been reviewed as unsurpassed in the career indecision literature (Meier, 1991, Harmon, 1994 and Herman, 1985).

The Career Maturity Inventory (CMI), (Crites,1978, 1995) provides a measure of career maturity which can be "generally defined as the extent to which the individual has mastered the vocational development tasks, including both knowledge and attitudinal components, appropriate to his or her state of career development. Maturity is assumed to be an underlying psychological construct reflecting this developmental level just as intellectual, moral, and social development are assumed to be psychological constructs " (Betz,1988 p.79).

Similarly, Savickas (1990) stated, " simply defined, career maturity means readiness for making realistic career choices. Clients below a certain threshold of readiness lack the life experiences and personal inclinations to make realistic choices. These clients need to develop attitudes that move them closer to the choice threshold" (p.58). This 50 item instrument yields scores for two scales measuring Attitude and Competence which are combined to form the total Career Maturity score. Crites (1978) recommends using this instrument for "(1) studying career development, (2) screening for career immaturity, (3) evaluating career education..." (p.270).

Internal consistency co-efficients for the five subtests range from .58 to .90, test-retest reliability ranges from .64 to .66 and content validity for the Self Appraisal subtest was built by collecting case records. Criterion related and construct validity was supported through a strong relationship with other Career Choice Competencies (Crites, 1978). The CMI has been highly regarded and used in hundreds of studies (Crites, 1995).

The Career Factors Inventory (CFI), measures four scales: (1) Need for Career Information, (2) Need for Self-Knowledge, (3) Career Choice Anxiety, and (4) Generalized Indecisiveness. The individual results are then profiled in standard score bands derived from general college samples.

The CFI has been administered to over 4,000 people and college students serve as the normative group. Test-retest reliability for college students range from a low of .68 to a high of .82. Internal consistency ranges from .73 to .92. The CFI has been correlated with several instruments to establish convergent validity and research has demonstrated that its scales “are operating in a manner consistent with their definition and development” (Chartrand and Robbins, 1997, p.13). The CFI has been designed, and used successfully, to measure the effectiveness of career planning courses (Chartrand and Robbins, 1997, Chartrand and Nutter, 1996) .

In summary these three psychometric instruments address questions derived from the theoretical and research literature. The results, in addition to being useful to the participants, allowed an exploration of the impact of the course on measures of Career Certainty, Career Indecision, Career Maturity (Attitude and Competence), Need For Career Information, Need For Self- Knowledge, Career Choice Anxiety, and the Generalized Indecisiveness of students enrolled in the course Introduction to Career Portfolios (ASSC/SCIE 1100.03).

Results

Data Analysis

The survey data were examined to determine if there were differences within the group of participants between scores attained on the test instruments at the beginning of the course and scores resulting from a second administration at the end of the course . Group means were compared with paired samples t-tests.

career certainty/career indecision. Career Certainty scores, a measure of the degree of certainty that the student feels in having made a decision about a major and a career, and Career Indecision scores, a measure of career indecision, were received from 48 students pre- and post- course as measured on the Career Decision Scale. These scores are presented in Table 1. On both scales, statistically significant changes were noted in percentile scores from pre- to post-course. Certainty scores increased from a mean of 46.4% pre-course to 54.9% post-course ($p=0.04$). Indecision scores decreased from a mean of 71.4% pre-course to 64.7% post-course ($p= 0.05$).

Table 1

Table of pre- and post- test scores for the combined, female, and male samples on the Career Decision Scale (CDS), Career Maturity Inventory (CMI), and the Career Factors Inventory (CFI).

Scale	Pre-Test Combined	Post-Test Combined	Pre-Test Females	Post-Test Females	Pre-Test Males	Post-Test Males
CDS Certainty	46.4	54.9*	51.7	62.6*	37.5	42.05
CDS Indecision	71.4	64.7*	66.7	56.6*	79.3	78.1#
CMI Attitude	16.7	17.3	16.84	17.30	17.0	17.28
CMI Competence	18.9	18.6	19.5	18.4*	18.0	19.1
CMI Total	35.8	36.0	36.37	35.83	35.0	36.38
CFI Need For Career Info.	23.3	22.6	22.81	21.93	24.37	23.94
CFI Career Choice Anxiety	16.9	14.7***	16.6	14.1**	17.56	15.94
CFI Generalized Indecisiveness	14.2	12.9*	14.5	12.5*	13.69	13.69
CFI Need For Self Knowledge	15.3	16.2	15.90	16.10	14.06	16.44*

* = $p < 0.05$

** = $p < 0.01$

*** = $p < 0.0001$

= $p < 0.05$ when compared to post-test females

career maturity. Career Maturity, a measure of Attitude and Competence, as assessed by the Career Maturity Inventory, was completed pre- and post- course by 48 students. Overall, there were no significant changes in the mean scores. For the Attitude scale, the pre - course mean score was 16.7 and the post - course mean score was 17.3 ($p=0.23$). On the Competency scale the pre - course mean score was 18.9 and the post - course mean score was 18.6 ($p=0.49$). The total Career Maturity score was essentially unchanged as the pre - course mean score was 35.8 compared to the post - course mean score of 36.0 ($p=0.68$).

need for career information, self-knowledge, career choice anxiety and generalized indecisiveness. Pre- and post-course measures were completed by 47 students. Of the four scales, three showed a decrease in mean scores and one showed an increase from pre- to post-course. Significant decreases were measured on the Need for Career Information, Generalized Indecisiveness, and on Career Choice Anxiety. The Need for Career Information, the perceived need to acquire specific information about or experience in various occupations before making a career decision showed a slight decrease (from 23.3 to 22.6, $p=0.22$). Generalized Indecisiveness, the general tendency to have difficulty making decisions showed a decrease in scores over time (from 14.2 to 12.9, $p=0.042$); and Career Choice Anxiety, the level of nervousness one feels when faced with a career decision showed a significant decrease (from 16.9 to 14.7, $p<0.0001$). The Need for Self-Knowledge, the desire to have greater self-understanding before making a career decision showed a slight (non-significant) increase in mean scores (from 15.3 to 16.2, $p=0.135$).

gender differences. When the students were divided on the basis of gender and pre- and post-course score differences examined, statistically significant mean score changes were seen within the group of female students ($n=30$). Female students showed decreases on the measures of Career Choice Anxiety (from 16.6 to 14.1, $p=0.002$), and Generalized Indecisiveness (from 14.5 to 12.5, $p=0.02$) of the Career Factors Inventory. Increased mean scores were noted on both scales of the Career Decision Scale. Certainty scores increased from a pre-course mean of 51.7% to post course mean of 62.6% ($p=0.04$). The Indecision scale showed a decrease from a mean of 66.7% pre-course to a mean of 56.6% post-course ($p=0.03$). The competency scale of the Career Maturity Inventory showed a drop in mean scores from 19.5 pre-course to 18.4 post-course ($p=0.04$).

Male students ($n=18$) showed a statistically significant change in mean scores only on the Need for Self Knowledge subscale of the Career Factors Inventory where the scores increased from 14.1 to 16.4 ($p=0.03$).

When the two gender groups were compared on all scales of the study instruments, the only significant between-group difference seen was on the Career Decision Scale measure of Indecision post-course (mean percentile for males 78.1, for females 56.5, $p=0.02$).

Discussion

The course Introduction To Career Portfolios was designed to teach theoretical models, concepts, and practices relating to career choice and development. Students were encouraged to maximize the personal benefits that could be gained from the study of this material by applying this knowledge to their own personal situations.

Rather than encouraging students to focus on making career decisions, emphasis was placed on examining their career issues from each of the multiple theoretical perspectives that were studied. In spite of this emphasis, or perhaps because of it, career indecision scores decreased. For example, as one student in a lab discussion group commented “... I am ready with answers. I am ready to explain myself. I wasn’t secure in my thoughts and who I was as a person and now I know I am able to confront the questions.”

Sometimes career indecision is an appropriate response to a future that is uncertain, especially for careers which consist of multiple contracts from a variety of

employers. Therefore, students were required to read and reflect on the benefits of indecision (Gelatt, 1989), (Krumboltz, 1992), particularly as indecision can have a positive impact on a portfolio career (Handy, 1989). Students were asked, in their labs, to discuss how studying this material affected their decision making, one student said, “ I don’t have any more answers, but I feel like I have more questions which are going to lead to more answers later on. It is good to be able to have those questions.” Another student commented, “ I realize that I am an ‘undecided’ person not an indecisive one. The distinction was one that I really had never thought of. Now I feel more confident to proceed knowing that the things I am going through are OK, and I can keep going.”

As students became more career certain, perhaps as a result of integrating the theoretical frameworks into their own life experiences, they appeared to become more confident in their interactions with others over career issues. The confidence was not just about being more certain, but about being better able to articulate the basis of that certainty. As one student commented in class, “ now I understand what I *mean* by what I say I want and *why* I want it.” Consistent with decreased career indecision and increased career certainty, career choice anxiety scores also decreased. Career anxiety was usually expressed indirectly e.g., “ We’re talking about evaluating ourselves ...How do I go about doing this? My life seems so cluttered, how do I dig down in this mess and make a foundation for myself?” Career anxiety reduction was expressed more directly e.g., “It’s not so scary anymore.” “I obtained the insight that I am someone to be proud of....I really do have self worth. ...I should be more confident in myself. I learned how to set goals that I could reach and achieve.”(anonymous reflective exercises).

The combined results of the Career Factors Inventory revealed a decrease in the Need For Career Information and a slight non-significant increase on the Need For Self-Knowledge. Perhaps the research and reflective components of the course were sufficient for some students but led others to see the need for further exploration. As one student commented in a lab discussion group, “ There is much more to career development than just picking your career then getting appropriate information. I know there are many influencing factors when choosing a career, and it is important to analyze them while making your decision.”

The Career Maturity Inventory revealed only slight non-significant changes in scores. This could be because neither Attitude nor Competency was impacted by this intervention, or because the sample size was too small which could have caused a Type II error. As this study focused on whether the intervention impacted measures of career maturity, the Career Developer, a supplement to the 1995 CMI and described as an “adjunct” to facilitate “teaching the test” (Crites, 1995, p. 48), was not used for this study. The use of the CMI without its supplement (which teaches the answers to the test questions) may have reduced its sensitivity to changes over time. It is also possible that the most recent revision did not adequately adjust this instrument for use with a post-secondary population. Indeed, an adult population may be better served with the construct of career adaptability rather than career maturity. Career adaptability has been defined by Savickas (1997) as “the readiness to cope with the predictable tasks of preparing for and participating in the work role and with the unpredictable adjustments prompted by changes in work and working conditions” (p. 254). Regardless, as reliability and validity studies are needed for the revised version of the CMI, these results support the recommendation for “extreme caution” (Levinson, Ohler, Caswell, & Kiewra, 1998, p.478).

The scores of female students were more dramatically impacted than the scores of males. Females showed greater decreases in Career Anxiety and Indecision as well as greater increases in Certainty scores at the end of the course. The scores of male students changed significantly only on the increased Need for Self-Knowledge. The two gender groups were different only on the career Decision Scale measure of Indecision post-course. The small sample sizes (18 males, 30 females) may preclude the attribution of true gender differences on these measures. However, it is possible that the females found the introspective nature of the course requirements combined with the cooperative and interactive learning methods as well as the explicit links to societal issues a more immediately beneficial learning environment (Tobias, 1990; Miranda and Magsino, 1990; Beall and Sternberg;1993).

A limitation of this study is that only 53% of the students participated in this research. While a larger sample size may have increased this study's validity, ethical constraints did not allow the researcher to use coercion or rewards to increase the students' participation. There is a potential bias in this sample as it is not clear what motivated some students to participate while others did not. As this course was open to students in all years of undergraduate Arts, Science and Social Sciences, there were a number of uncontrolled variables including a wide range of student interests, needs and career problems. These students were a mix of those who had decided, those still yet to decide, those who did not know how to decide and those who were indifferent to deciding. Personality factors (such as decidedness and motivation) are one of the challenges to analyzing the effectiveness of this course. As Johnson and Smouse (1993) reported, personality variables are not easily changed with a career planning course intervention. Their results suggested that students with problems of decisiveness or motivation did not benefit from a course. Perhaps these students needed an intervention more tailored to their concerns. Similarly, as Oliver and Spokane (1988) stated, "It may well be that clients with poor self esteem, poor sociability, or goal instability will fare better in individual counseling or more structured treatments" (p.459).

Career development courses for academic credit are well established at American universities (Isaacson and Brown, 1993). As Canadian universities increasingly express an interest in offering career courses, they may find that discussions center around concerns of academic credibility, philosophical issues related to the purpose of a university, and the complex nature of designing interventions to influence the career development of a wide range of student needs, interests and concerns. This course, which was designed to have a high standard of scholarly excellence and personal significance, demonstrated that many students can personally benefit from a theoretically integrated approach to the understanding of their career issues. Counsellors with expertise in career choice, career development and work related issues can offer much from the research literature and their professional practices to enrich the career development experiences of students in a classroom.

Conclusions and Implications

These results suggest that the study and application of career development theory, concepts and practices can have a positive impact on the career concerns of university students. Career Choice Anxiety, in particular, appears to be positively affected by this course. Additionally, participants show significantly decreased Career

Indecision and increased Career Certainty. While anecdotal comments from the participants support the view that students benefited from this course to a significant extent, further research in this area is required to substantiate these findings and provide more insight into how and why this course has a positive impact on the students' career concerns.

It is challenging to conduct research which analyses the outcomes of a career course while accepting both ethical constraints and a number of uncontrolled variables. Perhaps as a consequence, there is insufficient information available to maximize the impact of this type of intervention. A qualitative study which asks open ended questions about how this body of knowledge has affected students' understandings of their own personal career issues could provide valuable insights to instructors. In addition, qualitative studies exploring the experiences of expert instructors could also help universities to anticipate some of the pedagogical, political and developmental challenges inherent in offering a course of this nature. This type of data would be invaluable to course instructors, career consultants and administrators who have come to realize that it is time for more Canadian universities to give credit to career development.

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Career Planning and Development for Students: Building a Career In a Professional Practice Discipline

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“Never lose an opportunity of urging a practical beginning, however small, for it is wonderful how often the mustard seed germinates and roots itself” Florence Nightingale

Nurses assume a variety of roles in complex and ever changing health care systems. Moreover, the increasing demands of current work environments require that nurses be well prepared to provide and influence quality health care services. Nurse educators, therefore, are faced with the challenge of creating curricula that prepare and socialize students to take an active role in the evolution of their individual nursing careers as well as help shape the future of the profession.

Changing professional practice environments offer students tremendous opportunities along with significant challenges. To achieve success in the current work environment students must become career resilient and self-directed. Career resilient workers are dedicated to the concept of continuous learning, are ready to adapt and grow in order to keep pace with change, assume responsibility for developing their career, and are committed to both their own success and that of the organization in which they work (Donner & Wheeler, 2004; Waterman, Waterman, & Collard, 1994). Career resilience is congruent with the definitions of nursing practice that include autonomy, self-direction and continuous learning. Developing the skills and professional attitude necessary for career resilience is a process that students should begin in the first year of their nursing education.

Career planning and development is a dynamic process that adapts to the changes students’ experience as they build their professional knowledge, experience, and identity. Fundamental to the career planning and development process is self-discovery. The individual engages in a self-assessment process that requires ongoing examination of personal values, within the context of one’s nursing education and the professional environment. Clark (1997) describes this process as “self-concept and identity formation” (p.8). Active and structured participation in self-discovery can assist students to reflect on their growing professional values and attitudes and to learn and refine skills that will allow them to successfully and confidently participate in a formidable work environment at the outset and throughout stages of their career. The confidence that accompanies affirmation of the value of professional strengths has the potential to enhance and reinforce students’ sense of self-efficacy related to their academic and professional career choices.

The purposes of this article are twofold: to convince academics to participate in formal career planning and development activities with their students, and to report on research about a student-focused career planning and development intervention program for student nurses.

Student Career Planning and Development Needs

Students' career planning needs have long been neglected in nursing education curriculum development. Consequently, students embark on their nursing careers with little knowledge of how they might position themselves to take advantage of the opportunities available to them (Marsland, 1995). Marsland emphasized that for nursing students to achieve their maximum potential, they need expert assistance in their efforts to make career decisions. Yet currently, career planning and development activities are concentrated in the final months before graduation and usually focus on how to prepare for getting a first job (e.g., interviewing skills, resume writing) rather than on developing the skills and perspective necessary to comprehensively plan throughout all the stages of one's career.

Little is understood about how students, particularly those in undergraduate nursing programs, can participate in their nursing education in a way that will prepare them to assume responsibility for their academic and career paths. Nursing education programs have been criticized for continuing to focus on clinical skill development without guiding students in how to develop the career planning skills necessary to optimize those clinical skills within the health care delivery system (Donner, 1993).

The existing literature further suggests that nursing faculties and curricula lack the dedicated expertise, time, and content necessary to adequately prepare students for career success in the current health care environment. Crofts (1992) studied the career guidance needs and experiences of second- and third-year nursing students from four colleges of nursing. Of the 90 students who responded to Crofts' questionnaire, less than 50% indicated that they had discussed their career plans with someone, and only 12% had been offered any career advice. Students identified nursing faculty as resources whom they would be most likely to approach for career advice. However, the majority of faculty members who responded to the questionnaire indicated that they had never received career guidance and did not feel confident to provide it to students.

Marsland (1995) conducted a survey focused on career guidance offered to students and guidance that students claimed to desire but did not receive. Interview data indicated that new graduates felt that they received little career guidance over the course of their nursing education, which left them with a sense of being ill-prepared to establish themselves in their chosen career. Students expressed concerns related to their ability to develop a career path or execute their career goals in a challenging health care system. Marsland's results indicated that the majority of students wanted, and on an ad hoc basis received, some help with how to obtain a nursing job. Fewer received guidance about how they might gain experience related to their future career goals. Students also indicated that they wanted information and guidance in the area of career planning.

Nursing education programs have a responsibility to prepare students to create meaningful careers with confidence and enthusiasm. Fowler Byers and Bellack (2001) maintained that for nursing education programs to remain responsive to a changing health care system, curricular content and educational processes must include innovative strategies designed to enhance nursing students' performance and the development of their professionalism. Secrest, Norwood and Keatley (2003) suggest that the inclusion of reflection on professionalism in nursing curricula is equally important to the knowledge and skills also included. It is through their education

experiences that nursing students form their professional identities, examine their values and learn the norms of professional practice (Clark, 1997).

Socialization into the profession is an interactive process whereby professional identities are founded on values, meanings and norms that students adopt throughout their educational programs (Clark, 1997; Thorpe & Loo, 2003). The formation of professional identity is a developmental process (Clark, 1997). Individuals come to know themselves within their profession by reflecting on experiences, finding meaning in these experiences and incorporating this meaning into their professional being (Smith, 1992). The discovery of professional meaning can be fostered through the integration of career planning and development education and skill development throughout nursing curricula. Nursing education programs are in a prime position to initiate and sustain students' career planning and development skills. The academic environment offers unlimited opportunities for professional role modelling of attributes related to career resilience. Establishing career planning and development as a priority in nursing education can serve to ensure that students are both socialized, and offered the tools and resources to achieve, professional success throughout their nursing career.

Student Career Planning and Development Study

A pilot study examining the effectiveness of a career planning and development program that used a modified version of Donner and Wheeler's career planning model (Donner, 1998, see Table 1) was conducted at an urban Canadian university. The overall goal of the two-phased randomized control study was to examine the impact of a student-focused career planning and development program on the student nurse outcomes of involvement in career planning activities and perceived confidence related to career decision making. Study objectives included assessing (a) within and between group differences in career decision-making self-efficacy following the introduction, and participation in, a student-focused career planning and development program; (b) within and between group differences in the degree to which students were engaged in career planning and development activities; and (c) student nurses' perceptions of the role that career planning and development would play both during their academic nursing program and in their future professional nursing practice.

Table 1

Career Planning and Development Model (Donner, 1998)

Phase	Description of phases and process
Scanning your environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Foundation of career-planning process -Activity to become better informed and see the world through differing perspectives -Taking stock of the world in which you live -Understanding current realities in your country, health care system, and

	work environment as well as future trends at global, national, and local levels within and outside of health care and the nursing profession
Self-assessment and reality check	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identifying your values, experiences knowledge, strengths and limitations -Key to exploring new opportunities -Together with environmental scan helps you to identify future directions -Reality check allows you to seek validation of your self-assessment and expand your view of yourself.
Creating your career vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Exploring possibilities guided by your environmental scan and self-assessment -Vision of your potential future -Focus on what is possible and realistic for you in both the short- and long-term -Link between who you are and who you can become.
Strategic career plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Formulating a blueprint for action -Specifying the activities, timespan and resources you need to help you achieve your goals and career vision.

Methodology

A randomized control study design with a focus group component was utilized to examine quantitative and qualitative differences between and within intervention and control groups in terms of career decision-making efficacy and career planning activities. The research study was approved by the university ethics review board at the study site.

Data Collection

sample. Randomly selected students from the second and third years of a basic baccalaureate nursing program located in an urban university were invited to participate in the career planning and development study. The self-selected participants from the initial randomized group were then randomly assigned to control or intervention groups. The study sample ranged in age between 20 and 40 years. The highest level of education achieved before entering the nursing program ranged from high school to second year of university preparation. The majority of participants reported that they had little, or no, experience using a career planning and development model.

study instruments. The quantitative data collection questionnaire included the Career Planning Activities Measure and the Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale—short form (CDMSES). Wheeler, Waddell, Donner and McGillis Hall developed the Career Planning Activities Measure in 2001. It is a measure of the activities that each participant has undertaken related to career planning as outlined in the four stages of the Donner and Wheeler's (Donner, 1998) model: scanning, assessing, visioning, and planning. A summative score is created for each participant within each of the four stages of the model. A high score indicates a higher degree of CPDP career planning activities. The Career Planning Activities Measure has been used in two previous studies of career planning and development with nurses with reported Cronbach alphas of .62-.94 with community health nurses and .66-.92 with registered nurses in an acute care setting. Cronbach's alpha was .69-.81 in this study.

The Career Decision- Making Self-Efficacy Scale (Taylor & Betz, 1983) measures students' perceived level of confidence related to career decision making. It contains six dimensions on a 10-point scale where participants are asked to indicate their perceived confidence in accomplishing different tasks necessary to make quality career decisions. Cronbach's alpha has been reported as .97 (Taylor & Betz), and .80 in this study.

The researchers developed a demographic data sheet that obtained data related to selected demographic characteristics such as work-related information, educational preparation, and involvement in career development activities.

phase one. In Phase One of the study during the fall of the 1999/2000 academic year, the intervention group included 14 students, 6 in the second and 8 in the third year of their nursing program. Thirteen of these students were female and one was male. In a three-hour workshop, the intervention group was introduced to Donner and Wheeler's (Donner, 1998) career planning and development model, which was adapted for use with nursing students. Due to conflicting academic and clinical practice demands, the intervention workshops were run on two separate occasions, with the participants choosing the one that best fit their schedule. The intervention group completed the study questionnaire before beginning the workshop and within 2 weeks of completing it. Each participant received a career planning and development book in addition to a student career planning and development workbook folder.

The control group consisted of 11 students, 5 in the second year of the program and 6 in the third year. Control group members did not participate in the career planning and development workshops. They completed the study questionnaire on an individual basis within the same time period as the intervention group. Control group members were informed that they would be offered a comprehensive career planning and development workshop at the completion of Phase Two of the study, scheduled for March, 2001. At that time, control group participants also received a career planning and development book with a student career planning and development workbook folder.

phase two. All participants in Phase One were invited to continue their involvement in Phase Two, with the understanding that participants would remain in the group (intervention/control) to which they were originally randomly assigned. Of the 25 original participants, 5 students dropped out of the study citing academic and family life demands. The remaining 20 participants (10 in each group) requested to continue

their study involvement for the 2000/2001 academic year. Both the intervention and control groups contained 4 third-year students and 6 fourth-year students.

The Phase Two intervention included two 3-hour working sessions in which the career planning and development model introduced in Phase One was explored in further depth and applied to the intervention group's current academic setting and professional experiences. Although individual career coaching was also offered to the intervention group members, none of them requested it during the course of the study. After the end of the project and the academic term, however, 5 of the 10 (3 third-year and 2 fourth-year students) intervention group participants asked for, and received, individual coaching.

The instruments used in Phase One were administered to all study participants immediately before the Phase Two intervention workshops and up to one month after them. All students in the intervention group completed an evaluation form assessing their perceptions of the career planning and development program following the workshops in both phases of the study.

focus groups. All control and intervention group members were invited to participate in a focus group as a means of validating the quantitative study findings and further discovering and understanding the students' personal perception of, and experience with, the career planning and development process. Focus group participants were paid a \$35.00 honorarium. Separate focus groups were conducted for the intervention and control groups. Four students from the intervention group and three from the control group participated in the focus group discussions. They were moderated by the project research assistant, lasted for 1 ½ hours, and were tape-recorded. Participants in both intervention and control groups were asked the following questions:

- What does career planning and development mean to you?
- How would you describe your experience with career planning and development?
- How and where do you think career planning and development fits with your nursing education?
- Where do you see career planning and development fitting with your professional nursing practice?

Data Analysis

Participant questionnaire responses yielded numerical data that were coded and entered into a statistical software program, SPSS, for analysis. All Phase One and Two participants completed and returned their questionnaires. *T*-tests were used to determine between and within group differences between the intervention and control groups on questionnaire items.

All focus group discussions were audio taped and each audio-tape was transcribed by the project research assistant. The qualitative approach to the focus groups and related data analysis was phenomenology. LoBiondo-Wood and Haber's (1998) steps of data analysis were followed to arrive at the final synthesis of the participants' lived experience. The audio-tapes were reviewed twice to ensure transcription accuracy. Using the guiding questions posed in the focus groups, the

research assistant then comprehensively read and analyzed the transcripts to determine and categorize major themes. Significant phrases were identified and the central meaning of participants' responses was paraphrased as a theme. A theme was identified if it was discussed by a majority of the focus group participants. The principal investigator followed the initial review and identification of themes with a blind review, which yielded a final synthesis congruent with that of the research assistant. Themes were grouped under the focus group questions to determine how the data answered the question and to categorize the pertinent findings for both the intervention and control groups.

Results

Questionnaire Data

between group differences. No significant differences in career planning activities and career decision-making were found between the control and intervention groups before the career planning and development program intervention was introduced. After Phase One, the intervention group, compared to the control group, had significantly higher scores on both the Career Planning Activities Measure and CDMSES (see Table 2). The only area in which there was not a significant group difference was on the self-assessment scale of the Career Planning Activities Measure. This scale measures the degree to which individuals engage in an assessment of their personal and professional strengths and limitations, an exercise common to clinical course requirements in all years of the basic baccalaureate program at the institution in which the study was conducted.

Table 2

Phase One Post-Test Between Group Differences on Career Planning Activities Measure and Career Decision Making Self-Efficacy Scale

Scales	Means		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Int.	Control		
Scanning the environment	40.8	34.6	2.25	.034*
Self-assessment	29.8	28.1	1.16	.258
Career vision	42.1	34.5	2.83	.009**
Strategic career planning	7.1	5.4	2.50	.01**
Career decision-making self-efficacy	105.2	89.5	2.86	.009**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

In contrast, the only significant between group difference that emerged post-intervention in Phase Two was found in the strategic career planning scale of the Career Activities Measure (see Table 3). This scale measures the extent to which individuals have a documented and specific career plan for the next 6 months.

Table 3

Phase Two Post-Test Between Group Differences on Career Planning Activities Measure and Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale

Scales	Means		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Int.	Control		
Scanning the environment	44.1	43.4	.378	.710
Self-assessment	32.6	31.4	.988	.336
Career vision	44.3	41.1	1.19	.251
Strategic career planning	8.3	6.8	3.05	.007**
Career decision- making self-efficacy	112.0	110.4	.193	.849

***p*<.01

within group differences. The intervention group had significant increases in the degree of career planning activity and the level of career decision-making self-efficacy from pre- to post-test in both phases of the study (see Table 4 and 5). In contrast, the control group’s scores in career planning activity scores did not change significantly from pre- to post-questionnaire in Phase One. However, their scores did increase on the self-efficacy scale on the post-test in Phase One. In the study’s second phase, there were no significant changes between the control group pre- and post-test scores in either career planning activities or career decision-making self-efficacy.

Table 4

Phase One Pre-Post Test Within Group Differences on Career Planning Activities Measure and Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale

Scales	<u>Intervention Group</u>			<u>Control Group</u>		
	Mean difference	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Mean difference	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Scanning the Environment	37.4-40.8	3.30	.008**	32.8-34.6	1.85	.087
Self-assessment	28.8-28.6	1.07	.310	28.1-27.6	.729	.479
Career vision	37.0-42.2	2.31	.04*	31.4-34.5	1.19	.068
Strategic career planning	5.4-7.1	3.01	.01**	5.4-6.8	1.95	.073

Career decision-making self-efficacy	87.4-105.8	4.09	.002**	82.8-89.5	2.83	.014**
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*p<.05. **p<.01.

Table 5

Phase Two Pre-Post Test Within Group Differences on Career Planning Activities Measure and Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale

Scales	<u>Intervention Group</u>			<u>Control Group</u>		
	Mean difference	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Mean difference	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Scanning the environment	42.6-44.1	1.53	.160	40.9-43.4	1.790	.106
Self-assessment	29.4-32.6	3.73	.005**	30.8-31.4	0.620	.551
Career vision	40.2-44.3	2.51	.034*	38.4-41.1	1.620	.140
Strategic career planning	6.9-8.3	2.26	.050*	6.3-6.8	1.340	.213
Career decision-making self-efficacy	99.7-112	3.02	.015*	95.9-110.4	0.149	.170

*p<.05. **p<.01.

Summary

Compared to the control group, students who participated in a student-focused career planning and development program achieved significantly higher scores on both career-planning activities and career decision-making self-efficacy measures in the second and third years of their nursing program. After participating in Phase Two of the study during the third and fourth years of their nursing program, these same students did not score significantly higher than the control group on either measure, with the exception of active career planning. In terms of within group differences, the intervention group had significantly higher career activity and self-efficacy scores following participation in the career planning and development program in both phases of the study, whereas post-intervention in Phase Two, the control group did not maintain the significant increase in self-efficacy score they achieved in Phase One.

Focus Group Data

Both intervention and control group participant responses to the four questions guiding the focus groups were reviewed and analyzed for common themes. The four main categories of themes derived from the data were: 1) The meaning of career planning and development, 2) Experience with career planning and development, 3) The fit between career planning and development and nursing education and 4) The fit between career planning and development and professional nursing practice. The themes that have been included under each of these categories are presented individually and supported by participants' quotes that are representative of the identified themes. These are presented in the for the control and intervention groups, respectively.

the meaning of career planning and development.

Control Group.

Employment/health care system drives career planning and development

[Career planning means] starting from graduation, planning from your first job, finding out what you like early and using your jobs to get your goals.

It [career planning] is focusing on different types of careers in nursing, different types of nursing. [Career planning is] looking at the trends in a particular field and seeing where you fit.

Intervention Group.

Individual values drive career planning and development

It's [career planning is] taking your values and using them to formulate a plan that you can use, step-by-step.

Assuming control of one's career

It's [career planning] taking ownership of your career, your future, and making it what you want it to be, rather than feeling adrift

experience with career planning and development.

Control Group.

Searching

I've gone to job fairs in my 4th year, more career searching and job searching. I had different kinds of testing at a career centre where they had different types of tests that were quite extensive and they asked you questions about your preferences and those kinds of things.

CNSA conferences, just talking with people that may help me focus.

Intervention Group.

Empowerment

This is the first time in my program that I have someone really talk to me about what I want, what is important to me, and where I see myself going. I feel empowered to take charge of my career. I feel stronger about standing up for myself and for what I want to do.

Before being involved in the workshops, I did not even know that you could improve your skills in career development. I figured that as soon as you choose what you want to do, you go to school to do that thing and it just happens. I have learned that I can develop my career while in school – I know how to do that now.

I have a goal that I am confident about, and opportunities that can help me reach that goal seem to jump out more and I am able to take those opportunities and use them.

the fit between career planning and development and nursing education.

Control Group.

Lack of career planning and development information and support

We need more focus on different nursing careers – beginning in first year we could have workshops and seminars on different types of nursing so that people could get a feel for some other types of nursing so maybe, by fourth year they would make different choices as far as clinical placements.

There should be faculty who are dedicated to career planning, otherwise it really depends on what your exposure is, you might know a lot of people, or you might lose out on a perfect resource person.

You kind of need an expert, someone who is interested in helping you who is also an expert in the area, it can't be just anyone. Career planning needs to be lead by someone who knows what they are doing, and not just by reading off of a sheet, or giving advice based on their experiences.

Intervention Group.

Need for early and ongoing inclusion of career planning and development into nursing curricula

Career planning needs to be part of our education process right from the get go. You need a consciousness of where each experience is taking you, or you flounder, in the early years you don't have a sense of where your path is leading you, you flounder.

As my values and goals continuously change throughout the nursing program, career planning and development should be included in all levels of the program.

fit between career planning and development and professional practice.

Control Group.

Uncertainty

I am going into left field until I find out what I really want to do, and that may be a few years, I don't know, maybe I can get my plan together and then I'll be on my way, prior to that I'll still be searching I guess.

I really do not have a plan. I want to learn more as to how actually to make a plan and to see where I am going 'cause you know that is one of the things I'm a little perturbed about 'cause in order to get anywhere you need to make a plan. I feel like I am going in circles, I feel like there are many things that I am interested in but where am I going?

Intervention Group.

Personal control and direction

It will help me to just keep opening doors and not getting stuck anywhere – constantly looking ahead and beyond of what is directly in front of me – I am more goal directed.

It helps you to turn things around...you see how the learning fits for me not others.

Discussion

This pilot study examined the effect of a career planning and development program on student nurse outcomes. Given the small number of participants in the pilot project, and the single study site, results cannot be generalized beyond the pilot sample, however, findings do provide insights and directions for further research and curriculum development.

Findings suggest that students who participated in an introductory student-focused career planning and development program in the earlier years of their nursing baccalaureate education (early fall of their second and third years) were significantly more active in the process of career planning and development, and reported greater confidence in their ability to make career-related decisions than those who did not participate in such a program at that stage of their nursing education. These initial findings lend support to the contention that introducing a career planning and development program early within nursing academic programs can provide students with needed tools and guidance so that they may confidently assume responsibility for relevant and timely career-related initiatives. Participation in a career planning and development process offered study participants a structured and continuous process through which they could reflect on their evolving professional self and identify what they need to progress toward their vision of the nurse they wish to be.

The lack of between group differences following Phase Two of the study, when participants were in the late fall of the third and fourth year of their academic program, was initially somewhat puzzling. Since the intervention students were much more intensely involved in all phases of the career planning and development program in Phase Two, it was expected that the significant differences found following the first

phase would be maintained after the second. But when the context of the students' academic experience at the time of Phase Two was examined, it became apparent that some activities and events may have contributed to the non-significant between group findings after the second phase. Sixty percent of both intervention and control group participants were in the final year of their baccalaureate nursing education. In the fall of the fourth year, a plethora of job fairs are held both within the School of Nursing at the institution in which the study was conducted and external to the academic setting. Moreover, the fourth year students are given clinical credit for attending a fall provincial job fair sponsored by the nursing professional organization. Resume and interviewing workshops are also offered at this time of year for third and fourth year students. In addition, fourth-year students are required to take a "Nursing Issues and Trends" course in the fall term that focuses on enhancing the senior nursing students' awareness of the health care system and involvement in professional activities. Overall, there is a strong focus on preparing to graduate within the academic, clinical, and broader professional arenas.

Of interest, the intervention group demonstrated consistent increases in career planning activities and confidence in career decision-making self-efficacy over both Phase One and Phase Two of the study. But the control group's career decision-making self-efficacy score increased only following the first phase, with no significant change in scores in Phase Two. It may be that, given the flurry of events in the fall related to graduation, the control group members participated more actively in some career-related activities. However, they did not maintain this level of active involvement once they secured a job.

Self-selection into the study, the effects of study participation, and student maturity over the course of the study are also factors to take into account when interpreting the findings. A further consideration is the students' differing perspectives on the nature of career planning. The focus group discussions broadly suggested that students who had not participated in a career planning and development program perceived career planning as those activities necessary to secure a job at graduation (i.e., attending job fairs, exploring the different types of available nursing roles, and determining what employment options their current skill level would permit). At the time of this study, such activities were abundant and easily accessible. Moreover, the students in this study were entering the nursing workforce at a time of shortage and were, in most cases, confident that they would have a job after they graduated. Yet in spite of this security, control group discussion participants expressed the theme of "feeling adrift" regarding their professional future, and of needing direction and assistance in formulating a plan for their career.

The nature of support offered to graduating students by the School of Nursing appeared to convey a valuing of the "doing of nursing" through the achievement of employment. Donner and Wheeler (2004) suggest that a career in nursing is "about being a nurse, not doing nursing" (p.29). The distinction lies in the belief that being a nurse is imbedded in who we are as individuals and the values, beliefs, interests and knowledge that we hold in both our professional and personal lives whereas the doing of nursing focuses on the work to be accomplished (Donner & Wheeler, 2004).

In contrast to the focus on searching for and obtaining a job, those in the intervention group discussion seemed to place a broader emphasis on the relevance of values in guiding both short- and long-term career choices. They also expressed a sense of empowerment from having a process to use for career planning, as well as a sense of

confidence in their ability to plan and control their career over time. The cornerstone of the career planning and development process is the discovery of self within the context of nursing. Smith (1992) defines this knowing in nursing as a “holistic and integrative process of making sense out of ourselves in the world..it is weaving the threads of conceptions, perceptions, remembrances and reflections into a fabric of meaning” (p.1). Secrest, Norwood and Keatley (2003) propose that knowing in nursing enhances students’ confidence, competence and sense of professional worth. Structured curricular activities that incorporate reflection on professionalism may serve to socialize students to value both the achievement of professional knowledge and skills and the creation of a meaningful nursing career.

Both groups identified the need to have dedicated, expert career planning and development resources formally integrated into the nursing education curriculum, beginning in the early years of the program. The nature of the need for support differed between the control and intervention groups. Control group participants expressed a desire to have information presented to them with respect to nursing careers and experts who could help them with their career. Participants in the intervention group spoke to the need for a process to be introduced into their education experience that would enable them to reflect on, and respond to their expanding experiences and their changing values and goals. Although both groups highlighted a need for greater support related to career planning and development, it would seem that the control group sought direction from those who were perceived as authorities whereas intervention group participants needed a structure through which they could assimilate new experiences into their career planning and development.

Conclusion

Lack of education about the process of career planning and development during baccalaureate nursing education was an issue for the student participants in this pilot study. Study findings suggest that providing formal guidance in this process makes a difference in the degree to which students confidently participate in goal-directed career planning activities. Educational initiatives targeted to students’ individual and collective career planning and development needs can convey a valuing of the importance of the self within one’s career and help them to assume responsibility for their nursing career throughout the course of their academic program and their nursing career (Donner & Wheeler, 2000). Education programs have a responsibility to prepare students to capitalize on change and create their careers with assurance and enthusiasm. Integrating career planning and development education throughout academic program curricula may be one means of ensuring that students are offered the tools and resources to be active and confident in their ability to achieve professional success in rapidly changing employment environments rife with opportunities rather than certainties. The ability to be career resilient within one’s academic and professional career has the potential to build capacity within the profession (Donner & Wheeler, 2004).

The results of this pilot study provide educators with direction for future research. Intervention and longitudinal research with students across years of nursing curricula and academic settings would provide further information about students’ needs and how the career planning and development process contributes to their perceived professional success and career satisfaction.

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Career Development of First-Year University Students: A Test of Astin's Career Development Model

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Work has been a pervasive part of human existence and philosophical questions on the meaning of work have been raised as early as the time of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks (Axelson, 1993; Engels, Minor, Sampson, & Splete, 1995). Since Parsons (1909) presented the first conceptual framework for understanding individuals' career decision process, a growing number of theories and models of career development and career choice have emerged. Career development theorists have speculated about the meaning of work in people's lives. For example, Super (1951, 1953, 1963) emphasized the development and implementation of self-concept in the career development process. Holland (1966, 1985) sought to match individual personality types and environmental characteristics. Others suggested that work allowed individuals to fulfill certain basic needs (e.g., Astin, 1984; Roe, 1956). An underlying theme in these theories is that the salience of work in people's lives is important.

Although these models have made substantial contributions to the understanding of career decision making and career development, most theories are based on the experiences of white, middle-class males. Moreover, most career development theories also assume that individuals are free to choose from among an array of alternatives which are available to all. Thus, researchers have begun to question the relevance of these theories to women and individuals from different cultural, ethnic, and/or socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g., Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Fouad & Arbona, 1994; Okocha, 1994; Perun & Bielby, 1981). As Okocha (1994) points out, many of the assumptions of career development theories ignore the social realities of special groups where career development may be constrained by such factors as prejudice, discrimination, and opportunity availability imposed by society's socio-political system (Griffith, 1980; Smith, 1983).

Theories Relating to the Career Development of Women

Theories related to women's career development began to emerge in the early 1980's (e.g., Astin, 1984; Farmer, 1985; Gottfredson, 1981; Hackett & Betz, 1981). These theories improved on earlier theories by taking into account variables which influence women's career choices, aspirations, and work behaviors. An extensive examination of each theory is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a brief overview of four selected theories/models is given to provide a context for the present study.

hackett and betz's self-efficacy model. Hackett and Betz (1981) formulated a career development model based on Bandura's (1977) notion of self-efficacy, which attempted to explain some of the processes involved in men's and women's career

pursuits and their beliefs about achievement. Hackett and Betz asserted that self-efficacy could explain the processes by which traditional gender role socialization influenced men's and women's self-referent evaluations in relation to career choices. They argued that women in general lack strong efficacy expectations in relation to career-related behaviors because they are less likely than men to be encouraged to develop their own career paths and have fewer female role models who are successful. They believed that self-efficacy could explain why some women do not fully develop their capabilities and talents in their career pursuit.

gottfredson's circumscription theory. Gottfredson (1981) developed a model which incorporated several elements from earlier theories, namely: self-concept, developmental stages, and match between individuals and occupation. Gottfredson (1981) expanded on Super's (1951, 1953, 1963) idea that individuals seek jobs that are compatible with their self-concept. She suggests that a multi-faceted self-concept, influenced by variables such as gender, social class, and intelligence, plays a significant role in predicting occupational aspirations and career choices.

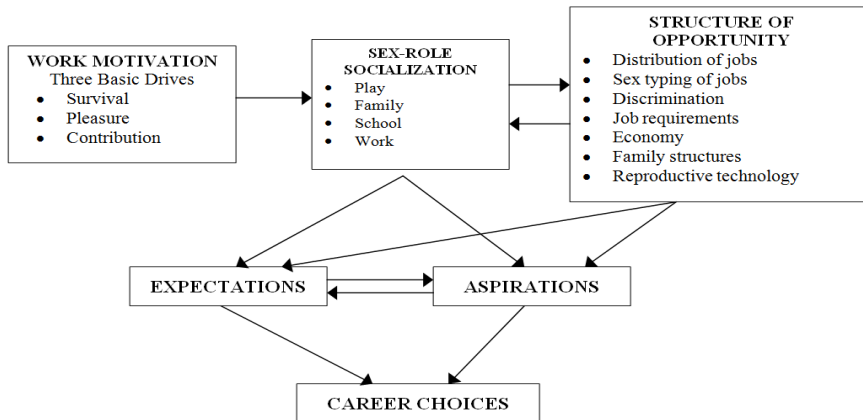
Gottfredson's (1981) model addresses women's career development in two different ways. First of all, it discusses the process of how individuals reach a compromise when they face conflicting goals. Gottfredson (1981) postulates that when career choice compromises are necessary, individuals are more ready to sacrifice their interests than to be in an occupation that is not "appropriate" for their gender, i.e., not compatible with a gender-stereotypic self-concept. The compromise process is particularly useful for understanding why women attempt to juggle priorities such as societal expectations, family obligations, and career aspirations. It also somewhat explains why women are concentrated in lower-pay and lower-status occupations despite their interests and aspirations. Second, Gottfredson maintains that individuals' perceptions of career and training opportunities play a significant role in determining their occupational aspirations and choices. This is particularly relevant to women because their career development is still limited by restricted occupational choices, unequal pay, stereotypes, and lack of role models who have broken the mould (e.g., Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Brooks, 1990; US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1991).

farmer's multidimensional model. Farmer (1985) presented a multidimensional model of career and achievement motivation for women and men. Farmer was influenced by Bandura's social learning theory, which maintained that "psychological functioning involves a continuous reciprocal interaction between behavioral, cognitive, and environmental influence" (Bandura, 1978, p. 344). In her model, Farmer (1985) proposed that three sets of variables (background, environment, and personal) interact to influence the aspiration, mastery, and career commitment of men and women. Background variables such as age, gender, and ethnicity influence a person's developing self-concept, aspiration, achievement motivation, and the way the environment is perceived. The developing self-concept is further influenced by interaction with the environment, including experiences at school and support from family and teachers. Personal variables such as academic self-esteem and achievement styles in turn set limit to the influences of environment and have been found to influence career and achievement motivation. It is Farmer's contention that changes in

society's attitude towards women working may influence changes in men's and women's achievement in the future.

astin's sociopsychological model. Astin's (1984) model attempted to incorporate sociological as well as psychological factors, emphasizing that both psychological factors and cultural-environmental factors interact to influence career choice and work behavior. Astin's model includes four inter-related factors: motivation, work expectations, socialization, and structure of opportunity. See Figure 1.

Figure 1



According to Astin, work is important because it is a means to fulfilling certain basic needs such as survival, pleasure, and contribution. Astin (1984) contended that men and women share a common set of work motivations. What differentiates their work expectations and career outcomes is the mediating effect of the other variables. For Astin, work expectations refer to individuals' perceptions of their capabilities and strengths, the options available, and the kind of work which can best fulfill their needs. They are different for men and women because of their differential socialization experiences as well as their perception of the structure of opportunity. According to Astin, children are reinforced for engaging in gender-appropriate behaviors. As children internalize social norms and values regarding appropriate sex-role behaviors and choices, they also become aware of the availability of opportunities. Implied in the theory is that socialization experiences can be either expanding (which promotes widespread options) or restricting (which promotes stereotyping).

The structure of opportunity construct in Astin's model was an important determining factor in the decision to use it as a theoretical framework in the present study. From Astin's perspective, opportunity structure is not static, but changes over time and across different segments of society. As society changes, men and women are faced with different environmental conditions which in turn modify their career aspirations and work behaviors. With rapid development in the world's economic and sociopolitical climate, Astin's (1984) model could be used to understand such career-related issues as life/career transition and career adjustment in people's lives. Implied in the conceptualization of the opportunity structure is the significance of individuals'

perception and/or awareness of available options in the world of work. As such, opportunity structure could also help explain the differential career expectations and choices of men and women. Others have regarded Astin's (1984) model as having potential in both research and practice (Brooks, 1990; Gilbert, 1984). It also has the potential to address the career development of ethnic minorities who are faced with internal and external barriers (e.g., Coleman & Barker, 1992). These individuals' career expectations and choices are likely to be affected by their socialization process as well as availability of opportunities in the world of work.

It is interesting to note that since the publication of Astin's model in 1984, little research has been conducted to test its validity. This may be due to the fact that her model lacks operational definitions of the proposed constructs and specific hypotheses (e.g., Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Brooks, 1990; Harmon, 1984), which makes empirical tests of the model difficult. However, two studies indirectly examined some of the ideas proposed in Astin's model. Scott and Hatalla's (1990) data supported Astin's notion of the importance of structure of opportunity as a major determinant in women's career choice. Poole, Langan-Fox, Ciavarella, and Omodei's (1991) findings confirmed Astin's ideas of the differential effects of socialization and structure of opportunity on the career choices of men and women. Astin's inclusion of cultural-environmental factors in her model enhances its efficacy in understanding career choice and work behavior in today's world. Yet, more research is needed to verify the model.

The Current Study

Using Astin's model as a theoretical framework, the present study addressed some missing pieces in the career development literature. One purpose of the study was to examine how the four constructs in Astin's model operate in the choice of career/college major of a selected sample of first-year university students. It was hypothesized that Astin's four constructs would all be important, but would operate differently for students whose socialization and life/work experiences were different.

Methodology

Sample

An invitation to participate in this study was given to 376 first-year students participating in a orientation program in a major university in Western Canada. Responses were collected from 264 students, providing a return rate of approximately 70%. Of these, 11 were either incomplete or spoiled, leaving 253 students for the data analysis. Student language of origin (English or non-English) was used to group students in the data analysis. Approximately 88 % of the participants were in the 17 to 20 year age range. (See Table 1.) About two-third of the sample were female. About 83% of the students were English-speaking and about 81% had resided in Canada since birth. Approximately 84% of the students had previous job experience, 67% had selected a major, and 62% had selected an occupational goal. These figures are roughly proportional to the entire population of first year students, as reported by the office of institutional analysis.

Table 1

Demographic Information on Sample of 253 University Undergraduates

Variable	Language of Origin				Total
	English		Non-English		
	M	F	M	F	
Length of residency Since birth	56 (22.67)	134 (54.26)	5 (2.02)	6 (2.43)	201 (81.38)
Less than 15 years	5 (2.02)	11 (4.45)	14 (5.67)	16 (6.48)	46 (18.62)
Total	61 (24.69)	145 (58.71)	19 (7.69)	22 (8.91)	
Total Language	206 (83.40)		41 (16.60)		247 (100)
Job experience					
Yes	50 (20.08)	129 (51.81)	12 (4.82)	18 (7.23)	209 (83.94)
No	12 (4.82)	16 (6.43)	8 (3.21)	4 (1.61)	40 (16.06)
Total	62 (24.90)	145 (58.24)	20 (8.03)	22 (8.84)	
Total Job Experience	207 (83.13)		42 (16.87)		249 (100)
Major selection					
Yes	42 (16.94)	93 (37.50)	13 (5.24)	17 (6.86)	165 (66.53)
No	20 (8.06)	51 (20.56)	7 (2.82)	5 (2.02)	83 (33.47)
Total	62 (25.00)	144 (58.06)	20 (8.06)	22 (8.88)	
Total Major Selection	206 (83.06)		42 (16.94)		248 (100)
Occupation selection					
Decided	37 (14.98)	89 (36.03)	11 (4.45)	16 (6.48)	153 (61.94)
Undecided	24 (9.72)	56 (22.67)	8 (3.24)	6 (2.43)	94 (38.06)
Total	61 (24.70)	145 (58.70)	19(7.69)	22(8.91)	
Total Occupation Selection	206 (83.40)		41 (16.60)		247 (100)
Total*	62 (24.90)	145 (58.23)	20 (8.03)	22 (8.84)	249 (100)

Note. Some subgroups do not add up to the total because some participants did not provide complete demographic information. The numbers in parentheses are percentages.

Data Source

The survey instrument used in the study consisted of two parts. Part 1 collected demographic data from participants, including: gender, age, residency status, length of stay in Canada, language of origin, English proficiency, proposed major, and occupational goal. Part 2 consisted of 40 items, 10 items for each of the four constructs in Astin's model namely: motivation, work expectation, socialization, and structure of opportunity. Since there is no published instrument reflecting Astin's model, a survey instrument was developed, following the methods suggested by Shaughnessy and Zechmeister (1994). Initially, an extensive item pool was developed, based on descriptions of the constructs in the literature. Then, five experts who were familiar with Astin's work were asked to rate the items independently, indicating which of the four constructs each item represented. Cohen's Kappa was calculated to assess inter-rater agreement. It was used in preference to percentage agreement because it accounts for chance agreement amongst raters. Items where there was a low amount of inter-rater agreement were discarded or revised and the procedure repeated until suitable inter-rater agreement was obtained regarding the subscale to which each item belonged. For the final round of rating, significant Kappa indicates significant agreement amongst raters beyond chance, $p \leq 0.01$.

Procedures

Data were collected during a break in an orientation program for new students. The first author introduced herself, gave a brief description of the study, explained the nature of participants' involvement, and distributed the research packages to students. The package contained: a copy of the questionnaire, a cover letter describing the purpose of the study and the nature of participant involvement, and a consent form. Students who agreed to participate in the study read the cover letter, signed the consent form, and proceeded to fill out the questionnaire, returning it to a collection box in the administration area or at the entrance of the Student Resource Center.

Results

The data were analyzed in several steps. Two-way MANOVAs were used to assess gender and language differences among students. Pearson product-moment correlations were conducted to assess the relationships among the four factors in Astin's model: motivation, work expectations, sex-role socialization, and structure of opportunity.

Gender Differences

Five, 2 (gender) x 2 (demographic variable) MANOVAs were conducted to assess gender differences on the four factors in Astin's model. For each analysis, gender was crossed with one of the following demographic variables: students' language of origin, students' length of residency in Canada, whether students had previous job

experience, whether students had selected a major, and whether students had decided on an occupational goal. Gender was not crossed with other demographic variables because of insufficient number of students in some cells. The results of the MANOVAs indicated a significant main effect for gender, $F(4, 242) = 2.71, p < .05$. See Table 2. More specifically, female students scored significantly higher than male students on the socialization sub-scale and structure of opportunity sub-scale across all five demographic variables. In other words, the socialization experiences of female students were more expanding and less gender stereotypic than was the case for male students. Females also were more aware of the economic conditions, job market realities, and opportunities available to women, than were male students.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations Depicting Gender Differences on Astin's Four Factors

Demographic Variable	Structure of opportunity	Motivation	Expectation	Socialization
<hr/>				
Language of origin				
Male (n=82)	5.99* (3.94)	12.15 (4.32)	11.50 (4.65)	8.84** (5.02)
Female (n=167)	6.80* (2.94)	12.77 (4.03)	12.17 (3.79)	10.75** (4.58)
<hr/>				
Length of residency				
Male (n=81)	5.89* (3.91)	12.10 (4.32)	11.43 (4.64)	8.77** (5.02)
Female (n=168)	6.79* (2.93)	12.76 (4.02)	12.17 (3.78)	10.73** (4.58)
<hr/>				
Job experience				
Male (n=83)	5.96* (3.92)	12.17 (4.30)	11.51 (4.62)	8.84** (4.99)
Female (n=168)	6.79* (2.93)	12.76 (4.02)	12.17 (3.78)	10.73** (4.58)
<hr/>				
Major selection				
Male (n=83)	5.96* (3.92)	12.17 (4.30)	11.51 (4.62)	8.84** (4.99)
Female (n=167)	6.77* (2.94)	12.75 (4.03)	12.14 (3.76)	10.71** (4.59)
<hr/>				
Occupation decision				
Male (n=81)	6.14* (3.81)	12.40 (4.02)	11.84 (4.10)	9.06** (4.75)
Female (168)	6.79* (2.93)	12.76 (4.02)	12.17 (3.78)	10.73** (4.58)

Note. The numbers in parenthesis are standard deviations.

* indicates $p < .05$, ** indicates $p < .01$.

Language Differences

Three, 2 (language of origin) x 2 (demographic variable) MANOVAs were conducted to assess differences on Astin's four factors between students whose language of origin was English and those whose language of origin was not English. In these analyses, language of origin was crossed with: length of residency in Canada, whether students had previous job experience, and whether students had decided on an occupational goal. Language of origin was not crossed with other demographic variables because of insufficient number of students in some cells. The results of the MANOVAs indicated a significant main effect for language of origin, $F(4,242) = 4.72$, $p < .01$. See Table 3. More specifically, students whose language of origin was English scored significantly higher than students whose language of origin was not English on the socialization sub-scale across the three demographic variables. In other words, the socialization experiences of students whose language of origin was English was more expanding than that of students whose language of origin was not English.

Table 3:

Means and Standard Deviations Depicting Language Differences on Astin's Four Factors

Demographic Variable	Structure of opportunity	Motivation	Expectation	Socialization
Length of residency				
English (n=207)	6.52 (3.19)	12.59 (4.11)	11.99 (4.08)	10.73** (4.60)
Non-English (n=42)	6.52 (3.94)	12.31 (4.26)	11.57 (4.21)	6.90** (5.26)
Job experience				
English (n=208)	6.54 (3.21)	12.59 (4.10)	12.00 (4.07)	10.74** (4.59)
Non-English (n=43)	6.51 (3.90)	12.42 (4.27)	11.67 (4.22)	7.02** (5.26)
Occupation decision				
English (n=207)	6.58 (3.17)	12.61 (4.10)	12.08 (3.89)	10.82** (4.45)
Non-English (n=42)	6.69 (3.76)	12.76 (3.67)	11.90 (3.99)	7.05** (5.32)

Note. The numbers in parenthesis are standard deviations.

* indicates $p < .05$, ** indicates $p < .01$.

Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated to assess the relationships between Astin's four factors for the entire sample and for four sub-groups of students: male students, female students, students whose language of origin was English, and students whose language of origin was not English. The data show that for the entire sample, all factors were significantly correlated, except for the non-significant relationship between socialization and structure of opportunity. The correlations for males, females, and students whose language of origin was English, demonstrated a similar pattern. However, for students whose language of origin was not English, the pattern was markedly different. Expectation was significantly correlated with the other

three factors, but the other three factors were relatively independent of each other. See Table 4. This suggests that for students whose first language is not English, motivation, socialization, and structure of opportunity are relatively independent of each other, while each of these factors is related closely to the student's expectations of the world of work.

Table 4

Correlations Between the Four Dependent Measures for the Entire Sample and Four Sub-Groups of Students

Variable	Structure of opportunity	Expectation	Socialization
Motivation			
Entire sample (n=253)	.51**	.27**	.34**
Male (n=83)	.58**	.34**	.37**
Female (n=168)	.48**	.24**	.23**
English (n=208)	.50**	.28**	.28**
Non-English (n=42)	.56**	.27	.20
Expectation			
Entire sample	--	.38**	.37**
Male	--	.49**	.54**
Female	--	.29**	.26**
English	--	.39**	.35**
Non-English	--	.41**	.48**
Socialization			
Entire sample	--	--	.11
Male	--	--	.25**
Female	--	--	.22**
English	--	--	.30**
Non-English	--	--	.09

Note. * indicates $p < .05$, ** indicates $p < .01$.

Supplementary Analyses

In order to explore other possible explanations for the above findings, several MANOVAs were conducted using the remaining demographic factors as classification variables. Cross-tabs also were calculated to determine whether the key variables reported above might be disproportionately represented in other demographic factors. The results that reached significance ($p \leq .05$) are reported below. The MANOVAs revealed that students who had previous job experience had higher mean scores on the motivation sub-scale and the expectation sub-scale than students with no previous job experience. This suggests that students with job experience were more motivated towards achieving their goals and were more aware of their own capabilities, strengths, and needs. Similar results were obtained for students who had selected an academic major and those who had decided on an occupational goal. We also found that female students tended to have more previous career-related experience than did male students.

Many females had volunteer experience which helped shape their career interests while others had attended workshops to gather career-related information before they entered university. Females in our study also were more likely to have received support from parents and/or significant others to pursue higher education and to develop their own careers.

Discussion

In general, the findings of the present study suggest that motivation, work expectations, socialization, and structure of opportunity all play an important role in the career development of this group of first-year university students, but they operate differently for males and females and for people whose language of origin is not English. The socialization experiences of female students in our study were more expanding than that of male students. Females also were more aware that women are playing a more significant role in the job market and that gender discrimination may still be present in the world of work. This is consistent with other reports indicating that despite increased participation of women in the labor force, their opportunity is still limited by restricted occupational choices, unequal pay, and discrimination (e.g., Brooks, 1990; Ihle, Sadowsky, & Kwan, 1996; Murrell, Frieze, & Frost, 1991; U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1991). As suggested in Astin's (1984) model, such information is important to female students when they choose academic majors and subsequent career paths.

It is important to acknowledge that some of the findings in our supplementary analyses suggest that gender alone may not be the pivotal factor in creating these differences. Students who had previous job experience were aware of their own interests, strengths, and needs and were more likely to have selected an occupational goal. Females also were more likely to have previous job experiences and have engaged in career exploration activities. These career-related experience likely are a part of the career socialization process which helps refine career interests and goals. Thus, it is not clear at present whether gender per se is responsible for these differences or whether other mediating factors might be operating. Regardless though, these findings confirm the role motivation and expectation play in student career decisions as suggested in Astin's (1984) model.

The findings in this study reveal some interesting observations about language and culture. The differences in the language of origin variable on the socialization subscale provide support for previous reports suggesting that individuals from different cultures are socialized in different ways (e.g., Harter, 1988; Valsiner, 1989). The lower scores on the socialization sub-scale for students whose language of origin was not English may suggest that these students have been socialized to believe that career was secondary for women and that women should not be independent. This may indeed be a reflection on the socialization process of certain cultures. Chinese women for example, are socialized to be dependent, nurturing, and less successful than men. They are also expected to demonstrate "female" traits and to conform to a set of restricted role expectations (e.g., Chiu, 1990; Wang & Creedon, 1989). In a study based on the Hong Kong 1981 census data (Tsang, 1993), it was found that gender was still a crucial factor influencing the educational attainment and status attainment of men and women in Hong Kong. Tsang (1993) maintained that women experienced more constraints and less encouragement than men during the educational and/or status attainment process.

He attributed these findings to the different socialization of men and women in Hong Kong, who grew up with different expectations and aspirations. If such is the case for students whose language of origin was not English in the present study, counselors and faculty will play an important role in assisting these students to deal with both internal and external barriers during their academic and career development process.

When examining the relationships between the motivation, socialization, expectation, and structure of opportunity, our data show mixed support for Astin's model. For the sample as a whole, as well as for males, females, and students whose language of origin was English the four factors are inter-related. However, for students whose language of origin was not English, expectation was significantly related to the other three factors, but the other three factors are independent of each other. This suggests that work expectation is the most operative factor for this group of students. However, in Astin's (1984) model there is no direct path linking motivation and work expectation. In fact, Astin (1984) maintained that work expectation was a function of one's socialization and perceived structure of opportunity, but not of motivation. Our data may suggest an adaptation of Astin's original contention to give more prominence to expectation than was previously given. For the group of students in our study, awareness of their own capabilities, strengths, and needs will most likely enhance their academic and career development process. Furthermore, the strongest positive relationship was obtained between motivation and work expectation. This suggests that students who were more aware of their interests, strengths, and goals were more motivated to achieve their goals, and vice versa.

One caution should be exercised when interpreting our data. One of the limitations of the present study was the homogeneity of the sample. Approximately 80% of the students in our study were between the ages of 17 and 20 and had just graduated from high school before entering university, were born in Canada, and spoke English as their first language. Furthermore, the small number of students whose language of origin was not English made it impossible to investigate the experiences of students who belonged to diverse cultural groups. In the same vein, it is important for readers to consider how similar this sample might be to a sample of first year students in other regions, i.e., to what extent are the characteristics of first year students in a Western Canadian university similar to those of first year students in Atlantic Canada or downtown Toronto? It would be interesting to replicate this study with a cross geographic sample to determine how robust the findings were and how generalizable were the findings to first year Canadian students in general. These cautions notwithstanding, our data do provide some support for Astin's model and suggest that it has potential for explaining the diverse experiences of first year undergraduate students.

To conclude, the findings of the present study suggest that the four constructs in Astin's (1984) model namely, motivation, work expectations, socialization, and structure of opportunity all play a role in the career development of this group of first-year university students. Student retention has been identified as an emerging concern of institutions of higher education (Bishop, 1990). Early career intervention is necessary to identify and assist students who are at risk of dropping out of university. Our data suggest that intervention focusing on broadening the socialization experiences of young people, especial males, may help to increase awareness of opportunities, and heighten work-related expectations. Experiences designed to heighten work-related motivation may also have a similar effect.

The changing demographics and global trends have made career development an increasingly challenging task to this group of young people. It is apparent that the tasks of career counselors and practitioners are also increasingly complex and demanding. More theory-driven research is called for (Betz, 1991) to guide practices. Proactive approaches such as career workshops and seminars, and faculty members as mentors and advisors could provide students with the necessary resources and support. Integration of career-related concepts and attitudes into academic programs could also promote students' self-awareness, career mindfulness, and problem-solving skills. In order to maximize the quality and proficiency of the delivery of educational programs and career services, a closer collaboration among university administrators, faculty members, and student affairs personnel, becomes all the more essential.

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Contextual Factors that Influence the Career Decision Making Process for Indo-Canadian Young Women Entering the Social Sciences

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The educational system of any society inherently is set up with the expectation that certain transitions occur within life. For instance, in Western cultures set transitions occur from middle schools to secondary schools and further, to college, university, or the workplace (Entwisle, 1990). Preparing for a career is considered an age-graded normative task (Nurmi, 1998). As a result of these many institutional transitions, it is likely that an evaluation of contextual or social factors related to career development is needed by career counsellors.

To add more understanding of career decision making among young adults and to reflect the diversity of Canadian culture, the study of children of immigrants needs further exploration. For instance, understanding how socialization within the family, ethnic community, and various other contexts contribute to the development of current career choices is important to explore. Very little research centers on the future career roles of children of immigrants (children born and brought up in their parents' host country) although they form an increasingly important segment of Canadian society (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994; Maxwell, Maxwell, & Krugly-Smolksa, 1996; Rumbaut, 1994). In particular, limited research focuses on Indo-Canadian young women and the various social contexts that contribute to their career decision-making process. This article attempts to examine the social forces that shape Indo-Canadian young women experience in the career decision-making process to enter the social sciences.

Contextual Influences for South Asian Children of Immigrants

intergenerational conflict in families. A common metaphor used to describe intergenerational conflict experienced by children of immigrants is “walking between two different worlds” (Goodnow, Miller, & Kessel, 1995; Ghuman, 1997; O’Connell, 2000; Patal, Power, & Bhavnagri, 1996; Phelon, Davidson, & Yu, 1991). The metaphor presupposes a straightforward clash between two different value systems, resulting in an unbridgeable gap between generations that causes youth to be in a forced-choice dilemma (Kim-Goh, 1995). Often, when researchers mentioned the challenges of second-generation children of immigrants, as in Saran’s (1985) work on the South Asian experience, they described children of immigrants experience with their parents as leading to depressive and suicidal states. The tensions that children of immigrants experience when navigating between two different cultures and value systems were discussed as a problem of incomplete assimilation (Das Gupta, 1997; Kar, Campbell, Jimenez, & Gupta, 1996). Implicit in the idea of culture conflict is that the children of immigrants see their lives as problematic (Ballard, 1979). Further studies are required to discover how Indo-Canadian young women experience culture conflict in making various decisions regarding how to live their lives.

parental influence on educational decision making. It is important to explore if Indo-Canadian young women receive conflicting messages regarding how to make a career choice and how they might manage opposing messages. For example, the central message in the dominant society might be to view career decision making as an individual process of self-discovery based on personal interests, values, and aspirations (Hartung, Speight, & Lewis, 1996) rather than viewing career decision making as an interpersonal process that incorporates a family perception of what course one should pursue (Basit, 1996; Siann and Knox, 1992; Gibson and Bhachu, 1991). It is important to explore how Indo-Canadian young women engage in the educational decision making process.

Career choice and parental expectations was documented by Beynon and Toohey (1995). They conducted interviews regarding factors that influenced the career choice to enter teaching with students of first- and second-generation Chinese and Punjabi-Sikhs in Canada. The study looked at both men and women for each ethnic group. The parental influence was pervasive, and parents seemed to be more willing to accept teaching as a career choice for women than for men. It was noted that if parents did not view their daughter's career choice in a favorable light and did not approve, the student reported more conflict with the parents, feelings of inadequacy, dissatisfaction, or uneasiness with self. Understanding these parental expectations within the family is an important step to understanding the educational experiences of Indo-Canadian young women.

Development of a Sense of Self-Efficacy During Young Adulthood

According to Bandura, an important developmental task that young adults face is their sense of competence (Bandura, 1997). A sense of competency is related to the ability to achieve goals and adapt to the environment by making use of personal resources (Cote, 1996). Personal resources can include specific skills, abilities, and self-esteem. Bandura formalized this reflection of competence through his concept of self-efficacy. He defined self-efficacy as "people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of actions acquired to achieve a good developmental outcome" (1986, p. 81).

Bandura suggests that efficacious people can handle a variety of tasks and can predict a number of outcomes, such as academic achievements, social competence, and career choice (Bandura, 1997; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). Bandura identified three ways in which self-efficacy effects psychological functioning. First, activities in which people choose to engage are those that they believe they can master. Second, self-efficacy determines the amount of motivation to achieve goals in the face of obstacles or difficulties. Third, one's level of self-efficacy determines if a person's thinking process is self-aiding or self-hindering. In sum, Bandura posited that a strong sense of self-efficacy determines the amount of control people exercise in their lives to help them translate self-belief into accomplishment and motivation.

Deciding to pursue post-secondary education has effects other than gains of knowledge and skills in a particular domain. Other general outcomes correlate with competence such as interpersonal skills, adapting to differing contexts, attitudes, and the development of personal agency (Bandura, 1997). These tasks are of particular significance as young adults make the transition to university and the world of work. A

social cognitive approach to career development, focussing on the processes through which academic and career interests develop, would be useful as self-efficacy and contextual factors are emphasized.

Lent's Social Cognitive Career Theory

Developing a strong sense of self-efficacy is essential for people in transition. Self-efficacy, as defined by Lent, Brown, & Hackett (2000), builds on Bandura's work and is related to whether resources will be properly used in the transition process and whether certain tasks will be attempted or accomplished. Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) focuses on the process through which academic and career interests develop by exploring self-efficacy in relation to contextual factors. Due to ethnic and cultural differences in perception of one's environment, researchers have recognized the importance of applying SCCT to different cultural groups (McWhirter, 1997; Patton & McMahon, 1999). SCCT will be used as a base to study Indo-Canadian young women's career decision-making process to enter the applied social sciences.

Methodology

The research study was based on a qualitative descriptive case study (Yin, 2003) to examine what contextual factors contribute to the career decision-making process among Indo-Canadian young women entering the applied social sciences at the post-secondary level. A descriptive case study approach requires the researcher to begin with a theory in the literature (Yin, 2003). From the Social Cognitive Career theory (SCCT), a selected set of propositions exploring contextual factors were examined. The descriptive theoretic patterns of the study can then be compared to the propositions embedded within the SCCT theoretical framework. The purpose of this methodology is to see if the patterns that emerge within the data set fit the SCCT theoretical propositions under consideration, and to explore the usefulness of the theory to understand an ethnic minority group (Yin, 2003).

Central Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

- How do vocational interests develop for Indo-Canadian young women?
- How does self-efficacy contribute to their vocational interests?
- What role does socialization in the dominant society, family, ethnic community, and school play in formulating educational and career interests for Indo-Canadian young women?
- How does participating or viewing others' (role models) participation in relevant educational and career activities contribute to their experience of self-efficacy in career decision making?

Participants

In this study, a criterion case selection strategy was used (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). A criterion case selection strategy requires having pre-set criteria to

guide the selection of participants. The criteria for selecting the participants were: (1) they completed Kindergarten to grade 12 schooling in Canada, which would qualify them as being second generation (Zhou, 1997), (2) both parents of each participant would have been born and raised in India, (3) they were enrolled in an undergraduate program in an applied social science program, (4) they represent the same religious background, and (5) they were young women between the ages of 20-25.

The primary method used to find participants was to approach individuals at random and ask if they would be interested in engaging in the study. A total of 87 Indo-Canadian young women were randomly selected, out of which 7 students completed both sets of interviews and the questionnaires. The seven participants were enrolled in their third or fourth year in undergraduate degree programs in British Columbia and were between the ages of 20-25, completed Kindergarten to grade 12 schooling in Canada, and both parents of each participant were born and raised in India. All the participants also shared the same religious background and were Sikh. The young women were divided into two groups representing the applied social science programs: Social Work and Child and Youth Care. Both academic programs were defined as applied social science programs because they incorporated practicum experiences into their degree requirements.

Interview procedure

The research was conducted in a six-phase process: (1) participants were given a two-part non-standardized qualitative questionnaire created by the researcher prior to the first interview. The first part, called Factors that Influence Career Decision Making Questionnaire, was a modified version of Julien's non-standardized questionnaire (1997) entitled The Search for Career-Related Information by Adolescents. The second part of the questionnaire, called Functions of Coping Efficacy Questionnaire, was based on the tenets of the social cognitive career theory (Lent et al., 2000) and the work of Hackett and Betz (1981). (2) Participants engaged in a 90 minute guided interview which consisted of targeted open-ended questions. Questions were asked in a systematic manner to control for order effects. The questions revolved around: (a) vocational interest development, (b) how self-efficacy appraisals contributed to vocational interest development, (c) explicit and implicit messages received from different social forces regarding women and work, (d) key learning experiences that furthered their understanding of the world of work, and (e) view of role models in the field. At the end of the interview, the researcher collected the questionnaires and invited open-ended descriptions of issues pertinent to the participant that might not have been covered in the interview. (3) Transcription of the first interview and a cross comparison between questionnaires and the interview transcript was conducted to identify gaps. Systematic case study notes were maintained by the researcher documenting observations after each interview. (4) Transcription of the first interview was sent to the participant to review the accuracy of statements. (5) A second 30 minute interview was scheduled with the participant for the researcher to clarify ideas that arose from reviewing the initial transcript. The second interview was also audio taped, transcribed, and reviewed by participants. (6) The transcription of the first interview ranged from 16 to 26 pages in length, typed in 10-point font, and single-spaced per participant. Due to the volume of data, the researcher decided that 25% of each coded interview would be reviewed by

two Sikh Indo-Canadian graduate students who acted as independent raters of the data to ensure consistency of results.

Interview Data Analysis

Data analysis of the interviews and questionnaires consisted of four phases: In the first phase the researcher created a list of domains (topic areas) of analysis. The domains of analysis, based on the predefined concepts found within the social cognitive career theory (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000), were: a) contextual affordance, b) structure of opportunity, c) learning experiences, d) self-efficacy beliefs, e) outcome expectations, f) interest development, g) choice goals, and h) choice actions. In the second phase, a line-by-line analysis of each transcript consisted of categorizing all interview statements into particular domains. The table consisted of each domain of analysis and corresponding interview statements. In the third phase, two Sikh Indo-Canadian graduate students acted as independent raters of the research and reviewed the table to ensure that the interview statements were appropriately sorted into the most appropriate domain. The researcher asked each coder to look at each statement within each domain and state whether they saw an occurrence (+) or a non-occurrence (-) for each statement (Kvale, 1996). Having pre-set definitions formulated from the Social Cognitive Career Theory (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994) for each domain of analysis ensured agreement over the checkers interpretations of the statements. The final phase of analysis consisted of a cross-case analysis by examining the data within a particular domain across participants and representing the patterns in written form. Selected statements from the transcripts were included in the analysis of the results section and appear in quotes. The participants requested that the quotes selected would be used by more than one participant in order to protect their identity. As such, the portrayal of the breadth and depth of the interview statements was limited.

Validity and Reliability Procedures

Validity of the data is based on Yin's (2003) three criteria. First, *internal validity* was achieved through triangulation of different sources of data, having a selective sample, and having the participants check the accuracy of their interview statements. Second, *reliability* was attained through consistent data analysis procedures and by establishing two inter rater reliability checks. Third, *external validity* was established through analytical generalization of the results of multiple cases to theory (Yin, 2003). As such, within the results section further discussion of selected propositions of the Social Cognitive Career Theory will be examined in relation to the research findings.

Results

Proposition #1 An Individual's Occupational or Academic Interests are Reflective of His or Her Concurrent Self-Efficacy Beliefs and Outcome Expectations (Lent et al., 1994; 2000)

All seven participants demonstrated that their academic interests were reflective of their self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations. Such interests were formed

when individuals were immersed in the helping field through involvement in their ethnic community at an early age. They all were exposed both directly and vicariously to diverse acts of charity and were reinforced actively by family or ethnic community members for their “good service” to others. Through repeated activity engagement, modeling, and feedback from people in the ethnic community they acquired a set of “helping skills” and developed a sense of their efficacy while engaging in acts of charity. By the time they engaged in volunteer work within the dominant society they were in late adolescence. The participants formed enduring interests based on their sense of efficacy in the helping field. They anticipated positive outcomes and that engaging in the helping field would generate “personal satisfaction”. Evidence from all seven participants supported Lent’s proposition that individuals would aspire to develop choice goals for occupations or academic fields consistent with their primary interests formed at an early age. The data for all seven of the participants also support Lent’s sub-proposition that interests will stabilize for an individual by late adolescence or early adulthood. By completion of high school all the participants recognized that they wanted to be in the applied social sciences. Four of the seven participants had a crystallized career choice goal within the helping field that they were clearly aiming towards while they were in high school. The other three participants discovered their specific career choice within the helping field when they were in their first two years of college or university.

Proposition #2 An Individual’s Occupational Interests Also are Influenced by His or Her Occupationally Relevant Abilities, But This Relation is Mediated by One’s Self-Efficacy Beliefs (Lent et al., 1994; 2000)

Three of the seven young women defined themselves in high school as being a relatively “strong” science or mathematics student. Despite having the ability to persist in the sciences, they chose not to do so, as they did not find the field “personally satisfying”. For these three participants, exploration and discovery of new interest areas was an important factor that they considered as part of their self-development and felt confident enough to engage in “self-exploration”. Another four out of the seven young women felt that neither the sciences nor mathematics were their strongest subjects, but persisted in completing the subjects to see if their experiences would change over time. Despite low performance level in the area, they felt confident enough to complete and pursue the sciences before limiting their career options. Only when they had accumulated enough evidence based on their performance and sense of personal satisfaction did they determine that the area was not a career choice.

In regard to their ability to know that they could help people in the applied social sciences, all seven believed that they had the capacity to do so, based on volunteer and work experiences that they had accumulated over time. Their belief in their ability to do well in the field was based on the feedback that they had received from others about their ability to work with people. In regard to knowing if they would do well academically within the applied social sciences, six of the seven participants knew by the end of high school that their academic strengths and personal interests were in the applied social sciences. However, one participant ventured into the helping field unsure of her academic ability but felt confident that she had the capability to do well in the applied social sciences.

Proposition #3 Self-Efficacy Beliefs Derive From Performance Accomplishments, Vicarious Learning, Social Persuasion, and Physiological Reactions (Emotional Arousal) in Relation to Particular Educational and Occupationally Relevant Activities (Lent et al., 1994; 2000)

Successful accomplishments were considered important for the participants when making self-efficacy appraisals. It was noted in all seven participants that they would identify a success only if a personal goal was achieved under conditions that they felt were challenging. Success achieved under conditions of challenge appears to be more strongly related to self-efficacy than is success achieved under limited difficulty or challenge (Lent, 2000). Lent also proposed as a sub-proposition that being exposed to role models and learning vicariously through them would have an impact on one's sense of self-efficacy. Five participants mentioned that lack of Indo-Canadian women working in their field did not hinder their interest or influence their sense of self-efficacy to enter the career role. In actuality, it acted as further motivation to sustain their career interest as they wanted to address the lack of Indo-Canadian women seen in the helping professions. What did influence their career choice was watching other individuals engaging in career related behavior, and learning vicariously from them. The observed individual was likely in a position of authority and did not have to be Indo-Canadian for their experiences to be meaningful to the young women. In regard to social persuasion, contrary to Lent's sub-proposition that individuals value their own self appraisals over other direct feedback, all seven participants stated that they valued "encouragement and feedback" regarding their performance from people who were working in the field over their own self-appraisals and that it helped them to sustain their career interest. In relation to task performance, the sense of self-efficacy was enhanced for all the participants when they felt "positive and relaxed" about their performance in the field. They were able to maintain their sense of "excitement and stamina" when they could acknowledge their own sense of "personal growth" as a professional in the field.

Proposition #4 Outcome Expectations are Generated Through Direct and Vicarious Experiences with Educational and Occupationally Relevant Activities (Lent et al., 1994; 2000)

Engaging in direct experiences in the field through a practicum placement, volunteer work in the dominant society and ethnic community, and work experiences they were able to develop a better sense of the outcome expectations they could anticipate in the field. Direct experiences held more weight for all seven participants than vicariously experienced accounts of other people's experiences in the field. The aspects that they did allow to have an influence over their career and academic development were in regard to their siblings' advice regarding how to "navigate the educational system". For three of the seven participants, the "practical advice" given by family members who had been through the system held weight for the young women who had older siblings to draw on for support. For these participants, their older siblings were also actively searching for jobs in the participants' field of interest and passing on information. Four participants who were the eldest sibling in the family aided their younger siblings by providing academic assistance, advice, and support.

Proposition #5 Contextual Affordance Would Indirectly Affect A Person's Career Decision-Making Process and Choice of Occupation (Lent et al., 2000)

Contextual affordance consists of the participants indirect perception of social forces and determines if they have a positive, neutral, or a negative influence over the individual (Lent et al., 2000). For all seven of the young women, the idea that socialization remains in the background of experience in a positive, negative, or neutral manner was not reflected by the participants. The young women demonstrated the opposite to what Lent proposes in his theory, as they were aware of the different social agents in their lives and elected whether they wanted to integrate the messages from different social forces into their decision-making, or to leave certain social messages in the background of their experiences. The young women engaged in a process of negotiating their socialization experiences, which they linked to engaging in the process of “developing a bicultural identity”, and felt self-confident that they could manage the negotiation. Future research might posit, based on the young women's experiences, that if negotiation of bicultural identity is high, then self-efficacy appraisal is high, and the impact of contextual affordance is low. Those aspects that they defined as remaining in the background of their experiences, but that they could also draw on in the future if needed, are discussed below.

All the young women perceived that certain values embedded within Canadian dominant society would be values found within the applied social sciences. Since they lived in a multicultural society, the young women believed that the values of “multiculturalism and respect for diversity” would be reflected in the helping professions. They also believed that dominant society valued “equality of women” which would also be supported in the work environment that they were pursuing. The young women drew from the value of respect for diversity and equality for women held by dominant society and wanted to enact the values within their chosen profession.

The family structure served as a socializing force in the participants lives. First, parents emphasized the value of “having an education” and encouraged their daughters to establish themselves within society, which the young women also valued. The parents also thought that it was more valuable for women to enter more male dominated careers than to enter the social sciences, because male dominated fields represented a more “stable career choice and held more prestige”. The young women challenged this belief and decided to follow their own career path.

The young women felt that their mothers were a strong influence in their life, and noted that within the patriarchal structure of the family, their mothers still had a “strong voice”. The participants advocated more equality of roles within the family, but acknowledged that, based on their mothers' roles in the family, it paradoxically allowed their mothers to have more voice and control in the family unit. The participants acknowledged respect for the various roles that both father and mother played; the roles were seen as individual strengths that allowed the smooth functioning of the family unit. The young women also acknowledged that they learned how to “multitask and balance life roles” by observing their mothers manage the household and felt that the skill set allowed them to do well academically in their field of study and would help them in their working life.

The young women also acknowledged that support in the family was shown through “actions” and not through verbal demonstrations of affection, which they also enacted in their relations with others. The participants learned the values of helping

people by observing how their parents helped people within the ethnic community. They also had a strong sense of “obligation” that they felt towards their family in fulfilling certain responsibilities, such as aiding younger siblings. They also felt a strong sense of “responsibility” to help people who were disadvantaged in society through volunteer work in the temple or in various agencies within the dominant community.

Parents also exposed them to many cultural and religious events at the temple to foster a sense of “pride in being different”. The parents also ensured that their daughters could speak Punjabi, which allowed them to communicate with elders in their ethnic community and gain more knowledge about their culture. The young women found that they learned through their religious teachings what it means to be a “good person”, the value of prayer, and the underlying doctrine that men and women should be regarded as equal which they felt could be enacted within their chosen career.

The ethnic community was a socializing force as it held certain norms in common with parents. For example, male dominated fields were encouraged for women to pursue because they were deemed more valuable, “more secure”, “more stable and more prestigious”. Professions in the social sciences were devalued within the ethnic community. The general view was that the reasons for women to pursue a career had less to do with fulfilling personal satisfaction and more to do with contributing to a dual income to accommodate the high cost of living once married. Marriage was still considered a primary goal upon completion of a degree for young women. However, if the individual wanted to pursue a Masters degree, the delay in marriage was perceived as acceptable because it would represent attaining a potentially more stable position in society. The young women did not adopt the views held by their ethnic community.

The educational environment acted as a socialization force. As they progressed from junior high, senior high, to college and university, the participants obtained a clearer conception of how they were perceived as a student. The perception of teachers, professors and practicum supervisors were internalized by the participants and acted as a strong socializing force. Encouragement and feedback from people in the field helped the participants to sustain their level of interest and sense of self-efficacy in career related endeavors. It was also noted in their educational experiences that their peers held the belief that one needed to pursue work that would be “personally satisfying”. Although there were fields within the work force that were considered more prestigious, personal satisfaction in work took precedence. Peers also held the belief that women needed to establish themselves in a career because it would serve as a form of “self-growth”. Peers also held the belief that women could enter any field and that no barriers would be present. Teachers also were viewed as encouraging more women to enter the sciences, but the participants observed that the majority of women still entered the arts or human sciences.

Discussion

The objective of this study was to explicate the various contexts of human development that influence Sikh Indo-Canadian young women’s career decision-making process. The overall findings regarding the applicability of using Lent’s social cognitive career theory (2000) to understand contextual factors in relation to career decision making were mixed. While some propositions of Lent’s social cognitive career theory were very well supported, other areas were found to be in need of further refinement.

Salient findings of the study in support of Lent's social cognitive career theory were: (1) Early immersion in the field determined self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations, which contributed to formation of interest development during late adolescence or early adulthood. (2) The young women demonstrated self-confidence in engaging in exploration of their interests, despite having incomplete information regarding their skills and abilities to do well in the field. (3) Direct experiences in volunteer, work, and educational spheres helped the participants form outcome expectations of engaging in the field.

The findings based on the study that were contrary to Lent's social cognitive career theory were that lack of Indo-Canadian role models in the field did not have an effect on their sense of self-efficacy. They still aspired for a career regardless of not having an Indo-Canadian role model. Determining the function that role models play in one's career decision-making process is an important aspect to consider. Future research with various cultural groups who face the same situation of lack of cultural representation in their career could inquire into the function of role models in their life.

Lent had a sub-proposition stating that individual self-efficacy appraisals meant more to an individual than feedback gained from others regarding career performance (Lent et al., 2000). In all cases, evidence contradicts this proposition. Feedback from people in positions of authority, such as siblings in the family system who could offer practical support as well as practicum placement supervisors in the field, held more weight for the participants and was internalized as part of their self-efficacy appraisals. Further studies need to be conducted to assess if attributing more importance to an authority's opinion than to one's own is attributed to a cultural orientation. Another explanation is that it could be attributed to lack of self-confidence in one's new professional role.

Lent considered that socialization experiences exist as a contextual affordance (Lent et al., 2000). Contrary to Lent's social cognitive career theory, contextual affordance was actively negotiated by the participants and drawn upon when necessary to inform their career decision making process. What remained as a contextual affordance represented a selected choice on behalf of the participants. Their values, situated in their upbringing, had a bearing on their career choice. The participants selected their values that they wanted to maintain in their working life. It could be important to see if the formation of one's bicultural identity is linked to the negotiation of contextual affordance. Further studies need to address the relationship between bicultural identity and contextual affordance in relation to career decision making.

This study has implications for career counsellors who work with Indo-Canadian young women entering the applied social sciences. Due to the cultural background of the participants of the study, the research has a bearing on the manner in which career counsellors can frame their practice to address the needs and concerns of this particular cultural group. First, it is important for counsellors to know the norms of the Sikh ethnic community and the various contexts that the participant is affiliated with. Second, a counselor needs to understand the worldview of clients and inquire about the clients perception of the values that they attribute to the different contexts of their lives. Third, exploring how Indo-Canadian young women cope with making various transitions between different contexts could provide young women with more options to consider in helping them engage in career decision making. A sense of control is important for young adults to deal with the multiple challenges and demands in their ever-changing context. In addition, how individuals view various social

contexts for themselves to address the challenges associated with their career choice becomes essential.

As the sample size for this study included seven participants, caution must be exercised in generalizing the findings. The sampling procedure produced a very specific group of young women who all had relatively strong levels of self-efficacy and were enrolled in the same field. The findings are less open to generalization, as it is unknown if similar experiences are held by individuals who vary in their sense of self-efficacy appraisals or by Indo-Canadian women in various educational fields of study. Due to the limited research in the field on Indo-Canadian young women and career decision making to enter the social sciences, the results of this study could serve as a starting point for researchers to examine the various social forces that shape Indo-Canadian young women's career development. Future studies could integrate a larger sample of participants in which specific practical applications can emerge and be tested.

Many research issues still need to be addressed. For example, future research could expand on comparing how the perception of contextual factors in shaping career development of Indo-Canadian young women differs from Indo-Canadian young men. It could also be valuable to explore the differences in life-career planning between rural and urban Indo-Canadian youth, as well as differences established by limited educational and economic opportunity and the effect it has on their life-career plans. Exploring the various contexts in which career decisions are made will shed more light on understanding how to serve the needs for Indo-Canadian young women in their life-career planning.

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Job Search Outcomes For University Graduates: The Role Of Economic Hardship And Work Involvement

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It is well established that a college and university education contributes to graduates' careers from both monetary and non-monetary perspectives (College Board, 2003, October 21). Graduates from post-secondary institutions can expect higher quality of employment, higher earnings potential and greater employment security. Despite the potential employment benefits of higher education, one drawback is student debt, which can impact students during their education and after graduation. In recent years, college and university fees have risen to a greater extent than student aid with the net effect of an increase in education costs (College Board, 2003, October 21). The burden of debt and the stress of loan repayment can have a psychological impact on students.

Past research has examined how the financial strain of debt affects students psychologically. Several studies have shown a link between financial stress and psychological well being for students attending university (Hodgson & Simoni, 1995; Lange & Byrd, 1998; Roberts, Golding, Towell, Reid, & Woodford, 2000). Roberts et al. (2000) surveyed 482 university students about their financial circumstances and psychological well being. The survey found that 72% of the sample experienced some difficulty paying bills, 12% reported great or very great difficulty and just under 10% had seriously considered dropping out of school for financial reasons. Indicators of physical health and psychological well being were lower than the population norms indicating that it was possible to link adverse health to the experience of financial difficulties (Roberts et al.). Hodgson and Simoni (1995) produced similar results with graduate students, finding that financial problems were significantly related to depression, anxiety and suicidality. In addition to short-term effects, economic hardship can also have a long-term impact on university students.

Lange and Byrd (1998) stated that the effects of debt incurred by university students were thought to continue for many years after graduation. They found that higher estimates of future debt and higher levels of daily financial stress produced greater levels of chronic financial strain and a loss of control. Financial counselors have suggested that ongoing levels of student debt could negatively affect individuals' future financial affairs by restricting graduates' ability to purchase a home, educate their children and provide for their retirement (Lange & Byrd, 1998). It is important to note that actual debt reflects only one aspect of economic hardship.

Students without debt may experience hardship as they struggle to pay bills with constrained resources. Similarly, some students may be quite comfortable with debt whereas others find it overwhelming. Several studies have found individual differences with respect to student attitudes towards debt (Davies & Lea, 1995), financial well being (Norvilitis, Szablicki, & Wilson, 2003) and financial risk taking (Carducci & Wong, 1998; Wong & Carducci, 1991). One question that has yet to be addressed is whether student stress due to financial hardship affects the quality of employment they secure after graduation.

Graduating university students facing economic hardship and searching for work are faced with a difficult choice: find and accept any job as quickly as they can to start improving their financial situation or take extra time to find a job that reflects their career interests and educational investments. Work involvement (also known as employment commitment) has been found to predict employment status (Kanfer, Wanberg, & Kantrowitz, 2001), but not employment quality (Wanberg, Kanfer, & Rotundo, 1999) with unemployed job seekers. Prior research has not explored the role of work involvement in job search and employment quality for new job entrants. According to Kanungo (1982) work involvement reflects a normative belief in the value of work, which is developed through parental, school and religious training. Therefore, the importance of work to the student should serve as a motivator for that person to find a meaningful job. Therefore several questions are relevant here. Can high work involvement counter the economic pressures graduating students face in seeking employment? Moreover, how do both variables relate to the job search process?

The job search process for new graduates typically involves the following steps: individuals first generate a list of job alternatives, prepare for the job search process (e.g. revising resume, talking with friends about job leads), then commence the job search process (e.g. mailing resumes, phoning potential employers) (Blau, 1993; Schwab, Rynes, & Aldag, 1987) and finally select a job from the one or more offers that are received. These behaviours have typically been categorized into two domains: preparatory and active job search (see Blau, 1993; 1994). In several studies these have been referred to as job search intensity because they measure the frequency of job search behaviours (e.g. see Wanberg, et al. 1999 and Werbel, 2000).

A third related factor is job search effort, which is the perceived investment of emotional energy in the job search process (Barber, Daly, Giannantonio & Phillips, 1994; Blau, 1993; Kanfer et al., 2001). This factor has also been referred to as job search intensity in several studies (e.g. Saks & Ashforth, 1999; 2000). For simplicity, this study will use the term job search behaviours (preparatory and active) and job search effort to avoid any confusion with the prior literature.

The most obvious and common outcome of job search is the attainment of a job or whether job seekers have found a job by a set time (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Kanfer et al., 2001; Schwab et al., 1987). In addition to securing employment, researchers have identified search duration, number of interviews obtained and job offers as criteria (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Kanfer et al., 2001). A recent meta-analysis by Kanfer et al. (2001) found support for both job search behaviours and effort in securing employment. Interestingly, they also found that effort was more highly related to securing work and negatively related to the length of time individuals were unemployed. However, their data does not show how job search (both behaviours and effort) relate to the quality of employment. In other words, are job seekers sacrificing the quality of jobs in order to secure employment as a means of reducing their economic hardship?

Employment quality can be assessed in different ways via salary, degree of match between academic degree and job, job satisfaction, and turnover or intention to quit (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Wanberg et al., 1999). Although each measure is important, they are all somewhat deficient in assessing overall employment quality. Salary has been used as a measure of employment quality with higher initial salary being indicative of better quality employment despite the confound of labour market variations across different jobs (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Werbel, 2000). Degree of match between academic degree and job has been used as a measure of employment

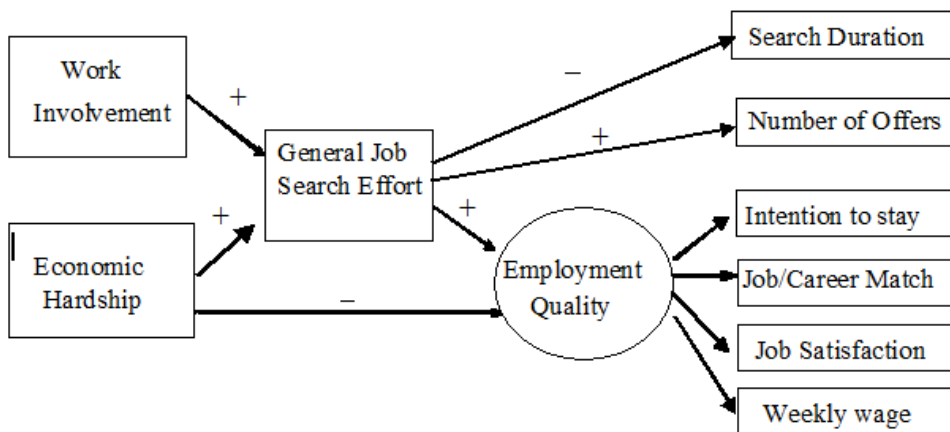
quality (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Saks, & Ashforth, 2002) with a stronger match indicating higher quality. Job satisfaction has also been used as a measure of employment quality (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Saks, & Ashforth, 2002; Werbel, 2000) as well as intention to quit (Brasher & Chen, 1999; Werbel, 2000) as indicative of overall attitudes towards the job.

Although a considerable amount of research has demonstrated the link between job search effort and securing employment (Kanfer, et al, 2001; Saks & Ashforth, 1999; Schmit, Amel, & Ryan, 1993), far fewer studies have explored the link with employment quality. Several studies have explored the relationship between job search behaviours and employment quality (Blau, 1993; Saks & Ashforth, 2002; Wanberg, et al., 1999; Wanberg, et al., 2000) with mixed results, however few studies have explored job search effort and employment quality. Blau (1993) found a direct relationship between job search effort and employment quality (job satisfaction, quit intentions, and organizational commitment) whereas Saks and Ashforth (2002) found no direct relationship between them (i.e. the link was mediated by person-job and person-organization fit).

The present study addresses the relationship between economic hardship and work involvement as antecedents to job search effort with job search outcomes and employment quality as dependent variables. The proposed model extends prior research by including employment quality as an outcome beyond employment status.

Figure 1

Initial research model: Impact of economic hardship and work involvement on general job search effort and employment quality.



Methodology

This study is part of a larger study on the school-to-work transition of university students. The current study represents two phases (1 month prior to graduation and 6 months after graduation) of the longitudinal survey across two graduating cohorts.

Participants

Participants in the study were 2003 and 2004 graduates of a medium sized university who were searching for a job during the administration of the first survey and had secured employment at the time of the second survey. The 2003 cohort included 365 graduating students at Phase 1 (51.5% response rate) and 215 at Phase 2 (69.8%). The 2004 cohort included 700 participants (32.5% response rate) at Phase 1 with 281 at Phase 2 (40.0%). A total of 123 respondents met the criteria for the study and completed all of the measures.

Procedure

Graduating students were contacted one month prior to graduation (in class for 2003 cohort and via e-mail for 2004 cohort) and asked to participate in two surveys. Six months after graduation all respondents who had consented to a follow-up survey were contacted by phone and/or e-mail and directed to a web site for the Phase 2 survey. Students were offered three draws of \$75 for their participation.

phase 1 survey. Demographic information was collected to provide necessary background information such as: participants' degree program, their plans after graduation, whether they were currently employed or still searching for a job, and how long they had been searching for a job. Economic hardship, job search effort and work involvement were assessed in Phase 1. Economic hardship (Vinokur & Caplan, 1987) was measured using three questions with a higher score indicating a greater amount of hardship (Cronbach's alpha = .66). General Job Search Effort (Blau, 1993) was measured with four-items with a higher score indicating greater effort (Cronbach's alpha = .93). Work Involvement (Kanungo, 1982) was measured with six-items with a higher score indicating greater involvement (Cronbach's alpha = .72).

phase 2 survey. After graduation respondents were asked to provide information about any current jobs, whether their current job was in the direction of their desired career path (job/career match with 1 = YES and 0 = NO), duration of their job search, and the number of offers they received. Job satisfaction and intent to turnover were measured at Phase 2. Job Satisfaction (Rice, Gentile & McFarlin, 1991) was assessed using six-items (Cronbach's alpha = .92) with higher scores indicated more satisfaction. Intent to stay (Mobley, 1977) was measured with three items with higher scores indicated a greater intention of staying (Cronbach alpha = .87). It should be noted that although this measure is typically scored with higher values indicating intention to leave, it was recoded to be consistent in direction with the other measures of employment quality.

Analysis

All variables were reviewed for univariate normality, outliers, and missing data. Values for outliers were replaced with the next largest value within the z value of +/- 3.29. Mean substitution was used to replace missing values. Bivariate scatterplots were reviewed for multivariate normality, linearity and homoscedasticity with no notable

concerns. Structural equation modeling was employed to assess the fit of the proposed model to the data. Model fit was assessed using the generalized likelihood ratio (χ^2) ratio, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), the Incremental Fit Index (IFI) and the Expected Cross Validation Index (ECVI). IFI was used instead of the Bentler-Bonett Normative Fit Index (NFI) because the NFI may underestimate the fit of the model if the sample size is small (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Individual parameter estimates within the model were also examined as the above fit indices determine the overall fit of the model and not the fit of the individual paths.

Results

Means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values, skewness and kurtosis are reported in Table 1. Demographic data was measured for cohort (50% 2003 graduates and 50% 2004 graduates) and degree (44% Bachelor of Science, 38% Bachelor of Arts and 19% Bachelor of Commerce). These were comparable to the percentage of degrees granted across the university for both years (48% Sciences, 37% Arts, and 14% Commerce).

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine if there were significant differences between majors on the variables of interest. Significant differences were found between majors in economic hardship, $F(2, 114) = 3.53, p < .05$, job/school match, $F(2, 114) = 10.09, p < .001$, and total weekly wage, $F(2, 114) = 8.79, p < .001$. An independent samples t-test was conducted to determine if there were significant differences between cohorts. Significant differences were found between cohorts in economic hardship, $t(121) = 3.65, p < .001$, general job search effort, $t(121) = -3.99, p < .001$, job/school match, $t(121) = 3.63, p < .001$, job satisfaction, $t(121) = 2.08, p < .05$, and intention to stay, $t(121) = 7.34, p < .001$. The model was tested with degree and cohort as covariates, however, no meaningful differences were found in either the paths or the model as a whole. The original model without covariates was retained to maintain an acceptable sample to estimated parameter ratio (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Significantly skewed variables were transformed as recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001). Search duration, number of job offers, total weekly wage and job satisfaction were transformed using a square root transformation. The model was tested with the transformed variables and no meaningful differences were found and therefore the original distributions were retained.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	Skewness	Kurtosis
Economic Hardship	3.52	.86	1.00	5.00	-.60	-.20
Work	2.72	.77	1.00	4.80	.24	-.25

Involvement							
General Job Search Effort	2.56	.72	.75	4.00	.08	.08	
Search Duration	7.03	6.35	0	24	.88*	-.16	
Number of Job Offers	.97	1.20	0	5	1.11**	.67	
Intention to Stay	3.57	1.31	1.00	5.00	-.71	-.73	
Job/Career Match	1.58	.49	1.00	2.00	-.34	-1.91	
Job Satisfaction	3.75	1.00	1.00	5.17	-.79*	-.04	
Total Weekly Wage	554.57	242.81	100.00	1313.00	.75*	.96	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Model Estimation and Parameter Estimates

Path analysis (mixed model) was used to test the fit of the model. Table 2 shows the fit indices for the original model and the revised model. Parameter estimates within the model were examined to determine if each path in the model was predicting what was expected. The standardized path coefficients are presented in Figure 2. All of the parameters estimated in the model were in the expected direction and five of the nine estimated parameters were significant. The proposed model produced a good fit to the data.

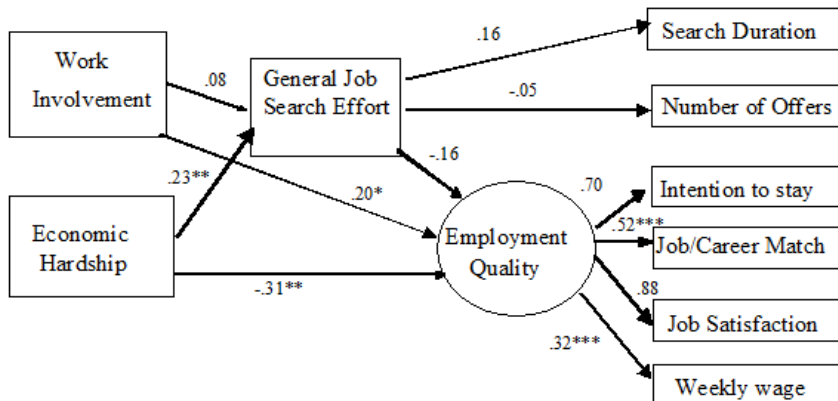
Table 2

Model Fits Indices

Model	X ²	df	N	GFI	AGFI	IFI	CFI	ECVI	AIC	RMSEA
Revised model	33.42	26	123	.94	.90	.95	.95	.59	71.42	.05
Thesis model	37.90	27	123	.93	.89	.92	.92	.61	73.90	.06
Null Model	170.19	36	123	.74	.67	.00	.00	1.5	188.186	.17

Figure 2

Standardized path coefficients: Impact of economic hardship and work involvement on general job search effort and employment quality.



Post Hoc Model Modifications

Although the original model resulted in a relatively good fit to the data, the AGFI and NFI were slightly discrepant from accepted levels (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Therefore, post hoc analyses based on modification indices were conducted to explore for a better fitting model. The addition of a path from work involvement to employment quality produced an improvement across all indices. The AIC was lower with the addition of a path and the chi-square difference was significant ($X^2(1, N = 123) = 4.48, p < .05$). Overall the revised model appeared to fit the data very well. These results, the overall findings and their implications are explored in more detail in the discussion.

Discussion

The primary goal of the current study was to determine the impact of economic hardship and work involvement on job search outcomes and employment quality. Economic hardship was significantly related to both job search effort and employment quality, which suggests that this is an important consideration in the job search process of university graduates. Those graduates who felt more economic hardship prior to graduation felt that they invested more effort in their job search and took jobs of lesser employment quality six months after graduation. In general, these jobs were not the first job in their career path, lower paying, less satisfying with more likelihood of being left for another position. The finding that economic hardship significantly and negatively relates to employment quality is consistent with Wanberg, et al. (1999) who found a positive relationship between financial need and intention to turnover (one aspect of employment quality).

Prior research has explored the relationship between economic hardship and job search effort. Kanfer et al. (2001) found a negative relationship between financial need (similar to economic hardship) and effort, however all of the studies cited in their meta-analysis focused on individuals who had lost jobs. It may be that economic hardship plays a different role in job search effort between these two groups. Saks & Ashforth (1999) suggest that there may be considerable differences in job search between new graduates and older unemployed workers.

In contrast to economic hardship, work involvement was not related to job search effort and positively related to employment quality, which suggests that graduates who see work as important to their lives choose better jobs but do not perceive themselves as investing more effort in their job search. This finding is inconsistent with prior research. For example, Wanberg, et al. (1999) found no relationship between work involvement (employment commitment) and job satisfaction/intent to turnover with unemployed individuals. Two potential explanations can be offered. First, it may be that the sample differences explain the results and work involvement is more salient for new university graduates (similar to the argument made by Saks & Ashforth, 1999). Secondly, the current study's measure of employment status includes several variables (i.e. salary and job/career match) that when combined may more strongly reflect employment quality for those high in work involvement beyond just satisfaction and intent to turnover.

Job search effort did not relate to search duration, number of job offers nor employment quality, which is not consistent with Kanfer, et al. (2001) who found a significant relationship between effort with duration and job offers. Interestingly, Saks and Ashforth's (2000) study of university graduates may provide some insight into these differences. They found job search effort (referred to as intensity) to be related to job offers prior to graduation but not 4 months later. It may be that job seekers' self-assessments of job search effort at one point in time are not predictive of longer-term outcomes. This gap may be due to a lack of sustained effort over time.

Strengths of the Study

This is the first study to measure employment quality beyond work attitude measures (e.g. organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and intent to turnover) by including job/career match and weekly salary. The strong loadings for each of the observed variables support this conceptualization. Another strength of the study is its predictive design with employment quality being measured six months after the antecedent and job search measures were administered. Although there may be additional factors, the predictive design does allow the conclusion that work involvement and economic hardship have an impact on subsequent employment quality. In addition, this study adds to the limited research in job search effort and suggests that effort may not have long-term impact on employment outcomes.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Despite the distinct contributions of this study, there are several limitations. First, the sample was a limitation with respect to size and diversity. Although a large number of students were surveyed, the focus of the study on currently searching students (in Phase 1) who secured employment 6 months later (Phase 2) was quite

restrictive. In addition, the current sample came from one university. Future research should cross-validate the results using a larger and more diverse sample.

Secondly, significant differences were found between degrees of study and cohorts. The sample size was insufficient to fully integrate both of these variables into the model and still maintain an acceptable sample to estimated parameter ratio (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The models did not change significantly when the covariates were included but this conclusion is tentative. Future research should confirm the model with sufficiently large subgroups (by degree and cohort).

Finally, the timing of the survey was not optimal for analyzing job search effort. The survey was administered in March, which is one month prior to graduation in students' final semester. It is likely that students were not heavily focused on searching for a job but instead on completing their course assignments. When comparing the mean values from this study with other student job search samples (e.g. Saks & Ashforth, 1999; 2000, 2002) in all cases the mean here was substantially lower. In addition, graduates may have increased or changed their job search effort after graduation with a greater impact on search success. As a result, this may have reduced the relationship between job search effort and employment outcomes. Future research should conduct the study immediately following graduation and over repeated occasions to better capture graduates' job search effort.

In addition, future research should expand the use of different measures by including job search behaviours (preparatory and active) and more frequent data collection periods between searching and securing employment. The increased focus on employment quality rather than simply employment should continue as it reflects an important outcome for many job seekers as well as the mediators and moderators of these relationships. Saks & Ashforth's (2002) study, which incorporated person-job and person-organization fit is an excellent example of this. Finally, future research should include the career focus of job seekers as this becomes especially relevant when considering employment quality, particularly with new job entrants.

Although some researchers have lamented the strong focus of job search research on new entrants to the labour market (e.g. Kanfer, et al. 2001), there are several good reasons to continue research with this group. First of all, they represent a large, relatively homogeneous group of job seekers and their role in employment is considerable. Secondly, the early job search experiences may have significant implications for graduate's careers and employment success. Finally, many students attend university in order to secure better employment after graduation and therefore it is important to understand the unique factors that affect the job search process for them. Kanfer, et al.'s study points to the important job search differences between new entrants and other job seekers which reinforces the focus on each group specifically.

Conclusions

This study is the first to produce a model assessing the impact of economic hardship, work involvement, and job search effort on employment quality. Both economic hardship and work involvement were found to be important predictors of employment quality. As a result, they warrant on-going research to support an effective school-to-work transition. As university fees increase, the negative impact of economic hardship on subsequent employment outcomes is considerable. Universities and

governments need to recognize the full implications of fee increases and subsequent economic hardship on graduates as these have implications for early career decisions.

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Footnotes

¹It should be noted that a large portion of the students were not searching for jobs just prior to graduation and a smaller portion had already secured positions which partially explains the drop in useable data.

Effective Career Services Practices: The Case of Canadian Business Schools

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As economic uncertainty rises, graduating students increasingly consider the marketability of their degree (Brathwaite, 2003) when selecting a business program. Business school rankings published in high profile publications such as *Financial Times* and *Canadian Business* are often used as a tool in selecting a business program. One of the most important determinants of rank is student satisfaction—in particular, satisfaction with the Career Centre (CC). A review of 6 of the top business school ranks (*Canadian Business*, *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, *Business Week*, and *US News and World Report*) finds that at least one determinant of rank and an average of 57% of the rank calculation are associated with career services. In fact, student satisfaction with career services ranks second only to the quality of faculty in required courses among factors influencing overall student satisfaction business programs (AACSB Report, 2001).

Historically, university level career services have served business schools students. However, since career services have such an impact on school ranking, reputation, and student enrollment, we suggest that strong career service support dedicated to their own students is a strategic activity for any business school. In the U.S., and more recently in Canada, an increasing number of business schools have established dedicated Career Centres (CCs) to serve their students. The 30 highest ranking business schools world-wide in the 2002 *Financial Times* top 100 schools all have a dedicated career centre.

Analyses of effective practices at top performing career centres (e.g., AACSB (2002 and 2001) have been conducted in U.S. schools, and provide a benchmark for analysis of Canadian CCs. In these studies, four years of data for 168 schools was used to identify 5 top-performing MBA schools (2001) and 184 schools to identify 3 top performing undergraduate programs. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of interviews with stakeholders, students, alumni, faculty, recruiters and CC personnel in MBA programs (2001) revealed 6 effective practices that distinguish exemplary CCs from their counterparts:

1. Coherent business strategy
2. Relationship management.
3. Comprehensive student support
4. Corporate outreach activities.
5. Continuous quality improvement
6. Staff resource development systems

Similar analysis for undergraduate programs (2002) did not reveal effective practices, although the following key findings were reported:

1. Student satisfaction with a CC is the second strongest predictor of overall satisfaction with an undergraduate business program.

2. A strong link exists between high admissions standards and high levels of student satisfaction with CC performance.
3. A link exists between CCs with staff and resources dedicated to business students and high levels of student satisfaction.
4. Schools that view the CC as integral to achieving their mission tend to have higher levels of student satisfaction.
5. The quality of CC infrastructure, such as technology and facilities, influence the level to which undergraduate business students are satisfied with its performance.

These practices and findings reflect changes in career service offices at the university level over the past 25 years, who have shifted toward core activities focused on students' desire for work experience in their chosen profession prior to graduation, and eliminate some services that are no longer necessary (McGrath, 2002). There has been a significant increase in cooperative education, internship, and experiential education, from 26 percent in 1975 to 78.3 percent in 2000 (Nagle and Bohovich, 2000).

Data and Methodology

Sixty Canadian business schools were drawn from Erkut's (2002) study of research productivity in Canadian business schools. Websites were examined to identify schools with a CC dedicated to their own students. Forty-nine of the 60 business schools have their own websites, and from these sites a preliminary summary of web-based and in-house services offered was developed, and 18 schools were identified as having a dedicated CC. Schools without their own website were contacted by phone and 2 of them confirmed the presence of a CC. Tables 1 and 2 present the business schools with a dedicated CC and those without (respectively).

Table 1

Canadian Business Schools with dedicated CC

Brock University, Faculty of Business
Concordia University, Faculty of Commerce and Administration
Dalhousie University, Faculty of Management
HEC (Université de Montréal), École des Hautes Études Commerciales
McGill University, Faculty of Management
McMaster University, DeGroote School of Business
Queens University, School of Business
Saint Mary's University, Frank H. Sobey Faculty of Commerce
 UBC, Faculty of Commerce
Université du Québec à Montréal, École des sciences de la gestion
University of Alberta, School of Business
University of Calgary, Faculty of Management
 University of Lethbridge
University of Manitoba, I. H. Asper School of Business
 University of Ottawa

University of Toronto, Rotman School of Management
University of Victoria, Faculty of Business
University of Western Ontario, Richard Ivey School of Business
Wilfrid Laurier University, School of Business and Economics
York University, Schulich School of Business

Table 2

Canadian Business Schools without dedicated CC

Acadia University, Fred C. Manning School of Business*
Algoma University College, Department of Business Administration
Athabasca University, School of Business
Bishop's University, Williams School of Business and Economics
Brandon University, Business Administration
Carleton University, Sprott School of Business
Kings University College, Department of Commerce/Business
Lakehead University, Faculty of Business
Laurentian University, School of Commerce and Administration
Laval
Memorial University of Newfoundland, Faculty of Business Administration
Mount Allison University, Department of Commerce
Mount Saint Vincent University, Business & Tourism Department
Royal Military College of Canada, Dept of Business Administration/Administrative Studies Program
Royal Roads University, Management Programs Division
Ryerson Polytechnic University, School of Business Management
Saint Francis Xavier University, Gerald Schwartz School of Business and Information Systems
Simon Fraser University, Faculty of Business Administration
Trent University*
Trinity Western University, Faculty of Business and Economics
U du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Département d'administration
Univ of New Brunswick at Fredericton, Faculty of Administration
Université de Moncton, Faculté d'administration
Université de Sherbrooke, Faculté d'administration
Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Département des sciences économiques et administratives
Université du Québec à Hull, Département des sciences administratives
Université du Québec à Rimouski, Département d'économie et de gestion
Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, Département des sciences de la gestion et de l'économie
Université Sainte-Anne, Département des sciences administratives
University College of Cape Breton, School of Business
University of Guelph, Faculty of Management
University of New Brunswick., Faculty of Business
University of Nipissing, School of Business and Economics
University of Northern British Columbia, Faculty of Management

University of Prince Edward Island, School of Business*

University of Regina, Faculty of Administration

University of Saskatchewan, College of Commerce

University of Waterloo, School of Accountancy and Dept of Management Science

University of Windsor, Faculty of Business Administration

University of Winnipeg, Department of Business Computing and Administrative Studies

*Undergraduate program only

All schools in Table 1 were invited to participate in the study, and fourteen agreed to be interviewed. Table 3 presents a summary of characteristics of these schools.

Table 3

Characteristics of the Participating Business School CCs

Size of CC (number of employees in CC)	1-3 personnel	4-6 personnel	7-9 personnel	10-13 personnel
	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)
Size of Business School (Undergrad & Graduate student enrollment)	<1000	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000 +
	2 (14%)	4 (29%)	4 (29%)	4 (29%)
Size of Full Time MBA Program (Student enrollment)	< 150	150-299	300-449	450-600
	6 (46%)	3 (23%)	3 (23%)	1 (8%)
Ratio of all business students to CC Staff	< 200:1	200-399:1	400-599:1	600+:1
	2	6	3	2
Primary Organization of CC¹	Functional: By CC job function such as “admin”, “counselor”, etc.	Industry Segment: By industry sector such as financial services, high tech, manufacturing,	Sector: By area of specialization such as: marketing, HR, finance	Program: Primarily by program - Undergrad vs MBA

		etc.		
	4 (33%)	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	6 (42%)
CC Funding Source	100% University	100% Student Fees	Combination: Student Fees & University	Combination: Mainly University + Corp Sponsorship
	6 (50%)	2 (16.5%)	2 (16.5%)	2 (16.5%)

Source: Interview data and Websites

¹This represents the primary organization of the CC, as indicated by the respondents during the telephone interview (12 respondents). However, many of the CCs were matrixed (i.e., organized along 2 or more of these lines).

A 30 minute structured telephone interview protocol was employed and telephone interviews were conducted with the director of each participating CC or a designate¹. Interview transcripts were analyzed using NVivo software. Five essential themes emerged, all of which align with effectiveness practices identified in top U.S. schools:

1. ***Relationship Management***: building and maintaining relationships with stakeholders, namely students, employers (recruiters), and alumni.
2. ***Comprehensive Student Support***: delivery of continuous, relevant services to undergraduate and MBA students and alumni.
3. ***Corporate Outreach Activities***: participation in a number of diverse activities off-campus, complemented by events such as career fairs and information session sponsored to attract recruiters on-campus.
4. ***Continuous Quality Improvement***: improving services through the use of informal and formal feedback mechanisms.
5. ***Technology and Facilities***: leveraging technology by offering comprehensive, interactive web services for all stakeholders. High quality physical facilities optimized recruiters' time on campus.

Two notable differences in the findings from our study and those from the AACSB (2001) emerge. It is not obvious whether Canadian business school CCs have developed a coherent business strategy, or that there are staff resource development systems in place. It may be that the relative youth of Canadian CCs is the main reason for the absence of these characteristics. One could argue that in the organizational life cycle, that these are activities associated with mature organizations. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to address this question.

Effective Practices in Canadian Business School CCs

Results from interview and website analysis indicate that four practices correspond to MBA effective practices in the U.S. (AACSB 2001) – relationship management, comprehensive student support, corporate outreach activities and

¹ A copy of the interview protocol is available upon request.

continuous quality improvement. Our fifth category, technology and facilities is consistent with undergraduate practices in the U.S. (AACSB 2002). We consider this a key finding because all fourteen participants leverage technology effectively to optimize CC service delivery, and because a direct link to student satisfaction has been found: “the quality of [career centre] infrastructure, such as technology and facilities, influence the level to which undergraduate business students are satisfied with its performance” (AACSB, 2002, p. 3).

practice 1: relationship management (students, recruiters and alumni). All participants in our study indicated that effective relationship management with various stakeholders and clients, students, alumni, and prospective employers and recruiters, is key to success. The report on CC practices for MBA students by AACSB (2001) finds relationship management as central to exemplary CC performance. The customer relationship management (CRM) approach “encourages symbiotic relationships” (Fayerman, 2002: p. 58), and is a strategy that must be synchronized with the customer life cycle (CLC), defined by Meta Group (2000) as having four main elements: engage, transact, fulfill and service. Applied to the CC environment, these stages can be described as:

- **Stage 1: engage.** Initial client awareness is created via advertising or marketing activities. This creates basic awareness, which results in client interaction with the CC.
- **Stage 2: transact.** Actual transactions occur, such as a student registering for a workshop or signing up for an interview with an employer, a recruiter visit to the campus for interviews or a graduate searching for information on job openings.
- **Stage 3: fulfill.** Customer transactions are complemented by an institutional response, such as conducting the workshop, arranging interviews with prospective employers or inviting alumni to CC events.
- **Stage 4: service.** The institution continues to support clients, including students and alumni, by providing and processing information, or resolving issues on an ongoing basis.

The CC key informants reported a wide variety of activities that synchronize with the customer life cycle. Respondents in our study viewed their relationships with *students* as a continuous process that must begin as early as possible. All participants reported that getting to know their students was a top priority. The relationship can be complicated—not only are students viewed as a client of the CC, at the same time they are a product whose quality is ‘sold’ to employers. This corollary relationship motivates much of the long-run relationship building strategy practiced by our participants. The following practices were identified.

Orientation Sessions & Classroom Visits (CLC Stage 1) – Participants emphasized that getting an early start on building student relationships was critical. Seven respondents reported that CC staff conducted classroom visits at the beginning of the school year to introduce their services and gain exposure with students. Special orientation sessions such as “Open Houses” or “Career Breakfasts” were mentioned by 4 schools.

One-on-one meetings (CLC Stage 2) – Eight respondents mentioned individual meetings or personal coaching to become better acquainted with their students. Ability to support individual relationships depends on the size of the student population served; while some knew all of their students on a first name basis and had an “open door policy”, others were able to respond only to *requests* for meetings. All 14 participants reported that individualized coaching or counseling was a service available to students, on their web-site or face-to-face.

Partner with Student Associations to Organize Events (CLS Stage 3 and Stage 4) - To get better acquainted with their students’ experience and interests, and to help them connect with employers, 5 schools reported that CC staff participate in student activities and frequently collaborate with student associations in hosting events. This activity allows CC staff to cultivate student relationships, build alliances with employers and gain greater insights into industry needs. Events such as receptions for alumni and/or employers, regular workshops on topics related to job search, or invited speakers and student “question period” are among the most frequently mentioned by the study participants.

The CC has a unique role in linking students with *employers* and *recruiters*. For successful CC activities and programs, cooperation and participation of employers is essential. Not only are they a ‘client’, but they can be instrumental in CC activities that promote career development. Employers can be a valuable resource for career counseling. Insights gained from interaction with employers add reality and credibility to CC staff assisting students with career concerns. They may participate in campus recruiting and career job fairs, serve as speakers, establish or coordinate internships and host student or faculty visits to their companies. At the same time, employers can raise their own visibility on campus (McGrath 2002).

Respondents at Canadian business schools reported that their relationship with recruiters is built upon mutual trust. They see their role as consistently delivering top quality students and providing top quality service throughout the entire customer life cycle. In return, employers provide feedback to CC staff on their recruitment needs, the current business marketplace, and their satisfaction with recruits. Recruiters participate in a variety of activities organized by CC staff: career and job fairs, workshops, open houses or breakfasts, or student association events.

Two themes related to relationship with recruiters and employers emerged from the interviews:

Strong Customer Service Orientation (CLC Stages 1-4) – Participants emphasized the need to build trust with recruiters by consistently delivering on promises. They recognized the need to stay in frequent contact, to understand employer needs and to provide exceptional follow-up, from providing a strong pool of candidates to streamlined processing of resumes, coordination of interviews, and post interview support.

Use of Relationship Managers (CLC Stages 1-4) – A number of organizational models are used to facilitate relationship management between CC staff and recruiters as well as between students and recruiters. Half of participants reported that their staff are primarily aligned to particular programs (i.e., undergraduate or MBA) to meet the different needs of those two groups. Secondary alignments included geographic, or

functional (e.g., counseling and business development), or sectoral (e.g., finance, marketing, HR, etc.). One of the respondents described the CC organizational structure as aligned by industry sector, (manufacturing, financial services, high technology, etc.), in which relationship managers develop expertise in particular industries and long term relationships with certain companies within those industries. Irrespective of their primary alignments, CCs are organized to best meet their clients' needs and to foster the development and maintenance of strong relationships.

Alumni are one of the most important stakeholders for participating CCs, not only as products of the institution and clients of the CC, but also as important links in the recruitment process. Nine of the participant schools mentioned in interviews or on their websites the importance of establishing and maintaining formal links with alumni through special programs or events. A reliable, active alumni database is considered to be a critical tool in developing and nurturing a relationship with alumni. To promote alumni involvement, 90% of the respondents reported that career services are available to alumni at no extra cost. At some schools, alumni career services are limited to a particular time period after graduation, or restricted to certain services, and at other schools there was no limit. CC staff and recruiters are frequently alumni themselves, which offers synergies in terms of student and alumni relationship building.

Formal Alumni Programs (CLC Stage 1) –Five schools offer formal mentorship programs, whereby students are linked up with alumni who can provide career advice and practical insight into working in a particular field and/or industry.

Alumni Outreach (CLC Stages 1-4) –An additional 4 respondents offer alumni programs or events. They take a proactive approach, contacting alumni and fostering alumni relationships. For instance, alumni are personally invited to speak at company information sessions; they are contacted for business development activities (as “door openers” to targeted companies); and they are key participants in other networking events.

practice 2: comprehensive student support. Participants reported that a wide range of services are offered to support students throughout the entire career planning and job search process. They offer a full suite of services rather than just placement. Starting with an early self-assessment, CCs assist students in identification of career goals, preparation and improvement of resumes, conducting company research, practicing their interviewing skills, and negotiating an offer.

Student Self-Assessment – Six respondents reported that students are advised to undertake skills self-assessments as the first part of their career development activities. These self-assessments are mainly available on-line and assist students in identifying “what they want to do after they graduate”.

Job Search Skills – To improve the placement success of their student clients, all respondents offer workshops or seminars on job search skills: resume writing, job search strategies, interviewing skills and networking pertinent to business school graduates. Some schools employ technologies such as videotaping to practice mock interviews with the students. Others invite recruiters to their workshops to address specific topics. At one school, an executive search firm speaks to students about their

approach to sourcing and placement. Common to all, however, is the availability of additional support, as required, through individualized coaching or one-on-one counseling.

Skill development training and assistance is sometimes delivered in more informal settings (such as Brown Bag Lunches) or on-line. At four schools, special provisions are made for international students. To assist the students through their career transition, these CCs offer special workshops, assist international students in obtaining their employment authorization, and facilitate relationship building with employers, both here and abroad.

Job Postings – When asked about the services offered by CCs to assist students in identifying job openings, the most frequent response was “job postings” (9 respondents). However, a review of the CC websites indicate that, in fact, 12 schools offer this service for employers and 11 offer on-line search capability for students, to facilitate finding a “match”. Four participants mentioned that they perform informal “matching” by emailing job opportunities to particular students or actively searching for opportunities. One of these participants described their role as similar to a recruiting company, whereby they perform direct matching for employers by screening candidates and recommending the best ones to meet the requirement. Two other respondents reported that they did not provide this service out of respect for fairness and confidentiality, stressing that it is up to the employers and the students to make their own decisions.

Recruiting and Interviewing Process – On-campus interviewing is a very common, popular and expected function of university career services (McGrath 2002). Career and job fairs provide a way for CCs and employers to work together to mutual benefit. Career fairs are characterized as events open to first year to fourth year students to help students find out about various job opportunities. The purpose is for employers to provide career information rather than seeking to fill current openings. Job fairs target graduating students.

Staff in all participating CCs facilitates the selection and interview process. Respondents reported that students appreciate the opportunity for on-campus interviews as it offers a convenient way to meet with prospective employers and minimizes their time away from classes. Employers also find this process to be useful, as they have access to a number of interested and qualified candidates (McGrath, 2002).

Special Events – In addition to workshops provided for students to hone their job search strategies and skills, all participating CCs host a number of special activities that support students in their career planning and job search. Worthy of mention are events such as Open Houses and Career Breakfasts, (frequently during orientation), Job Fairs, or dedicated networking opportunities such as Employee Panels, (sometimes co-hosted with the University CSO), MBA cocktail parties with employers, or company information sessions.

practice 3: corporate outreach activities. All CC participants reported outreach activities to connect with the business community. These events fulfill a variety of functions: CC staff promote their students, their school, and their services,

nurture existing client relationships, develop new business, and increase their understanding of the ever-changing marketplace.

Business and Community Association Membership – CC staff increase their exposure to the external market through active membership of industry and community associations. Eight respondents mentioned their involvement in organizations as a key way to improve their networks. A common practice is to invite students to accompany them to association meetings and facilitate the student networking process as well. Associations commonly mentioned include local Chambers of Trade or Commerce, Institute of Chartered Accountants, Canadian Marketing Association, or other industry or professional groups.

Networking Events: Business school CCs host events aimed at bringing prospective employers together with students. Staff partner with student associations to co-organize targeted events such as dinners where they can network with employers and students and facilitate relationships between them. Eleven of the participants offer career days to attract employers to campus, which provide mutual benefits to both employers and CCs. The former may enjoy increased name recognition and publicity for both his/her company and profession, and the latter may also benefit through increased visibility to students. Other “connecting” events which bring together employers and students include: receptions, cocktail parties, breakfasts, information sessions, and golf tournaments. Thirteen CCs invite employers to campus for company information sessions. Two schools organize employer site visits.

Marketing a Strong Product – Participants reported that the products they ‘market’ are the school’s reputation and its students. Five participants identified the necessity to “market students to employers”. In addition to the techniques such as leveraging alumni contacts and hosting events already described, strategies include ‘cold calls’ and events organized on the employers’ ‘turf’. Two of the participants indicated that taking students to these events is an effective way to facilitate networks for both the students and the CC with employers.

practice 4: continuous quality improvement. Peppers and Rogers (1999) argue that one of the most significant components of the CRM theoretical framework is the process of identification, differentiation, interaction and customization. The collection of data about customer needs and preferences is essential to tailoring future delivery and communications (Fayerman 2002). CC performance can be monitored through a variety of integrated feedback systems. Quantitative data can be collected on measures such as the number of recruiters visiting campus, percent of students with job offers and jobs by a certain date, graduates average starting salaries, etc. Input can also be sought from students, through internal student satisfaction surveys, focus groups, and feedback on workshops and events. These results can be benchmarked against others by monitoring third-party survey results.

Continuous quality improvement is a key criterion in differentiating top performing CCs from their counterparts studied by AACSB (2001). Exemplary CCs used a number of feedback systems, (including AACSB benchmarking data), to identify weaknesses, develop and implement appropriate interventions, and assess the success of their efforts.

Several of the participants in this study mentioned the importance of continuous improvement in their CC. Two respondents described specific, systematic mechanisms that were used to collect feedback from employers to improve customer service. A third mentioned that this feedback is bi-directional—while the CC collects performance data from recruiters, they also provide feedback to them as they are interested in knowing more about students' perceptions of their companies and approach to recruitment. Given the number of respondents who reflected on feedback mechanisms and the relative paucity of data collection for analysis, the commitment of Canadian CCs to continuous quality improvement exists but is not yet fully developed.

practice 5: technology and facilities. Client career services historically have relied on on-site delivery at the Career Centre (Mackert and McDaniels 1998). However, funding constraints and rapid changes in technology have facilitated greater flexibility in service delivery, most notably the use of the computer to provide services to customers. By 1993, a U.S. survey of career centers by the National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE) reported that 94 percent of respondents used computers in providing services to customers (Mackert and McDaniels 1998). The Internet has become a reliable medium for service delivery and new service opportunities continue to appear.

Technology has been extensively incorporated into university career services operations and by employers recruiting students. Career counselors use computer software to help students in self-assessment and career information searches. Students typically conduct the preponderance of their research on employers electronically, and employers have recognized the importance of attractive and informative web sites. The management of the entire campus recruiting process is often handled electronically, and some employers require all applications for employment to be submitted on-line (McGrath 2002).

Technological advances are one of the most significant transforming influences on the future of career services (Mackert and McDaniels 1998). Convenience is the overarching advantage, with information available 24/7 from anywhere in the world from a computer with an Internet connection. Students and other users can take advantage of easy sorting and searching capabilities that make specific career information easily accessible. Career Centre staff can update the website easily, without paper or printing costs. Costs are also lowered because there is a reduction of repetitious tasks and client reliance on CC staff, so staff time is freed up for other activities.

In fact, the influence of the Internet is not so much on the content provided to clients, as it is a tool for decentralization that changes the way we think about how things are done (Miller and McDaniels, 2001). Since clients can do some of the work without the help of CC staff, they get a sense of ownership of their progress.

In addition to the potential for maximum quality service through web-based utilities, there are some considerations that are more relevant today as more and more CCs offer services on the Web. Fewer walk-in students is a consequence of a website (Davidson 2001). Although technology has made it easier for students to communicate with employers, it has also required a significant investment on the part of career services in terms of equipment and staff with technical expertise (Nagle and Bohovich, 2000). The results of our study indicate that participating CCs have clearly made that investment.

Our review of participating CC web-sites finds that all participants leveraged technology effectively by offering comprehensive, interactive web services for students and recruiters. Recruiters and students can reach the CC web-site either directly through the school's homepage, or through a link provided in the university's Career Services menu or Student section. The available services are well documented on the sites.

Quality Facilities – All of the participants realized their critical role in facilitating the interview and selection process for employers. A big part of this role is providing top notch facilities, to streamline the recruiting process and make a good impression on behalf of the university and the students. Thirteen schools have interview rooms (identified on the web – see above), and 3 have the capability for videoconferencing.

Conclusions

In an increasingly competitive field, business schools in North America are responding to student demand for quality career development and placement services. In two studies of business school CCs in the U.S., AACSB identified top performing programs, examined the practices used by those career services offices (CCs), and identified several effective practices at both the MBA and undergraduate levels. The results of the key informant study described here were undertaken to understand and describe the practices used by Canadian business school CCs and determine whether these practices are compatible with current theory and best practices, represented by those used at top performing business schools in the U.S.. Structured telephone interviews with fourteen key informants revealed five essential themes of Canadian CC practices emerged: relationship management, comprehensive student support, corporate outreach activities, continuous quality improvement, and technology and facilities. These themes align closely with AACSB assessment of effective practices in top performing schools in the U.S.. This result is important because in the U.S. study, only top performing schools are examined. In this uniquely Canadian study, business schools with their own CC were invited to participate. Also, the study sample included 14 schools, whereas the U.S. studies included 5 in the MBA study and 3 in the undergraduate study. Interesting questions to pursue include whether these practices can be considered effective or best practices in Canada, and whether the absence of a comprehensive business strategy and staff development program are a function of the stage in the organizational life cycle that Canadian CCs find themselves.

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Career Decision-Making Difficulties of First-Year University Students

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First-year university students are faced with many life challenges, not least of which is the decision about which career path to follow. Unfortunately, many first-year students often experience career indecision, which is conceptualized as “a construct referring to problems individuals may have in making their career decision” (Gati, Krausz, & Osipow, 1996, p. 510). While few if any students are “ideal career planners” (primarily due to the complexity of career planning), some appear to have less career indecision and seemingly find it easier to decide on a career path than others do. Those who struggle with career indecision are likely unable to resolve one or more career decision-making difficulties.

Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996) developed a taxonomy for understanding the various difficulties contributing to career indecision. In their taxonomy, a basic distinction was made between career decision-making difficulties occurring prior to the beginning of the career decision-making process and those occurring during the career decision-making process itself. They further subdivided the latter factor, resulting in three subfactors overall: lack of readiness, lack of information, and inconsistent information.

The lack of readiness subfactor was used to account for those career decision-making difficulties that precede engagement in the career decision-making process. Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996) identified three theoretical categories of career decision-making difficulties that they believed contributed to a lack of readiness to begin the career decision-making process. These three categories were: (1) a lack of motivation on the part of the individual to begin career decision-making, (2) a general indecisiveness that permeates all types of decision-making for the individual, and (3) various beliefs in dysfunctional career decision-making myths (e.g., career decisions are best made by experts).

The lack of information and inconsistent information subfactors were used to account for those career decision-making difficulties that occur during the process of career decision-making. The lack of information subfactor was divided into four additional categories of career decision-making difficulties: (4) lack of information about the career decision-making process (i.e., not knowing how to make a career decision); (5) lack of information about the self (e.g., not having knowledge about capabilities, personality traits, or interests); (6) lack of information about occupations (e.g., not understanding what work is involved in specific occupations and not knowing about the wide range of occupational options available); and (7) lack of information about ways of obtaining career information (i.e., confusion about how to begin researching vocational options).

The inconsistent information subfactor was divided into three categories of career decision-making difficulties: (8) inconsistent information due to unreliable information (i.e., difficulties related to unreliable or fuzzy information); (9) inconsistent information due to internal conflicts (e.g., difficulties related to the evolving personal identity of the individual); and (10) inconsistent information due to external conflicts (e.g., conflicts involving significant others).

Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996) developed a questionnaire (the Career Decision Difficulties Questionnaire) to empirically examine their taxonomy of career decision-making difficulties. They administered this questionnaire to a sample of 259 young Israeli adults who were at the beginning of their career decision-making process and to an American sample of 304 university students. Their results indicated that the pattern of relationship among the 10 decision-making difficulty categories was generally similar to the hypothesized pattern in both samples and that there were no significant differences between the two samples (despite age and cultural differences). They believed their taxonomy of career decision-making difficulties needs further elaboration, especially the 10 decision-making difficulty categories, before it can be claimed that the construct of career indecision is well understood (Gati, Krausz, & Osipow, 1996).

For the current study, we were interested in examining the relationship of their model of career decision-making difficulties with career decision-making self-efficacy, sex-role identification, and stage of identity development.

We included the variable of career decision-making self-efficacy because there is substantial research to show that it is a major predictor of career indecision (e.g., Betz & Vuyten, 1997). The concept of self-efficacy originated from Bandura's (1986) contention that people who believe in their ability to successfully complete the tasks required to achieve an outcome are more likely to engage in and persist at those tasks. This idea has been extended to career development and has become an important variable in understanding the career decision-making process (see reviews by Hackett, 1995; Hackett & Betz, 1992; 1995). For example, Blustein (1989) found that higher self-efficacy about career decision-making was positively related to engagement in career exploratory behaviours. Also, students' self-efficacy beliefs about their capabilities relate to the range and nature of career options considered and that levels of self-efficacy predict "academic performance and persistence as well as career decision-making intentions and behaviors" (Betz & Vuyten, 1997, p. 180). Considering these findings, we predicted a significant negative relationship between career decision-making difficulties and self-efficacy.

We included the variable of sex-role identification to examine its relationships with career decision-making difficulties. Several recent studies have examined the relationship among sex-role orientation and choice of major and occupation with conflicting results. Dawson-Threat and Huba (1996) reported that males in male-dominated and female-dominated majors were comparable in masculinity. In contrast, Jome and Tokar (1998) found that career-traditional men endorsed significantly higher stereotypic male attitudes (e.g., "toughness", anti-femininity) than men in non-traditional careers, though there were no differences in conflicts between work and family relations. With a mediated model in a second study, these authors reported that vocational interests mediated the relationship between masculinity and traditionality of career choice (Tokar & Jome, 1998), suggesting the importance of including multiple variables when examining the relationship between sex-role identification and career choice.

Earlier research appeared to more strongly support the contention that sex-role orientation was related to occupational choice. For example, women who were working in more traditional male occupations and who had not attained a college education were found to be more outgoing, active, ambitious, direct and task-oriented than those working in more traditional female occupations (Mazen & Lemkau, 1990). Women in

more traditional male occupations have also been found to score higher on the masculinity scale of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1981) than did women in more traditional female occupations. Finally, women in male-dominated majors viewed themselves as less feminine than women in female-dominated majors (Dawson-Threat & Huba, 1996).

Although these studies have identified relationships among sex-role orientations and choice of majors and careers, they have not examined whether there is a significant relationship between sex-role orientation and the degree of career decision-making difficulties or self-efficacy and we wanted to examine those relationships in this study.

Another area that has received attention for its relationship to the career decision-making process is stages of identity development. Several developmental theorists have identified the process of developing one's vocational identity as an important part of becoming an adult. For example, Erikson (1968) conceptualized vocational identity as an important aspect of overall development. Marcia (1966, 1980) operationalized Erikson's conceptualizations and identified four main stages of identity development, which are related to the degree of commitment to one's beliefs and values on a variety of issues. These four stages are conceptualized in a hierarchy, starting with the Diffusion status, when the individual has not experienced a developmental crisis yet and therefore would not have made a commitment to vocational choice. The second stage is Foreclosure, which represents an ongoing identification with childhood values and although they may have made a vocational commitment, it likely was without sufficient self-exploration. The third stage is Moratorium, in which the individual is beginning to question her/his values and is exploring options but has not yet made a commitment. The final stage is Achievement, which represents a clear commitment to a vocational area.

For first-year university students, it is unlikely that many will be at the Achievement stage and be able to make a career decision that is well-researched and congruent with their interests, personality, skills, and values. There have not been many studies that have researched career decision-making and stage of identity development. One study that researched grade seven to 12 students' identity status and degree of career indecision found that those in the Achievement category has significantly less career indecision than those in the other three identity categories (Vondracek, Schulenberg, Skorikov, Gillespie, & Wahlheim, 1995). We wanted to investigate whether this pattern of results would be replicated with a first-year university sample.

In summary, our hypotheses were that career decision-making difficulties would be negatively related to career decision-making self-efficacy, that participants who identified with a masculine or androgynous sex-role orientation would have fewer difficulties and higher self-efficacy than those with feminine or undifferentiated sex-role orientations, and that those participants in the Achievement identity category would have fewer career decision-making difficulties and higher self-efficacy than those in the other three identity categories.

Method

Participants

We received responses from 189 students initially and 155 of these students were in their first year of university. Data from six of the 155 first-year students were

removed due to low response rate, missing data, and multivariate outliers. Therefore, we had 149 first-year participants' responses included in the analyses.

Sixty-two percent of the respondents were women and 38% were men. The question about the participants' current age was presented in categorical format. For the 149 participants, their age range was "under 18" to "over 25" years, with the majority (48.3%) indicating that they were 18 years of age; 80% were 19 years of age and younger. Seventy-three percent indicated their racial background to be Caucasian, 8.7% indicated Asian, and the remaining participants indicated other responses.

Instrumentation

demographic, career decision-making strategies, and qualitative questionnaire. On this questionnaire, participants indicated their sex, age, racial background, year at university, socioeconomic status, current career decision-making status using very undecided, slightly undecided, or not at all undecided (which is a question from the CDDQ, described below), and the strategies they have used to make career decisions to date by endorsing items on a checklist.

career decision difficulties questionnaire (CDDQ; gati, krausz & osipow, 1996). The CDDQ is a 44-item questionnaire developed to assess career decision-making difficulties based on the taxonomy proposed by Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996). The internal consistency reliability coefficients ranged from .70 to .93 for the three scales and it was .95 for the full questionnaire. For our study, the alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients were .80, .95, .91, and .96 for the Lack of Readiness, Lack of Information, and Inconsistent Information subscales, and the full scale, respectively. The CDDQ has been found to have a good convergent validity with the Career Decision Scale and good discriminant validity (Lancaster, Rudolph, Perkins & Patten, 1999; Osipow, 1999).

career decision-making self-efficacy - short form (CDMSE-SF; betz, klein, & taylor, 1996). The CDMSE-SF is 25-item questionnaire that uses a 5-point scale. The full test score can range from 25 to 125, with higher scores indicating more self-efficacy. Reliability of the short form as measured by coefficient alpha is .94 (Betz, Klein, & Taylor, 1996), which compares well to the coefficient alpha (.97) of the original Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale (CDMSES). For our study, the alpha internal consistency reliability coefficient was .92. The CDMSE-SF has been found to have good concurrent validity with the Career Decision Scale and My Vocational Situation (Betz, Klein, & Taylor, 1996).

bem sex role inventory (BSRI; bem, 1981). The BSRI is a 60-item questionnaire that uses a 7-point scale. Twenty items are considered to be stereotypically feminine, 20 stereotypically masculine and 20 are used as filler items (e.g., reliable). Masculine and feminine scores are computed by averaging the raw score of the 20 items designated for each scale. A median split method is used to classify participants into one of four groups: masculine identified, feminine identified, androgynous, and undifferentiated. Internal consistency for the masculinity and femininity scales are reported to be between .75 and .87 (Bem, 1981). For our study, the

alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients were .85 and .82 for the masculinity and femininity scales, respectively. The BSI has adequate validity (Bem, 1981).

extended objective measure of ego identity status (EOM-EIS; bennion & sdams, 1986). The EOM-EIS is a 64-item questionnaire that measures the presence or absence of crisis and commitment in different domains of identity development. It is based upon the identity development interviews constructed by Marcia (1966, 1980) and participants' responses are scored to correspond with one of Marcia's four identity stages: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement. The EOM-EIS has been found to have good internal consistency and good discriminant, convergent, concurrent, and predictive validities (Bennion & Adams, 1986).

Procedure

Students who were enrolled in the Introduction to Psychology course at a large, urban university in western Canada were asked to voluntarily and anonymously complete the package of questionnaires as an option for meeting requirements for experimental credits. The participants completed a consent form that reminded them that they were free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. Following completion of the questionnaires, the participants were provided with a feedback sheet that indicated university career counselling services that they could access.

Results

Two of the main questionnaires that we used required classification of participants' scores, which is outlined in the questionnaires' manuals. For the BSRI, which measured sex-role orientation, 24.8% were "masculine", 24.8% were "feminine", 18.1% were "androgynous", and 28.2% were "undifferentiated", while 4.0% were not classified. For the EOM-EIS, 21.5% were "diffusion", 16.8% were "foreclosure", 38.3% were "moratorium", and 8.7% were "achievement", while 14.8% were not classified.

In response to a question regarding degree of career undecidedness from the CDDQ that is not included in the scoring of the subscales or total, 16.1% were very undecided, 48.3% were slightly undecided about their career choice, while the remainder indicated that they were "not at all" career undecided (one participant did not answer this item). Also, we asked a question regarding whether students had changed their career plans during their first year at university and 36.7% responded affirmatively (two participants did not answer this item).

The means for the CDDQ and the CDMSE-SF were 152.32 ($SD = 61.56$) and 91.24 ($SD = 14.59$) respectively and the correlation was -0.63 ; these scores were dependent variables in the analyses.

To determine whether there were significant differences by sex-role identification on the main variables, a MANOVA was performed with the four categories of sex-role identification as the independent variable and the CDDQ total and the CDMSE-SF total as the dependent variables. The analysis was significant, $F(6, 278) = 3.95, p < 0.05$. Post-hoc analyses were performed to determine what specific differences contributed to the significant multivariate result. Bonferroni t tests revealed that the "masculine" and "androgynous" sex-role identifications had significantly

higher CDMSE-SF scores than “feminine” and “undifferentiated” sex-role identifications.

To determine whether there were significant differences by stage of identity development on the main variables, a MANOVA was performed with the four categories of stage of identity development as the independent variable and the CDDQ total and the CDMSE-SF total as the dependent variables. The analysis was not significant, $F(15, 363) = 1.27, p = 0.22$.

To determine whether there were significant differences by stage of identity development and one subscale from the CDDQ, “lack of information about self”, an ANOVA was performed with stage of identity development as the independent variable and the total for the CDDQ subscale as the dependent variable. It was significant, $F(3, 123) = 3.16, p = 0.03$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses indicated that participants in the first identity category, diffusion, had significantly higher scores on the “lack of information about self” subscale than those in the fourth identity category, achievement. However, this result needs to be interpreted cautiously due to the low internal consistency reliability value of the Diffusion category.

A discriminant function analysis was performed to determine whether scores on the CDDQ and the CDMSE-SF would predict group membership for the career undecidedness category (not at all, slightly, or very undecided) for the 148 participants who answered that question. The discriminant function analysis with the two main variables were predictors and the three categories of career undecidedness as the dependent variable was significant, $\chi^2(4) = 61.92, p < 0.01$. Because there were three groups of participants, t tests were performed to determine which group differences were significant. Those analyses indicated that participants who were “slightly” or “very” career undecided had significantly higher scores on the CDDQ and significantly lower scores on the CDMSE-SF than those who were “not at all” career undecided. Also, those who were “very” career undecided had significantly higher CDDQ scores than those who were “slightly” career undecided.

A second discriminant function analysis was performed to determine whether scores on the CDDQ and the CDMSE-SF would predict whether participants had changed their career plans or not for the 147 participants who answered that question. The discriminant function analysis was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 22.08, p < 0.01$, indicating that those who had changed their career plans had higher CDDQ scores and lower CDMSE-SF scores than those who had not changed their career plans.

Discussion

The main focus of this study was to examine the relationship of Gati, Krausz, and Osipow’s (1996) taxonomy of career decision-making difficulties to career decision-making self-efficacy, sex-role orientation, and stage of identity development. In general, our findings provided support for our hypotheses that those with fewer career decision-making difficulties would have higher career decision-making self-efficacy and would indicate “masculine” or “androgynous” sex-role identification than those with more career decision-making difficulties. Our results provided partial support for our hypothesis that participants at a higher stage of identity development would indicate fewer career decision-making difficulties. Finally, we did two additional analyses and those results indicated that those who were more career-undecided and had

changed their career plans had more career decision-making difficulties and lower self-efficacy scores.

The relationship between career decision-making self-efficacy and the taxonomy of career decision-making difficulties as developed by Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996) appears complex. Our finding that a significant negative relationship exists between career decision-making difficulties and career decision-making self-efficacy is neither surprising nor unpredicted as extensive research in the area of career decision-making self-efficacy has resulted in similar findings (e.g., Hackett, 1995; Hackett & Betz, 1992; 1995). The fact that the CDDQ is also related to career decision-making self-efficacy appears to provide support for the construct validity of this instrument. Whether career decision-making difficulties preceded or resulted from low career decision-making self-efficacy is unclear. The finding that students who changed career plans within their first year of university study were more likely to be experiencing continued career decision-making difficulties and lower career decision-making self-efficacy compared to those who had not changed career plans does not clarify this issue. Clearly, the need to change career plans suggests some difficulty with initial career planning but whether or not students who changed career plans are destined to have continued career decision-making difficulties and lower career decision-making self-efficacy likely depends on the new career plan they have constructed and the process used. Students who have not changed career plans may yet need to do so and the impact of the need to change on their career decision-making self-efficacy would be interesting to examine.

It is important to acknowledge that changes in career plans, while sometimes stressful for the student, are neither unusual nor unexpected, especially if we consider career development theory. For example, in Super's (1990) life-span theory, individuals in the *exploratory* stage of career development examine and consider a variety of occupations before selection of a specific occupational goal. Individuals in this stage also *recycle* in the early stages of career planning as initial career plans are revised to incorporate new information. Perhaps the challenge to career counsellors therefore is to promote the message that career plan changes are normal and should not be viewed as indicative of a greater underlying problem (e.g., decision-making difficulties). Students accepting this message may be more likely to maintain a positive level of career decision-making self-efficacy while students who do not receive nor believe this message may be more vulnerable to experiencing decreased career decision-making self-efficacy.

Our finding that students with "masculine" or "androgynous" sex-role identifications had fewer career decision-making difficulties and higher levels of career decision-making self-efficacy than their "feminine" or "undifferentiated" peers was also expected and consistent with previous research. For example, Dawson-Threat and Huba (1996) found that "androgynous" sex-role types had a clearer sense of purpose than those with other sex-role types, which could be related to fewer career decision-making difficulties. One reason for these findings may be related to the personality traits associated with the masculine sex-role. Masculine sex-roles have been associated with assertiveness, competence, and decisiveness (Spence, 1993), and these factors could be related to higher career decision-making self-efficacy. In contrast, feminine sex-roles have been associated with dependence, worrying, and low general self-efficacy (Marsh & Myers, 1986; Ricciardelli & Williams, 1995), which may be related to lower career decision-making self-efficacy.

These results suggest that sex-role identification can be an important factor in the career decision-making process and that the career counselling process could benefit from considering a student's sex-role identity. For example, when conducting career counselling with students with feminine sex-role identifications, counsellors may be well advised to examine the student's self-confidence, decisiveness and assertiveness abilities because these personal attributes may need to be enhanced to allow the student to overcome their career decision-making difficulties. Enhancing these attributes could lead to increased career decision-making self-efficacy.

Our main analysis examining the relationship between stages of identity development, career decision-making difficulties, and career decision-making self-efficacy was not significant. One contributing factor to this non-significant result may have been the uneven distribution of students in the four identity status groups. Although there was not a significant difference by identity status and the CDDQ total, examination of the group means suggested a trend towards those in the achievement category having lower CDDQ scores than those in the diffusion category. This pattern is consistent with developmental theories, including Marcia's theory of identity development, which predict that those who are further along in the process of identity development would experience fewer difficulties with making a career decision because their sense of self is more developed than those whose identity is at an earlier stage of development.

However, our secondary analysis with stages of identity and one subscale total from the CDDQ, lack of information about self, was significant. Specifically, the results indicated that students in the achievement category had significantly lower CDDQ scores than those in the diffusion category. The finding that identity development is an important factor in the career decision-making process is not surprising given that the first stage of career planning often focuses on identification of a student's interests, values, skills, personality preferences, and life goals. Students with a more clearly defined identity would likely have an easier time discussing these personal factors. Assisting with the promotion of student identity development, which is a common component of the mission of university counselling services, could therefore assist in reducing the career decision-making difficulties of students.

One of the greatest challenges in working with students in their first year of university study is the likelihood that their identity will be at an early stage of development resulting in a greater tendency for these students to request "too much" career guidance from identified experts. Several identity development theorists (e.g., Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1997; Chickering & Reisser, 1993) suggest that individuals at an early stage of identity development are more likely than individuals at latter stages of identity development to not trust their own judgment in decision-making and instead to look to "experts" for answers. Certainly that has been the experience of career counsellors working in our center. It is not uncommon for first-year university students to ask career counsellors and other career service professionals the following questions: "What career should I go in?"; "What courses should I take?"; "What is the best career to enter?" One suggestion for responding to these types of questions is to maintain the image of an "expert" (e.g., indicating that you have expertise in helping students career plan and use career planning resources) when first working with such students in order to facilitate development of a positive counselling relationship. A second suggestion is to employ a simple, straightforward approach to counselling in order to reduce the risk of creating disabling anxiety in the student.

Please see Knefelkamp and Slepitza (1976) for additional information on the integration of identity theory into career counselling practice.

One of the applications of our findings is the development of career counselling programming tailored more effectively to the career decision-making needs of first-year students. Specifically, we need to continue to develop specific activities and interventions that increase students' career decision-making self-efficacy, which would be predicted to decrease their career decision-making difficulties. We also need to continue to develop career services targeting each of the career decision-making difficulties as suggested by Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996). For example, at our counselling service, we have incorporated some of these ideas into a Career Exploration Workshop, which is the starting point of accessing career services at our counselling service. The Career Exploration Workshop actively involves students in discussions and activities about career myths and beliefs, career planning models, identity development, occupation identification and research, and conflict resolution. Counsellors assist students throughout this process by normalizing the challenges of career planning and by providing supportive feedback. Attendance and participation in the Career Exploration Workshop has been found to significantly increase students' levels of career decision-making self-efficacy (Degen & Ness, 2001).

When considering the implications of these findings, the limitations of this study need to be considered. One main limitation is the use of self-report methodology without any external corroboration. However, as indicated, the focus of the study was to understand more about these participants' career decision-making difficulties and their perception of the level of their self-efficacy. Another limitation is the correlational nature of the strong negative relationship between career decision-making difficulties and career decision-making self-efficacy. Future research should explore whether or not additional mediating or moderators variables are impacting this relationship. Finally, a third limitation of this study is that we only included first-year university students and therefore these participants were likely in the earlier stages of their career planning process. Future research should include participants prior to their attendance at a post-secondary institution, as well as participants in various stages of their education, to examine the applicability of the Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996) model.

In conclusion, this study supported our main hypothesis regarding the interrelationships of several key variables with career decision-making difficulties. In particular, the significant negative correlation between career decision-making difficulties and career decision-making self-efficacy suggests the importance of understanding more about this relationship and other variables that may be related. It is particularly important for future research to examine these variables with students beyond first-year university. At present, we plan to conduct such research and we also plan to begin examining possible path models of career decision-making using the CDDQ and career decision-making self-efficacy measures.

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Thriving In The New Millennium: Career Management In The Changing World Of Work

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We are currently living and working in times of unprecedented change (Hall & Moss, 1998; Metcalf & Briody, 1995; Watts, 1996). Traditional theories of career development focus on matching people to occupations. Yet, in contemporary times, “[t]rying to place an evolving person into the changing work environment is like trying to hit a butterfly with a boomerang” (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996, p. 263).

Career development has been recently defined as “the process of managing learning, training, and work throughout the life span” (ATEC, 1999, p. 124). Traditional career development, however, has resembled riding a raft down a river—with very little control over where the currents take you, but always heading in the same general direction. Career “management,” on the other hand, would be more like paddling a canoe—choosing the best course, pausing at times, and changing speed and direction when desired—a more planful and purposive approach. Although the terms career development and career management are used somewhat interchangeably in career-related literature, in the present study the term “career management” is preferred as it tends to emphasize an active, purposeful approach.

A Rationale for Career Management

In today’s busy world why would individuals and their employers commit time and resources to career management activities? According to Barbara Moses (1995), a Canadian career management specialist:

In today’s fast-changing workplace, people need the skills and competencies to ensure future employability, and to manage new work and life realities. Organizations need flexible people, who can effectively manage change and adapt to new organizational directions. The key to achieving these goals, for both the individual and the organization, is career self-management. (p. 3)

Clearly, for career management to work within an organization, there is a need for “buy-in” from both sides (Orpen, 1994; Simonsen, 1997).

David Baxter (2000), executive director of the Urban Futures Institute, warned that “[a]s we enter an era of critical labour shortages in many sectors, the challenges of retaining and recruiting human resources will become paramount in the operations of many organizations” (p. 1). One compelling reason, then, for organizations to offer career management support is that it may help them to recruit and retain the talent that they need to sustain a competitive edge. Another area of concern to organizations is productivity. There are two aspects to this quality—the productivity that comes from a keen and highly motivated workforce (Orpen, 1994) and the productivity that comes from that workforce being prepared with the right skill mix or “hot skills” to do the work that is required (Cole-Gomoloski, 1998; Griffith, 1998; Hayes, 1999; Young, 1999). Therefore, to benefit an organization, career management should also equip

people to benchmark their skills, anticipate upcoming skill demands, and commit to continuous learning (Kaye, 1997; Moses, 1995; Simonsen, 1997).

How might career management benefit the individual? In times of rapid change, employees need help with identifying the specific skills and competencies that will keep them employable in the months and years ahead. Career management may also help individuals to balance their work and family life, and link their personal career goals to the emerging needs of their employer, industry, or community (Moses, 1995; Simonsen, 1997).

Career Management for Changing Times: Planned Happenstance Theory

Poehnell and Amundson (2000) argued that the term “management”—at least as it has been traditionally used—may be problematic when applied to careers. It may imply a degree of control over career development that is unrealistic in today’s climate of unprecedented organizational change. Good career management theory, therefore, must account for the limited degree to which workers have control over their own career experiences and satisfaction and organizations have control over the work environments that they provide.

Gelatt (1991) spoke of approaching careers with an attitude of “positive uncertainty.” Savickas (1997) suggested that “career adaptability” may be the core construct in Super’s life-span, life-space theory. We know from employer surveys that flexibility, adaptability, and problem-solving skills are held in high regard in the corporate world (Business Council of British Columbia, 1999; Corporate Council on Education, 1992). Many recent articles have recognized the impact of “serendipity” on career management, especially in these times of rapid change (Krumboltz, 1998; Watts, 1996; Williams et al., 1998).

Planned happenstance theory has also been built on this notion of serendipity (Krumboltz, 2000; Mitchell, Levin, & Krumboltz, 1999). One of the central tenets in planned happenstance theory, however, is that individuals can, to a certain extent, create their own luck. Authors of the theory have identified a number of individual qualities believed to contribute to such “luck-readiness,” suggesting that employees who are planful and goal-oriented, curious (actively searching while open to new learning opportunities), persistent, flexible, optimistic, and prepared to take risks would be better equipped to seize the opportunities that chance brings their way. Such employees would be able to both create and capitalize on chance events—transforming serendipity or happenstance into career opportunities.

Effective Career Management

Planned happenstance theory offers a foundation from which to research career management. In it, several personal attributes and attitudes are identified as potentially helpful in managing careers in the often chaotic world of work. Implicit in the notions of curiosity and openness from planned happenstance theory (and central to most literature on career management) is a commitment to continuous learning and skill development—which involves ongoing self-assessment and realistic feedback from others, as well as “benchmarking” skills and keeping them current (Bridges, 1997; Hill, 1998; Kaye, 1997; Kidd, 1998; Moses, 1995, 1999; Porter, Porter, & Bennett, 1998; Shahnasarian, 1994).

Persistence, another personal quality highlighted in planned happenstance theory, has also been valued by the business community (Champy & Nohria, 2000; Posen, 1998). Highly valued in the business community, as well, has been optimism—an attribute often thought to contribute to individual career success (Champy & Nohria, 2000; Posen, 1998). Champy, Nohria, and Posen, like Seligman (1990), believe that optimism can be learned.

Risk-taking is another valued attribute (Hakim, 1994; Posen, 1998). Hakim provided numerous examples of employees who limited their career potential by refusing to take risks. Planfulness (another attribute critical to planned happenstance theory) appears to be foundational to effective career management (Blustein, 1997; De Voe, 1998; Kaye, 1997; Moses, 1995; Orpen, 1994; Shahnasarian, 1994). Corporate managers have long recognized the importance of planning to the long-term success of their organizations (Wack, 1985). Perhaps career management, then, might draw from such time-tested management strategies as “scenario planning” to help individuals and organizations better cope with tumultuous change.

There are other recurring themes in the career literature, as well, that are worth considering in research on effective career management. Many of these entail behavioural strategies rather than the personal attributes or characteristics identified as important by planned happenstance theory. For example, the ability to network effectively has been presented as integral to career management (Kaye, 1997; Kidd, 1998; Moses, 1999; Porter, Porter, & Bennett, 1998; Shahnasarian, 1994). Financial planning and money management have also taken on new importance as career management skills. Some authors have stressed the importance of being financially prepared for periods of unemployment between jobs and having the financial flexibility to pursue opportunities as they arise (Moses, 1995, 1999; Shahnasarian, 1994). Other literature has identified links between personal financial problems and employee productivity (Joo & Grable, 2000).

The importance of achieving balance between work and other life roles has also become an emerging topic in the career management literature (DeVoe, 1998; Moses 1995, 1999; Shahnasarian, 1994). Moses (1999), in describing the intermittent nature of work in the future, warned:

We will need to be able to manage these periods of downtime not only financially but psychologically. We will need to know not only how to be busy but how to stop our busyness, how to use these breaks as times to nourish ourselves, reconnect with people, explore new avenues of work and play. We will need to find something other than our own busyness to validate our self-worth. (p. 7)

To summarize, then, effective career management for individuals appears to entail a combination of specific personal attributes, attitudes and strategies. A commitment to lifelong learning (based on ongoing, realistic self-assessment), alertness to opportunities and the ability to keep diverse options open (adaptability and flexibility), persistence, optimism, the willingness to take risks, and planfulness are all personal attributes theorized to foster career management success. In addition, networking and self-marketing, financial management, and balancing work with other significant life roles are seen as important components of a planful approach to career management. The outcome of effective career management is expected to be successful careers that meet the needs of both individuals and their employers.

Career Success and Job Satisfaction

Career success has been variously defined and measured in the literature as salary growth and promotions (Orpen, 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Turban & Dougherty, 1994), the accumulation of rewards such as salary, status, and prestige (Bahniuk, Hill & Darus, 1996), career progression (Kirchmeyer, 1998), and relative salary and managerial level (Melamed, 1995). Some authors have attempted to move beyond such traditional, objective descriptions by defining career success more subjectively— with measures of perceived career success and satisfaction (Burke, 1999; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Parasuraman et al., 1996; Van Eck Peluchette, 1993). Gottfredson (1996) suggested that satisfied workers would be more highly valued by employers as such workers would likely be more committed to the organization and have longer tenure.

Rationale for the Present Study

As career counsellors find more demand for their services in the corporate world, as employees recognize the need to self-manage their careers, and as employers recognize the benefits of offering career management support to their employees, all three groups need a clear understanding of what effective career management is and how best to pursue it. To this point in time, there has been limited interface between theories in the fields of career counselling and corporate management. As such, there has been little research testing the effectiveness of career management in achieving its stated goals. The present study took preliminary steps toward evaluating the outcomes (career success and job satisfaction) of several of the attitudes and strategies that practitioners and theorists suggest form the basis of good career management.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited from among the management employees of one of Canada's largest corporations—a telecommunications company that was in the midst of transformational change. The organization faced the same recruitment and retention issues as other major employers. In addition, the organization was anticipating major business changes as the global economy continued to expand, mergers and acquisitions abounded, and emerging technology impacted both internal business strategies and customer needs and expectations. The current managers in the organization were all survivors of major downsizing and restructuring over the past several years and all had successfully competed for their existing jobs after the merger.

Participation was voluntary and efforts were made to ensure that confidentiality was preserved. Of the 404 survey packages that were distributed, 181 (44%) were completed and returned. Descriptive statistics for the participants are reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Variable	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Tenure in Current Job (months)	36.4	49.59		
Tenure in Organization (months)	197.04	114.35		
Salary (thousands of Canadian dollars)	61.34	10.03		
Bonus (thousands of Canadian dollars)	7.59	4.76		
Age	42.41	7.38		
Dependents	1.26	1.19		
Sex				
Female			126	70
Male			55	30
Marital Status				
Single			26	14
Married			129	71
Divorced			26	14
Ethnicity				
Caucasian			151	83
Asian			5	3
Not identified			25	14
Education				
College			90	50
Bachelors Degree			40	22
Graduate Level Studies (Masters or PhD)			19	11

Measures

career attitudes and strategies inventory (CASI, holland & gottfredson, 1992). The CASI is an assessment tool developed to measure various aspects of individuals' work situations including job satisfaction and specific attitudes and strategies hypothesized to impact their careers (Gottfredson, 1996). Alpha reliabilities in previous research ranged from .76 to .92. Of particular interest in the present study were the subscales on the CASI measuring job satisfaction, risk-taking style, skill development, and work involvement. The subscale measuring career worries, while not a pure measure of optimism as defined by Seligman (1990) or in more recent assessments of emotional intelligence (Bar-On, 1997), nonetheless captured the essence of an optimistic approach to career management (i.e., optimism could be operationalized as low career worries). For further analyses, therefore, this subscale was reverse-scored and renamed as Optimism.

career beliefs inventory (CBI, Krumboltz, 1991). The CBI was developed to identify specific beliefs that may result in attitudes and behaviours hypothesized to

block career success. The CBI consists of 25 subscales—Table 2 displays the internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha) for scores on the specific subscales of interest, based on the participants in this study.

Table 2

Cronbach’s Alpha Reliability Coefficients for CBI Scales in Present Sample

Scale	Items	N	Alpha
2 Career Plans	2	177	0.34
10 Control	2	178	0.23
15 Career Path Flexibility	4	178	0.48
16 Post-Training Transition	5	178	0.51
17 Job Experimentaion	8	178	0.66
18 Relocation	5	178	0.85
19 Improving Self	2	178	0.21
20 Persisting While Uncertain	5	178	0.64
21 Taking Risks	4	178	0.49
22 Learning Job Skills	2	178	0.42
23 Negotiating/Searching	4	178	0.38
24 Overcoming Obstacles	8	178	0.69
25 Working Hard	7	178	0.72

career management survey (CMS). The CMS was designed for this study to collect demographic data and to ensure that the factors hypothesized to comprise effective career management and career success were measured in ways consistent with previous theory-driven research. Neither the CBI nor CASI scales, for example, seemed to measure networking very well. Therefore, questions measuring networking beliefs and attitudes were added to the CMS, including “I believe that it is important to have a large, diverse network of professional acquaintances.” Work-life balance, though addressed in the Work Involvement subscale on the CASI, also seemed to be inadequately measured. Two questions directly measuring attitudes toward such balance were added to the CMS: “I am happy with the present balance between my work role and my other life roles” and “In my opinion, work is taking too large a piece of my life right now.” (The latter question was reverse scored.)

Following Orpen (1994), statements were included to collect objective data about career success including information about salary, promotions, and performance ratings. However, two issues may have confounded the career success measure for this sample: (a) not all managers in this company had received annual performance ratings within the past year, and (b) all had recently competed successfully for their present positions. Therefore, as several researchers have also advocated a subjective measure of career success (Burke, 1999; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Parasuraman et al., 1996; Van Eck Peluchette, 1993), two statements were added to the survey to gather subjective data: “I believe that my career to this point has been a success” and “Compared to my peers, my career progress has been good.”

career management behaviours checklist (CMBC). The CMBC was designed for this study to gather data on the specific career management behaviours in which the participants had engaged over the past year. Questions on the selected subscales of both standardized measures used in this study tended to elicit attitudes and beliefs rather than the actual career management strategies or behaviours that an individual might exhibit. It seemed important, therefore, to also ask participants what career management strategies they had actually employed within the past year.

Results

Career Management, Career Success, and Job Satisfaction Scale Development

alpha reliabilities. Initial reliability tests were conducted for comprehensive scales. By systematically deleting items from those comprehensive scales, scales with good internal consistency were developed for each of the variables under consideration: Job Satisfaction (.88), Career Success (.72), Continuous Learning (.83), Flexibility (.71), Networking (.65), Financial Management (.76), Work-Life Balance (.81), Planfulness (.76), Optimism (.87), Persistence (.72), and Risk-Taking (.78).

correlations. After the specific measures were selected, correlations between each pair of predictor variables was examined to determine whether or not there was sufficient multicollinearity to warrant combining any of the variables. Almost all of the significant correlations ($p < .05$) between pairs of variables were very low; only four (listed here) were $> .35$, $p = .00$. The largest correlations were between Flexibility and Risk-Taking (.50), Persistence and Optimism (.44), Persistence and Risk-Taking (.38), and Job Satisfaction and Career Success (.37). To ensure that demographic variables were not potential confounds in this study, they were also checked for collinearity with the dependent variables—job satisfaction and career success—but nothing significant was found. Because it also seemed likely that the two dependent variables might overlap significantly with each other, they, too, were checked for collinearity. However, there was not sufficient collinearity to collapse the dependent variables.

Multiple Regression: Predicting Career Success and Job Satisfaction

Once appropriate and reliable measures were identified for all variables under consideration, two step-wise multiple regression analyses were conducted in order to identify the best career management predictors of career success and job satisfaction (Stevens, 1986).

Descriptive statistics for the variables in the multiple regressions appear in Table 3. The correlations among predictor variables, Career Success, and Job Satisfaction are reported in Table 4. The results of the stepwise regression for career success are reported in Table 5. Optimism and Flexibility were the best predictors of Career Success, accounting together for a total of 12% of the variance. The results of the stepwise regression for job satisfaction are reported in Table 6. Optimism, Continuous Learning, and Planfulness were the best predictors of Job Satisfaction, accounting together for a total of 19% of the variance. Planfulness contributed in a negative direction (i.e., participants who were more planful reported less job satisfaction).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Scales used in Multiple Regressions

Variable	M	SD	Alpha
Career Success	8.2	1.3	0.72
Job Satisfaction	67.2	9.2	0.88
Continuous Learning	41.4	4.3	0.83
Financial Management	7.4	1.6	0.76
Flexibility	81.8	9.8	0.71
Work-Life Balance	6.2	1.8	0.81
Networking	11.5	2	0.65
Optimism	37.0 (37.2)	8.7 (8.8)	0.87
Persistence	29.7	3.1	0.72
Planfulness	0.9	0.9	0.76
Risk-Taking	37.9	5.5	0.78

Note. Numbers in parentheses represent statistics for variables in the regression equation for Job Satisfaction when they vary from those reported for Career Success.

Table 4

Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables for Multiple Regression Analyses (N = 174)

Variable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Career Success	.24*	.02	.26*	.19*	.13**	.31*	.29*	.19*	.20*	.37*
2. Cont. Learning		.22*	.20*	.02	.14**	.31*	.28*	.20*	.35*	
3. Fin. Management	.22*		.07	-.01	.26*	.02	-.06	.14*	.10	
4. Flexibility	.21*	.07		.07	.17**	.30*	.37**	.11	.50**	
5. Balance	.02	-.01	.07		-.05	.33*	.09	.04	-.00	
6. Networkin g	.15**	.25*	.17*	-.05		.09	.07	.20*	.15**	
7. Optimism	.32*	-.01	.30*	.33*	.10		.43*	.27*	.32*	
8. Persistence	.29*	-.06	.37*	.09	.08	.44*		.22*	.38*	
9. Planfulness	.20*	.13*	.11	.04	.20*	.28*	.23*		.13**	
10. Risk- Taking	.35*	.10*	.50*	-.00	.15**	.32*	.38*	.13*		

11. Job Satisfaction	.35	-.08	.11	.15*	-.08	.34*	.23*	-.03	.12**
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Note. Correlations above the diagonal are for the regression predicting career success. Those below the diagonal are for the regression predicting job satisfaction.

* p < .01

** p < .05

Table 5

Summary of Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Career Success (N = 174)

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Optimism	0.04	0.01	0.25	3.37	0
Flexibility	0.02	0.01	0.19	2.49	0.01
(Constant)	7.59	1		7.6	0

Note. Adjusted $R^2 = .12$, $F(2, 171) = 12.41$, $p = .00$

Table 6

Summary of Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Job Satisfaction (N = 175)

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Optimism	0.31	0.08	0.3	4.05	0
Cont. Learning	0.62	0.16	0.29	4.01	0
Planfulness	-1.79	0.75	-0.17	-2.38	0.02
(Constant)	54.41	7.8		6.98	0

Note. Adjusted $R^2 = .19$, $F(3, 171) = 15.01$, $p = .00$

Discussion

Predicting Job Satisfaction and Career Success

a portrait of a satisfied worker. A satisfied worker was one with an optimistic attitude, involved in continuous learning activities, and with somewhat less of a planful approach to career management. A review of the zero-order correlations enriched this portrait, adding that a satisfied worker was also more persistent and willing to take risks, and had achieved a measure of work-life balance.

a portrait of career success. Similar to the portrait of job satisfaction, a successful worker had an optimistic attitude. In addition (and different from the portrait of satisfaction), a successful worker was flexible. This fits with the literature on employability skills (e.g., Business Council of British Columbia, 1999)—employers are looking for flexible people with good attitudes. What was somewhat surprising, however, was that none of the demographic variables correlated positively with responses to the subjective statements, “I believe that my career to this point has been a

success” and “Compared to my peers, my career progress has been good” although previous literature suggested that career success could be measured by such objective measures as salary, bonus, performance ratings, and promotions.

A review of the zero-order correlations enriched the portrait of career success, adding that successful workers were persistent, continuous learners, planful, and willing to take risks. They had also achieved a measure of work-life balance and networked more than their peers who reported less career success. In essence, all of the career management variables extrapolated from the literature (except for financial management), contributed to the portrait of a successful worker in the present study.

Career Management Attitudes and Strategies

continuous learning. In the multiple regressions, continuous learning was a significant predictor of job satisfaction but not career success. It seems likely, from the results in the present study, that individuals may be engaging in continuous learning that is keeping their work interesting and satisfying for today, and has allowed them to achieve success to this point in their careers, but which may not be preparing them for upcoming changes in their occupations or organization.

optimism. In the present study, optimism was a significant predictor of both career success and job satisfaction and correlated with all but two variables—networking and financial management

flexibility. In the present study, flexibility was correlated with career success but not job satisfaction. One may wonder, are the workers of today being stretched beyond their comfort zones—to the point where job satisfaction may be sacrificed at the expense of career success? In the present study, flexibility did not correlate significantly with financial management, balance, or planfulness. It is possible that a more flexible worker might be more inclined to overwork, jeopardizing work-life balance in exchange for career success. The lack of a correlation with planfulness begs the question, “Is it contradictory to expect people to be both planful and flexible?” Although, theoretically, Gelatt’s (1991) construct of positive uncertainty and Krumboltz’s (2000) planned happenstance theory link planfulness and flexibility together as desirable qualities for career management, those variables did not cluster together in the present study.

planfulness. It was interesting, in the present study, that planfulness predicted job satisfaction in a negative direction. Perhaps those who are dissatisfied become more planful as they begin to consider alternative career paths—this would fit with Gottfredson’s (1996) findings that dissatisfied employees were more likely to be engaged in an active career search.

persistence. In this study, persistence correlated with career success but not job satisfaction. Perhaps some workers who were satisfied stopped working so hard, while others continued to persist for the intrinsic value derived from their hard work.

risk-taking. It was interesting, in this study, that risk-taking correlated with both career success and job satisfaction—a finding that supports planned happenstance theory and the characteristics apparently valued by business leaders (Hakim, 1994).

work-life balance. In this study, work-life balance exhibited the least overlap with other predictor variables (the only significant correlation was with optimism), yet it was correlated with both career success and job satisfaction. Perhaps, then, balance is not so much a career management variable as it is a life management variable that permits one to achieve career success while remaining satisfied. This explanation would support Moses' (1999) call for workers of the future to take time to recharge.

networking. It was interesting that, in the present study, networking did not correlate with job satisfaction, balance, optimism, or persistence. It could be that networking is an effective strategy used more consistently by individuals actively engaged in either job search (as promoted in such programs as job clubs) or in building their careers. Reviewing the responses to individual items on the CMBC offers further insight into this variable. Although over 65% of participants acknowledged networking with others by attending meetings and conferences, only 31% indicated that they had informed colleagues and professional acquaintances of their career accomplishments. Therefore, it seems quite possible that more passive networking (i.e., attending meetings and speaking with direct supervisors) is the kind of networking in which most individuals engage—particularly when their careers are successful. More focussed networking, on the other hand—networking which entails informing others of one's career accomplishments—does not seem to be an activity in which many of the participants in the present study chose to engage.

financial management. In the present study, financial management was not correlated with either job satisfaction or career success. Perhaps these results were confounded by the relatively high income and long tenure of the participants. Salary, on the other hand, did correlate with job satisfaction (.22, $p < .01$)—a finding which makes intuitive sense. It was interesting, however, that neither salary nor bonus correlated with the subjective measure used in this study for career success. These findings suggest that, although individuals may find their jobs more satisfying if they are paid well, they are not inclined to measure their career success by either the salary or bonuses that they receive.

Redefining Effective Career Management

planned happenstance. Although each variable under consideration in this study, except for financial management, had a small significant correlation with at least one of the outcome variables—career success and job satisfaction—multicollinearity resulted in only limited variance (12% - 19%) being explained when variables were combined. Planned happenstance theory (Krumboltz, 2000; Mitchell, Levin & Krumboltz, 1999) seems to be supported by these results in that unexpected, chance occurrences might impact careers—possibly even to a greater extent than individual attitudes, beliefs, career management strategies, or organizational variables.

flow. According to flow theory (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990,1997), setting challenging but achievable goals can make work more enjoyable. A potential problem with this theory, however, is that it seems to place too much of the responsibility for achieving and sustaining flow in the hands of individuals. For example, organizational restructuring could result in one person doing the work of two or more people, or

budget cuts could result in individuals struggling to cope with insufficient resources or obsolete equipment. Extending flow theory to include the notion of sufficient resources as well as skill development might help to make the theory fit the reality of a changing workplace.

career responsiveness: career management in changing times. Although the present study focussed on individuals—their career management efforts and their experiences of career success and job satisfaction—it is important to acknowledge that organizations, too, have an important role to play in providing environments that support the careers of their employees and accommodate the individual challenges that they face. To revisit the canoeing metaphor introduced earlier in this paper, even a skilful canoeist could not navigate effectively if a floodgate were unexpectedly opened—depending on which side of the gate the canoe is, there would either be no water (i.e., job loss) or a tumultuous torrent (i.e., chaotic organizational or personal change). Clear communication, therefore, and strategic partnerships between the organization and its employees are crucial for successfully navigating the changing world of work.

However, the impact of serendipity or chance occurrences also needs to be taken into account—some events are beyond the control of either individuals or their organizations (e.g., in the canoeing metaphor, floods or droughts caused by weather extremes would be beyond anyone’s control). Effective career management, however, may equip individuals to recognize and maximize the benefits of such chance events or, at the very least, minimize the negative impact of those events by planning for their possibility, thus avoiding being caught off guard.

Perhaps a new term, “career responsiveness,” could integrate some of the ideas from flow and planned happenstance theory with Super’s notion of “adaptability” and Gelatt’s “positive uncertainty.” Responsiveness implies an organic and mutual adaptation or accommodation to change—sometimes the environment might respond to the changing needs of individuals (e.g., when an organization provides on-site daycare facilities for its employees with young families) and sometimes individuals respond to changing organizational demands (e.g., when they agree to work extended hours to better serve their customers).

Implications

Individual career management: Enhancing career success and job satisfaction. One interesting finding in this study was the relatively small overlap between measures of career success and job satisfaction. Therefore, when counselling or coaching individuals, it might be appropriate to first clarify whether career goals involve achieving career success, job satisfaction, or both. Optimism was the only consistent significant predictor in the two regressions in the present study. Although, without further research, it is impossible to assign any particular direction of causality to this association, perhaps interventions that could instill or reinforce hope might be useful in enhancing both career success and job satisfaction. Such interventions could include seminars and workshops, inspirational reading, positive communication from leaders in the company and even rising stock prices or a positive economic forecast for the organization. There seems to be a renewed interest among career practitioners in incorporating spiritual and cultural beliefs in career discussions. Perhaps, because

optimism was found to be a significant predictor of both career success and job satisfaction, this study can offer some empirical support for the contribution of hope and spirituality to effective career management.

Continuous learning, interestingly, was a significant predictor of job satisfaction but not career success. Much of the recent literature has promoted “learning organizations” as the key to success. The present results, however, suggest that there is something intrinsically satisfying about learning; learning is not just about skill development to prepare for future organizational demands. These findings fit with Csikszentmihalyi’s (1997) flow theory—continuous learning helps to keep people “in flow” by matching their skills to new challenges.

enhancing career management programs and services. It might be particularly helpful to introduce programs and services that would encourage employees to participate in activities deemed useful to effective career management, but in which the rate of participation is currently low. In the present study, for example, less than 40% of the participants reported that they had actively benchmarked their skills to those skills currently in demand in their fields. Also, although networking is touted by many as the foundation of career management, the present study shed some light on with whom people are networking—few participants (31%) reported engaging in potentially productive networking techniques such as informing others of their accomplishments. And, although almost 50% indicated that they had set some specific career goals, only 35% had implemented an action plan to achieve those goals.

In an era of continuous learning, it is essential that individuals keep up their skills. Although 68% of the participants in the present study had completed courses or seminars within the past year, only 47% had deliberately diversified their work experience to keep their career options open. One might also question how courses and seminars were selected, given that so few participants were benchmarking their skills.

In addition, although in the present study financial management was not correlated with career success or job satisfaction, it is somewhat alarming that only 25% of the participants indicated that they had made financial plans flexible enough to allow them to pursue interesting career opportunities as they arise, and less than 40% indicated that they had managed their money so that they could handle a period of unemployment between jobs. Given the uncertain labour market and Joo and Grable’s (2000) findings linking financial problems to decreased productivity at work, it seems that financial management programs and resources might be an important intervention.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

There were several research challenges encountered in the present study. To begin with, there were no standardized measures available to reliably measure many of the specific variables under consideration. In addition, due to the exploratory nature of this study, no attempt was made to ensure that participation was either random or representative.

It is important to remember that, in the case of career success, much of the variance (88%) was not explained by the variables under consideration in this study; the unexplained variance is almost as high (81%) for job satisfaction. What other variables might contribute to career success and job satisfaction? It is possible that differences among individual work teams might account for some variation—often conflicts with

team members and immediate supervisors are the most distressing. There are many interpersonal characteristics that could be measured. Future research might incorporate interpersonal variables such as management styles and contextual variables such as personal crises (e.g., illness or death in the family) in an attempt to explain more of the variance in career success or job satisfaction. A qualitative design would facilitate individuals telling their own career management stories and perhaps offer insights into the happenstance or chance occurrences that have already impacted their careers.

Another useful focus for future research would be to develop better measures for career management variables and also for career success and job satisfaction. It would be helpful for career practitioners and coaches to have an easily available, concise assessment tool (with good reliability and validity) to screen for effective career management attitudes and behaviours. Such a tool could be useful in directing individuals to the career management interventions or resources that would be of the most immediate benefit in enhancing their job satisfaction or career success. The present study, exploratory in nature, offers a beginning to our understanding of effective career management in the changing world of work. It is encouraging that all of the variables drawn from theory and the growing body of career management literature now have empirical support for their inclusion in career management programs and services. It is also somewhat daunting to acknowledge how little we know about the subject—more than 80% of the variance in job satisfaction and career success is still unexplained. Perhaps the notion of career responsiveness can enhance our understanding by illuminating the complex interaction between individuals and their employers as both attempt to manage careers more effectively in this changing world of work. There is much work to be done if we hope to better help our clients and employees thrive in the new millennium.

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Employees' Perceptions of Repatriation

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There is an abundance of literature surrounding the dynamics of adjustment to foreign cultures, however, there is little recognition of reentry difficulties faced by employees returning home (Black, Gregersen, & Mendenhall, 1992b). Repatriation is the least carefully considered phase of global assignments, both in research and in organizational practices. Findings indicate that repatriation adjustment is often more difficult than the stage of cross-cultural transition; and a majority of repatriated employees are dissatisfied with the repatriation process (Adler, 1981, 1991; Black & Gregersen, 1998, 1999b; Black et al., 1992b). Investigations of cross-cultural transition and the process of repatriation must keep pace with growing demands for an international workforce (Arthur, 2001).

This article summarizes a study that explored the repatriation experience and adjustment strategies of employees returning to Canada. The study posed two research questions: 1) What has been your experience with repatriation? and, 2) What strategies have you used to cope with repatriation issues? The article begins with a review of the literature, including the importance of effective repatriation practice and previous studies of repatriation. Second, methods are examined, including rationale for a qualitative approach, a description of the participants, and how the data was analyzed. Third, results are discussed, including the thematic descriptions, and exemplars are provided from participants. The discussion then turns to conclusions drawn from this research, recommendations of strategies for repatriates, strengths and limitations of the study, and ideas for future research.

The Importance of Effective Repatriation

Inadequate repatriation practice represents a significant human resource management problem and a potentially large obstacle to successful globalization. Poor repatriation practice is costly (Black et al., 1992b), restricts the effective utilization of employees (Adler, 1991), often leads to the loss of valued personnel (Black & Gregersen, 1991), and is likely the main reason for employee reluctance to work abroad (Harvey, 1982, 1989, Spring). Repatriation problems often send the message to employees that global assignments negatively affect one's career (Black, Gregersen, & Mendenhall, 1992a). A poor repatriation reputation makes it difficult to recruit high caliber employees for foreign postings, which in turn increases the likelihood of problems throughout the expatriation-repatriation cycle.

The lack of repatriation programs and the insufficient value placed on international assignments (Black, 1991) leads to poor repatriation adjustment, dissatisfaction, and turnover (Black et al., 1992b). An average of one quarter of repatriates leave their company and join a competitor within one year of returning home, which is double that of managers who do not go abroad (Black & Gregersen, 1999a, 1999b). These turnover rates signify lost investment for corporations. Foreign assignments last an average of two to five years, and expatriate packages including

benefits amount to expenditures ranging from \$300,000 to one million dollars U.S. annually (Black & Gregersen, 1999a). Firms with hundreds of international employees and without repatriation programs may be losing hundreds of millions of dollars each year (Black & Mendenhall, 1989). Repatriation failure means that companies lose a large development investment, a high potential employee (Allen, 1998), and considerable knowledge leaves with an individual who understands both corporate headquarters and the overseas subsidiaries (Stroh, Gregersen, & Black, 1998).

Multinational corporations are far more effective at preparing expatriates for entry into another country than they are at providing reentry assistance for repatriates coming home (Harvey, 1982, 1989, Spring). Windham International (1998) found that 70% of firms provide some form of cross-cultural preparation. Unfortunately little attention is given to the repatriation process, as less than 15% of North American repatriates receive any sort of repatriation training (Black & Gregersen, 1999b). Engen (1995) estimates 90% of corporations offer less than three hours of training for the return home, suggesting corporations have yet to understand the importance of effective repatriation practice. A meta-analysis of cross-cultural training for expatriates found programs to be effective in helping expatriates adapt to their foreign postings (Deshpande, 1992), yet there appears to be little perceived need for repatriation programs. Human resource personnel often find it inconceivable that returning expatriates need to readjust to anything when coming home. In reality, the majority of expatriates find repatriation to be tumultuous, both personally and professionally (Black & Gregersen, 1999b).

Models That Guided This Research

Most empirical research on the subject of repatriation adjustment has lacked theoretical grounding (Black & Mendenhall, 1990, 1991). Researchers believe the key theoretical mechanism related to repatriation adjustment is uncertainty reduction: Factors that reduce uncertainty will assist adjustment, while factors creating uncertainty will impede adjustment (Black, 1994). In conducting this study the following four models of reentry and adjustment were considered.

First, Berry's (1997) model of acculturation highlights factors affecting repatriation adjustment and possible outcomes of returning home. This model suggests that reentry affects many life roles and that repatriates have tremendous control over their adjustment process. Second, Adler's (1981; 1991) model of coping with reentry focuses on adjustment to work and highlights the impact corporations have on repatriation adjustment. This model acknowledges the influence of both individual and corporate attitudes. Third, Black's (1988) model of work role adjustment illuminates repatriation as affecting all life roles. The degree of adjustment will depend on the amount of change involved when repatriating, and this transition can be highly individual. This model proposes adjustment and knowledge are interrelated, whereby the greater the knowledge of each area of the repatriation process, the greater the degree of adjustment. Fourth, Black, Gregersen and Mendenhall's theory of repatriation adjustment (1992b) emphasizes the need to treat repatriation as a complex process, involving distinct but interrelated variables. This model highlights communication, information and expectations as playing important roles in repatriation adjustment.

Although space is prohibitive for a comprehensive review of these models, four overriding principles become apparent: 1) Repatriation is a multifaceted phenomenon,

affecting all life roles; 2) there are a multitude of variables that affect repatriation adjustment; 3) individuals and corporations have a synergistic effect on repatriation outcome; and, 4) communication, knowledge, expectations, and adjustment are interrelated during the process and outcomes of repatriation. These principles must be taken into consideration to direct the nature of inquiry into repatriation.

Empirical investigations of repatriation have predominantly sampled American executives and managers (Black, 1991, 1992; Hammer, Hart, & Rogan, 1998; Harvey, 1989), there have been a small number of studies of Finnish (Gregersen & Stroh, 1997) and Japanese repatriates (Black, 1994; Gregersen & Black, 1996), and one study sampling repatriates from 26 different countries (Feldman, Tompson, & Holly, 1993). This research has primarily highlighted repatriation problems, rather than repatriation solutions. Data has been gathered through the use of questionnaires, with the exception of two studies utilizing semistructured interviews (e.g. Adler, 1981; Briody & Baba, 1991). Questionnaires have generally been analyzed through regression and factor analyses to discover relationships between repatriation variables and adjustment, while interview methods have generally been supported by phenomenological approaches and searching for common patterns. Most research to-date has elaborated upon the demands encountered during repatriation but stops short of elaborating upon the strategies used by repatriates during the process of returning to their home environment.

Methodology

Although eclecticism has been criticized as being ad hoc, this ideology allows for choosing the most appropriate aspects of compatible methodology and analysis that fit our beliefs, the purpose of the study, and the phenomenon of repatriation. This study was guided by methodology that would uncover critical processes as participants experienced repatriation demands and developed strategies for coping with the re-entry transition. Ideas from hermeneutics and phenomenology informed the methodology. Hermeneutics has been referred to as the "art of understanding" (Gadamer, 1985, p.146). This study adopts the Heideggerian assumption that all knowledge is based on preunderstanding and interpretation. Rather than viewing prior knowledge about repatriation as a barrier, it is viewed as an integral part of gaining new understanding. When a researcher's assumptions about a topic are brought into the research, they are "at risk" (Gadamer, 1985) to be confirmed or disconfirmed. This research also utilizes a number of concepts from phenomenological psychology. Phenomenological studies examine detailed accounts of people's "lived experiences" (Klein & Westcott, 1994) and examine patterns and relationships of meaning.

An open-ended questionnaire was used to collect demographic information and to prompt participants to begin thinking about their repatriation experience. Semi-structured interviews were utilized to gather information, and interview data was analyzed through the use of qualitative interpretation.

Participants

Selection criteria for participants were employees who had worked overseas for a minimum of one year and who had repatriated to Canada for one year or less. This population was targeted because a minimum one year allows for a sufficient degree of immersion into the host culture, and the first year after repatriation appears to be the

time frame when most readjustment occurs (Adler, 1981; Black & Gregersen, 1991, 1999b).

All participants in this study are White Caucasians including seven men and one woman ranging in age from 35 to 48 years. The length of their foreign postings extended from 3 to 23 years, and six participants had completed multiple international assignments. The mean length of time working as expatriates is 8.9 years. The participants had been repatriated between 4 months and 1 year, averaging 8 months back in Canada. The positions held by these individuals while working internationally include occupations in the areas of finance, management, oil and gas exploration, drafting, and education development. The participants lived and worked in many countries including Algeria, Australia, Brazil, Columbia, Ecuador, England, France, Indonesia, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Peru, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Scotland, Venezuela, and the United States.

Data Analysis

The goal of data analysis was to obtain a valid and common understanding of the transcriptions (Kvale, 1996), and to find the invariant structures of the experience of repatriation (Dukes, 1984; van Manen, 1990). This may also be referred to as the "essence" of the experience, which is the nature of the phenomenon of repatriation. Data analysis proceeded through the use of thematic procedures to identify meaning structures. After the first interview, transcripts were reviewed for themes and meanings and were clustered and recorded. Each participant was given a copy of his/her transcript and a summary for verification and clarification during the second interview. Any new information resulting from the second interview was synthesized with the original data, and the meaning structures and themes were further refined. Each participant reviewed a final draft of themes and meanings to ensure the accuracy of interpretations.

The process of identification and interpretation of themes included two types of analyses. The first was a "within" person analysis which considered the themes and meaning clusters for each person, and this was followed by an "across" persons analysis, which looked for shared themes among the participants. The phenomena were intuitively grouped according to similarities for each person and for the group as a whole (Giorgi, 1985; Kvale, 1996). A spiralling technique was used to identify patterns of meaning to allow for both contrasting and comparison of these themes (Klein & Westcott, 1994). Two types of experiences are also identified. The first are those that appear close to the surface, are consciously acknowledged by the repatriate, and easily identifiable. The second type is the prereflective experience, which is not readily noticeable, and is that which is experienced but not articulated (Osbourne, 1994). Reaching the prereflective experience involved a great deal of introspection, internal observation, and going beyond the surface characteristics of the text. The researchers' previous knowledge of repatriation and their psychological training supported this process of analysis. Simultaneously, bracketing (Dukes, 1984) was practiced in order to acknowledge and set aside personal assumptions and to focus on the experience of repatriation offered by participants.

Results

Three metathemes emerged from this analysis including work adjustment, lifestyle adjustment, and psychological adjustment. Table One provides a summary listing of the three major themes and related subthemes acquired from the data.

Table 1

Summary of Repatriation Adjustment Themes

Theme One: Work Adjustment

Job Responsibilities: Career Development - Professional Status Loss
Colleagues
Organization

Theme Two: Lifestyle Adjustment

A New Lifestyle
Activities
Relationships
Financial Adjustment
Freedom
Adjustment to Canadian Society and Culture

Theme Three: Psychological Adjustment

Choice
Expectations
Perception of Loss
Strategies
Positive Experiences, Learning Outcomes and Opportunities

Work Adjustment

Work adjustment was one of the salient metathemes, as six participants were embarking on a new job within their home country organizations and two were beginning new jobs with different companies. Work adjustment can be illustrated by the three themes: 1) job responsibilities, 2) colleagues, and, 3) the organization.

job responsibilities. Repatriates who were most satisfied with their current job had returned to responsibilities similar to the job held internationally. Unfortunately, for most employees, this was not the case, as there was a tendency to return from a managerial position to be placed in a nonmanagerial job. The sense of dissatisfaction for most employees returning to Canada is described in the following exemplars.

“I had a staff of 15 over in Algiers. I have a staff of zero here....Right now where my career is, I couldn't sabotage it much more.”

“I'm probably not going to stay here very long....if I can find something else tomorrow, I'd go.”

“It was frustrating dealing with people making decisions about overseas operations when they had no such experience and were not willing to listen to those who did.”

work and colleagues. The main theme regarding colleagues was described as "my network has been completely destroyed" due to turnover rates, organizational changes, and losing contact with people. This left people feeling out of touch upon their return home.

“There was a fair amount of attrition at work, there was the takeover at work. I've been overseas twice, both people I reported to when I left were gone by the time I returned....This resulted in a lot of new individuals I did not know and an organization structure I was not familiar with.”

work and the organization. None of the companies associated with the repatriates in this study had a formal repatriation plan. Employees who were most satisfied with their jobs upon returning to Canada were also more satisfied with how the organization handled their repatriation.

“The company didn't do anything with repatriation to help us adjust back.”
“If I had been given some sort of debriefing counseling, it would have been easier to adjust.”

These examples suggest that the process of repatriation brings forward the relationship between employees and the organization. Most participants felt that their international experience was not beneficial to their career development. However, they rationalized that any disadvantages imposed upon their careers were offset by the personal gains of living and working internationally. The personal aspect of reentry adjustment was also addressed in this study and also appears to be a major component in the experience of repatriation. This next section reviews findings regarding lifestyle and related subthemes.

Lifestyle Adjustment

Each participant found that repatriation includes adjusting to a different lifestyle compared to the one they had become accustomed to during their international assignment. Although the foreign country lifestyle and the Canadian lifestyle varied for each participant, the common theme was that lifestyle had been altered. One repatriate described this as “my lifestyle changed dramatically, like night and day”. Lifestyle revolved around five common subthemes: 1) Activities, 2) relationships, 3) finances, 4) freedom, and 5) Canadian culture and society.

activities. Many repatriates defined their lifestyle through activities, and almost all repatriates found many activities changed due to repatriation. Those who were involved in enjoyable activities during their international assignment experienced a sense of lifestyle loss, while for the people who have returned to activities they longed for while overseas, there was a perception of gain. Examples of changes in activities include the following:

“We missed our (Canadian) lifestyle, and for us it's the mountains and skiing.”
“We always did something that was oriented toward Russian society or culture everyday,....So (repatriation) was giving up a really rich culture we were immersed in.”

relationships. Activities also revolve around relationships. Returning to Canada meant the reestablishment of relationships with friends and family, starting new relationships, and the maintenance or relinquishing of relationships that were established during the international assignments.

“We were breaking longterm ties. We had tears at our going away party at work. There were friends that thought they'd never see us again.”
“Reestablishing relationships has not been easy. Social groups that had been in place had changed or ended. Some of our friends had changed, situations changed, hence it is not the same.”

finances. Financial changes are part of the repatriation experience that affects lifestyle, as domestic pay is usually lower than international compensation packages, and is compounded by increased taxes. There are also many extraordinary costs incurred when returning to Canada, which often include the purchase of a home, vehicles, and clothing to better suit the environment.

“The financial adjustment has been difficult. You have to change your spending habits...It's like taking a big cut in pay...it is hard to get used to paying the high taxes.”
“I guess the house was probably the largest outlay, and clothing for all the family members...we didn't own ski jackets.”

freedom. The term freedom surfaced in many interviews, as participants found they had greater freedom of choice regarding cultural, religious, and political affiliations, more occupational choice, greater diversity in activities, and more freedom with respect to health and safety.

“Freedom of choice. No one says I can't wear shorts in public...I can feel safe with my wife on the streets...When our son goes to school, the freedom of being able to learn what he wants to learn and what the schools can teach.”
“There are no more language barriers, no more feeling somewhat uncomfortable in a strange society...here the sky's the limit.”

canadian culture and society. As with freedom, adjustment to Canadian society and culture were often related to comparisons made to the countries of expatriation. There was a tendency to comment on the differences in technology and consumer lifestyle.

“The (staff) at the counter hands me this (banking) machine to punch in my number and I said, “What's this for?” and she looked at me like I was from Mars. I didn't have a clue.”
“...going into stores and being so overwhelmed by the colours and choices that walking out felt like the only option.”
“I am not as materialistic as I used to be.”

The consequence of losing enjoyable activities, especially an active social life and financial decreases seemed to create a sense of personal status loss for most repatriates. Losses relating to both work and lifestyle were the focal point of repatriation for these individuals. The next theme, psychological adjustment, is the area given the least amount of consideration by both repatriates and their corporations.

Psychological Adjustment

The interviews conducted with these participants presented repatriation as a process whereby aspects of psychological adjustment occur over time. This adjustment was influenced by the following themes: 1) Choice, 2) expectations, 3) perception of loss, 4) opportunities, and, 5) strategies. The following quotes describe these factors.

choice and repatriation. Choice refers to the option of returning to Canada and the timing of that decision. Those participants who were in control of returning to Canada and the timing of their return seemed to adapt much easier, used more strategies, identified more opportunities, and were more flexible and positive in attitude.

“We actually arranged our return....there was not pressure, no plans on the company’s part to return us, but there was an opportunity in Canada....”

“We weren’t ready to come back, so coming back has been a significant adjustment...I probably carry a bit of resentment because of that, and that probably might come out through the course of the interview.”

expectations and adjustment. Expectations had an enormous impact on repatriation satisfaction. When expectations were met or exceeded, adjustment was a smooth transition. Expectations that were not met or were undermet (especially in the area of work) caused repatriation difficulty.

“We didn’t expect a tough adjustment....And we knew there would be a lot of changes in everything here when we came back....We talked to people who had come back, so we sort of knew what to expect.”

“I guess from a job point of view I came back here hoping I’d be comfortable with the way things were. But that hasn’t turned out. I didn’t expect that. I didn’t think I’d come back here and want to quit. I expected to come back and be comfortable.”

Perception about loss. Losses mentioned by the participants included less travel opportunities, loss of cultural experiences, loss of relationships, decreased personal and professional prestige, reduction in finances, and lifestyle loss. It became evident the greater the perception of loss, the more difficult repatriation issues became.

“(Repatriating) is a loss or sorrow that you get over in time.”

“I can’t come up with anything positive....I would say zero positive aspects from repatriating. Professionally....no, absolutely zero positives professionally. Zero.”

strategies and adjustment. This study demonstrated an association between strategies and adjustment, as it seemed that the more strategies used, the greater the adjustment. One of the most effective strategies seemed to be goal setting,

accompanied by a plan of action, as goals allowed the process of repatriation to be a more purposeful endeavor.

“Planning minimizes the surprises when you come back, so there aren't the shocks. As long as you have a plan, you're maximizing the aspects you have control over.”

A useful strategy for some was to regard the move back to Canada as another foreign assignment. This is sound advice, as all repatriates have experience adapting to another country, and adjustment strategies used as expatriates could also be useful for their repatriation adaptation. Flexibility, a positive attitude, and patience were also frequently noted as important for adjustment.

“I think you have to treat (repatriation) as a foreign assignment. After being away 23 years and moving as much as I've moved, I consider my move back to Canada no different than any other foreign move.”

“I think the key is to always have realistic expectations and to be able to roll with the punches.”

“Patience....it's going to take some time to accomplish it all.”

While journaling can be an effective of dealing with change, only one repatriate talked about taking the time to reflect through writing. This individual was also the only person who had the opportunity to attend a one-day repatriation seminar at the time of our interview.

“It makes a big difference being able to put it on paper or on a computer. It's like talking to somebody....It's helped me to go back and read it. Maybe because it helps you see how much you've changed and how much you've been through, and how that makes you a different person today.”

“It made a big difference, it really did. It brought a lot of things together....It gives you that perspective so you can see how you've changed, what areas you've changed a lot in, what difference that will make in your life. I found it quite beneficial.”

Some repatriates believed that finding a job with a new corporation would be beneficial upon returning to Canada. Others believed repatriation was only a temporary or part-time solution.

“I'd say this is only ever going to be a part-time solution unless in the next two to three years we get further settled in....we can chuck everything and go elsewhere....there's nothing holding us back.”

opportunities and repatriation. The ability to identify opportunities, positive experiences and learning outcomes is also noted to be a helpful strategy for repatriation adjustment. When opportunities could be associated with repatriation, there seemed to be more positive repatriation adjustment.

“Repatriation allowed us to come back to the outdoor lifestyle we really enjoy. It has allowed us to appreciate driving our own vehicle, a restricted privilege overseas. Repatriation, because we each needed support, brought my wife and I closer together. My wife finds that it is the repatriation itself which makes us appreciate the experiences of having worked and lived overseas.”

“Things are a lot more organized here. And things happen more easily, it’s more efficient (here), and things are in the stores.”

“This is a very child friendly society.”

Inquiries aimed at the experience of psychological adjustment were more difficult for these repatriates to answer directly, compared to questions regarding work and lifestyle. However, adjustment is not simply determined by the work and lifestyle repatriates return to in Canada. Woven into the discussion were clear examples that repatriation adjustment is also dependent upon choice, expectations, perception, strategies, and identified opportunities. This suggests that the meaning of repatriation involves understanding the factors related to psychological adjustment. The conclusions drawn from this study, involving work, lifestyle, and psychological adjustment are discussed next.

Discussion

One of the main predictors of repatriation success for the employee is job placement upon reentry (Black & Gregersen, 1998; Black, Gregersen, Mendenhall, & Stroh, 1999), as overall satisfaction is strongly related to the impact of the foreign assignment on career goals. The influence of job placement on repatriation satisfaction was evident in this study. Employees who returned to positions that were similar to foreign postings, and those who could use their internationally acquired knowledge and skills, were more satisfied with the repatriation process. Other work issues identified in the literature which were echoed by participants include loss of autonomy and authority, loss of career direction, and loss of recognition domestically (Adler, 1981). What came across strongly in this study were the feelings of frustration with the job, the organization, and the handling/mishandling of the repatriation process.

This research underscores a number of lifestyle adjustments when returning from abroad. Various losses cited by participants include loss of cultural and travel opportunities, loss of friendships, and financial losses. Due to Canada's high levels of taxation, it appears that financial losses are greater for Canadians than repatriates from other developed countries, e.g., United States. There are many similarities found in both the literature and the current study regarding lifestyle: Challenges adjusting to the general living environment including food, climate, transportation, and schools (Black et al., 1992a), a feeling of being left out and left behind (Piet-Pelon & Hornby, 1992), a feeling of alienation upon returning (Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1987), and forgetting how to deal with the country's pace (Thompson, 1992). As well, difficulties reestablishing relationships with friends and family were noted, as the bonds of common experience that once existed often have disintegrated (Engen, 1995). Although the focus of repatriation is often on the negative aspects of returning home, participants emphasized many lifestyle gains. These include greater freedoms, educational, and extracurricular opportunities for children, a return to activities not possible in foreign countries, and living in closer proximity to family members.

Adjustment includes psychological adaptation, which is the internal outcomes of personal achievement and satisfaction (Berry, 1997) of returning to life in Canada. The experience of participants in this study illustrates that psychological adjustment is at the core of repatriation. Psychological adjustment is affected by choice, expectations, perception of loss, strategies employed, and opportunities identified.

Choice and Repatriation

Berry (1997) refers to choice as the degree of voluntariness, or whether the individual chooses to move as compared to the move being compulsory. Individuals with the ability to choose the timing of repatriation clearly expressed greater adjustment. This study adds to our understanding of voluntariness by demonstrating that those people who freely chose to repatriate and the timing of their return adapted much easier, used more strategies, identified more opportunities, and were more flexible and positive in attitude.

Expectations and Adjustment

Black, Gregersen, and Mendenhall's (1992b) work found expectations play an important role in effective repatriation adjustment, and this was certainly confirmed by all participants in the current study. Repatriates who experienced disconfirmed expectations, or negative differences between expectations and realities (Arthur, 2000), acknowledged adjustment difficulties. Studies recommend that reducing uncertainty will help develop accurate expectations, which leads to better repatriation adjustment (Black et al., 1992a; Black, Gregersen, & Oddou, 1991). This appears as an important direction for repatriation, as the repatriates with more accurate expectations had a more effortless adjustment experience.

Strategies and Adjustment

Literature on transitions has determined that effective coping means being flexible and utilizing a number of different coping strategies (Schlossberg, 1984). This finding was reflected in the findings of this study, as participants who reported they were adjusting positively were those who also reported using the most diverse strategies. There were also two strategies that emerged from the interviews that have not been previously cited in the literature. The first is goal setting and establishing a plan of action upon return. The second is finding a new job in another organization that corresponds with career aspirations. Participants' reports about the effectiveness of these strategies suggest the importance of career planning as part of the repatriation process. Planning and decision-making prior to re-entry and during the first year of repatriation appear as key directions to support international workers.

Perceptions About Loss

The results of this study also emphasize the impact of perceived loss. As a general rule, it appeared that the greater the perception of loss, the greater the repatriation difficulties. It is interesting to note too, that those who seemed to have gained so much during their expatriation experience had the greatest perception of loss. While existing research addresses loss, it does not directly address the issue of perception of loss, which varied greatly for participants. The key to comprehending issues of loss is directly related to understanding the personal meaning associated with the perceived losses. This was accomplished in the interviews through listening to the repatriates' changes in worldview and expanded cultural awareness (Arthur, 1998), which may lead to difficulties when reintegrating back into Canadian culture.

Opportunities and Repatriation

Adler's (1991) study determined repatriates who adjust well are those who recognize positive and negative changes in themselves, their organization, and their community. Participants in this study often found it difficult to identify positive aspects of repatriation, and tended to focus on losses. While all participants welcomed the chance to look for repatriation opportunities, the literature does not refer to opportunities or positive experiences of repatriating. This research identified opportunities of returning to life in Canada, which for some includes returning to a less polluted and less crowded environment, lower cost-of-living, better health care and education, a more efficient society, and better systems of transportation, to name a few examples.

Recommendations For Repatriates

The following recommendations are based upon the insights of participants shared during this study. Participants found these ideas to be useful from their personal experiences of repatriation and focuses on what helped them in their adjustment process.

work adjustment. Existing literature recommends repatriates make active attempts to change the work environment and to seek out information (Adler, 1981, 1991). The advice repeated by participants in this study echo the need for workers to be self-directed and take charge of their career development (Bridges, 1994). Participants offered the following suggestions:

1. Take the initiative regarding job placement and begin this process well in advance of returning. Update resumes prior to returning so managers understand the experience gained internationally.
2. Become informed by asking questions to develop an accurate understanding of what to expect professionally upon return. This includes becoming apprised of the firm's repatriation policies.
3. Recognize that returning may mean temporarily taking a step backward in one's career. To help alleviate this issue, keep current with technical skills, as managerial positions or jobs at a similar level or higher may not be available upon return.
4. While on assignment, maintain contact with colleagues or managers to remain familiar with organizational changes.

lifestyle adjustment. Prepare for the return by gathering as much information as possible in the same way one would when going overseas. This concept was elaborated upon by participants with the following suggestions:

1. Develop goals and a plan of action.
2. Ask questions, and prepare for the return in advance of repatriating.
3. Formulate a financial plan to ease the fiscal shock and to prepare for the many extraordinary expenses of returning. Decisions such as retaining real estate in your home country during expatriation should be discussed with professional advisors such as lawyers, financial advisors, or accountants.

4. Become involved in the community and partake in pleasurable activities.
5. Socialize with other repatriates.

psychological adjustment. The predominant theme in the literature regarding psychological adjustment is developing accurate expectations (Black & Gregersen, 1998; Black et al., 1992b), while psychological reappraisal or viewing the more positive side of a situation is also indicated. Participants gave the following recommendations:

1. View repatriation as a process that takes time to adjust.
2. Develop realistic expectations. Expectations can be modified through talking to other repatriates, reading, and gathering information about work and lifestyle issues.
3. Recognize you are a changed individual due to your expatriation experience.
4. Develop the attitudes of patience and flexibility.

One recommendation that covers all facets of adjustment is to supplement the strategies with a clear commitment to take charge of the repatriation process. The common thread that runs through these recommendations involves taking the initiative to determine the course of repatriation. It is empowering for individuals to make the transition of reentry a purposeful and meaningful endeavor by creating the future and determining one's destiny.

Conclusion

Repatriation is a profound cross-cultural transition that affects people across their life roles. This discussion has elaborated upon three core areas of repatriation adjustment, including work, lifestyle and psychological adjustment. While this research has helped clarify employees' perceptions of repatriation, there are several limitations that require acknowledgement. First, all participants except one worked for corporations that were related to the natural resources sector of our economy. One cannot help but wonder if a greater diversity of industries would have demonstrated any substantial differences in findings. Second, much of the data presented by the participants represents a retrospective account of the experience of repatriation. As well, all participants had been repatriated for varying amounts of time, ranging from four months to just over one year. This raises speculation that differing conclusions may have resulted if interviews of each participant had occurred throughout the process of repatriation. Third, due to the limited space of this article, the recommendations and implications for repatriation programming within organizations have not been discussed. Although the focus of this article has been on the experience of individual employees, the roles and responsibilities of organizations to support their employees must also be examined.

Future research is needed that considers repatriation as an evolving process that deserves longitudinal investigations. Qualitative studies utilizing semi-structured interviews over the span of repatriation adjustment may provide an even greater perspective of the personal meaning of repatriation. Research is also lacking on the repatriation experience of family members. Results of this type of study may also add to the knowledge of repatriation and the repatriated employee, as the reciprocal effects of adjustment between family members may contribute to our understanding of this complex process. It appears the number of employees working internationally will

continue to grow, and so must our understanding of the repatriation experience, and ways to support employees during their transition home.

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Mentoring And The World Of Work: A Reference Model

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Mentoring, a Practice Becoming Organized

“To do mentoring” has become fashionable again. *Mentors* and *Telemachus* are repeating history; we observe in the early years of the 21st Century that the same basic characteristics of mentoring remain, a senior supporting and educating a protégé. Generally speaking, mentoring finds its roots in the life stages of learning protégés and experienced mentors. For protégés, mentoring is a time of new experiences or transitions with all the challenges they imply. For mentors, it is the time of mid-life and, in many cases, the career stage when they feel a need to bring to fruition their skills, expertise and worldviews for the benefit of the younger generation (Houde, 1995, p. 29).

We can therefore foster the meeting of these two complementary needs by structuring an activity that will bring together and facilitate the development of a relationship between an experienced person and a learning individual, most often with the purpose of professional development. This structure is called a mentoring program in the United States, Quebec, and the rest of Canada. Thus we can see that Mentors are back in service, and no longer working alone.

Mentoring can be defined as a means of structured learning, according to Galbraith and Cohen (1995): Mentoring is an interactive person-to-person process that guides learning development, assuming the participants have qualitatively and quantitatively adequate contacts to allow for this development.²

Mentoring in Quebec and Elsewhere

For nearly twenty years, mentoring has had a high profile in the United States, where writers have described the existence of many mentoring programs. These programs support disadvantaged young persons get into or stay in school,³ integrate young professionals in various fields, support young entrepreneurs as does the Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE), and human resources management programs in business settings. Listing the articles on these programs would be a research project in itself.

Canada's 1992 “*Stay-in-School*” initiative is one program that has highlighted mentoring as a significant volunteer activity in helping young persons at risk of

² Paraphrase.

³ Arbreton, A.J.A., Colasanto, D., *et al.* *Contemporary Issues in Mentoring*. Public/Private Ventures. 1998.

dropping out of school. As well, Peer Resources⁴ reports on mentoring in Canadian businesses as well as in school and community settings. Mentoring practice in Canada has developed over the past fifteen years, closely following that in the United States in focusing on professional development, psychological, and social objectives. In 1996, the federal government Treasury Board produced “*Guidelines for Developing a Mentoring Program*”, a reference paper that has certainly inspired numerous mentoring programs in Canada and Quebec. More recently (January 2002), a group of persons involved in the development of mentoring across Canada organized the first national conference of Canada Mentoring, which brought together more than three hundred (300) persons from all parts of the country; which implies that mentoring has become more attractive and important in recent years.

In Quebec, most mentoring experiences on record are barely ten years old. Here again, formal programs are developing in various educational, community, corporate and organizational settings, with professional development, psychological, and social objectives. Articles on mentoring programs have been published since 1990, many by research professors interested in organizational development (Lépine, Benabou, Guay), adult psychological and social development (Houde), and intergenerational relationships (Lefebvre).⁵ For example, the *Réseau des Femmes d'affaires du Québec*, UQAM, and the *Chambre de commerce de Montréal* have pioneered the organization of formal mentoring programs in the labour market, in the areas of entrepreneurship support and career development. Since 1995, several other groups have joined in, as they consider mentoring an effective way of developing and transmitting knowledge and experience while validating participants. Even *cybermentoring*, distinctively original, is finding its niche (Academos, Psybermentor, uq@mentor).

In November 2001, a group of people in mentoring practice in Quebec organized a first conference that brought together practitioners in professional mentoring, with the purpose of exchanging ideas on the practices and to identifying needs. One of the recommendations that emerged from this event was an emphasis on the lack of proper tools and references for what should represent a quality mentoring activity. From that, stem the research mandate that we will now describe.

Our Research Project on Mentoring and the World of Work

The main objective of this research project is: To create a promising model for developing mentoring in Quebec.

For this purpose, we selected eighteen mentoring programs focused on career development and the labour market to constitute a sample that would be most representative of the Quebec situation. Community groups, educational groups, entrepreneurship support organizations, private sector businesses, and professional orders and associations operated these programs. We contacted the co-ordinators⁶ of

⁴ Carr, R.A. (1999). *Status of Mentoring in Corporate Canada*, and unpublished paper taking stock of mentoring in Canada. Peer Resources. Victoria, BC.

⁵ This list is not exhaustive and is provided only as an example.

⁶ The English version of this paper uses non-sexist language.

these mentoring programs and, using a questionnaire and interviews, asked them about their mentoring practices. We paid special attention to their assessment of the strengths, limitations, and effective mechanisms of their programs, and their perception of the effects of mentoring on their clients. This analysis highlighted the importance of set-up, operation, follow-up and evaluation in these mentoring programs and from these findings we developed a structural model that may be used as a framework for analysing existing programs or as a reference for introducing new ones. In light of our conclusions, we discuss issues in developing mentoring in Quebec, especially of a professional nature.

Our Basic Model

A number of researchers, particularly in the United States, have developed structured mentoring models, each one focusing on different aspects of the mentoring concept. For example, Murray (1991) has developed a generic model for introducing mentoring programs, describing their components and putting them in sequence over time. Elsewhere, in a managerial approach, Johnson (1997) has developed a strategic mentoring model in which the individual, the group, and the organization benefit in turn from strategies to facilitate *learning, leading and relating*.

We opted to base our research on the model suggested by Hunt and Michael (1983) of the University of Miami. These researchers present their model as a basis for research on the mentoring relationship that includes all aspects of context, characteristics of participating mentors and protégés, stages of development of the mentoring relationship, and impacts on mentors, protégés and the organization. In our view, this model comes closest to the aspects of program evaluation proposed by Carter McNamara and described below. We have therefore adapted this initial model, by adding variables on program operation and co-ordination in addition to the variables affecting the development of the mentoring relationship. As a result, we have therefore opted for an evaluation mode for the process which answers the following questions: how does the program function? What is its structure, its unfolding, its strengths and limits? How does our program operate? It is this type of evaluation that will allow us to draw a model to analyze actual practices

Suggested Framework For Reserach Project on Menotoring⁷

Context

Characteristics of parent organization
Mission
Corporate culture, particularly regarding mentoring
Reasons for starting a mentoring program
Program objectives and design

⁷ Based on Hunt, D.M. and C. Michael (1983). "Mentorship: A Career Training and Development Tool", *Academy of Management Review*, Volume 8, N° 3, 475-485.

Partners
Human and material resources

MENTORS ORDINATION*	PROTÉGÉS	SELECTION*	CO-
Characteristics	Same list of	Recruiting	
Support			
- Professional Training	characteristics	Matching	
- Personal	as for mentors	Ratio	
Tools			
- Background		Other factors	
- Other			

MENTOR-PROTÉGÉ RELATIONSHIP

Duration, Frequency, Process, Commitment, Meeting content
Learning, Mandates, Activities, Code of ethics, other factors

OUTCOMES OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Quantitative, Qualitative, Positive and Negative
On organization
On program operation
On participants

Measurements and Evaluation (of objectives, support structure, benefits)

DIAGNOSTIC*

Success factors...

Lessons learned...

Avenues for development*

In this connection, we needed to ask program co-ordinators :

- the reasons mentoring programs were introduced;
- program inputs, that is, the resources required to operate the programs;
- participants' characteristics;
- co-ordinators' role;
- the process to which participants make a commitment, for example, roles, requirements and duration;
- evaluation methods used;
- program strengths, evaluated from various standpoints;

* Our additions to initial model.

- main program limitations, complaints or difficulties;
- main development objectives; and
- recommendations.

Briefly, for each mentoring program described, the purpose of our research project was to identify inputs (required resources), processes (services provided, operations, clients), outputs (quantitative and qualitative information on performance) and effects (repercussions, strengths, limitations). Then, in analyzing all this information, we tried to highlight emerging common factors and to organize them into a model.

For this analysis, we chose three information-gathering methods: the questionnaire, interviews and the focus group. Firstly, the questionnaire had the advantages of quickly producing a body of information about the programs, and facilitating compilation and analysis. Our questionnaire was developed using the selected basic model described above, and included the same major divisions: context; operations; the mentoring relationship; and evaluation of outcomes.

Secondly, interviews provided us with greater depth about the data gathered, particularly qualitative information that is hard to obtain using questionnaires. Lastly, once an initial analysis had been carried out and some hypotheses developed, we considered it appropriate to bring together a focus group of well-informed observers and to obtain their impressions and reactions in order to validate our initial findings.

Briefly, here are certain results which have been subsequently criticized by the focus group; the first results of this consultation have allowed us identify certain paradoxes describing the mentoring situation in Quebec. Finally, recommendations presented in the form of premises, introduce the presentation of our model.

A Few Results

Based on the analysis of the questionnaires, enriched by the comments collected from the interviews, we identified five major observations, which we have submitted to our experts on the focus group. The results are as follows :

- In 78% of the mentoring programs we studied, recruiting is taking place with mentors who were men; slightly less than 40% of mentors were women; because of their mandates, the three programs that worked with women mentors, were excluded.
- Of Cohen's six recognized mentoring functions, the ones most often exercised by mentors were: establishing an atmosphere of trust; offering advice (information and coaching); and providing support to facilitate choices; that is, functions I, II and III. Few mentors stated that they emphasized the other functions of confronting protégés, acting as role models, or helping them make their visions a reality.
- Of the programs, 41% offered training for mentors and protégés; 41% organized informal meetings (particularly for mentors) to promote exchanges; and 30% organized neither training nor informal meetings.
- In 78% of the mentoring programs studied, the program co-ordinators spent less than two days per week operating these programs. They spent most of that time on recruitment, file maintenance, distribution of information, and establishing mentor-protégé matches. A number of them said they would like to spend more

time on leadership including training, follow-up, and providing support for matches.

- Mentoring programs are unlikely to carry out evaluations; the evaluations that have been done have focused on participant satisfaction, most often using questionnaires (58%), or compilation of feedback expressed at informal meetings, impromptu conversations, and team meetings (29%).

These five findings lead us to the following questions: Why do we have difficulty recruiting women mentors? Why is it that the majority of mentors do not practice the functions related to confrontation, acting as role models, and helping make protégés' visions a reality? Why do the majority of programs not organize training sessions for their participants? Why do the co-ordinators confine themselves to management tasks? And, finally, why is evaluation the *poor relative* in managing mentoring programs?

The results presented have therefore brought about questions that the members of the *focus* group have examined and put in the form of paradoxes, in order to give our basic model practices and solutions for by-passing these hurdles. Here then are the four paradoxes stemming from the results.

A Few Paradoxes

1. Mentoring requires of mentors the so-called feminine traits of listening, trust, and caring; this relational characteristic is recognized as vital both to women's career paths and to mentoring relationships. However, mentoring programs find it more difficult to recruit women mentors, and are not managing to recruit an equitable representation of male and female mentors that reflect a mixed professional representativity. We should question ourselves on what influences this matter: is it the double chore which women are still hit with which make them refuse a volunteer involvement outside work and family? Is the recruitment of mentors being done at paraprofessional meeting places where women are less present...?
2. Focus group members unanimously felt that the mentoring relationship is a special one that develops over the long-term and focuses on developing the person as a whole. In reality, mentoring programs are set on specific, often time-limited goals and focus more on the short-term project (job justification, success of business, employment maintenance) than on the development of the individual and his projects over the long-term. In so doing, they may encourage mentors to concentrate on functions I, II and III, at the expense of the functions of confrontation, acting as role models, and helping make protégés' life project a reality.
3. Lack of resources and time meant that program co-ordinators spent more time on management than on activities related to the essence of mentoring, including the relational aspect and follow-up on mentor-protégé pairs, training and support.
4. Program co-ordinators felt torn between their desire to emphasize quality and provide an effective support structure for the mentoring relationship, and the need to report on performance in order to obtain adequate funding. They are using the evaluation for only that purpose, and are not much preoccupied with it in the continuous improvement of their services.

Our Quebec Model

Starting with these results and these paradoxes, we arrive at a point of being able to design a model that is sufficiently simple and sufficiently complete to supply a realistic framework to people wanting to develop formal mentoring activities. We have started our modelling by putting the emphasis on five premises, thus illustrating five basic practices, which should facilitate the implementation of mentoring programs.

first premise: We have noticed that many mentoring program co-ordinators devoted their available time to the mentor, more than to the protégé. We suggest rather that the mentoring programs should be centred equally on the mentor and the protégé, as much on training as follow-up, given the fact that the ultimate goal of the mentoring activity concerns the protégé's fulfilment and development.

second premise: A mentoring program should make a pre-selection of participants, by providing them with information on program aspects that will allow them to assess the requirements of possible involvement. If recruitment includes right from the start orientation activities to situate potential participants, supply them with basic information, and instruct them on program requirements...the recruiting operation increases its efficiency.

third premise: A mentoring program should use volunteering to support day-to-day management. Volunteers are first of all mentors, but could become on occasion trainers, communicators and others, all this under the governance of the program co-ordinator.

fourth premise: A mentoring program should provide training activities, to at least clarify the roles and distinguish mentoring from other forms of support, to present at least minimal communication skills and to make sure that the basic concepts related to mentoring practice (relationship development, mentoring functions, ethical considerations, etc.) are known.

fifth premise: As objectively as possible, and for the purpose of continuous improvement, a mentoring program should evaluate whether it has achieved its objectives, participant satisfaction, and the quality of involvement with the protégés.

These five premises ensure that:

1. what are called mentoring programs actually provide mentoring;
2. program participants receive a minimum of training; and
3. activities are followed up on and evaluated.

Prerequisites

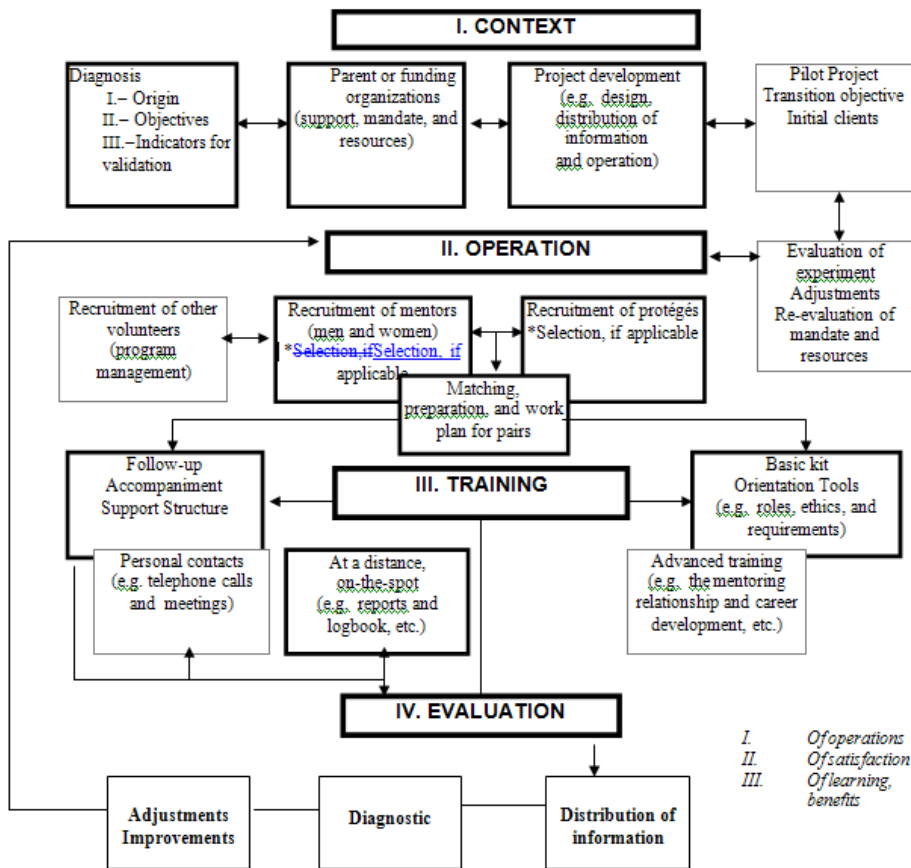
To be achievable, these premises should be used in conjunction with prerequisites which facilitate the day-to-day management of the programs:

- a clear mandate supported by the organization;

- resources (financial, human and material resources) appropriate to the roles and responsibilities inherent in operating a mentoring program; and
- conditions that ensure that programs are not isolated and offer opportunities to exchange expertise and tools.

These premises and prerequisites therefore accompany our model and attribute to it important intrinsic qualities to guide and structure the development of mentoring activities

Illustration of Model



Conclusion: Issues in Developing Mentoring in Quebec

The stakes represent the markers which guide the development of high-quality mentoring; they point to financial and other resources, accompaniment in the mentoring relationship, and evaluation.

Firstly, to facilitate this development, we consider it important to invest in a more formal network where individuals directly or indirectly involved in mentoring

practice can find resources, tools and references. A more formal network would help distribute information on the mentoring culture described above and help eliminate existing confusion about the concept of mentoring. Although mentoring is becoming fashionable again, there is a danger of applying the related practice indiscriminately. Thus, it is important to channel this development, without limiting the originality of mentoring initiatives, or, at the very least, to make information available on the theoretical and practical framework that situates the concept and its application. In Quebec, an organization called “Mentorat Quebec”, formed at the second conference on “Mentoring and the World of Work”, held in May 2002, will play that role of gathering and diffusion.

Mandates, as well as financial and other resources available to program co-ordinators in operating mentoring programs, need to be addressed. If we develop only high-quality programs, parent and funding organizations should assess the need for the financial, human and other resources required to introduce, operate, and evaluate mentoring programs and to help ensure that the human relationships initiated through these programs are of high quality and without risk to the protégé’s integral development.

If program co-ordinators have adequate resources and appropriate tools, then they can focus on the essence of mentoring practice, by following up on developing mentor-protégé relationships and making this accompaniment central to training and evaluation.

Mentoring programs cannot focus on quality without more formal evaluation of their operations and impacts of their actions. In parallel with local program evaluations, it is important to carry out stricter and more comprehensive evaluations of overall mentoring practice, for example, the impacts of this activity on personal development. Often, more scientific study supports and enhances good ideas and practices by ensuring that they are developed efficiently.

Finally, mentoring is not a declining activity; on the contrary, our research proves unequivocally that current mentoring practice is of high quality, considering the fact that mentoring programs are new and lack resources and references. These programs therefore need the resources to continue their work: we know that this method of support is effective, focuses on personal development through a special human relationship, and illustrates the highest social values in a community that cares about using full human potential.

Further Research

This research was distributed in 2001 under the title *Mentoring and the World Of Work: A reference model* and was published in French and English at the *Éditions de la Fondation de l’entrepreneurship*. This first project has become the instigator of other initiatives. Indeed, the same analysis is being done in five other Canadian provinces during 2002-2003 and other tools are in a development stage to accompany pan-Canadian models of winning practices. The work is being pursued in order to supply practitioners in mentoring with the indispensable tools to develop and make their programs work in an efficient way - by referring them to the Quebec model. With regard to this model, here are the themes that we are elaborating on so that all the monographs, making up the reference kit (six monographs) on mentoring related to the world of work in Canada, are completed:

The Winning Practices

The analysis of the winning practices in other provinces, including Ontario, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Alberta and British Columbia plus a pan-Canadian summary document.

The Basic Kit and the Lexicon

The definitions and the distinctions in concepts, the basic vocabulary with regard to the mentoring relationship, its characteristics, to the functions and implied roles, and to mentoring support in relation to career development and the world of work.

Program Elaboration and Set-up

Definition of program context and functioning, including the mandate, the objectives, the target clientele, the design, the processes of recruitment, selection and pairing, the set-up of a pilot project.

The Role of the Co-ordinator

The role of the Co-ordinator with regard to program management, training, follow-up, support, and respect for standards of professional conduct.

Training for the Dyads

Tools that deal with themes related to the mentoring relationship, with the goal of supporting the participants, assuring their efficiency and stimulating their motivation.

The Evaluation

Basic tools allowing the measurement of efficiency and impact as defined at the start: efficient functioning, effects, benefits, satisfaction, etc., and supplying sufficient data to allow programs continuous improvement.

Le Mentorat Et Le Monde Du Travail: Un Modèle De Référence

Christine Cuerrier
Montréal, Quèbec

Le Mentorat : une Pratique Qui Reprend du Service

« Faire du mentorat » est redevenu à la mode. Des *Mentor* et des *Télémaque* répètent l'histoire; on observe dans les années 2000 les mêmes caractéristiques fondamentales, un senior soutenant et éduquant un protégé. De façon générale, le mentorat se greffe sur les stades de vie du protégé en apprentissage et du mentor expérimenté : pour le premier, c'est le vécu de nouvelles expériences ou de transitions, où abondent les défis, et pour le second, c'est l'étape du mitan de la vie, où mettre au profit de la génération suivante ses compétences, ses expertises et sa vision du monde devient un besoin (Houde 1995, p. 29).

Le mentorat veut favoriser la rencontre de ces deux besoins en structurant une activité qui a pour objectif d'initier un rapprochement et de faciliter le développement d'une relation entre une personne d'expérience et un apprenant, le plus souvent dans une finalité de développement professionnel : c'est ce que nous appelons un programme de mentorat, aux États-Unis, au Québec et dans le reste du Canada. De cette façon, Mentor reprend du service et n'est plus seul.

On peut définir le mentorat comme un mode d'apprentissage structuré, à la façon de Galbraight et Cohen (1995):

Le mentorat est un processus interactif de personne à personne qui guide le développement d'apprentissages, basé sur la prémisse que les participants ont des contacts qualitativement et quantitativement suffisants pour permettre ce développement.⁸

Le Mentorat au Québec et Ailleurs

Depuis près de vingt ans, les Américains ont remis à l'honneur la pratique mentorale. Leurs écrits à ce sujet décrivent l'existence de nombreux programmes de mentorat qui ont pour objectif le soutien aux jeunes défavorisés pour l'accession ou le maintien aux études⁹, l'intégration de jeunes professionnels dans divers secteurs d'activités, autant que le soutien aux jeunes entrepreneurs (SCORE : Service Corps of Retired Executives) et la gestion des ressources humaines en entreprise. Faire une recension de ces écrits représenterait une recherche en soi.

Au Canada, le programme *L'École avant tout* en 1992 est une des initiatives qui a repositionné le mentorat comme activité bénévole importante pour aider les jeunes en danger de décrochage scolaire. Par ailleurs, le rapport de *Peer Resources*¹⁰ fait état

⁸ Traduction libre

⁹ Arbreton, A.J.A.; Colasanto, D., et al. Contemporary issues in mentoring. Public/Private Ventures, 1998.

d'expériences de mentorat dans les entreprises canadiennes, autant que dans les écoles et les organismes communautaires. La pratique canadienne suit de près celle de son voisin du sud et se développe depuis une quinzaine d'années; de la même façon, elle concerne des objectifs de développement professionnel et des objectifs d'ordre psychosocial. Le Conseil du Trésor (Ottawa) a même crû bon, en 1996, de produire un document intitulé *Lignes directrices pour le développement d'un programme de mentorat*; c'est un document de référence qui a dû inspirer plusieurs maîtres d'œuvre de programmes de mentorat au Canada et au Québec. Plus récemment (janvier 2002), un groupe de personnes impliquées dans le développement du mentorat à travers le Canada a organisé la première conférence nationale Mentorat Canada, qui a regroupé plus de trois cents (300) personnes en provenance de tous les coins du pays; c'est dire que l'engouement pour le mentorat est important ces derniers temps.

Au Québec, les expériences de mentorat recensées ont à peine dix ans. Là encore, les programmes formels se développent dans divers milieux éducatifs, communautaires, corporatifs et organisationnels et ont des finalités reliées au développement professionnel ou psychosocial. Depuis 1990, des écrits sont publiés sur la question; ils sont produits pour plusieurs par des professeurs chercheurs intéressés au développement organisationnel (Lépine, Benabou, Guay), au développement psychosocial de l'adulte (Houde) et aux liens intergénérationnels (Lefebvre)¹¹. Le réseau des Femmes d'affaires du Québec, l'UQAM et la Chambre de commerce de Montréal, entre autres, ont été parmi les pionniers à organiser des programmes formels de mentorat reliés au monde du travail : soutien à l'entrepreneurship ou développement de carrière. Depuis 1995, plusieurs autres groupes ont emboîté le pas, trouvant que la pratique mentorale pouvait être un moyen efficace de développement et de transmission des savoirs et une expérience valorisante pour les personnes impliquées. Même le *cybermentorat* prend sa place et se distingue par son originalité (Academos, Psybermentor, uq@mentor).

En novembre 2001, un groupe intéressé par la pratique mentorale au Québec organise un premier colloque qui regroupe les intervenants en mentorat professionnel, dans le but d'échanger sur les pratiques et de cibler les besoins en la matière. Une des recommandations qui émerge de cette réunion met en évidence le manque d'outils et le manque de référence sur ce que représente une activité mentorale de qualité. De là le mandat de la recherche que nous allons maintenant décrire.

Notre Recherche : Le Mentorat et le Monde du Travail

Cette recherche vise l'objectif général suivant : Dégager un modèle québécois porteur d'avenir pour le développement du mentorat au Québec

Pour ce faire, nous avons sollicité dix-huit programmes de mentorat dont la finalité concerne le développement de carrière et le monde du travail, issus de milieux aussi divers que possible pour constituer un échantillon le plus représentatif de la réalité québécoise : organismes communautaires, milieux de l'éducation, organismes de soutien à l'entrepreneurship, entreprises privées, associations et ordres professionnels,

¹⁰ Carr, R.A. (1999) *Bilan des activités de mentorat de 2000 Sociétés canadiennes et Le point sur le mentorat au Canada*. Peer Resources Victoria, C.B.

¹¹ Cette énumération n'est pas exhaustive et n'est donnée qu'à titre d'exemples.

etc. À l'aide d'un questionnaire et d'une entrevue, nous avons rejoint les coordonnateurs¹² de ces programmes et les avons questionnés sur leurs pratiques. Nous portons une attention particulière à leur évaluation des forces, des limites et des mécanismes qu'ils jugent efficaces dans le fonctionnement de leur programme et de l'impact du mentorat sur leurs clients. Nous retirons de cette analyse le niveau d'importance accordé aux ingrédients ayant servi à la mise en place, au processus et au fonctionnement, au suivi et à l'évaluation et nous dégagons de ces observations un modèle structural pour le développement du mentorat. Enfin, à la lumière des constatations auxquelles nous arrivons, nous discutons des enjeux qui accompagnent le développement du mentorat à dominante professionnelle, au Québec.

Notre Modèle de Base

Plusieurs auteurs, surtout américains, ont structuré des modèles pour l'étude du mentorat, chacun d'eux s'attardant à différentes dimensions du concept. À titre d'exemples, Murray (1991) a façonné un modèle générique pour faciliter la mise en place d'un programme; elle en décrit les composantes et les inscrit en séquence dans le temps. Ailleurs, dans une approche managériale, Johnson (1997) trace plutôt un modèle stratégique de mentorat, dans lequel, tour à tour, l'individu, le groupe et l'organisation profitent de stratégies visant à faciliter le développement de compétences (*learning*), le sens du leadership (*leading*) et les habiletés interpersonnelles (*relating*).

Nous avons plutôt choisi de nous inspirer du cadre suggéré par Hunt et Michael (1983) de l'Université de Miami. Ils présentent leur structure comme une base pour la recherche sur la relation mentorale, leur modèle incluant toutes les dimensions qui agissent sur cette relation, i.e. le contexte dans lequel elle s'insère, les caractéristiques des participants mentors et protégés, les étapes de développement de la relation et les impacts dont bénéficient les mentors, leurs protégés et l'organisation. Leur modèle nous semble celui qui se rapproche le plus des éléments d'évaluation de programmes proposés par McNamara. Nous avons adapté leur schéma initial, en y ajoutant une variable sur le fonctionnement et la coordination d'un programme, variables parallèles à celles qui influent sur le développement de la relation mentorale.

Nous avons donc opté pour un mode d'évaluation du processus qui répond aux questions suivantes : comment notre programme fonctionne-t-il? Quelle est sa structure, son déroulement, ses forces, ses limites? Comment notre programme opère-t-il?

Suggéré Pour L'Étude Du Mentorat¹³

Le Contexte

Caractéristique de l'organisation qui offre le programme

Sa mission

Sa culture / au mentorat

L'origine du programme : pourquoi ce programme?

¹² Ce texte est rédigé au masculin uniquement dans le but d'en faciliter la lecture.

¹³ Inspiré de Michael, C. et Hunt, D.M. (1983). *Mentorship : a career training and development tool*. In *Academy of management review*, vol. 8, no. 3, 475-485.

Ses objectifs, son design
Ses partenaires
Ses ressources humaines et matérielles

Les mentors Caractéristiques idem professionnelles et personnelles, provenance, etc.	Les protégés	La sélection* le recrutement le jumelage le ratio, etc.	Coordination* Encadrement la formation et les outils
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RELATION MENTORALE

Durée, fréquence, processus, engagement, contenu des rencontres,
apprentissage, mandats, actions, code de déontologie etc.

LES IMPACTS :

quantitatif, qualitatif, + et –
Dans l'organisation
Dans le déroulement du programme
Pour les participants
Les mesures et l'évaluation (objectif, structure, bénéfiques)

Le diagnostic*
Les facteurs gagnants...
Si c'était à refaire...
Les pistes de développement *

C'est ce genre d'évaluation, à notre avis, qui nous permettra de dégager un modèle de l'analyse des pratiques actuelles.

- Pour ce faire, nous avons questionné les coordonnateurs de programmes sur :
- Les motifs de mise en place des programmes
- Les intrants : les ressources requises pour rendre le service
- Les caractéristiques des participants
- Le rôle du coordonnateur
- Le processus dans lequel les participants s'engagent : rôle, exigences, durée, etc.
- Les méthodes d'évaluation utilisées
- Les forces du programme, évaluées sous diverses facettes
- Les principales faiblesses, plaintes, difficultés, etc.
- Les principaux objectifs de développement et les recommandations

* Nos ajouts au modèle initial

En résumé, notre enquête fait ressortir pour chacun des programmes décrits les intrants (les ressources requises), le processus (le service offert, le fonctionnement, la clientèle, etc.), le rendement (données quantitatives et qualitatives) et les impacts (les forces, les limites). Pour analyser l'ensemble des données, nous avons ensuite fait ressortir les facteurs communs émergents que nous avons schématisés, modélisés.

Pour réaliser cette analyse, nous avons choisi trois méthodes de collecte de données : le questionnaire, l'entrevue et le groupe *focus*. Dans un premier temps, le questionnaire a l'avantage d'aller chercher rapidement un ensemble d'informations sur les programmes, tout en facilitant la compilation et l'analyse. Notre questionnaire a été bâti selon le modèle de base choisi et décrit précédemment et se compose des mêmes grandes divisions, soit le contexte, le fonctionnement, la relation mentorale et, enfin, l'évaluation. Ensuite, l'entrevue nous permet d'approfondir l'information colligée et d'aller chercher des aspects plus qualitatifs, difficilement descriptibles par la voie d'un questionnaire. Finalement, une fois un premier travail d'analyse effectué, au moment où certaines hypothèses se dessinent, il est pertinent de réunir un groupe d'observateurs avertis (groupe *focus*) et d'obtenir leurs impressions, leurs réactions afin de valider nos premières conclusions.

Voici brièvement certains résultats obtenus qui ont été subséquemment critiqués par le groupe *focus* ; cette confrontation devant les premiers résultats a permis de mettre en évidence certains paradoxes décrivant la situation du mentorat au Québec. Enfin, pour finir, certaines recommandations présentées sous forme de prémisses introduisent la présentation de notre modèle propre modèle québécois.

Quelques Résultats

À partir de l'analyse des questionnaires, bonifiée par les propos recueillis lors des entrevues, nous mettons en évidence cinq grandes observations, que nous avons soumis à nos experts du groupe *focus*; ces résultats sont les suivants :

- Pour 78% des programmes de notre recherche, le recrutement se fait en majorité chez les mentors de sexe masculin; l'ensemble des programmes, à l'exception de ceux dont la mission est précisément de s'adresser aux femmes (3), fonctionne avec une représentation de moins de 40 % de mentors féminins.
- Des six fonctions mentoriales reconnues (Cohen), celles qui sont le plus fréquemment assumées par les mentors se centrent sur l'établissement du climat de confiance, le rôle conseil (information, coaching) et le soutien face aux choix, soit les fonctions I, II et III. Peu de mentors insistent sur les trois autres fonctions : confrontation, rôle modèle et le projet de vie à plus long terme.
- 41% des programmes offrent de la formation pour les mentors et pour les protégés; 41% organisent des rencontres informelles (surtout pour les mentors) qui favorisent les échanges. 30% n'organisent ni formation, ni rencontre informelle.
- Pour 78% des programmes, les coordonnateurs s'occupent du dossier « mentorat » à moins de 2 jours/semaine. Les coordonnateurs de programme passent la majorité de ce temps au recrutement, à la tenue des dossiers, à la diffusion, et au jumelage. Ils souhaiteraient pour plusieurs passer plus de temps à l'animation (formation), au suivi et à l'encadrement des dyades.

- Les programmes de mentorat sont peu enclins à évaluer leurs interventions; s'ils ont effectué une évaluation, ils l'ont surtout fait porter sur la satisfaction de leurs participants et ce, surtout à l'aide d'un questionnaire (58%), sinon à partir de *feedback* colligés lors des rencontres informelles ou de conversations ponctuelles ou de réunions d'équipe (29%).

Ces cinq observations mènent aux questions suivantes : Pourquoi avons-nous de la difficulté à recruter des mentors féminins? Pour quelles raisons la majorité des mentors pratiquent peu les fonctions reliées à la confrontation, au modelage et à la vision du rêve de vie? Pourquoi la majorité des programmes n'organisent pas de formation pour leurs participants? Pourquoi les coordonnateurs se confinent-ils dans des tâches de gestion? Et, enfin, pourquoi l'évaluation devient-il le *parent pauvre* dans la gestion des programmes de mentorat? Les résultats présentés ont donc suscité des questionnements que les membres du groupe *focus* ont interrogés et mis sous forme de paradoxes, tous plus intéressants les uns que les autres, afin de donner à notre modèle de référence des formes de pratiques et des pistes de solution pour éviter ces écueils. Voici donc les quatre paradoxes qui ressortent des résultats.

Quelques Paradoxes

1. Le mentorat est une activité qui sollicite chez le mentor des qualités dites féminines d'écoute, de confiance et de soin; la qualité relationnelle du cheminement de carrière des femmes est reconnue comme centrale, comme elle l'est dans l'activité mentorale. Pourtant, les programmes de mentorat ont plus de difficultés à recruter des femmes mentors et ne réussissent pas à obtenir une participation proportionnelle d'hommes et de femmes afin de favoriser une représentativité professionnelle mixte. Il faudrait se questionner sur ce qui influence cet état de fait : est-ce la double tâche dont les femmes écotent encore qui les fait refuser une implication bénévole extérieure au travail et à la famille? Le recrutement des mentors s'effectuent-il à des endroits de retrouvailles para-professionnelle où les femmes sont moins présentes...?
2. Tous s'entendent pour dire que la relation que le mentorat propose est une relation privilégiée qui se développe à **long terme** et qui se centre sur la personne dans la **globalité** de son devenir; par ailleurs, les programmes déterminent des **objectifs spécifiques, souvent encadrés par une durée prédéterminée**, et se centrent ainsi plus sur le projet à court terme (l'obtention d'un poste, le succès de l'entreprise, le maintien en emploi, etc.) que sur le développement de la personne et de ses projets, à long terme. Ce faisant, par leur gestion quotidienne, ils peuvent favoriser la concentration des tâches des mentors aux fonctions I, II et III, au détriment des fonctions de modelage, de confrontation et de révélation du projet de vie.
3. À cause du manque de ressources et de mandat partiel et du manque de soutien de leur organisation, les coordonnateurs consacrent plus de temps aux activités de gestion qu'à celles qui concernent l'essence même de l'activité mentorale, soit l'aspect relationnel et le suivi des dyades, la formation, l'animation.
4. Les coordonnateurs de programmes se sentent coincés entre le désir de miser sur la qualité, en se centrant sur un encadrement efficient de la relation

mentorale, et le besoin de rendre des comptes sur le rendement pour pouvoir obtenir un soutien financier adéquat. Ils ne se servent de l'évaluation qu'à cette fin, et s'en préoccupent peu pour l'amélioration continue de leurs services.

Notre Modèle Québécois

Partant de ces résultats et de ces paradoxes, nous en arrivons à tracer un modèle suffisamment simple et suffisamment complet pour fournir un encadrement réaliste aux personnes désireuses de développer des activités mentales formelles. Nous avons démarré notre modélisation, en mettant en exergue cinq prémisses, illustrant cinq pratiques de base qui doivent faciliter l'implantation des programmes de mentorat :

première prémisses : Nous avons remarqué que plusieurs coordonnateurs de programmes de mentorat consacraient leur temps disponible au mentor, davantage qu'aux protégés. Nous suggérons plutôt que les programmes de mentorat doivent se centrer également sur le mentor et sur le protégé, autant dans la formation que dans le suivi, étant donné que l'objectif ultime de l'activité mentorale concerne la réalisation et le développement du protégé.

deuxième prémisses : Un programme de mentorat doit faire de la tâche du recrutement une opération qui déclenche déjà par elle-même une présélection des participants, en leur donnant les éléments nécessaires pour évaluer les exigences de leur implication éventuelle. Si le recrutement inclut dès le départ des activités d'orientation, qui situent les participants potentiels, leur fournit l'information de base, et les instruit sur les exigences du programme, etc. l'opération recrutement accroît son efficacité.

troisième prémisses : Un programme de mentorat aurait avantage à utiliser le bénévolat pour soutenir la gestion au quotidien. Les bénévoles sont de prime abord des mentors, mais peuvent aussi devenir à l'occasion des animateurs, des relationnistes, etc. , tout ceci sous la gouverne du coordonnateur de programme.

quatrième prémisses : Un programme de mentorat doit prévoir un volet *Formation* qui assure minimalement que les rôles sont clairs pour les participants et distincts de d'autres formes de soutien, que les habiletés minimales de communication sont présentes et que les concepts de base rattachés à la pratique du mentorat (développement de la relation, fonctions, etc.) soient connus.

cinquième prémisses : Un programme de mentorat doit s'assurer d'évaluer le plus objectivement possible l'atteinte de ses objectifs, de mesurer la satisfaction des participants et la qualité de l'intervention sur le protégé; en ce sens, il devient intéressant de concevoir l'évaluation dans une optique d'amélioration continue.

Ces cinq prémisses nous assurent :

1. Que ce qui s'appelle « mentorat » l'est réellement;
2. Que les gens qui y participent ont une formation minimale;
3. Que les activités sont suivies et évaluées.

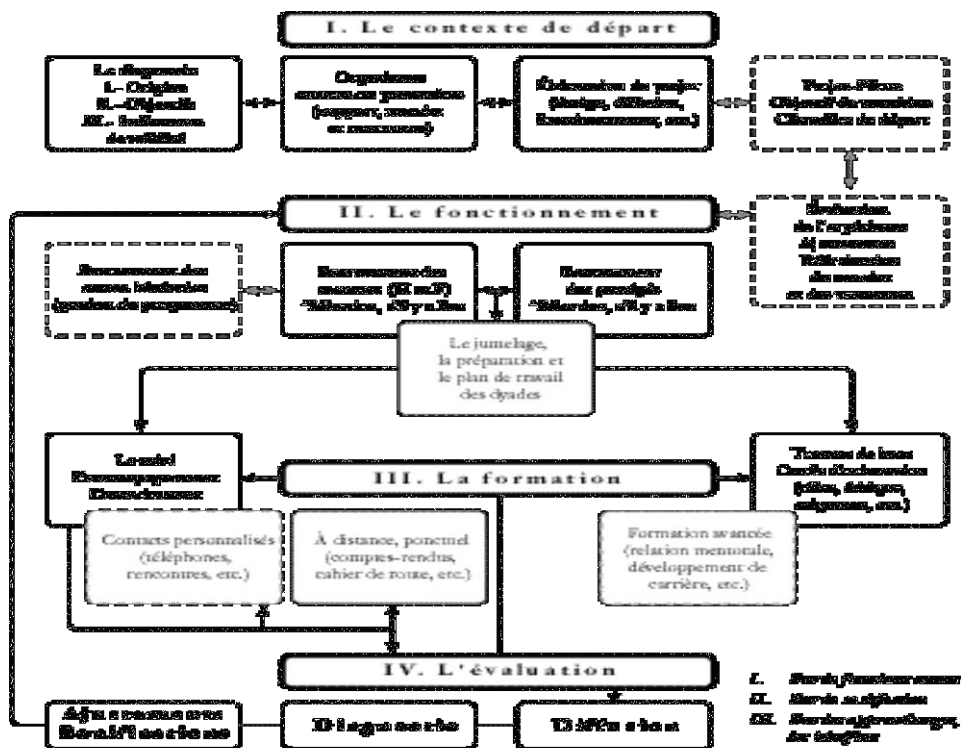
Les Conditions Préalables

Ces prémisses, pour être réalisables, s'accompagnent aussi de conditions préalables, qui facilitent la gestion au quotidien des programmes :

- Un mandat clair, supporté par l'organisation;
- Des moyens (financiers, ressources humaines et matérielles) appropriés aux rôles et responsabilités inhérentes à toutes les facettes de la gestion d'un programme;
- Des modalités qui assurent que les programmes ne restent pas isolés et ont des occasions d'échanger leur expertise et leurs outils entre eux.

Ces prémisses et ces conditions préalables accompagnent donc notre modèle et lui attribuent des qualités intrinsèques importantes pour guider et encadrer le développement des activités de mentorat.

LE SCHÉMA DU MODÈLE



Conclusion : Les Enjeux Du Développement Du Mentorat Au Québec

Les enjeux représentent les balises qui doivent guider le développement d'un mentorat de qualité ; ils se situent aux niveaux des moyens et des ressources, de l'accompagnement de la relation mentorale et de l'évaluation.

Dans un premier temps, nous trouvons important pour faciliter ce développement d'investir dans la constitution d'un réseau plus formel, où les personnes impliquées de près ou de loin dans la pratique mentorale trouveront des ressources, des outils et des références ; cela concourt à la diffusion de la culture mentorale, tout en contribuant à réduire la confusion qui existe sur le concept du mentorat. En effet, le mentorat redevient à la mode mais on voit poindre le danger qu'il soit servi à toutes les sauces. Il est donc nécessaire d'endiguer ce développement, sans brimer l'originalité des initiatives, et, à tout le moins, de diffuser et de rendre disponible l'encadrement théorique et pratique qui situe le concept et son application. Au Québec, l'organisme « Mentorat Québec », constitué lors du deuxième colloque sur le *Mentorat et le Monde du travail*, tenu en mai 2002, jouera ce rôle de rassembleur et de diffuseur.

Comme autres moyens et ressources, abordons la question des mandats et des argents dont les responsables disposent pour mener leur programme. Si nous tenons à un développement de qualité, les organismes pourvoyeurs doivent bien évaluer les besoins en terme de ressources humaines et matérielles requises pour la mise en place, le fonctionnement et l'évaluation d'un programme de mentorat et qui concourent à assurer que les relations humaines qui germent à l'intérieur du programme représentent des interventions de qualité, sans danger pour le développement intégral du protégé.

Si les responsables de programmes ont les ressources adéquates et les outils appropriés, ils peuvent alors se centrer sur la raison d'être de l'activité mentorale, soit assurer le suivi de la relation qui se développe entre les mentors et les protégés engagés dans leur programme et ainsi, faire de cet accompagnement la pierre angulaire de la formation et de l'évaluation.

Enfin, les programmes ne peuvent se soucier de la qualité de leurs interventions, sans procéder à certaines évaluations plus formelles de leur fonctionnement et de l'impact de leurs actions. Parallèlement à ces évaluations locales, il devient aussi important d'évaluer la pratique du mentorat de façon plus globale et plus rigoureuse et de vérifier, entre autre, l'impact de cette activité sur le développement de la personne. La recherche plus scientifique soutient et alimente souvent les bonnes idées et les bonnes pratiques pour leur assurer un développement efficient.

Enfin, le mentorat n'est pas une activité en perdition, loin de là ; cette recherche prouve hors de tout doute que la pratique mentorale qui se fait actuellement au Québec est de grande qualité, si on prend en compte la jeunesse des programmes et le manque de ressources et de références. Il s'agit donc ici de lui donner les moyens de poursuivre son œuvre, parce que nous savons que ce mode d'apprentissage est efficace, qu'il place au centre de son activité le développement de la personne par le développement d'une relation humaine privilégiée et qu'il correspond à des valeurs sociales de premier ordre dans une communauté qui a à cœur l'utilisation de tout son potentiel.

Les Projets En Cours

Cette recherche a été diffusée en 2001 sous le titre *Le mentorat et le monde du travail : un modèle de référence* et publiée en français et en anglais aux Éditions de la Fondation de l'entrepreneurship. Ce premier travail est devenu l'instigateur d'autres initiatives. En effet, la même analyse s'effectue dans cinq autres provinces canadiennes au cours de l'année 2002-2003 et d'autres outils sont en développement pour accompagner les modèles pan canadiens des pratiques gagnantes. Les travaux se

poursuivent donc afin de fournir aux intervenants en mentorat les outils indispensables pour développer et faire fonctionner leurs programmes de façon efficace, en se référant au modèle québécois. Voici donc, en référence à ce modèle, les thèmes que nous élaborons afin que l'ensemble des monographies composant la trousse de référence (six monographies) en mentorat relié au monde du travail au Canada soit complétée :

Les Pratiques Gagnantes :

L'analyse des pratiques gagnantes dans d'autres provinces, soit en Ontario, à Terre-Neuve, au Nouveau-Brunswick, en Alberta et en Colombie-Britannique, additionnée d'un document synthèse pan-canadien.

La Trousse de Base et le Lexique :

Les définitions et les distinctions de concepts, le vocabulaire de base relié à la relation mentorale, à ses caractéristiques, aux fonctions et aux rôles impliqués, et à l'encadrement du mentorat relié au développement de carrière et au monde du travail.

L'élaboration et la Mise en Place d'un Programme:

Définition du contexte et du fonctionnement d'un programme, soit le mandat, les objectifs et la clientèle visée, le design, les processus de recrutement, de sélection, de jumelage, la mise en place d'un projet pilote.

Le Rôle du Coordonnateur :

Son rôle quant à la gestion du programme, à l'animation, au suivi, à l'encadrement, au respect des normes d'éthique et de déontologie.

La Formation Pour les Dyades :

Des outils qui abordent les thèmes reliés à la relation mentorale, dans le but de soutenir les participants, assurer leur efficacité et stimuler leur motivation.

L'évaluation :

Des outils de base permettant la mesure des paramètres de rendement et d'impact définis au départ : fonctionnement efficace, effets, bénéfiques, satisfaction, etc. et fournissant des données suffisantes pour permettre l'amélioration continue des programmes.

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Using Portfolios to Direct Workplace Learning

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In a recent book about the future of career, Collin and Young (2000) pointed to the need for workers to collectively consider both their needs and those of their employer if they are to achieve meaningful careers. In the same publication, Doyle (2000) highlighted the debate around the idea of career being managed on behalf of the individual and the organization. Part of this debate entails the idea of a “common, shared interest” (p. 229) between the employee and the employer. In a different but related strain of thought, Law (2000) suggested that due to changes in the world of work, i.e., globalization, technology, economic trading communities that serial or portfolio careers will become more common with workers experiencing more discontinuities in their work experience. The idea of career as embodying the components of both the needs of the employee and employer, the idea of commonality that the employee and employer have in contributing to economic production, and the need for skilled workers to keep current in a labour market characterized by frequent movement between workplaces can be brought together by focussing on the work-site.

One aspect of the work-site which deserves more attention is workplace learning. Workplace learning for employees means taking an active part in managing and documenting their job-related learning. For employers, it means seriously considering the benefits of prior job experience as evidence of learning work knowledge and skills. The purpose of this article is to discuss the use of portfolios to guide current and future learning and to highlight the learning which has taken place on the work-site. Often portfolios are viewed as a document which attests to past learning with the view to gaining recognition within an educational institution.

In this article, the writer focusses on three topics: workplace learning and how employees and employers must work together to facilitate this learning; portfolio development as an employee’s responsibility, its features, functions and the difficulties in developing one; and, prior learning recognition assessment as an employer’s responsibility and the issues surrounding this assessment. Overall, despite the complexity of employee-employer relationships, this article suggests that both parties can work together on the work-site to maximize the possibility of learning and hence contribute to the on-going skill development of the labour force, and to recognize such learning.

Workplace Learning

There are at least two reasons why North Americans should focus on workplace learning (Inman & Vernon, 1997). Workplace learning can be a response to the concern about the loss of competitiveness in world trading markets. If North American workers were more engaged and reflective in their work-sites, such as Japanese workers are reported to be, their productivity and work satisfaction would help to build a competitive edge in world markets. Secondly, due to the increasing rate of technological advances in the work-site, North American workers need to be encouraged to adopt a philosophy of life-long learning, and to engage in learning which

reflects the needs of the work-site. These two developments stress the necessity of the employee and the employer working together to enhance workplace learning.

There are three approaches to workplace learning (Inman & Vernon, 1997). The first approach concerns the mastery of skills and their application, an approach termed the technical paradigm. The focus of this paradigm is primarily the domain of workers because it concerns the issue of getting and/or maintaining a job. The criteria used to assess worker competencies within this paradigm are typically pre-established by the employer. Workers must determine their level of competence relative to the demands of the work-site and make decisions based on their self-assessment. Further, workers need to understand the ways that workplace learning can take on new meaning in their lives, an approach known as the interpretive paradigm. Within this paradigm, learning is viewed as a process of interaction between the employee and his or her work-site. This interaction process highlights the need for workers to see learning as a continuous activity with direct benefits. Far too often workers view learning as that which takes place within the traditional classroom, and often they do not recognize non-traditional ways by which learning can take place. Workers should adopt a life-long learning perspective with the view to developing a set of skills which will directly benefit their quality of life. A third paradigm, termed strategic, suggests that workers view their learning and the needs of the corporation from a broader and comprehensive perspective. Within this approach, employees understand the ways social and economic forces influence them and their work-site. When employees embrace this broad perspective, they readily see the need for life-long learning as necessary to remain competitive in the labour market. They see the need to work with employers to understand the technological and professional changes which are taking place, and how together they can best master the competence to meet these changes. One way to accomplish the tasks inherent in these paradigms is for workers to develop portfolios and for employers to embrace prior learning assessment of employee workplace learning and to provide appropriate recognition of this learning.

Portfolios

In the past, portfolios have been used primarily by artists, designers, and architects. More recently, portfolios are being used by individuals both as they prepare for work and progress in their career. For example, career portfolios are used in the public education system as well in post-secondary institutions (Danielson, 1996). These portfolios are composed of a collection of artifacts which attest to the competencies and academic achievements of the individuals constructing them. Traditionally, the portfolio was an edited and carefully constructed collection of documents which accounted for a person's learning over time (MacIsaac & Jackson, 1994). From a present and future perspective, the portfolio can be conceived as an on-going plan in which the individual establishes goals, shows evidence of reaching the goals, reflects on and analyzes changing skills and knowledge, and sets out areas for further workplace learning. From this perspective, the use of a portfolio can guide life-long learning (Conference Board of Canada, 1993); as well as, prepare workers for meaningful involvement in the development of their skills and knowledge to keep themselves and their employers competitive in the larger economic community. Workers must take an active part and be responsible for workplace learning if they are to remain viable in this age of global interdependence and technological revolution (Rifkin, 1995).

portfolio distinctives. Constructing portfolios is a challenging task due to a lack of standardization in terms of what they should look like and contain. Portfolios are somewhat like resumes in that they may vary in their composition and appearance. However, portfolios may differ in a variety of ways including what is placed in them, how they are developed, their format, their purpose and validation (Canlearn Interactive, 2001).

In spite of the amount of latitude, portfolios have several distinctive features (MacIsaac & Jackson, 1994). They serve as a record of accomplishment and attest to the aspect of workplace learning within both the technical and interpretive paradigms. This record of learning should contain specific documents which are credible indicators to support the learning to which the portfolio is attesting. For example, from the technical and interpretive paradigms, some indicators can include letters from employers, transcripts of workshops and/or courses completed, videotapes, reports of credits earned from formal and informal courses, and descriptions of work completed in different work-sites.

Portfolio construction should be a collaborative process. The portfolio should be done in association with colleagues and employers, and consequently reflects aspects of the interpretive and strategic paradigms of workplace learning. Such collaboration fosters reflection and discussion about the content of what was learned, and to some degree, the economic realities faced by the business where the individual is employed. Such reflections should centre around questions like “what did I do?”, “what does this mean?”, “what have I learned?”, “how might I do things differently?”, “what are the future realities facing this industry/business?”.

functions of a portfolio. In addition to having a number of distinctives, constructing a portfolio can serve three functions which ultimately help workers develop their workplace competencies as well as demonstrate their involvement in life-long learning (MacIsaac & Jackson, 1994). The first function of assembling a portfolio helps the employee engage in self-assessment. To accomplish this, individuals take responsibility for assessing their professional development. They determine their levels of employability strengths and weaknesses, and as a consequence set goals as a means to improve their employability potential. This function of a portfolio is reflected when employees attend to the technical and interpretive paradigms of workplace learning. Consequently, the portfolio should contain artifacts which support the results of this introspective self-analysis, as well as an outline of the strategies planned to achieve the learning goals.

Additionally, a second function of portfolio construction is the requirement that employees assess their progress within the workplace. As indicators of monitoring and improving their competencies in the work-site, individuals assemble samples which indicate mastery of their learning goals. This function of portfolio construction necessitates employees to engage in the issues of the technical workplace learning paradigm and to demonstrate evidence of their commitment to a life-long learning philosophy to work-site competency development. Some indicators of these accomplishments include a written paper containing information about the following: an introduction outlining why the artifacts have been included, the work assigned by the work supervisor and his or her evaluation of the work outputs, a description of different samples of work which embody the competencies learned during the performance of the work, a statement indicating what was learned, the process used to accomplish the

learning, a statement of the employee's self-perceived strengths and future learning directions.

Lastly, when individuals put together a portfolio in a careful and thoughtful manner, they are challenged to consider how they present themselves and their accomplishments, and demonstrate what they have learned within the technical, interpretative and strategic paradigms of workplace learning. A portfolio which includes evidence of the individual's competencies and his or her on-going learning helps to present that person in a positive perspective and represents one credible component to offer in the employment seeking and maintaining process. Reflective practice in portfolio development enhances the possibility of an individual getting employment while attesting to his or her engagement in aspects of all three workplace learning paradigms.

Non-traditional Learning Methods

When employees engage in self-assessment, they should consider a variety of non-traditional methods (Henry, 1989) by which they have learned new skills or may learn a number of new work-site skills inherent within the three workplace learning paradigms. Employees need to consider non-traditional learning methods because often they tend to minimize or disregard the learning gained by these methods or they fail to realize that they can use these methods to develop new work-site competencies.

experiential learning. Prior to constructing the portfolio, workers need to engage in self-reflection and self-assessment. They need to consider the non-traditional ways in which their work experience has helped them to learn work skills and knowledge. One method used to learn or enhance new skills is "learning by doing." This category accents the technical paradigm of workplace learning (Inman & Vernon, 1997). Workers can reflect on the competencies they have learned by focussing on what they have been or are doing. For example, it is possible that workers such as carpenters or electricians may have been exposed to new ideas and techniques in their work-sites where, through team participation and observation, they have learned the skill of being able to perform routine maintenance tests and checks on new equipment.

Another type of experiential learning is problem-solving. Workers in the building trades may have learned new skills when responding to structural damages in buildings due to excessive weather conditions. In addition to learning the skills involved in assessing the extent of such damages, they may learn ways to repair such damages without rebuilding the entire structure.

A third method of experiential learning involves the use of media. Distance learning enables an employee to keep abreast of new developments within their work domain. Workers in the building trades can take distance education courses related to new innovations in the workplace. For example, recently lasers have been used to help carpenters install suspended ceilings. Also, computers are now used to custom design furniture, which when used in conjunction with wood-making equipment enable a cabinet maker to achieve a detailed custom product.

Another type of experiential learning focuses on work and community placement. It is possible by working with a mentor or an individual skilled in the use of a piece of equipment to learn new skills. For example, a carpenter who wants to learn the skill of cabinet making and the use of the equipment to accomplish this task, could

work with an individual after regular work hours to learn the competencies inherent in this type of work.

self-reflection and analysis. Another broad category of non-traditional learning methods involves workers engaging in self-reflection and analysis both individually and in groups. The methods used in this category help to operationalize the interpretative paradigm in workplace learning (Inman & Vernon, 1997). The use of self-reflection helps employees to consider their past and present learning and to relate this learning to future directions in the work-site.

One way to use self-analysis is to consider prior learning. Workers could review lists of skills and knowledge to determine their competencies and/or deficits. These lists can be obtained from educational institutions or from government officials responsible for labour certification.

Another way to use self-analysis is through the use of narratives. Narratives, which arise from discussion, serve as both process and product in that workers develop a scenario for themselves and the company which helps to guide their future workplace learning. Narratives help workers discover common ground within the organization. This approach permits workers to see connections between their personal goals and that of the corporation by reflecting on such topics as the knowledge and skill they bring to the workplace, and how this knowledge fits with the strategic plan of the corporation. This process puts the responsibility on both employees and employers to decide what training is needed to meet the demands of the work-site.

group discussion. An extension of the use of narratives involves the use of discussion groups to determine where workers need further skill development. Through discussion, particularly between teams, workers can give feedback to one another on their perceived level of competence. Ideally this team approach works best where workers have varying years of work experience and skill development. Workers with more experience could provide feedback to those with less experience, and those with more recent educational experiences could update those who have been out of educational institutions for some time. These activities would help to accomplish the technical aspects of workplace learning. In addition, workers can improve their communication skills by having a colleague observe them and provide feedback based on selected areas of observation. Or, if they decide that communication lines between the office and field workers need improvement, a facilitator could be engaged and the issues discussed and resolved at a meeting between the employer and employees.

The insight arrived at through discussion focussed on social change and how social change influences the demands on the work-site addresses the learning raised in the strategic paradigm (Inman & Vernon, 1997). This type of learning may take place within a staff meeting where employers share the issues facing the industry. For example, the construction trades often work with insurance bureaus when repairing buildings covered by insurance. Insurance bureaus may change the level of competency expected from employees of these firms to guarantee quality in such repairs. It may be necessary for construction firms doing repairs covered by insurance bureaus to have a certain number of apprentice carpenters and licenced carpenters doing the work. Employers can communicate these changes to their employees. Knowledge of these changes helps employees know and prepare for these future expectations. In this way,

the company and its employees engage in process mapping to develop a plan for on-going change.

Elements of a Portfolio

Portfolio preparation is an exercise requiring self-assessment, analysis, synthesis and prioritizing of learning goals arising from reflection on the ways learning has taken place or may take place on the work-site (Mann, 1997). While there may be common features, the purpose of the portfolio is very important in order to guide its structure and the artifacts which are placed in the portfolio (Danielson, 1996). There are a number of common elements to include in a portfolio.

Life history which indicates the most salient events in a person's life
This component involves a short (one to two pages) narrative outlining the significant events in the worker's life and how these relate to the individual's personal attributes and values. This life history should indicate the origins of work goals for the employee and how the person views his or her work personality and the skills and competencies presently possessed.

A chronological record which details a list of work experiences since school graduation. This aspect contains a list, in outline form, of the work performed by the person including both paid and unpaid experiences. The record should contain the following: when the work experiences were accomplished, the duration and responsibilities of the work experiences, and the location and the name of the immediate supervisor in each work location.

A paper citing life experiences and the learning gained from them
This paper should proceed from the first one in which the worker outlines what and where workplace learning has taken place. The paper should be short and worded in a concise and clear fashion. This information helps the employer to assess the quality of the learning.

Evidence which Supports the Learning

This evidence includes a number of artifacts attesting to workplace learning. Ideally before this component is completed, the worker should use a list of competencies which outlines the pre-requisite skills and knowledge for the worker in his or her selected area of work. For example, apprenticeship and occupational certification branches of provincial governments publish the competencies needed for workers in a number of trades. Workers should carefully analyze these lists and present artifacts which attest to competencies in these areas. Such artifacts include certificates and diplomas from educational institutions as well as a list of the competencies mastered in the institution, testimonials from peers and supervisors verifying the learning, photos of products demonstrating the competencies being attested to, sample drawing of projects which were undertaken, and/or videos illustrating the person performing the competencies. In addition, it could include outlines of workshops attended.

A paper outlining the person's personal, career and educational goals
This paper should be short, about one page, in which the person reviews these goals as arising out of salient work experiences. This report could be presented in outline form

so that the employer is able to gain quick knowledge of what the person wants to accomplish.

Portfolio development should not be done in isolation but should directly relate the learning to a goal, i.e., meeting technical competence in the workplace. It should be done in consultation with employers or government personnel responsible for labour standards who are knowledgeable about the needs of the labour market, and who are able to assess the types of learning experiences which demonstrate competence to meet these needs.

Issues in Portfolio Development

Employees may experience some difficulties as they engage in assembling a portfolio (Boud & Walker, 1993). The reflective process requires employees to focus on themselves, their context, and the use of a number of skills and strategies with which to engage in self-assessment. Additionally, the process requires employees to attend to the learning components of their work experience and evaluate the results of their learning. The difficulties which prevent an employee from engaging in this process may come from a variety of sources and can be considered as arising either externally or internally to the person.

One internal source of difficulty centres on the employees' perception of their past work experiences. Three such difficulties include the following: having had negative experiences in their past work histories which do not leave them objective about workplace learning, doing workplace duties without adequate preparation which result in feeling a lack of competence, and working in workplaces which are characterized as stressful.

Further, employees may not be very introspective and may lack self-awareness. They may view learning as only taking place in traditional classroom settings and may find it difficult to see their workplace experiences as learning experiences. They may experience low levels of self-efficacy and/or self-esteem and may feel uncertain and unsure about accepting the responsibility for self-assessment. They may view the expectations from others as being too high and unattainable. Additionally, employees may lack the skills necessary to engage in self-assessment.

Further, external difficulties to portfolio development involve the lack of time required for self-assessment and scenario building, particularly if an employer does not see the benefits of such activity. Also, when all employees do not see the benefits, there may be a lack of support and interest in the discussion required to accomplish the work which is pre-requisite to portfolio development.

Boud and Walker (1993) offer some suggestion for working with these difficulties. They suggest that if the difficulties have strong emotions attached to them, the employee may want to receive counselling. They outline a four phase process which begins by acknowledging that a difficulty exists, and continues on to clarifying and specifying the difficulty, understanding and explaining the origins of the difficulty and working with the difficulty to desensitize and re-conceptualize it. The use of this process enables employees to have a balanced out-look in their present work location and should enable them to be more objective about their present and past work experiences.

In summary, workplace learning involves two groups of people. Employees, one group, have to take responsibility for their past and future learning and document it

in a manner which indicates their competencies to perform a definite skill set or to learn new skills sets in a particular work environment. When employees engage in constructing and maintaining a portfolio, they are able to provide the documentation to support their past and future workplace learning. Employers, the other group, have to be ready to accept evidence of this learning, ie., the contents of the portfolio, and engage in a process known as prior learning assessment recognition (PLAR). When employers trust and recognize the evidence in portfolios, they enhance the possibility of furthering the learning which has or can take place in the work-site, as well as help to lessen the difficulties in transitions for employees moving between work locations.

Prior Learning Assessment Recognition

Portfolios are documents which attest to workplace learning. The knowledge and skills learned in the workplace are typically learned in a non-traditional context and using non-traditional methods. A growing movement which seeks to gain recognition for these non-traditional learning experiences is known as prior learning assessment recognition. This term is used to represent a process which assesses the efficacy of the artifacts in a portfolio as indicators of significant learning and to award recognition by a credible person, institution or professional body.

Employers need to support and engage in PLAR when they assess workers for the work-site. Employers are appropriate individuals to assess and provide recognition for the contents of portfolios. They are knowledgeable about the skills and processes inherent in the technical, interpretative and strategic paradigms of workplace learning. Further, their work experiences enable them to assess the skills and knowledge needed to make their work-site productive and competitive. When employers provide PLAR, they contribute to the on-going development needed to keep employees abreast of technological and global demands placed on today's work-site.

what is PLAR? Proponents of PLAR argue that what one knows is more important than where one learned it. PLAR takes a broad view of learning which encompasses the intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical aspects of an individual (Michelson, 1997). PLAR is a means to avoid unnecessary duplication of training and education efforts and is an appropriate way for adults to have their learning assessed, to identify their goals and commitment to life-long learning, and to have these goals and learning accomplishments recognized (Mann, 1997). PLAR documents evidence of both traditionally acquired learning as well as learning gained in non-traditional ways (Barkatoolah, 1989). This movement addresses the question of how life experiences in the area of work, leisure and education can be structured to provide for ease of assessment and accreditation (Barkatoolah, 1989).

A big part of the motivation for PLAR is premised on the reality that economic competition in world markets requires a work-force who can respond to the needs of business but do not have the time to do the lock-step method of demonstrating evidence of their competence (Mann, 1997). In addition, when workers change employment locations due to changes in the work-site, proponents of PLAR argue that the learning which took place in the previous employment sites should be recognized in any future employment site.

Presently PLAR is primarily used to demonstrate academic competence, but there are indications that it is being used to show evidence of professional competence

as well (Michelson, 1997; *Fostering a Profession*, 1999). Currently, the Standards and Guidelines Initiative has developed standards for the practice of career development in Canada. While further refinement is necessary, the work of the Standards and Guidelines Initiative is based on the assumption that traditional learning venues are not the only ones which can be used by individuals to demonstrate mastery and competence in a work domain. More specifically, individuals will be able to document prior learning experiences gained in non-traditional ways to demonstrate their competence within the broad domain of career development. This recognition provides a sense of social justice for individuals who have gained, in non-traditional ways, the same competences as those who have learned them in them in the traditional manner (Barkatoolah, 1989). When this recognition gains a broader acceptance, it will permit learners entry into professional associations as well as programs of higher learning (Mann, 1997).

issues in PLAR. There are a number of issues which must be addressed prior to assessing a portfolio (Barkatoolah, 1989). Both employees and employers involved in this task should be aware of these issues and clarify them so that everyone feels that fair play has taken place. One issue is the criteria used for assessing the artifacts in the portfolio and whether these artifacts are suitable indicators to reflect the standards on the work-site. There are two components to this issue. One component involves measuring the indicators and the other involves predicting the fitness of the worker to perform adequately in the workplace. For example, a worker may have all the skills needed to perform the work required but may not be able to do the job with sufficient speed to ensure accuracy. Speed and accuracy are important factors in productivity but it may be difficult to infer them from learning artifacts. Also, a person may have worked up to expectations in one setting but not be able to meet the expectations of another due to differences between employers. Further, sometimes it is difficult to separate what is being assessed in the portfolio – the person or the artifacts. Often people may feel that their self-worth is being assessed and not the artifacts. This issue raises the importance of employees giving careful thought to including artifacts which accurately indicate their competencies.

Another issue in portfolio assessment involves the background of the worker and the assessor. Each of these individuals has a socialization history with different experiences and expectations. Assessors may have had challenging demands placed upon them to perform tasks at a high level of competency while workers may not have had such expectations. A minimum level of competency is sometimes difficult to determine. For example, it would be difficult to determine the minimum level of competency acceptable in cabinet making due to the many styles and intended purposes of the cabinet being constructed. Ideally the portfolio developer and the assessor should have similar experiences, however, each should be aware of their background to ensure more objectivity and to be aware of the limitations of the assessment process.

In addition, there is the issue of a power imbalance between the assessor and the employee. Employees have a right to a fair reading of the indicators of their competencies, however the assessment process is the responsibility of the assessor. Assessors need to be knowledgeable about how to give feedback to employees. Employees need to have the skills to receive this feedback and to ask questions about the assessment process. Further, there are issues of confidentiality which can influence an employee's self-efficacy and motivation in future such endeavours.

Conclusions

Workplace learning has implications beyond performing the duties required with an occupational position. Such learning requires employees to go beyond mastery of level entry skills and knowledge and to acquire the future skill needs of their occupation to remain competitive in today's markets. Portfolios represent a multi-textured view of the employee and can be used to demonstrate the products and processes of life-long workplace learning. Constructing a portfolio requires employees to take responsibility for their skill development and to actively seek ways and means to develop new work-site skills. Many of these ways exist on the work-site, and if used, enable employees to continue their life-long learning without resorting to traditional means to develop their competencies. When portfolios are constructed in a thoughtful and reflective manner, employees are able to document their work-site competencies and also present a credible picture of themselves.

Prior learning recognition assessment is individualistic and provides for recognition of the learning acquired on the work-site. Appropriate use of PLAR provides the needed recognition of workplace learning gained over an employee's life-span. Together, portfolios and PLAR provide a direct link between life experiences and workplace learning. The skills of self-assessment and portfolio construction must be learned while workers are in their initial stages of skill and knowledge development, if these skills are to be used to guide their life-long learning. Additionally, employers must be given the opportunity for training in portfolio assessment to ensure an open and fair process, and to provide and encourage the needed recognition of employees who have learned work-site skills and knowledge in non-traditional ways.

In spite of the difficulties inherent in the development and assessment of portfolios, employees and employers must recognize the work-site as a viable place within which to learn competencies for successful deployment on the work-site. When employees and employers work together in an open and fair manner, they ensure a workforce which is skilled to meet the competitive demands of business markets. Together they are able to work in a complementary manner to develop a vision which helps to revitalize an organization and produce a work environment which provides for human resource development to take place.

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Health, Job Loss, and Programs for Older Workers in Canada

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Various phenomena over the past century, including the escalation of technological change, normalization of retirement, emergence of the baby boom cohort, and population aging have contributed to a labour force that is unique in the history of this country, posing challenges never before faced in Canada. One such challenge witnessed across the country is a rising incidence of job loss within the older worker population, a group that will continue to comprise an increasingly larger proportion of the workforce in the future (Human Resources Development Canada; HRDC, 1999). Within the multidisciplinary field of gerontology, research questions regarding older adults in relation to the work force have most often focused on the issue of retirement. However, job loss experienced in late career is in many ways different from that experienced by younger persons, involving decisions such as whether to take early retirement and, for those who pursue other employment, a typically longer and more difficult job search process (Couch, 1998; LeBlanc & McMullin, 1997). As research points to an association between unemployment and negative health implications (Warr, 1987), this trend of increased older worker job displacement should also be of concern to proponents of health promotion. Unfortunately, programs for older workers have proliferated over the past decade with little attention or input from the discipline of gerontology or the health promotion perspective.

This paper will address the impact of unemployment on older adults' health and critically review the nature of the programs targeting this group. Informed by the principles of health education as well as the experience of other countries, several issues and suggestions for improvement of older worker programs in Canada are presented.

Employment, Job Loss and Older Adults in Canada

The age category used to define 'older workers' used within this paper will be 45 years and older, the same utilized by Canadian government agencies such as HRDC (1999) and British Columbia Statistics (BC Stats, 1997). This cohort represents a growing proportion of the labour force in Canada and other industrialized countries due to the phenomenon of population aging. For instance, older workers comprised 28% of the Canadian workforce in 1994 and 31% in 2000. The estimate for 2010 is 40% (HRDC, 1999). This trend has also been examined in terms of the population of prime entrants into the labour force (ages 20 to 24) compared to the prime retirement population (ages 60 to 64). Whereas the entrant cohort in the province of British Columbia in 1976 was more than twice as large as the retiree cohort, the retiree population is expected to be equal in size to the entrant population in 2011, and surpass them thereafter (BC Stats, 2001). Hence, the importance of older workers to the vitality of the Canadian labour force is projected to grow in the near future (Nathanson & O'Rourke, 1994; Wanner, 1994).

The aging of the workforce intersects with another phenomenon, that of widespread early exit of older adults from the workforce. Despite increased life expectancy and decreased self-reported inability and limitation in ability to work due to health reasons, the trend of early retirement continues in most industrialized countries (Crimmins, Reynolds, & Saito, 1999). This may be largely attributed to private and public policy that has encouraged early retirement over the past several decades to the extent that it is now viewed as normative within Canadian society (LeBlanc & McMullin, 1997; Wanner, 1994). Examples of such policies include the drop in Canada Pension Plan eligibility to age 60 and the increased prevalence of senior employee buy-out packages. The short-term fiscal and political gains include the replacement of expensive older employees with younger persons at lower wages and purportedly, the attenuation of youth unemployment. However, the former is achieved at the expense of decreased workplace experience, and the latter has not been realized as youth unemployment has not decreased with the early exit of older workers (HRDC, 1999; Wanner, 1994; Winn, 1999).

It is important to realize, however, that while there are many who desire early retirement, this decision is not always voluntary and may be preceded by an extended period of unemployment and fruitless job search (LeBlanc & McMullin, 1997; Marshall, Clarke, & Ballantyne, 2001; Wanner, 1994). In fact, the frequency of job loss for older workers has risen disproportionately in recent years (Chan & Stevens, 1999; Couch, 1998; Quinn & Kozy, 1996). Whereas job displacement was more common for younger than older workers in the 1980s, this has been reversed such that displacement rates are now higher for those over 49 years of age (Chan & Stevens, 1999; Couch, 1998). Moreover, rates of job loss within the older worker population are higher for non-white and less educated persons (Couch, 1998). On average, older unemployed workers face a 1-year duration out of work (over twice as long as younger workers) and experience a decline in earnings between 20% and 50% of pre-displacement earnings (BC Stats, 1997; Chan & Stevens, 1999; Couch, 1998).

Several reasons have been given to explain the trend of increased job displacement of persons over 44 years of age. Related to the proliferation of public and private policy that have pushed and pulled older workers into earlier retirement, ageist stereotypes of older workers have emerged, which have led employers to question their ability to function effectively on the job (Kaye & Alexander, 1995; Wolf, London, Casey, & Pufahl, 1995) despite a lack of evidence that work performance declines with age (HRDC, 1999; Schultz, 2000). Discrimination against older workers is apparent in terms of differential hiring, and fewer promotion opportunities and on-the-job training (Kaye & Alexander, 1995). Additionally, Barth (2000) and Schultz (2000) note that older persons may be less likely to possess the skills and training most desired within our increasingly global and technological labour market. While older workers offer benefits to the workplace such as a commitment to quality, extensive experience and low turnover, they are typically limited in certain abilities that are highly valued today (e.g., flexibility, acceptance of new technology, a desire to learn new skills) placing them at a disadvantage in the hiring process (Barth, 2000). Other explanations for increased job displacement among older workers include: economic and labour market changes leading to massive plant closures and company reorganizations; social and political pressure on older workers to make room for the next generation (i.e., stepping aside); and inexperience in how to perform a successful job search (HRDC, 1999; Rife & Belcher, 1994; Wolf et al., 1995).

Of course, these trends do not provide the entire picture. For some older adults, such as those who have held blue collar, seasonal, or semi-skilled jobs, a history of job loss and periods of extended unemployment are not unique to late career but endemic of their entire working lives (Kaye et al., 1999). Also, many women have work histories characterized by part-time employment and multiple entrances and exits from the workforce due to family obligations (Fast & Da Pont, 1997). Ethnic minorities and immigrants are other sub-groups who experience greater unemployment (Quinn & Kozy, 1996; Thomas & Rappak, 1998). According to Couch (1998), higher rates of job displacement among older minority workers in the United States may be partially explained by lower levels of education and previous job tenure. Recent immigrants to Canada experience higher rates of unemployment relative to non-immigrants until they have lived in this country more than 15 years (Thomas & Rappak, 1998). This difference may be attributed, in part, to characteristics that are more prevalent among the foreign-born population: visible minority status, older age, and human capital disadvantages such as non-English speaking ability and lack of experience in the Canadian labour force.

Involuntary Job Loss and the Health of Older Workers

Employment and unemployment are contextual factors within individuals' lives that influence their overall health and well-being. Researchers have tried to tease apart the causal associations observed in cross-sectional studies indicating a link between unemployment or career instability and poorer mental and physical health (He, Colantonio, & Marshall, 2003; Marshall et al., 2001; Warr, 1987). While persons may lose their jobs because of poor health, recent longitudinal research supports the assertion that job loss leads to declines in mental and physical health (Gallo, Bradley, Siegel, & Kasl, 2000).

Both aggregate and individual data reveal a positive linear association between unemployment and premature mortality where longer periods of unemployment are associated with higher mortality rates (Avison, 2002; Jin, Shah, & Svoboda, 1995). An increased incidence of completed suicide is also correlated with unemployment (Vinokur, van Ryn, Gramlich, & Price, 1991). A recent study by Gallo and colleagues (2000) examining the health effects of involuntary job loss among older workers using longitudinal Health and Retirement Survey data found that the effect of this event on physical functioning remains negative and significant after controlling for baseline health, socio-demographic and economic factors. However, the link between job loss and increased physical morbidity appears somewhat ambiguous (Vinokur et al., 1991). For instance, the correlation between unemployment and greater symptoms of physical illness may only occur during times of economic recession (Avison, 2002). Time-series data collected within communities and nations over a period of years reveal a general pattern where increased unemployment is followed closely by increased rates of illness incidence (Warr, 1987). Furthermore, in countries such as Canada where healthcare is generally accessible, a clear relationship emerges between job loss and increased utilization of the healthcare system (i.e., hospital visits, physician visits, prescription drug use) by both unemployed individuals and their families (Avison, 2002; Warr, 1987).

The mental health implications of unemployment are also considerable. Even after controlling for pre-job loss health status, differences between the mental health of

employed and unemployed persons are consistently reported whereby the latter report greater negative affect, anxiety, distress, and more psychosomatic complaints (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1999; Warr, 1987). Compared to employed persons, unemployed individuals experience higher levels of psychopathology (e.g., depression, substance abuse, panic disorder; Avison, 2002; Warr, 1987). Longitudinal and cross-sectional research also indicates that involuntary job loss is associated with lower scores on measures of global mental health (Gallo et al., 2000) and self-rated health (He et al., 2003) among older individuals.

Some researchers seeking to understand the association between job loss and health consider the stressful nature of termination (Baum, Fleming & Reddy, 1986; Beland, Birch, & Stoddart, 2001; Ensminger & Celentano, 1988; Marshall et al., 2001). According to the Canadian Mental Health Association (2002), unexpected job loss is a major life crisis, regardless of age, involving a grieving process and the experience of significant stress. Additionally, unemployment often causes greater stress in one's family and financial situation that may further undermine one's sense of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and perceived social support. If a person does not have the resources or skills to cope successfully with this stressful event, negative health outcomes may result. Avison (2002) elaborates on the stress process model, indicating that mediating or intervening factors such as positive social relationships can buffer the negative impact of unemployment on health while moderating factors such as reduced self-esteem or increased family conflict may exacerbate the effects of stress on illness.

Other research has looked more specifically at the situation of displaced older workers and how job loss impacts the health of this sub-population. Several studies point to the economic implications of unemployment in later life and describe how this may negatively affect health by compromising short-term and long-term financial security (Chan & Stevens, 1999; Couch, 1998; Gallo et al., 2000). As previously noted, older workers typically face a longer duration of job seeking without salary or benefits. This affects one's ability to save for retirement and may require the use of savings that had been set aside for future years (Couch, 1998; Gallo et al., 2000). Furthermore, older individuals have less opportunity to compensate for such financial setbacks since they face potentially substantial wage reductions and job insecurity even upon reemployment (Chan & Stevens, 1999).

The unexpected nature of a job loss in later life may also have implications for older workers that extend beyond economics. There is evidence that a majority of people tend to plan toward retirement several years in advance, organizing their lives, and making choices (e.g., saving more or less, 'sticking it out' in a bad job with a good pension) based on their expectations of when it will occur (Ekerdt, Kosloski, & DeViney, 2000). Unexpected job loss therefore creates stress by disrupting extensive, careful planning and decision-making. Also related to this is the loss of control that may accompany an involuntary job loss, leaving older workers with a sense that the circumstances affecting their lives are beyond their influence (Baum et al., 1986; Canadian Council on Social Development, 1999; Warr, 1987). Perceived control has been established as an important element of health and well-being in later life through its association with self-efficacy, proactive coping, psychosocial adaptation and good health behaviours (O'Rourke, 2002; Waller & Bates, 1992). Thus, the loss of a job may undermine older workers' belief that the actions they take positively impact their quality of life.

Furthermore, Pearlin and Yu (2000) contend that the loss of work may be equated with a personal loss. These authors suggest that it is the unscheduled and involuntary nature of loss that causes an individual to redefine a relatively objective role loss into a devastating personal loss, thereby making the person susceptible to diminished self-worth and self-esteem. Accordingly, an unstable transition from work into retirement after taking a buy-out package, characterized by working when the expectation was to retire early or not working when the expectation was to find new employment, is associated with lower life satisfaction and higher life stress for men (Marshall et al., 2001). This is less true for women perhaps because they are accustomed to discontinuity in their work histories due to familial obligations (Marshall et al., 2001).

Moreover, it appears that the more important the work role is in an older person's life, the greater the negative affect on self-identity. According to Westerhof and Dittmann-Kohli (2000), society provides a 'standard biography' against which people define, evaluate and interpret their lives. The standard biography for the current generation of older adults has entailed a life pattern where people progressed from education to work and then finally to retirement (for women, 'work' was typically within the home). Each stage is separate from the others and involves different values, beliefs and self-definitions. Therefore, those who consider themselves in the 'work' portion of their lives will rate their job, work role and employment-related abilities as valuable and central to their self-definition (Westerhof & Dittmann-Kohli, 2000). While today's society may expect a financially-secure 60-year-old engineer who has just been laid off to move easily into retirement, this lost work role may be devastating if the individual does not yet view him/herself as a retiree. This helps to explain the fact that the well-being of retirees and homemakers is less affected by their non-work status relative to unemployed older adults, even when these groups are of a similar age (Marshall & Clarke, 2002; Westerhof & Dittmann-Kohli, 2000). Accordingly, Bossé, Aldwin, Levenson, and Ekerdt (1987) suggest that their research linking early retirement with symptoms of depression, somatization and anxiety indicates that when retirement is involuntary and out of step with one's peers (thereby different from the standard biography), poor mental health can result.

Finally, the link between extended job loss and poorer health may be partially explained by the loss of social ties present in the workplace. Social interaction is an important dimension of work for most people (Mor-Barak, 1995). Based on their research, Mor-Barak, Scharlach, Birba, and Sokolov (1992) assert that employment in later life is related to a larger network of friends (not family or confidants) and, through this relationship, to perceived health. While research must further clarify the mechanisms, it is apparent that for older workers who desire employment, the loss of a job has deleterious affects on health; therefore, programs aiming to alleviate involuntary unemployment in this population have important health-related functions.

Employment Programs for Older Workers in Canada

Programs specific to older workers did not exist in Canada until recently as older workers have historically been the most advantaged in terms of job stability, security and wages (HRDC, 1999). This relative advantage has disappeared in recent years and various types of programs to aid older displaced workers have since emerged (HRDC, 1999); these include income support, career retraining and job search

interventions. Income support programs provide older persons laid off from long-term jobs some financial assistance to bridge the gap until retirement eligibility or new employment. For instance, the Program for Older Worker Adjustment (POWA), jointly funded by the Federal and British Columbia Governments from 1990 to 1997, provided a safety net of up to \$1,000 per month to older workers who had been displaced due to downsizing or plant layoffs and had exhausted Employment Insurance benefits (British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, 1997). Income support programs, however, may act as a disincentive to reemployment (HRDC, 1999); for example, a 1996 evaluation revealed that POWA participants were 20% less likely to become reemployed than non-POWA older displaced workers. Such income support programs are termed 'passive' and contrast with other programs that require 'active' participant involvement (HRDC, 1999).

Retraining programs provide older workers with new or updated skills, such as computer familiarity enabling them to be competitive in today's changing workplace (Wolf et al., 1995). Research shows that high motivation facilitates success in such programs while extensive experience in a single job throughout one's life is associated with lower success (Wolf et al., 1995). In general, it is important that these programs be well designed for older workers and include elements such as: allowing ample time; providing support and feedback; ensuring mastery at each stage; building on familiar elements; and limiting memory requirements (Wolf et al., 1995).

Retraining components may also be incorporated into job search programs, currently the most popular type of older worker program in Canada. Of the five existing programs targeting older displaced workers in British Columbia's lower mainland (i.e., Vancouver and surrounding areas), four have a strong job search focus. These interventions teach older adults the requisite skills for a successful job hunt, such as résumé-writing, networking, and interviewing within a leader-led, group environment where participants are motivated by and benefit from the support and feedback of others (Rife & Belcher, 1994). Within these groups, older workers are able to share their fears and frustrations with peers, many whom have had similar experiences.

According to O'Neill (senior advisor for an older worker pilot project administered by British Columbia's Ministry of Advanced Education and funded by Human Resources Development Canada), there has been a shift where passive income support programs have fallen out of favour and more active programs are receiving funding (personal communication, March 8, 2002). HRDC (1999) suggests that this shift is positive for the older worker, citing research and the results of focus groups held by the National Advisory Council on Aging (NACA) indicating that most older workers want to work and, "for the majority, only full-time employment would satisfy their economic, social and psychological needs" (p. 13). A valid question arises, however, as to why governments at one time thought it best to provide income assistance to displaced older workers but now believe that income support programs are undesirable. The rationale behind this shift is likely fiscal given the realization that an aging workforce has fostered the current trend of early retirement. This change in emphasis to active programs conveniently comes on the verge of the retirement of the baby-boom generation when an exit of this group en masse from the labour force would have significant economic implications. The motivation behind older worker programs is further illuminated by an examination of how (and how not) they are evaluated.

Evaluation of Programs for Older Workers

In general, evaluation of programs targeting displaced older workers is limited (Olson & Robbins, 1986; Walker & Taylor, 1999). The Evaluation and Data Development Branch of HRDC (1999) produced a report purporting to summarize the lessons learned thus far from experiences with older worker adjustment programs within Canada and selected countries. While programs targeting older workers vary widely in terms of their frequency, duration, methods and structure, this report and other research identify several characteristics that appear to contribute to the efficacy of such initiatives. The literature indicates that successful programs: are community-based; take a client-centred approach in responding to diversity in goals and abilities; actively involve older workers in development and implementation stages; often include peer-counselling and job-placement elements; have clearly defined goals related to this population and; provide an element of social support (HRDC, 1999; Rife, 1994, 1995; Vinokur et al., 1991).

The objectives that serve as the basis for defining the success of older worker programs are less explicitly stated, however. Most studies we reviewed frame their assessments about program effectiveness in terms of how many older workers become reemployed or the intensity of an older adult's job search (HRDC, 1999; Nathanson & O'Rourke, 1994; Rife, 1995; Rife & Belcher, 1994; Wolf et al., 1995). Within Canada specifically, the evaluation of older worker programs may be examined by looking at the information requested by HRDC from the various programs it funds. This information provides a purely quantitative overview of the extent to which certain quotas were met (e.g., the number of job search groups run per month, the number of people completing these programs, and the proportion of job seekers within a program who become employed within three months; R. James, program manager of Canadian Career Moves, personal communication, March 8, 2002). A HRDC report (1999) states that the definition of "success depends on the economic and political objectives being sought" (p. 27). If meeting of quotas defines the success of these programs, it appears as though their primary objective is narrowly focused on getting older persons back to work quickly. Notably absent from this type of evaluation is consideration of the subjective experience and perceptions of the older workers as they experience unexpected job loss, grapple with decisions such as reemployment or early retirement, face the unfamiliar and sometimes frightening task of looking for a job, and deal with the physical, psychological and social implications to their health. Only one outcome evaluation was identified that considered the reemployed older person's satisfaction with the new job (Kaye et al., 1999).

On a more positive note, some individual programs themselves attempt to address these issues (e.g., through regular participant evaluations; R. James, personal communication, March 8, 2002). Also, the evaluation criteria for the Older Worker Pilot Project partnered by the Federal and British Columbia Governments shows promise in terms of adding more depth to this process. For instance, assessment of the 15 programs that have been funded across British Columbia under this 1-year project will go beyond quantitative data and consider the extent to which participants' goals were altered and/or met, their satisfaction with their new job once reemployed, and how prepared they felt for their job search (A. Nystrom, personal communication, March 1, 2002; J. O'Neill, personal communication, March 8, 2002).

While the inclusion of qualitative data in the pilot project evaluation process is certainly positive, it still remains unclear whose needs and desires these programs serve. According to the ideals of health promotion, interventions targeting a specific population should involve that group as an equal and active partner in the planning, implementation and evaluation stages (Green & Kreuter, 1991). Although the Older Worker Pilot Project is an improvement in terms of evaluation, the failure to include older workers in its inception suggests that the underlying objectives of the program may be more about ensuring their contribution to the economy (and program continuity) than addressing the unique and diverse needs of participants. Involvement of older workers in the development of programs is necessary to ensure these interventions address participant needs (Green & Kreuter, 1991). For instance, though an older adult may experience several periods of unemployment after an initial job loss, current job search programs do not conduct long-term follow-up to determine whether the participant remains reemployed or shortly returns to an unemployed state. The extent to which older persons who desire to work are maintaining employment after being rehired is a worthy outcome for assessment. With the guidance of older workers, these programs may begin to focus more on health and well-being outcomes rather than short-term job search success. As is, older worker program evaluations rarely consider the health of the individual in the assessment of their effectiveness (Avison, 2002).

Areas for Improvement

Drawing upon examples in other countries, such as Japan and the European Union, apparent are various means by which older worker programs in Canada may be improved. A few have already been discussed, such as the need for a more bottom-up approach that includes older persons in program planning, implementation and evaluation. This could be accomplished through focus groups, representation of older workers on steering and panel review committees, and greater input from program participants. This type of involvement would help ensure that program goals, methods and structure are both acceptable and appropriate for the group they purport to serve.

Also mentioned is a need to include more health-related objectives in the measurement of program success. Only one study could be identified that specifically evaluated program effectiveness in terms of a health-related objective, in this case, reduced depressive symptomatology (Rife, 1992). Hence, an important expansion to current evaluations would be to address programs' ability to assist participants in coping with the stress, threats to personal identity, and feelings of decreased control that can accompany job loss. Rife (1994) advocates for the assessment of informal and formal support as well as the use of clinical screening instruments to identify pronounced depressive symptomatology by community-based programs providing job search training and placement programs for older workers.

Other issues upon which programs targeting the needs of displaced older workers in Canada may improve include: better communication between program funders, implementers and participants; greater collaboration between government and business; and an attempt to take a preventative and proactive approach to the issue of job loss in late career. Regarding the first issue, it would appear that communication between HRDC, the organizations receiving funding for these programs, and the target population of older workers are not well established. For example, the evaluation report conducted by HRDC in 1999 holds valuable information for program

implementers but has not been disseminated to all of these programs (R. James, personal communication, March 8, 2002). The utility of conducting an evaluation project is questionable if the front-line workers are not able to benefit from its content. A lack of awareness of the recently initiated Older Worker Pilot Project (that includes a total of 15 programs in British Columbia) is also evident; employment counselling staff at a local HRDC office were unaware of its existence. Obviously, more effective communication is needed to ensure that programs take advantage of recent knowledge and that settings where unemployed older workers seek assistance are fully aware of available resources.

Efforts to increase the collaboration among business, governments and communities may be one way to promote greater knowledge dissemination and awareness. According to Canada's Framework for Population Health (Advisory Committee on Population Health, 1994), the link between employment and health suggests that "the involvement of employment and business sectors is essential to bring about changes to ensure that the workplace fosters good health" (p 19). A national initiative established in 1975 to encourage greater workforce participation of older adults in Japan (the country with the highest international rates of labour force participation for an older adult population according to Statistics Canada, 1999), indicates that securing the interest and support of various levels of government and local business are key to their success (Bass & Oka, 1995). Initiatives that forge partnerships among key stakeholders ensure that interventions are feasible, relevant and understood by those who may have a direct or indirect influence on their success as well as those who are intended to benefit from them. One way in which this type of collaborative effort may occur is by involving businesses and influential community organizations as well as sites where older persons may be likely to work. Then, representatives from these settings, governmental bodies such as HRDC and British Columbia's Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Labour, and the target population could form steering committees with a mandate to plan and/or evaluate programs for older workers. This type of arrangement would foster greater understanding of the situation of displaced older workers and facilitate greater involvement of local businesses and other organizations in programs, such as through job placement opportunities. In Britain, for example, the Hands on Support and Training (HOST) program matches skills and experience of older unemployed managers with projects proposed by local companies or entrepreneurs. After a training program to restore their confidence and latent skills, these older workers assist the start-up of local projects, demonstrating their relevant and valuable experience and abilities to potential employers (Collis, Mallier, & Smith-Canham, 1999).

Finally, given the influence of work on health and the potentially deleterious effects of job loss in late career, consideration of a more proactive approach to dealing with the issues of older displaced workers is warranted. Based on a thorough attempt to identify best practices in the employment of older workers in the European Union, Walker and Taylor (1999) advocate for a holistic approach to age and employment involving "an integrated policy that would encompass the whole career" that includes "both preventative measures (such as lifelong education) and remedial ones (training for older workers lacking specific skills, for example in new technology)" (p. 72). These authors suggest that implementation of policy and practice with a strict focus on older adults, such as encouraging older workers to remain in the workplace throughout late career by increasing the age of pension eligibility, could have negative implications

for aging employees who need to retire early due to ill health. An alternative approach would involve interventions that address the entire lifespan such as ongoing training and education as a normative part of the work experience. According to one advocate of lifelong learning (Schultz, 2000), this should involve a focus on teaching basic skills that are easily transferred across jobs (e.g., computer skills, written communication, financial planning, good health practices). Also, innovative work arrangements such as job sharing and flexible work hours, while challenging to develop, would provide more variety and options to meet the needs and lifestyles of persons of all ages (Wanner, 1994). Collaboration among business, government and education sectors, already identified as an area for improvement, would be critical to making such a proactive, life-span approach successful.

Summary and Conclusion

Examination of older worker programs in Canada brings to light important issues. First, the health implications of unemployment and job loss, particularly as it relates to persons in latter career stages, must be better understood. Research addressing this issue should be disseminated to those who plan and implement programs aimed at unemployed individuals over age 44. Evaluation of effectiveness should consider the ability of programs to achieve outcomes beyond reemployment including those related to health and well-being.

Second, the development and evaluation of these programs must involve greater participation from their target groups. To date, it appears that fiscal objectives imposed in a top-down fashion by governments define these programs. Without the input of older workers themselves, a program's structure, process and goals may be inappropriate or irrelevant to the group it purports to serve. Related to the first point, this type of participatory action would undoubtedly lead to an increased effort by older worker programs to buffer the negative impact of unemployment on mental and physical health.

Third, a better system of communication between those who fund, implement and participate in these programs is required given the finite resources available to program planners. Lines of communication would be further improved through addressing a fourth issue, the need for multi-sectoral collaboration among stakeholders. This type of cooperative effort would foster understanding, support and input from all parties that have vested interest the success of the intervention.

Finally, a philosophical shift in focus is required to more effectively address the issue of involuntary job loss in late career. This would entail the reallocation of resources away from remedial programs to those that take a more proactive approach to the problem. These programs might involve life-long learning efforts to ensure that people remain competitive in the workplace across the lifespan as well as the development of a wider and more flexible array of employment options to reflect the diverse abilities, needs and lifestyles that exist within the population.

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Relentless Accountabilities and Co-‘authoring’ Our Professional Lives

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This article is targeted at veteran counsellors, though those new to the field might be interested by the issues and questions raised. The primary question I raise here is: What does it mean to practice accountably these days while remaining accountable to our personal, family and community lives? Counselling is a career one can easily get lost in because the demands are so great, and our energies so finite. So, in the article which follows I ask you to join me in exploring issues which are part of the great balancing act of meeting our work and professional obligations, staying motivated to that work, and seeing that our relationships (to ourselves and others who matter to us) remain healthy. I raise and invite your reflection on elements of this balancing act with the hope that you can constructively use such reflection to further guide you in your career and personal development as counsellors. The outcomes of this reflection could reaffirm your relationships to your present balancing act, or possibly nudge you to achieve a more personally satisfying balance of the professional and personal in your life.

Balancing Accountabilities

Frontline practice in counselling has never carried a greater weight of accountability. A combination of developments has brought this on but practicing as a counsellor has come to mean doing more in less time, with greater scrutiny than formerly was the case (Johnson, 1995). Our professional bodies expect adherence to increasingly detailed codes of ethics and conduct, not the least of which is the trend toward stricter adherence to empirically validated treatments and diagnostic procedures. Laws and legal judgments affecting how we counsel convey a sense that we practice in a minefield where seemingly innocent missteps can easily result in grave professional consequences. Our clients are increasingly more consumer-savvy, bringing internet-researched understandings of their concerns and what to do about them while expecting collaboration in areas formerly considered by many as our prerogative. The service contexts where we practice feel the squeeze of greater accountability, too, passing on to us what clients, funders and other partners in delivering counselling services expect of them. New intervention methods and research findings proliferate making it impossible to comprehensively stay on top of all developments within our profession. And, this is all before we factor in the personal and relational dimensions of being a counsellor. Buffeted by these competing aspirations and expectations, defining oneself as a counsellor has never been more challenging. Already a high burn-out profession, we face what most workplace stress researchers know: there’s a slippery slope between losing influence over the nature of our work, and burn-out (Grosch & Olsen, 1994). Even the word *accountability* might leave some of you cringing as it carries with it connotations of yet more obligation and scrutiny. The purpose of this paper and its reported activities is to re-visit what it means to define our roles in the face of all that

pulls on us personally and professionally. Behind it is a rationale: we can become better authors of our own experience when we resist being ‘authored’ *by* our experiences.

Method

This article is based on a workshop designed to help counselling professionals re-connect with their intentions, commitments, values, professional and personal relationships, and the *place* counselling occupies within their lifestyle. The guiding ideas behind the workshop are narrative and social constructionist, assuming that the meanings we live by are constructed primarily through social interaction (Bruner, 1990; Gergen, 1999; McNamee & Gergen, 1999). Cumulatively, these interactions help us make sense of our experiences, usually in story form. But, we are not passive in our personal stories; we author and narrate them in relating to our social experiences, making use of the plausible understandings available to us. From this perspective, the workshop, like similar others (e.g., Strong, 1997), aims to engage participants in speaking in novel ways about their experience, inviting them to relate to (and possibly alter) their personal narratives of experience in new and preferred ways. It is because our stories gain their significance in the sharing (Newman & Holzman, 1999) that I facilitate workshop experiences that are primarily interactive, using questions to promote unfamiliar perspectives and discussions. While on one hand I believe that a coherent personal story of experience can be a valuable, touchstone resource, I am also wary of the potential of some stories to cohere and conserve problematic understandings (Newman, 2000; White & Epston, 1990). For example, a counsellor may feel stuck in a constricted or ‘stale-dated’ story of their career; or, conversely, they may find their counselling story one which promotes creativity and resilience in meeting relentless professional challenges. So, the activities of this workshop offer participants opportunities to bring greater clarity and coherence to their personal stories of being counsellors, while affording possibilities to revise those stories as the questions invite them to speak from new perspectives.

If we want to consider our careers stories we live (Cochran & Savickas, 1997), it helps to be living them according to preferred plotlines (Eron & Lund, 1996). Of course, these stories are not solely our creation; they have many co-authors, so to speak. Our career stories are, in effect, as much negotiated as co-authored, because to live them means to see how they fare as we take them into our counselling and other life experiences and relationships. Most experienced counsellors can point to developments where relationships and particular experiences became wanted or unwanted *co-authors*. Counselling is a profession where sometimes our cumulative professional experience can develop into a story Ram Dass (Dass & Gorman, 1985) once referred to as “the helper’s prison”. Regardless, the workshop invites participants to reflect on, and share different perspectives, to further the possibilities that we live preferred career stories. To gain, optimally, from the exercises/questions that follow (you will also see them as appendices at the end of the article), find two conversational partners with whom you can discuss your answers: a fellow counsellor, and a trusted non-counsellor friend or family member. Simply reading, and reflecting on the answers will not have the same effect.

Our Relationship With Our Intentions

The story behind how we chose to be counsellors can feel like a faint recollection, as we become veterans in our field. But, behind any commitment to something as demanding as a career are our intentions. Lose sight of them, and we can feel we're living, to paraphrase Peter Hansen (1985), other peoples' stories for our lives. As with any long-term endeavour (e.g., a marriage, having children), however, our intentions change over time. As our motivations in becoming counsellors meet the demands of front-line practice, new motivations emerge while others recede in terms of personal significance. Many of us entered counselling with a starry-eyed-change-the-world enthusiasm and if our subsequent experiences didn't make us cynics, we learned to scale back our hopes and expectations. We may have had career-changing experiences in the course of our practice, as we worked with new populations, found new approaches to practice, or took on roles beyond the consulting room. As our personal lives changed; so possibly changed the centrality of career to our personal identity, and the importance we placed on family and community. Some of us will have been counselling clients ourselves, prompting previously unthought of questions regarding what we do. Worse, as narrative therapist Michael White (1997) highlighted, our intentions in being counsellors are often pathologized by media characterizations of our professional personalities (see "What about Bob" or "The Prince of Tides"), implying that we use our work to address our personal shortcomings.

Like ships blown off course it is possible that we no longer feel guided by our intentional compass as our career pulls us forward with its many demands. In this initial part of the workshop participants are asked to revisit their *relationship* with their intentions. This wording might seem unusual: do we have intentions or do we relate to them? My answer is that both apply. While we may claim something as an intention, what we do with it later – our relationship to it in guiding our actions – can be an entirely different matter. Our intentions are our personal constructions of what matters to us; how we relate to them as potential resources in going forward is the concern here. In solution-focused therapy talk, living by our intentions is living "on track" (Walter & Peller, 1992). So, early in the workshop attention is given to articulating intentions and exploring the relationships participants have with them as resources in leading a preferred life.

questions. The questions that follow are intended for counsellors to use in dyads at the workshop. In one sense, the presuppositions of these questions *invite* counsellors to articulate and clarify their seldom-considered professional intentions. In another way, sharing their answers to such questions with others, for some narrative theorists (e.g., Holstein & Gubrium, 2000), can help people affirm and commit to what they "talk into being". So, these questions are meant to engage counsellor participants in the workshop in reflective processes they make public to at least one professional colleague. Inviting people into such a metacognitive stance (e.g., Flavell, 1977) on their practice of counselling, and their motivations for it, via such discussions, can itself be an empowering experience. The discussions also hold the potential to articulate change-promoting beliefs, a key feature in Prochaska, DiClemente and Norcross' (1992) stages of change model. Since the counsellor participants' audience is another counsellor skilled in helping people articulate often-difficult ideas and feelings, listening is usually anything but passive. Roles are exchanged with each party taking up being a listener

and speaker, taking turns interviewing or being interviewed from questions like those that follow:

- 1) What initially motivated you to become a counsellor?
- 2) What are the primary intentions you bring to counselling now?
- 3) If these changed between starting as a counsellor and now, what prompted the change?
- 4) In reflecting on your interactions with clients and peers, where do you feel your intentions best show through in those interactions? Illustrate with examples.
- 5) What challenges do you face in keeping “on track” with your intentions? How can you rise to those challenges and still feel “on track”?
- 6) What has your relationship with your career intentions been like as you’ve faced the different challenges in being a counsellor? In other words, have your intentions been as much of a source of guidance and inspiration in your work as you would like? Explain.
- 7) In the long-run, what will tell you that have practiced and lived in ways that have you feeling you’ve kept ‘in sync’ with your intentions?

As mentioned earlier, social constructionists see meanings gaining their significance in relationships through “objectivizing” what is discussed, crystallizing ideas into meaningful words that can be revisited in future thinking or conversations (McNamee & Gergen, 1999). Narrative therapists, in particular (e.g., Epston, 1994; Strong & Flynn, 2000), consider documentation as a resource capable of furthering preferred stories, so the “interviewers” are also asked to be “documenters” of responses that their interviewees consider noteworthy. In this way, each respondent may complete the workshop with notes useful for further reflection.

Our Relationship With Counselling

Michael Sussman (1995) called ours “a perilous calling”. Whether we consider the contexts in which we practice, the nature of our clients and their presenting concerns, the increasingly prescriptive and litigation-fraught professionalism to which we are bound, or the administrative and collegial aspects of our work, we serve many ‘masters’ where the stakes are often high. Family therapist, Jay Haley (1987), considered relationships potentially ‘crazy-making’ (double binds) if we can’t influence them where this matters to us. Yet, the average counsellor practices in hierarchical circumstances where they have little influence over how they practice. In an era where healthcare services are increasingly rationed, when the pressures on us to produce outcomes are reinforced with micro-managerial strategies that one writer likened to having “big brother in the consulting room” (Wylie, 1994), the push for accountability in our work has never been greater (Johnson, 1995). And, this is before we factor in the intense feelings we work with that some researcher-clinicians feel contribute to “compassion fatigue” or burnout, two potential occupational hazards of counselling (e.g., Figley, 1995; Grosch & Olsen, 1994).

While there are day in day out vagaries in our work, when we generalize our counselling experience it can be understood as a story with a seeming trajectory. This story connotes a relationship we have with our work and professional identity. But it

has many co-authors, and to the extent possible the workshop aims to engage participants as authors/editors-in-chief of their professional stories. We can become alienated from our own experience when this capacity and influence diminishes for us (Newman & Holzman, 1997) so the workshop aims to reconnect participants with novel ways of construing, and acting within, their roles and circumstances. Characterizing counselling as something we have a relationship to, can feel initially awkward for participants. Consistent with a narrative therapy approach, the view shared here is that we can *externalize* aspects of our experience we consider intrinsic to who we are such as our professional identity. One imaginative twist on this concept involves interviewing one person in a relationship, requesting them to speak *as if* they could accurately and faithfully represent how their partner would want to be heard (Epston, 1993, Snyder, 1995). In this workshop, however, participants are asked to go one step further: the counsellor's professional identity itself is interviewed, as if it could give feedback on the relationship the counsellor has with 'it'. In this sense, the interviewer asks the interviewee to speak as if s/he *was* her/his professional identity with 'its' own voice. A related example, from the externalizing practices of narrative therapy, is to request to speak to a client's temper, as if that temper had its own personality (see Epston, 1992). The conceptual separation of the person from an influential aspect of her/him permits novel forms of reflection. Such exercises are also commonplace for those familiar with psychodrama (e.g., Blatner & Blatner, 1997), and in my experience most participants easily orient to them after some initial clarification of instructions. These kinds of questions come up late in the next series of questions. Again, in pairs, participants are asked to take turns as interviewers/documenters and interviewees.

questions.

- 1) What are key factors, other than those you (as your professional identity) bring to counselling, that influence how you practice? To what extent have these come to define your practice? Explain.
- 2) Share your views on what it means to practice accountably. Be sure to include personal views as well as those from your employer, clients and professional organizations. Describe your experience in trying to reconcile these views.
- 3) Identify those factors that most support AND most erode the quality of your relationship with counselling.
- 4) When do you feel your relationship with counselling is at its best? What occurs then and what has you feel that this is when your relationship with counselling is at its best?
- 5) Here you are asked to imaginatively separate *you* the person from *you* the counsellor. Then, please give feedback to *you* the person in answering the following: a) what are the most important qualities that *s/he* (i.e., *you* the person) brings to counselling? b) how would you characterize the present relationship *you* the counsellor have with *you* the person? c) what does the counsellor in *you* need most from *him/her*?
- 6) Continuing on in this manner, but reversing roles so that *you* the person are in the 'hot seat': a) what experiences does *s/he* (the counsellor) bring to your life that you most/least appreciate? b) how would you characterize the present relationship you have with *him/her*? c) what do you most need from *him/her* to live a preferred life?

Clearly, these are unusual questions, but when effective, they draw participants into examining new perspectives on their professional and personal lives.

Characterizing ourselves as having a relationship to our practice can help us stand back from it and assess how it is, and how we would like it to be. In the case of looking at a marriage or a friendship, we might think to ourselves: if only the other person could be a better person than I'd have a better relationship with him/her. However, it is harder to make such an argument about how we invest ourselves professionally. Examining that investment, and considering how we could optimally influence it, is the intent of these questions.

Relating to our Professional Relationships

We're in a relationship profession. Whether we consider our relationships to clients, employers, our professional organizations or our colleagues, the heart of our work takes place in relationships our skills help us create and co-manage. Of course, we're not channeling the spirit of Carl Rogers (1961) into every one of these relationships. Professionally, we juggle our multiple roles to be warm and empathic, productive and conscientious, ethical and competent, and supportive and resourceful. An insidious thing can happen to people (like us) who make themselves so constantly available to others: they can lose their ability to recognize and assert their needs. Here is where a virtue of selflessness can cross the line and become a vice. Healthy veterans in the helping professions often come to this realization, finding means to address it, while balancing their commitment to clients; others can hit a personal and professional wall with this challenge (Berger, 1995). Left unattended, such issues can nudge counsellors precipitously toward a slippery slope from which professional boundary violations are more likely to occur (Peterson, 1992). Conversely, sometimes the relentless relational demands on us spill over into our personal lives; prompting a retreat into isolation, even in our closest relationships where sharing the seemingly mundane aspects of daily life pales in contrast to the dramas of participating in clients' lives (Deutsch, 1985). Alongside those dramas can be complicated professional relationships that require deft skill in upholding. There are bosses to please, other human service professionals to partner with or lobby as we help clients, and the normal stuff of 'workplace politics'. Not surprisingly, many counsellors feel "peopled out" at the end of their workday. As the wife of a physician once told me, "he gave at the office". In short, there are relational tugs on our professionalism and civility constantly and these can stretch our sense of sociability, at the same time as we have social needs personally.

This part of the workshop asks participants to look at their relationships, cognizant that they are discussing them in relationships. Somehow sharing our experiences and preferences with another ups our investment in acting on what we share. This is what feminist and narrative therapists refer to as *witnessing* (Weingarten, 2000) or *audiencing* (Adams-Westcott & Isenbart, 1995) where our internal dialogue can be externalized, and take on a shared and often greater significance.

questions.

- 1) Where are your work relationships most/least satisfying to you? Explain.
- 2) Are there any differences in you personally, or socially, from the time you entered counselling until the present? To what do you attribute this sameness or difference? How would long term friends or family members answer this question as it pertains to you?

- 3) In what ways have your professional relationships enriched/eroded your most important relationships? Explain.
- 4) Being experienced as a counsellor, what advice would you give to someone entering the profession when it comes to balancing the relationship demands of this work? How did you come to have this opinion?
- 5) What more can you do to optimize the relationship balancing act so that you are doing more than just ensuring everyone else's needs are met, while yours go unattended? Describe, if you can, what that optimal balance might look like.

These questions can sometimes provoke painful recognitions, asking us to speak from aspects of our experience we can comfortably hear from our clients, but perhaps not from ourselves. Sharing such recognitions can promote a shared empathy and appreciation for the hard work counsellors do. One of the greatest burnout factors in our profession is the isolation that comes with not managing this relationship, in ways that covers everyone's needs, excluding our own. These discussions have the potential of opening counsellors to other similar conversations thereafter.

Our relationship with practice

Practicing as a counsellor involves ceaseless assessments, decisions and interventions – all of which can bring changes to the lives of our clients. Sometimes the expectation can feel like we are supposed to be batting 1000 when practically our shared triumphs with clients don't come close to that. We are paid to make a difference, and rising to the challenge means pitting our competence against problems that won't easily resolve. Our clients, and sometimes our employers, can equate what we do with medical intervention, expecting quick improvements as we *administer treatment* to clients, as if our interventions were akin to medications (Stiles & Shapiro, 1989). Staying on top of the ceaseless innovations in counselling can be quite daunting; staying inspired by our ideas and interventions presents another challenge. Most master practitioners undertake shifts in the ideas and interventions they bring to counselling through the course of their career (Jennings & Skovholt, 1999). Bandwagon approaches come and go, research highlights new things to focus our clinical attention on, and we can lose faith in approaches that come to feel stale for us. At the same time, assessment and intervention seemingly require greater exactitude, as emphases on correct DSM-IV diagnoses and empirically validated treatments become increasing administrative expectations for how we practice.

Defining competent practice is not a precise science and has been the focus of many debates (e.g., Beutler, 2000). Despite such ambiguities about "good practice", it is more likely that we will hear about "screwing up" in our work than about our shared successes with clients. Regardless, we have ourselves to satisfy and one measure of our success is that we become obsolete professionally to our clients. The modal number of sessions clients will see us for is one (that's for 40% of what we do) and what apparently is considered helpful usually has little to do with the methods we use or our crafty interventions (Duncan & Miller, 2000; Talmon, 1990). Still, we have an understandable desire to practice competently, and succeed in navigating the complex expectations our clients and employers have of us.

Turning to our work and feeling good about it clearly involves several factors. We want to be inspired, feel competent, know we're making a difference, and feel at

home in what we do. This next set of questions is designed to tap into these factors, promoting consideration of our current competence while extending our sense of where we can continue to build on it.

questions.

- 1) What does it mean for you to practice competently? Where do you recognize your competence most as you counsel?
- 2) What ideas and innovations in your practice most inspire you? Explain.
- 3) If I interviewed some of your clients who felt most helped by you what would they tell me about your work with them that they most appreciated?
- 4) When do you feel most/least alive in your work as a counsellor? Please elaborate.
- 5) Looking ahead to when you move on from counselling, what are some of the key things you would like to point to you as the accomplishments and qualities you brought to your work? Are there things you need to yet do to see these qualities and accomplishments realized?

These questions conclude the workshop and serve as a good springboard to bring closure to the workshop.

Conclusion

It was Socrates who once said, “the unexamined life is not worth living” (cited in Helm, 1997, 38a). This workshop is presented as an opportunity to “take one’s professional bearings”. The motivation is to help counsellors reflect on and clarify where they stand, and what they want to do about some central issues related to long term, professionally and personally accountable (it is unusual to see these words paired up with notions of accountability) practice. Many workshops addressing such a topic are psychoeducational and usually focus on relevant information. This workshop is intentionally participatory, with the hope that engaging people in speaking to their experiences will make further discussion and action based on the workshop discussions easier.

In debriefing the exercises, the participants are asked to consider how they will make use of the documentation put together for them by their interviewers. They are also asked what they would like to do to continue the conversations begun on these issues beyond the workshop. There are no expected outcomes in terms of where the workshop might take participants, but it is hoped that the exercises will engage them in becoming more active authors of their professional lives,

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Appendix A – Relating to our Intentions Questions

(to be answered in role-changing pairs – use the back of the page if required)

- 1) What initially motivated you to become a counsellor?
- 2) What are the primary intentions you bring to counselling now?
- 3) If these changed between starting as a counsellor and now, what prompted the change?
- 4) In reflecting on your interactions with clients and peers, where do you feel your intentions best show through in those interactions? Illustrate with examples.
- 5) What challenges do you face in keeping "on track" with your intentions? How can you rise to those challenges and still feel "on track"?

- 6) What has your relationship with your career intentions been like as you've faced the different challenges in being a counsellor? In other words, have your intentions been as much of a source of guidance and inspiration in your work as you would like? Explain.
- 7) In the long-run, what will tell you that have practiced and lived in ways that have you feeling you've kept 'in sync' with your intentions?

Appendix B – Relating to Counselling Questions

(to be answered in role-changing pairs – use the back of the page if required)

- 1) What are the key factors, other than those you bring to counselling, that influence how you practice? To what extent have these come to define your practice? Explain.
- 2) Share your views on what it means to practice accountably. Be sure to include personal views as well as those from your employer, clients and professional organizations.
Describe your experience in trying to reconcile these views.
- 3) Identify those factors that most support AND most erode the quality of your relationship with counselling.
- 4) When do you feel your relationship with counselling is at its best? What occurs then and what has you feel that this is when your relationship with counselling is at its best?
- 5) Here you are asked to imaginatively separate *you* the person from *you* the counsellor. Then, please give feedback to you the person in answering the following: a) what are the most important qualities that *s/he* (i.e., you the person) brings to counselling? b) how would you characterize the present relationship *you* the counsellor have with *you* the person? c) what does the counsellor in you need most from *him/her*?
- 6) Continuing on in this manner, but reversing roles so that *you* the person are in the 'hot seat': a) what experiences does *s/he* (the counsellor) bring to your life that you most/least appreciate? b) how would you characterize the present relationship you have with *him/her*? c) what do you most need from *him/her* to live a preferred life?

Appendix C – Relating to Counselling's Relationships Questions

(to be answered in role-changing pairs – use the back of the page if required)

- 1) Where are your work relationships most/least satisfying to you? Explain.
- 2) Are there any differences in you personally, or socially, from the time you entered counselling until the present? To what do you attribute this sameness or difference? How would long term friends or family members answer this question as it pertains to you?
- 3) In what ways have your professional relationships enriched/eroded your most important relationships? Explain.
- 4) Being experienced as a counsellor, what advice would you give to someone entering the profession when it comes to balancing the relationship demands of this work? How did you come to have this opinion?
- 5) What more can you do to optimize the relationship balancing act so that you are doing more than just ensuring everyone else's needs are met, while yours go unattended? Describe, if you can, what that optimal balance might look like.

Appendix D Relating to our Practice Questions

(to be answered in role-changing pairs – use the back of the page if required)

- 1) What does it mean for you to practice competently? Where do you recognize your competence most as you counsel?
- 2) What ideas and innovations in your practice most inspire you? Explain.
- 3) If I interviewed some of your clients who felt most helped by you what would they tell me about your work with them that they most appreciated?
- 4) When do you feel most/least alive in your work as a counsellor? Please elaborate.
- 5) Looking ahead to when you move on from counselling, what are some of the key things you would like to point to you as the accomplishments and qualities you brought to your work? Are there things you need to yet do to see these qualities and accomplishment

Despite the Barriers Men Nurses Are Satisfied with Career Choice

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Despite significant changes in the health care professions over the last century, nursing continues to remain a female "gendered" occupation. Men have made slight inroads in the profession and as such, continue to be a minority within the registered nurse workforce. In 2005, 5.6 per cent of the nurses in Canada were men (CNA, 2005), while men comprise about 5.8 per cent of the nursing workforce in the U.S. (HRSA, 2004). Although reasons for this gender imbalance have been debated in the literature, scant evidence is available regarding why men choose nursing and what factors are associated with their career satisfaction. The purpose of this study was to explore reasons why men in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) choose nursing as an occupation, what are the perceived barriers they experience in practice, factors associated with career satisfaction, and their reasons for recommending nursing as a career option for other males.

Literature Review

There is an abundance of literature both anecdotal and research based related to the topic of men in nursing. Most of this literature is concerned with the recruitment of men nurses and the barriers they experience in their chosen career. Men historically have been identified as having caregiver roles in organized nursing throughout history. For example, military, religious, and lay orders of men throughout the centuries have provided care to the sick and injured. Despite this history, the role of men in nursing tends to be forgotten (Mackintosh, 1997).

One of the dominant barriers identified as a major deterrent to men entering the nursing profession is stereotypes. The public perception of nursing as a sex-role occupation exclusive to females is a well-entrenched societal belief based upon the traditional image of the nurse as being white and female. This perception supported by the mass media is reinforced through images of nursing solely based upon female attributes. These beliefs influence societal perceptions for nursing and feed the cycle of bias that limits the role of men in nursing. Historically, nursing is considered to be a natural extension of a woman's role in society. The gendered nature of nursing work is reflected by the patriarchal social structure that associates the characteristics, of caring, compassion, nurturance, and empathy exclusive to women. As a result, the nursing profession is considered not to be suited to men who are believed not to have any of those attributes (Meadus, 2000). Again; these factors hinder men in choosing a nursing career.

In the nursing literature and popular press, sex stereotypes are seen as a major obstacle to men entering nursing. A common stereotype concerning men who choose nursing is that they are effeminate or gay (Jinks & Bradley, 2004; Hart, 2005). According to Jinks and Bradley, little has changed in societal attitudes towards nursing stereotypes over the years. Thus, men who chose to become a nurse may be questioned about their masculinity. Other stereotypes reported from the literature were that men

end up in nursing because they are perceived as underachievers and lack the ability to enter medical school (Poliafico, 1998).

Several researchers have examined why men choose nursing as a career option, the most common motive noted was the wish to help others; other factors were job security, salary and career opportunities (Boughn, 1994, 2004). In a recent study investigating why nursing students choose nursing other factors were reported such as, the desire to work with complex technology and the inability to get into another program (Rheume, Woodside, Gautreau, & Ditommaso, 2003).

A large body of literature is available on factors associated with work satisfaction of registered nurses. Factors such as work setting, job stress, pay, promotional opportunities and involvement in patient care have been identified as key determinants in job and career satisfaction for nurses (Kovner, Brewer, Wu, Cheng, & Suzuki, 2006; Hoffman & Scott, 2003; Shaver & Lacey, 2003). Most of these studies have not investigated specific factors for men nurses related to career satisfaction and reasons for recommending nursing to others as a career option. A worrisome finding from a recent study was that male nurses within the first four years following graduation are leaving the profession approximately four times more frequently than female nurses. Male nurses in comparison to women also reported less satisfaction with nursing regardless of their clinical setting or position (Sochalski, 2002). With men being a minority and many leaving the profession, it is imperative that greater efforts are undertaken to understand this phenomenon and also strategies are needed for recruitment and retention of males.

Several campaigns have been undertaken within the U.S. that emphasized the recruitment of people into nursing programs. Some of these have been at the national level such as the Johnson and Johnson Discover Nursing advertising campaign. Although not specifically focused on the recruitment of men, several of the promotional materials have highlighted men in nursing on television, brochures, and posters (Buerhaus, Donelan, Norman, & Dittus, 2005). Another campaign aimed on the recruitment of males into the nursing profession has been launched by the Oregon Center for Nursing. A component of this campaign is a poster with the slogan, "Are You Man Enough To Be A Nurse" that highlights the diversity of men in nursing and a program called Men in Scrubs that specifically targets middle school and high school students. Participants in this program get an opportunity to gain insight into nursing by "shadowing" men nurses in the practice setting (Trossman, 2003).

Several universities within the U.S. have formalized plans for the recruitment of men into the nursing profession. The University of Iowa College of Nursing for example, has instituted a men in nursing mentoring task force whose sole purpose is to develop and to implement strategies focused on recruitment and to increase the visibility of nursing as a career choice for men (The University of Iowa College of Nursing Men in Nursing Mentoring Task Force, 2006). No formalized plans to actively recruit males into university schools of nursing have been undertaken in Canada. A national U.S. group of men and women known as the American Assembly for Men in Nursing (AAMN) was formed in 1971 to encourage men to choose nursing as a career choice and increasing the visibility of men in nursing through education of the public (The American Assembly for Men in Nursing, 2005). Recently, in Canada the Registered Nurses' Association of Ontario (RNAO) launched the establishment of the Men in Nursing Interest Group (MINIG) with similar objectives as the AAMN (Registered Nurses' Association of Ontario [RNAO] The Men in Nursing Interest

Group, 2007). This initiative has potential to strengthen the nursing profession for all interested stakeholders throughout Canada through ongoing education and support around the image of nursing and the role of men as nurses. This may lead to a greater emphasis on the promotion of nursing as an appropriate career choice for males.

Methodology

Ethical Considerations

The necessary steps were taken to ensure that the rights of all subjects were recognized and protected throughout the study. Confidentiality with respect to both participants and storage of data was maintained throughout. Ethical approval was granted from the Human Investigation Committee, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Consent was implied by completion of the survey.

Sample and Setting

Using a descriptive design, the researchers surveyed the opinion of 62 nurses on reasons for entering the profession and perceived barriers to being a male practicing in a predominantly female oriented profession. Open-ended questions were included to allow participants to voice their recommendations regarding recruitment and satisfaction with career choice and willingness to advise a career in nursing.

In 2005, 5,629 RNs were employed in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL); 250, (4%), of these were men (ARNNL, 2005). The convenient sample included all males who agreed to participate in research as identified by their response on the ARNNL registration form ($n = 78$). Subjects were also recruited using an advertisement included in an ARNNL mail out and snowball sampling. In total, 102 questionnaires were distributed, 87 were sent through the regular mail system and 15 were delivered via the internal hospital mail system. To aid return, all questionnaires contained a stamped self-addressed envelope.

Instrument

Data were collected using a self-report questionnaire developed by the researchers. No appropriate published instrument for examining men's career choice and barriers specific to nursing was available. Questions related to career choice and barriers were partially based upon findings from a qualitative research report prepared by the Canadian Nurses Association (CNA) on men in nursing (Hanvey, 2003). By reference to this report and existing literature, the draft questionnaire was developed and pilot tested for face and content validity. Two nurses, one a content expert on men in nursing and two male nursing students completed the survey. As a result of this review, adjustments were made to increase item clarity and readability.

The final questionnaire assessed the following four areas: Demographic data; 2) Reasons for entering the nursing profession; 3) Perceived barriers experienced by men in nursing and 4) Recruitment strategies, Career satisfaction, and Career recommendations.

Reliability testing of the instrument indicated a Cronbach's Alpha of .63 for the subscale measuring the reasons for career choices and the barriers subscale had an alpha

of .81. With this population, the internal consistency levels suggest that the subscales adequately measure the constructs.

Results

Data were analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Indices of central tendency were calculated and depending on the level of data, tests of difference were computed. Alpha was set at $p < .05$. Sixty-two questionnaires were returned to the researchers for a return rate of 60%. The mean age of the sample was 38.1, with a range of 23 to 58 years, respondents had been practicing nursing for one to 35 years, with a mean of 13.2 years. Overall, the subjects had been in the same position for an average of 6.3 years. Most (80.6%) were employed full time, 8.1 % were part time, 9.7 % worked in casual positions and only 1.6% were unemployed. The majority of nurses worked on a medical/surgical adult practice setting (see Table I) and as expected 68.3% were employed by the Eastern Health Authority; this region is the most populated geographical area in NL.

Table I

Practice Setting (n = 61)

<i>Setting</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Med/Surg Adult	17	27.9
Mental Health	8	13.1
Nursing Home	7	11.5
ICU/CCU	7	11.5
Occupational Health	3	4.9
Education	3	4.9
Emergency	3	4.9
Administration	2	3.3
Community Health	1	1.6
Other	10	16.4
Total	61	100

The second part of the questionnaire examined why men choose nursing as a career. The subjects were requested to rate their reasons on a scale from 0 ("not important") to 3 ("very important"). The most common motives (in descending order) for becoming a nurse (see Table II) were career opportunities, job security, and the salary. Other reasons identified as important were the opportunity to travel and having a family member in the profession. In the category labeled *other*, nine respondents stated that they chose nursing because they wanted to be part of a caring profession and they felt it was a calling.

Table II

Reasons for Choosing Nursing (n = 62)

<i>Reason for Choosing Nursing</i>	<i>Mean¹</i>	<i>SD¹</i>
Career Opportunities	2.41	.78
Job Security	2.39	.91
Salary	1.79	.83
Travel	1.23	1.2
Family in the Profession	.77	1.1
Knew a Nurse	.74	1.1
Volunteer or Patient	.72	1.1
Peer Pressure	.56	.95
To meet Women	.34	.83

¹Mean = mean score (average based on the following scale: 0 = not at all to 3 = very important) and SD = standard deviation for each of the identified reasons for choosing nursing.

In the third section of the survey, subjects were asked to circle the number which best reflects their assessment of perceived barriers (see Table III) encountered when they first decided to enter the nursing profession. Using the same rating scale, 0 to 3, the most commonly perceived barriers (in descending order) to being a male in a female dominated profession were: sexual stereotypes, female oriented profession, lack of recruitment strategies, and few male role models portrayed in the media.

Table III

Barriers to Men in Nursing Practice (n = 62)

<i>Barriers</i>	<i>Mean¹</i>	<i>SD¹</i>
Sexual Stereotypes	1.75	1.1
Inadequate Recruitment	1.70	1.2
Female Oriented Profession	1.67	1.2
Lack of Exposure to Male Role Models in the Media	1.57	1.2
Low Salary	1.23	1.0
Patients prefer Female Nurses	1.15	1.0
Family's View of Nursing as a Career Choice	0.74	1.0

¹Mean = mean score (average based on the following scale: 0 = not at all to 3 = very important) and SD = standard deviation for each of the identified barriers for choosing nursing.

Further analysis was completed and the respondents were grouped by age, level of education and practice roles. At Alpha $p < .05$ there were no significant differences between age groups, levels of education or practice roles in terms of reasons for career choices or barriers experienced.

Instrument Part II

In this section of the survey, subjects were asked three open-ended questions: What do you think would increase the recruitment of male nurses? Are you satisfied with the choice that you made? Please explain. Would you recommend nursing to other males? Please explain.

All nurses stated there is a lack of recruitment initiatives specifically aimed at males to consider nursing as a career choice. Many of the study subjects articulated the invisibility of men in nursing and offered particular suggestions such as: a greater need to work on demystifying the stereotypes, more media advertisements promoting men as nurses, using testimonies from nurses during recruitment, promoting travel and career opportunities that nursing offers, and increasing the salaries.

In response to the questions on career satisfaction, over 93 per cent of the subjects were satisfied with choosing nursing as a career. Specifically, 58 subjects, out of 62, were satisfied with their career choice and would recommend it to others. Four nurses, of the 62, were not satisfied or were unsure, of whether they would recommend nursing to others. Some of the narrative responses demonstrate their satisfaction with being a nurse:

“Absolutely satisfied, it is who I am. It isn’t just a job to me, I live my nursing role.”

“I had entered nursing in the hopes of getting an education and then applying to the RCMP, but I enjoyed the profession so much I stayed.”

“Yes, I do this job for the caring and safety of my patients and this gives me great satisfaction.”

“Extremely satisfied-it met my professional needs and my personal needs.”

“I believe it was a ‘calling’ because I always wanted to do it and still do. My father had the same feeling but 50 years ago could not afford it, and men were not encouraged to take on this profession.”

“To be a professional career person; to have a career by age 21; to be part of one of the oldest professions to care for sick, disabled.”

“Yes, the profession has been very good to me and I can’t imagine doing anything else.”

Discussion

Within this study, regardless of age, educational background and practice role, men in nursing reported the main reasons they chose nursing as a career were: job security, career and travel opportunities, and salary. Similar findings have been reported in the literature. In a study investigating how gender affected motivation for choosing nursing for freshman in three nursing programs in the U.S. male students in comparison to female students put greater emphasis on aspects such as salary, job security, and the social image of the profession (Zysberg, & Berry, 2005). To recruit more men strategies should be designed based upon these factors that influenced men’s decision to enter a nursing program. It is imperative that school and career counselors emphasize these qualities when providing career advice to young men interested in a nursing career. With the unstable economy, the financial security, career and geographic mobility that nursing offers are benefits important to men. These can be stressed during recruitment efforts for this population.

Other reasons for choosing nursing as a career identified by study subjects were: attraction to the social image of the profession; belief that the job would be rewarding; and congruence of a caring personality with their perceptions of being a nurse. These qualities need to be addressed during recruitment. It is also recommended that future research include further investigation of these concepts.

The findings of this study highlight that men remain an untapped resource and continue to be overlooked during recruitment efforts for the nursing profession. The subjects in this study reported that inadequate recruitment and lack of male role models in the media continue to be a barrier that inhibits men from choosing nursing as a career choice. A lack of recruitment efforts directed at the male population was identified as the top barrier. Even though it is the 21st century and nursing is a growing career, limited recruitment of men continues to impact males who may wish to pursue nursing as a career choice. Recruitment strategies specifically targeting men need to become top priority. Advertisements/promotional materials that portray nurses in masculine ways should be developed to counter any stigma held by society. These posters should prominently be exhibited in places and locations frequented by the male population. A television ad campaign directed at men and shown during the news and sport events is another initiative that should be undertaken. Such materials would be an excellent resource for use by guidance and career counsellors in assisting individuals with career planning.

Despite the fact that men have been working in the profession for a number of years, stereotypes continue to be a barrier in the clinical setting. Nurses in this study reported being satisfied with their career choice and were willing to advise others to choose nursing as a career option. These findings were supported by their narrative responses. However, the movement of men into nursing is slow and gender bias continues to impact the profession. Unless a concentrated effort by all concerned stakeholders is undertaken to aid recruitment and retention, discrimination of men who are nurses will continue and men will still represent a small percentage of the registered nurse population. The focus on the occupation of nursing as a career needs greater development with an emphasis on the characteristics of gender neutrality by professional associations, university schools of nursing, and school and career counsellors. An objective for nursing organizations and nursing programs is to aid recruitment efforts by challenging the societal stereotypes of femininity and masculinity. These endeavors may lead to an increase of men joining the nursing profession.

Given the small sample size of this study, the results need to be interpreted with caution. The use of a convenience sample of nurses within one Canadian province may not be representative of nurses in other provinces or those outside of Canada. Additionally, the questionnaire used in this study should be refined and retested using a larger sample of men nurses. Also the authors recommend doing further qualitative investigations looking at career satisfaction among male nurses. These studies may aid discovery of particular factors that are responsible for satisfaction in choosing a nursing career. Such findings may be useful for preparation of promotional materials in recruitment efforts and thus benefit retention of nurses.

Conclusion

If the nursing profession is sincere in its efforts to create a gender neutral workforce, then it needs to address the issue of not actively recruiting men. A major priority is a greater emphasis on the development of gender appropriate materials for nursing recruitment and career promotion. Such initiatives are necessary if the profession wishes to address the current issue of nursing shortages and lack of diversity among the nursing workforce. The time for nursing is to act now to deal with gender bias, recruit more men, and to take bold steps to correct the gender imbalance. These steps can only help strengthen the health care workforce which will benefit the profession and also the population served by nurses.

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Patterns of Workplace Supervisory Roles: Experiences of Canadian Workers

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Recent transformations across a wide range of contemporary work organizations are evident in flattened hierarchies with fewer levels of graded authority, reduced ranks of middle managers and smaller core workforces (Foot and Venne, 1990; Leicht, 1998; McBrier and Wilson, 2004). Given such transformations, it is reasonable to expect an increasing proportion of regular full-time workers to assume supervisory roles in the workplace, as evolving organizational demography dictates revised divisions of labour with many such responsibilities being assigned to non-managers. Accordingly, the specific form/content and span of control of supervisory responsibilities will likely become even more important for the career development and progress of large numbers of workers. This paper investigates four dimensions of supervisory duties as experienced by Canadian workers over a six-year period, through the secondary analysis of longitudinal panel data from the *Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics* (SLID, Panel 2, covering 1996 to 2001 inclusive). An analysis of specific dimensions of supervisory duties is essential since position or job titles may not accurately reflect the actual supervisory roles of workers (Pergamit and Veum, 1999; Rosenfeld, Van Buren and Kalleberg, 1998; Rothstein, 2001). Beyond this, the four dimensions were combined into a basic supervisory duty experience scale to distinguish broad levels of experience (from none to high). Log-linear modelling techniques were applied to explore the interactive effects of sex of worker, university education and occupational sector for first-reported job (at the beginning of the longitudinal panel) upon supervisory duty experience. Significant bivariate and trivariate interaction effects were also explored through percentage tables to reveal the complexity of these associations.

Supervisory Roles in the Contemporary Workplace

Previous empirical research has documented considerable numbers and proportions of workers assuming supervisory roles in the workplace, especially in terms of supervising the work of others (Jacobs, 1992; Rothstein, 2001; Pergamit and Veum, 1999, Rosenfeld, Van Buren and Kalleberg, 1998, Maume, 2006). While employee-oriented supervision may represent only one of many possible skill dimensions associated with management work (Schippman, Prien and Hughes, 1991), supervising other workers represents a common and important dimension of supervisory responsibilities in the modern workplace.

Yet this form of duty is often distinct from managerial or true decision-making authority within the workplace (Rosenfeld, Van Buren and Kalleberg, 1998; Rothstein, 2001; Smith, 2002). To illustrate, drawing on US *General Social Survey* data, Rothstein (2001:666) found large percentages of workers reported supervising the work of others, but much lower proportions of these same workers indicated that they had full responsibility for setting pay or determining promotions of subordinate workers,

leading him to conclude that control over pay and promotions likely represents "... a higher grade of responsibility than control over their job tasks, and may be associated with a higher rung on the job ladder." Beyond supervising other workers, the present research explored three other supervisory duty dimensions captured in Canadian SLID data, including influencing budget and staffing, influencing pay and promotions, and deciding work for others. Together, these four dimensions of supervisory responsibility represent useful indicators of the scope of supervisory experiences of workers in the modern workplace.

Given recent transformations within work organizations, supervisory roles in the workplace are expected to assume even greater importance for worker careers paths and progression over time. Accepting one or more supervisory duties in the workplace may potentially reduce negative consequences for workers associated with "career blockage" (Foot and Venne, 1990, Rothman, 1998), or may reduce the risk of reaching a "professional plateau" in the course of a career (Lee, 2002), as new responsibilities would help workers to develop additional skills to remain employable, marketable and current in their occupations or professions. Assuming supervisory roles in the workplace is consistent with the emergence of the "boundaryless career" (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom, 2005), which highlights individual worker accountability for career development and progress in an era of downsized organizations and flattened hierarchies. It is also consistent with emerging "spiral career trajectories" (entailing multiple lateral changes and fewer upward moves within flattened work organizations – Foot and Venne, 1990), supplanting traditional linear career paths of upward status mobility via formal promotions in the workplace. Assuming supervisory responsibilities may alter workers' subjective assessment of "career plateau" reflected in their perceived prospects for advancement within an organization (Nachbagauer and Riedl, 2002). Further, taking on supervisory duties in the workplace may reduce the destruction of individual worker "human capital" (experience within a given occupation or industry) ensuing from high levels of occupational / industrial mobility (Kambourov and Manovskii, 2004), and may reduce the negative economic consequences associated with high external mobility over time (Dwyer, 2004; le Grand and Tåhlin, 2002; Kambourov and Manovskii, 2004).

Factors Influencing Supervisory Responsibility Experiences

This analysis focused on three important factors expected to influence the supervisory responsibility experiences of Canadian workers – gender, attainment of university-level education, and initial occupational sector of employment (for the first-reported job of workers at the beginning of the survey panel in 1996). Beginning with gender effects, previous research has documented that female workers are less likely to assume supervisory duties relative to their male counterparts (Jacobs, 1992; Smith, 2002; Rosenfeld, Van Buren and Kalleberg, 1998, Maume, 2006), and also less likely to attain higher levels of supervisory responsibility (Smith, 2002; Rothstein, 2001). Despite the trend of growing female employment in a range of traditional male-dominated professional and managerial occupations (Hughes, 1995; Jacobs, 1992; Cooke-Reynolds and Zukewich, 2004), there remains a high degree of gender occupational segregation in post-industrial labour markets which limit career advancement opportunities for females to positions of authority in the workplace. "Glass ceiling" effects continue to limit female workers' success in terms of workplace

authority level, with relatively few women attaining senior management positions (Jacobs, 1992; Smith, 2002). Smith (2002:532) identified gender differences in workplace authority as a significant source of gender inequality, arguing that “The relative location of men and women within the structure of the economy, and their proportional representation within such structures, account for more of the gender gap in authority than the human capital attributes of workers”. For the present research, it was hypothesized that female workers would be more likely to report no supervisory duty experience in the workplace over the six-year period relative to their male counterparts. Conversely, male workers were hypothesized to exhibit ‘high’ levels of supervisory duty experience (signified by at least some experience on all four duty dimensions over time), relative to female workers.

The human capital model is a useful perspective for interpreting and understanding supervisory responsibility experiences of workers over time. Personal investments in human capital (such as university education) impact employment outcomes (such as occupational sector), which in turn can influence the likelihood of attaining supervisory roles in the workplace. Canary and Canary (2006) found that within personal career narratives of supervisors, most interviewees identified individual-level determinants of education and training as contributing to their career development and impacting one or more career moves over time. Previous research has demonstrated that personal investments in different forms of human capital (including education, training and development, career tenure, and hours of work) enhances prospects for attaining supervisory authority in the workplace (Smith, 2002; Metz and Tharenou, 2001). For the present research, it was hypothesized that workers with any university-level education would be more likely to report ‘high’ levels of supervisory duty experience, while those without any university education would be more likely to have no supervisory duty experience over the six-year period.

Occupational sector of employment was used in this analysis as a basic indicator of occupational status within the labour force, broadly distinguishing management, professional, white collar and blue collar occupations. Previous empirical research has not specifically explored the relationship between occupational sector and supervisory duty experience in the workplace, although hypotheses were articulated drawing on an understanding of the content of each of these broad sectors. For the present research, it was hypothesized that workers initially employed in the management occupational sector would be most likely to exhibit ‘high’ levels of supervisory duty experience over time, given the obvious linkage between managerial authority and supervisory roles in the workplace. Second, workers initially employed in professional occupational sectors (such as natural and applied sciences, social sciences and related, and health occupations sectors) were hypothesized to be more likely to report ‘high’ levels of supervisory duty experience. Third, workers from white collar (sales and service) and blue collar occupational sectors were hypothesized to be most likely to have no supervisory duty experience over time.

While there are many other factors which may influence or impact supervisory responsibility experiences over time, the present research concentrated on these three variables investigating interactions with the dependent variable of level of supervisory duty experience of workers. Beyond testing hypothesized relationships between each of these three influencing factors (gender, university education and occupational sector) and the level of supervisory duty experience of workers over time, trivariate interactions involving pairs of factors and the dependent variable of supervisory duty

experience were also explored. Although formal hypotheses were not specified for trivariate interactions, it was generally expected that the nature and strength of associations between gender and supervisory duties, and university education and supervisory duties, would be mediated by occupational sector. Multivariate log-linear modelling techniques were applied to statistically prioritize relationships, accompanied with interpretation of specific associations found within both bivariate and trivariate percentage tables.

Research Methods

The research methodology employed was secondary analysis of longitudinal survey data from the *Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics* (SLID, Panel 2, 1996-2001). This is a national survey collected by Statistics Canada, designed and stratified to be broadly representative of the Canadian labour force (excluding residents of the northern territories, residents of institutions and persons living on Indian reserves). Each SLID longitudinal panel is comprised of approximately 30,000 individual Canadians with multiple interviews conducted with the same survey respondents over a six-year time period. As noted by Giles (2001:365), “In SLID, the focus extends from static measures to the whole range of transitions, durations and repeat occurrences of people’s financial and work situations.” The scope, breadth of content and large sample size of SLID, along with its longitudinal design made it ideal for exploring the dynamic nature of experiences of Canadian workers with respect to supervisory roles in the workplace. Four distinct supervisory duties were recorded in SLID for employment positions held at the end of each year of the panel (1996 to 2001 inclusive). Only Canadian workers with a valid occupation code for all six years of the SLID panel (signifying employment in all years) were included in this secondary data analysis. Data presented in tables below were weighted to produce estimates of the Canadian working population, in accordance with SLID data release guidelines.

The four facets of supervisory duties captured in SLID data include influencing budget and staffing, influencing pay and promotions, deciding work for others, and supervising others. For each of these four dimensions, end-of-year states were binary coded to indicate either not having or having the supervisory role (coded ‘0’ or ‘1’ respectively). These binary variables were then aggregated across all panel years to capture the 64 possible permutations of binary outcomes across the six years (2^6), ranging from ‘000000’ signifying no supervisory experience on a given dimension, to ‘111111’ denoting continuous experience with that duty. Given sample size limitations, it was not practical to examine each of the 64 distinct permutations representing stability and mobility in supervisory duty experiences, so permutations were collapsed into a smaller set of logically-coherent categories reflecting broader patterns. The collapsed supervisory experience scales were anchored by two stable end categories of no experience and continuous experience over time. Intermediate scale categories represented different forms of mobility including being promoted to the duty, demoted from the duty, and a residual category for various forms of irregular or mixed mobility. The constructed supervisory duty experience scale represents a continuum of the form and extent of supervisory experience on each of these four dimensions, depicting both stability and mobility in experience, and trends over time (promotion, demotion and irregular patterns).

The supervisory duty experience scales are presented in Table 1 below for each of the four duty dimensions. About two-thirds of Canadian workers had no duty experience over the six-year period with influencing budget and staffing or pay and promotions, while less than half had no experience with deciding work for others and supervising others. Conversely, only about a third of the population had experience with influencing budget and staffing or pay and promotions, duties which are typically associated with more senior managerial occupations. At the other end of the continuum, continuous supervisory experience over the six-year period ranged from about one in 31 workers influencing budget and staffing, to about one in ten workers supervising others. These two end categories of no experience and continuous experience represent true stability on these supervisory duty dimensions (no change over time). In total, these two categories accounted for between half of workers (51.8 percent) for supervising others, to over two-thirds (71.1 percent) for influencing pay and promotions. Conversely, between 28.9 and 48.2 percent of all workers exhibited at least some degree of mobility or change over time across these four dimensions of supervisory duties.

Table 1

*Supervisory Experience Scale For Four Supervisory Duties For Canadian Working Population (1996-2001)**

Supervisory Duty	No Experience	Demoted from Duty ¹	Mixed Mobility ²	Promoted to Duty ³	Continuous Experience	Canadian Working Population ⁴
Influence Budget and Staffing	65.1%	4.4	19.3	8.0	3.2	8,691,400
Influence Pay and Promotions	66.9%	4.2	17.2	7.5	4.2	8,691,400
Decide Work for Others	47.8%	7.0	27.2	10.9	7.2	8,691,400
Supervise Others	41.9%	8.1	28.6	11.5	9.9	8,691,400

*Data from Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Panel 2 (1996-2001)

1. Held duty in 1996, but was demoted from duty sometime after 1996 and did not assume duty again.
2. All irregular patterns of mobility, of both promotion to and demotion from supervisory duty during 6-year time frame.
3. Promoted to supervisory duty sometime after 1996 and continued to perform duty up to 2001.
4. Includes only Canadian workers reporting an occupation in each of the SLID survey years – 1996 to 2001 inclusive.

There is a relatively tight range in promotion percentages, from almost one in thirteen for influencing pay and promotions, to one in nine for supervising others. ‘Promoted to duty’ signified that workers did not hold the duty at the beginning of the survey panel (1996), but assumed the role sometime after and continued to hold the duty to 2001. Demotions from duties ranged from about one in 24 workers for influencing pay and promotions, to about one in twelve for supervising others. ‘Demoted from duty’ indicated that workers held the duty initially in 1996, but dropped the role some time after that, and did not resume the duty. Unfortunately, demotions could not be broken down further to distinguish voluntary or involuntary demotions – whether the decision to give up a supervisory role was that of the worker, or his/her employer. Canadian workers were more likely to be promoted to than demoted from a given duty, with a difference of about three percentage points across the four dimensions. This implies a net gain or increase in experience on each of these duty dimensions over time.

When Canadian workers are mobile with respect to these supervisory duties, they are less likely to follow a standard path (either promotion or demotion), and more likely to exhibit an irregular form of mobility. Mixed mobility refers very broadly to all forms of irregular mobility in relation to given roles, and in total exceeds the combined percentages for the more pure forms of mobility – promoted to and demoted from duty. Between about one in six and over one-quarter of workers exhibited mixed mobility across these four dimensions. Within the residual mixed mobility category (not shown in Table 1), the most common occurrence was short-term limited experience (Out-In-Out) with each of these four roles. Canadian workers were more likely to test or try out a supervisory role (exhibiting the Out-In-Out pattern), than to have a temporary interruption from a given duty (the reverse In-Out-In path). All other irregular mobility (involving multiple promotions to and demotions from a given duty over six years) accounted for about one in ten workers at most. Data in Table 1 revealed both stability and mobility, and complex patterns of experience with respect to these four supervisory duty dimensions.

Data Analysis

Having introduced supervisory duty experience on these four dimensions in an aggregate profile, the focus of subsequent analysis is on a collapsed, basic scale reflecting the degree of experience across all four duties, with categories of ‘none’ (no experience with any of the four duties between 1996 and 2001), ‘some’ (indicating experience with at least one of the four duties over time), and ‘high’ (at least some experience on all four of these duties). The effects of gender, university education and occupational sector for first reported jobs of Canadian workers upon the collapsed supervisory experience scale are explored initially using bivariate percentage tables (Tables 2 and 3 below). Log linear modelling is then applied as a heuristic technique to statistically prioritize relationships or interactions between the three independent variables and the dependent variable of supervisory duty experience (Table 4). This leads to the identification of two important trivariate interaction terms which are then investigated more closely through trivariate percentage tables (Tables 5 and 6).

Table 2

Summary Supervisory Experience Scale (1996-2001) By Sex and Education of Canadian Worker

Supervisory Duty Variable / Category	None ¹	Some	High ²	Working Population ³
Working Population	37.4%	40.4	22.2	8,691,400
Sex of Worker				
Female	44.2%	38.6	17.2	3,812,000
Male	32.1%	41.8	26.1	4,879,400
Education of Worker				
No University Education	40.9%	40.7	18.5	6,678,300
Yes, Some University	26.1%	39.3	34.7	2,013,200

*Data from Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Panel 2 (1996-2001)

1. No experience on any of four supervisory dimensions between 1996 and 2001.
2. Experience on all four supervisory dimensions for at least some time between 1996 and 2001.
3. SLID sample data weighted to produce working population estimates.

In aggregate terms (first panel of Table 2), over a third of all Canadian workers had no supervisory duty experience, while about two in five exhibited some experience, and less than a quarter of the population reported ‘high’ supervisory duty experience. In terms of gender effects, over a quarter of male workers exhibited ‘high’ supervisory duty experience compared to about one in six female workers (8.9 percentage point difference). Conversely, female workers were much more likely to report no supervisory duty experience relative to male workers (12.1 percentage point difference). Hence at the bivariate level, there is a clear gender distinction in supervisory duty experience in favour of male workers. This is entirely consistent with gender differences in supervisory roles reported in previous empirical research. With respect to university education, there is a stronger association with supervisory duty experience at the bivariate level. Over a third of Canadian workers with at least some university education exhibited ‘high’ supervisory duty experience compared to less than one in five without any university education (16.2 percentage point difference). Conversely, two in five workers without any university education had no supervisory duty experience over time compared to about one-quarter of workers with some university education (14.8 percentage point difference). Hence, education does matter and having any university-level education has a markedly positive impact on the likelihood of assuming supervisory roles in the workplace.

The third determinant of supervisory duty experience explored in this paper is occupational sector of employment, reflected in the classification of the first reported job of Canadian workers in 1996, as coded using the 1991 Standard Occupational Classification or SOC (Statistics Canada, 2005). Although SLID survey data revealed

significant occupational mobility over the course of the six-year panel period, the focus for this analysis is on the first reported occupation in 1996 since this would represent a starting or reference point and serve as a potential springboard for subsequent supervisory duty experiences over time. Table 3 below profiles the collapsed supervisory experience scale for ten broad occupational sectors of employment. There are substantial differences in supervisory duty experiences across the ten occupational sectors profiled, with management occupations being the most obviously distinct sector. About three in five workers in management occupations exhibited high supervisory duty experience, and over 90 percent reported at least some experience over time. This is an expected finding since authority and control associated with managerial positions generally entails direct supervisory responsibilities such as those captured in the SLID survey. The next highest supervisory duty experience profile was found for the natural and applied sciences occupational sector (which would include engineers, architects, and related professional and technical occupations). About a third exhibited 'high' supervisory duty experience, and fully three-quarters of workers from this sector reported at least some experience over time. Other professional-oriented sectors also had high supervisory experience profiles including social sciences and related occupations, as well as art, culture, recreation and sport occupations.

Table 3

*Summary Supervisory Experience Scale (1996-2001) By Occupational Sector in 1996 (First Reported Job) **

Supervisory Duty SOC Sector in 1996	None	Some	High	Working Population
Management Occupations	7.10%	31.9	61.1	843,000
Business, Finance and Administrative Occupations	38.60%	40	21.3	1,600,700
Natural and Applied Science and Related Occupations	23.90%	44.1	32	449,000
Health Occupations	40.20%	46.7	13.1	461,500
Occup. in Social Science, Education, Government Service and Religion	33.60%	44.1	22.3	585,800
Occup. In Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	34.90%	39.2	25.9	238,800
Sales and Service Occup.	41.90%	41	17.1	2,101,000
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operator Occup.	45.60%	40.3	14.1	1,302,900
Occupations Unique to Primary Industry	42.90%	44.6	12.5	432,700

Occup. Unique to Process, Manufacturing and Utilities	50.80%	37.2	12	676,000
Working Population	37.40%	40.4	22.2	8,691,400

* Data from Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Panel 2 (1996-2001)

Workers from traditional blue collar occupational sectors (the last three sectors in Table 3) exhibited the lowest profiles of supervisory duty experiences with the highest percentages of no supervisory experience, along with those from the white collar sales and services occupational sector. Conversely, workers starting out in managerial or professional occupational sectors exhibited much stronger profiles of experience, and were generally less likely to report no supervisory duty experience. One notable exception to this pattern was seen for the health occupations sector with a high percentage for no duty experience and a very low percentage for ‘high’ supervisory duty experience. The content of this sector (ranging from high status professional positions to highly-skilled technical to less-skilled assisting occupations) along with the relative independent and often autonomous nature of work of many health care practitioners may partially explain the lower supervisory duty experience profile found for this occupational sector. As well, workers from the business, finance and administrative occupations sector exhibited an average supervisory experience profile which is not surprising given the wide diversity of occupations within this sector, ranging from clerks and secretaries to professional accountants and auditors.

A wide variation was found across the occupational sectors for the ‘high’ supervisory duty experience category, ranging from a low of 12.0 percent for workers in blue collar processing, manufacturing and utilities occupations to the high of 61.1 percent for workers in management occupations (49.1 percentage point difference). The same is true for the other end of the scale, with no supervisory duty experience ranging from as low as 7.1 percent for workers starting in management occupations to 50.8 percent for workers in the same blue collar sector (43.7 percentage point difference). Even excluding the obviously distinct management occupations sector from consideration, there are still substantial percentage differences for these two scale categories (‘none’ and ‘high’) across the remaining nine occupational sectors. Hence, the strength of this bivariate association is not uniquely attributable to differences between workers initially employed in management and non-management occupations. Despite large magnitude differences across these ten occupational sectors, it warrants noting that workers *throughout* the Canadian labour force (covering managerial, professional, white-collar and blue-collar occupational sectors) have supervisory opportunities – across all ten occupational sectors, half or more of workers exhibited at least some supervisory duty experience over the six-year time frame.

Log-linear modelling was applied to the four-variable data array (sex by university education by occupational sector by collapsed supervisory experience scale, producing a 120-cell table) as a heuristic device to statistically prioritise both bivariate and trivariate interaction terms (all involving the dependent variable of level of supervisory duty experience), leading to selection of an optimal model. All data were weighted to incorporate SLID survey design effects, and then re-weighted to produce the original sample size for correct sample-based statistical contrasts using log-linear modelling. A forward hierarchical inclusion design was applied to the data array beginning with the

model of structural independence (assuming no relationships between independent and dependent variables), and progressively testing each possible interaction term and selecting the best term at each stage for inclusion in the final model. At each stage of model testing, a single interaction term is selected for inclusion in the optimal model – the term which maximizes the reduction in the maximum likelihood estimate (L^2 statistic). Only interaction terms which include the dependent variable of supervisory duty experience are tested since this is the primary variable of interest.

Table 4

Log-Linear Model Contrasts for Supervisory Duty Data Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Panel 2 (1996-2001)

Model Specification - see variable legend below	D.F.	L^2	ΔL^2	R^2	ΔR^2
(S)(U)(O)(D)	78	1712.12	---	---	---
(S)(U)(O)(D), (S*D) (S)(U)(O)(D), (U*D) (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)	76 76 60	1519.27 1407.14 564.31	1147.81	.670	.670
(S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D) (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(S*D)	58 58	402.86 294.59	269.72	.828	.158
* (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(S*D)(U*D)	56	160.07	134.52	.907	.079
(S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D)(S*D), (S*U*D) (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D)(S*D), (S*O*D) (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D)(S*D), (U*O*D)	54 38 38	146.37 125.17 105.79	54.28	.938	.031
** (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D)(S*D), (U*O*D)(S*U*D) (S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D)(S*D), (U*O*D)(S*O*D)	36 20	92.02 66.32	39.47	.961	.023
(S)(U)(O)(D), (O*D)(U*D)(S*D), (U*O*D)(S*O*D)(S*U*D)	18	50.35	15.97	.971	.010

S : Sex of Worker U : University Education O : Occupational Sector D : Supervisory Duty Experience
* Optimal bivariate model ** Optimal trivariate model

Table 4 reports all tested log-linear model contrasts for supervisory duty experience data ordered from simplest to most complex model. Given the large sample size drawn from SLID Panel 2 for analysis, virtually any statistical contrast of maximum likelihood estimates (simply comparing L^2 statistics) would be deemed statistically significant at conventional alpha criteria levels. To avoid this complication in statistical contrasts, the unique effect of each interactive term inclusion at each stage is assessed using an R^2 analog statistic (so named because it takes on the properties of a multiple R^2 with values ranging from zero for no improvement in fit, to 1.0 for a perfect fit, attained only with the saturated log-linear model containing all possible interaction terms involving the dependent variable). Model building continues until the inclusion of additional interaction terms yields modest reductions to maximum likelihood estimates reflected in negligible change to R^2 analog values.

Moving beyond the model of structural independence (first block of Table 4), the most significant bivariate interaction term is occupational sector by supervisory duty experience (O*D – the last row of block 2), which reduces the maximum likelihood statistic by 67 percent (as revealed by the R^2 analog statistic). The next stage

of model building (block 3) tests the remaining two bivariate interaction terms, and identifies sex by supervisory duty experience (S*D) as a highly significant term, resulting in a further 15.8 percent reduction in maximum likelihood estimate, above and beyond that contributed by the interaction of occupational sector by supervisory duty experience – this is shown as ΔR^2 which quantifies statistical improvement between the optimal models at block 2 and 3 stages. Beyond this, the university education by supervisory duty experience interaction term (U*D) yields a smaller reduction to maximum likelihood estimates, with a ΔR^2 of only 7.9 percent, above and beyond the previous model. The block 4 log-linear model (including all possible bivariate interaction terms involving the dependent variable) is selected as the optimal bivariate model to serve as a baseline for subsequent testing of trivariate interaction terms.

Trivariate interaction terms are tested in subsequent blocks presented in Table 4 to determine if more complex terms should be included to define the optimal model. Inclusion of the trivariate interaction term of university education by occupational sector by supervisory duty experience (U*O*D) results in the greatest reduction in maximum likelihood estimates, with a ΔR^2 of 3.1 percent above and beyond the best bivariate interaction model. The addition of the interaction term of sex by occupational sector by supervisory duty experience (S*O*D) results in another 2.3 percent improvement, and this log-linear model is selected as optimal for explaining relationships between this set of variables. The final block shown in Table 4 tests the last of the three trivariate interaction terms of sex by university education by supervisory responsibility (S*U*D) with negligible improvement of 1.0 percent.

Previous tables (2 and 3) profiled bivariate relationships with the dependent variable corresponding to each of the three bivariate interaction terms included in the optimal log-linear model. The two trivariate interaction terms contained in the optimal model are profiled in percentage form in Tables 5 and 6 below. Beginning with the interaction between education, occupation and supervisory duty experience, Table 5 reveals that Canadian workers with some university education consistently had higher supervisory duty experience profiles across all ten of the SOC occupational sectors. However, the education effect varied markedly in magnitude across these ten sectors. Differences between workers with and without university education in ‘high’ supervisory experience percentages ranged across the sectors from 2.9 to 33.3 percentage points for workers from social sciences and related occupations, and those from processing, manufacturing and utilities occupations sectors, respectively. Percentage differences between workers with and without university education with no supervisory duty experience ranged from 6.1 to 29.5 percentage points for workers from these same two occupational sectors, respectively. However, caution should be exercised with the interpretation of results for the blue collar processing, manufacturing and utilities occupational sector, given the relatively small number (both in unweighted sample size and working population estimate) of workers in this sector with any university education. Beyond this, the largest percentage point differences between workers with and without university education were found for natural and applied sciences, and health occupations sectors, with ‘high’ supervisory duty experience differences in the order of 19 percentage points.

Table 5

*Summary Supervisory Experience Scale (1996-2001) By Occupational Sector in 1996 (First Reported Job) By Education of Worker **

Any University Education Supervisory Responsibility SOC Occupational Sector (1996)	No Univ.			Canadian Working Population	Some Univ.			Canadian Working Population
	None	Some	High		None	Some	High	
Management Occupations	9.3%	34.6	56.0	555,200	2.7%	26.6	70.7	287,900
Business, Finance, Admin. Occup.	42.6%	39.3	18.1	1,240,400	24.9%	42.6	32.5	360,300
Natural & Applied Science Occup.	27.5%	48.8	23.7	253,800	19.3%	38.0	42.7	195,300
Health Occupations	44.1%	50.1	5.8	282,400	34.0%	41.4	24.7	179,100
Soc.Sci., Educ., Govt. Serv., Relig.	38.3%	37.1	24.6	131,100	32.2%	46.1	21.7	454,800
Art, Culture, Recreation, Sport Occ.	38.8%	39.1	22.0	136,000	29.8%	39.2	31.0	102,800
Sales & Service Occupations	42.9%	42.1	15.1	1,777,000	36.5%	35.5	28.0	324,000
Trades, Transport, Equipment Oper.	46.2%	40.0	13.8	1,255,600	32.0%	47.2	20.8	47,300
Primary Industry Occupations	43.6%	44.6	11.8	395,900	34.9%	45.0	20.1	36,800
Processing, Mfg., Utilities Occup.	51.9%	37.3	10.8	651,100	22.4%	33.5	44.1	25,000
Working Population	40.9%	40.7	18.5	6,678,300	26.1%	39.3	34.7	2,013,200

*Data from Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Panel 2 (1996-2001)

For workers without any university education, levels of ‘high’ supervisory duty experience ranged from as low as one in ten workers (10.8 percent for workers in the processing, manufacturing and utilities occupations sector) to over half (56.0 percent for workers in management occupations). Levels of high supervisory duty experience were markedly higher for workers with some university education, ranging from about one in five (20.1 percent for workers in primary industry occupations) to almost three-quarters (70.7 percent for workers in management occupations). Once again, workers starting out in management occupations were distinct from workers from all other

occupational sectors with a markedly higher profile of supervisory duty experience. For the ‘high’ supervisory experience category, the percentage of workers from management occupations is 26.6 to 31.4 percentage points greater than the second highest occupational sector, for workers with and without university education, respectively. This confirms that workers starting out in management occupations – with or without university education – are much more likely to have had experience involving all four of the supervisory duties examined over the six-year time frame.

Turning to the interaction between sex, occupation and supervisory duty experience, Table 6 shows that male workers had higher supervisory duty experience profiles relative to female workers across all ten SOC occupational sectors. Male workers consistently exhibited higher percentages in the ‘high’ supervisory experience category, while female workers consistently had greater percentages in the ‘none’ category. However, beyond this general pattern there was marked variation in the magnitude of gender differences across the ten occupational sectors. Differences between male and female workers in ‘high’ supervisory experience percentages ranged from 1.5 to 18.6 percentage points for workers from primary industry occupations, and those from social sciences and related occupations sectors, respectively. Percentage differences between male and female workers with no supervisory duty experience ranged from 2.1 to 23.4 percentage points for workers from health occupations, and those from social science and related occupational sectors, respectively. Male workers from social science and related occupations, and from business, finance and administrative occupations were much more likely to exhibit ‘high’ supervisory duty experience relative to female workers from these same occupational sectors, with differences of 18.6 and 17.6 percentage points, respectively. Conversely, female workers from social science and related occupations, and processing, manufacturing and utilities occupations were much more likely to have no supervisory duty experience relative to male workers, with differences of 23.4 and 22.3 percentage points, respectively.

Table 6

*Summary Supervisory Experience Scale (1996-2001) by Occupational Sector in 1996 (First Reported Job) By Sex of Worker **

Sex of Worker	female Worker				male Worker			
	None	Some	High	Canadian Working Population	None	Some	High	Canadian Working Population
Supervisory Responsibility								
SOC Occupational Sector (1996)								
Management Occupations	10.3 %	37.0	52.7	273,700	5.5%	29.4	65.1	569,300
Business, Finance, Admin. Occup.	44.1 %	39.8	16.1	1,124,500	25.8 %	40.6	33.7	476,200

Natural & Applied Science Occup.	28.2 %	44.5	27.4	84,600	23.0 %	44.0	33.0	364,400
Health Occupations	40.6 %	47.2	12.3	376,500	38.5 %	44.8	16.7	85,000
Soc.Sci., Educ., Govt. Serv., Relig.	43.0 %	42.2	14.8	350,200	19.6 %	47.0	33.4	235,700
Art, Culture, Recreation, Sport Occ.	42.0 %	33.6	24.4	129,700	26.5 %	45.8	27.7	109,100
Sales & Service Occupations	50.4 %	36.4	13.2	1,141,200	31.8 %	46.6	21.7	959,800
Trades, Transport, Equipment Oper.	62.9 %	29.3	7.8	67,500	44.7 %	40.9	14.4	1,235,400
Primary Industry Occupations	51.7 %	36.9	11.4	96,200	40.4 %	46.8	12.9	336,500
Processing, Mfg., Utilities Occup.	67.6 %	26.1	6.2	168,100	45.3 %	40.8	13.9	507,900
Working Population	44.2 %	38.6	17.2	3,812,000	32.1 %	41.8	26.1	4,879,400

*Data from Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) Panel 2 (1996-2001)

For male workers, levels of ‘high’ supervisory duty experience ranged from about one in eight workers (12.9 percent for workers from primary industry occupations) to almost two-thirds (65.1 percent for workers from management occupations). For female workers, ‘high’ supervisory experience levels ranged from as low as one in 16 workers (6.2 percent for workers from processing, manufacturing and utilities occupations) to just over half (52.7 percent for workers from management occupations). Consistent with previous findings, both male and female workers starting out in management occupations exhibited markedly greater supervisory duty experience relative to workers from the remaining nine occupational sectors. The percentage of workers with ‘high’ supervisory duty experience for workers from management occupations is 25.3 and 31.4 percent greater than that found for the second highest occupational sector for female and male workers, respectively. While significant gender differences remain, both male and female workers starting out in management occupations were much more likely to report experience with all four supervisory duty dimensions over time.

Discussion and Conclusions

Over three in five Canadian workers reported at least some supervisory duty experience between 1996 and 2001, with more than half deciding work for, and supervising other workers, and about a third influencing budget and staffing, and pay and promotions in the workplace. Beyond the prevalence of supervisory responsibilities revealed by the aggregate profile, the multivariate log-linear modelling results and analysis of percentage tables provided support for each of the bivariate hypotheses stated above. Specifically, male workers, workers with any university education, and workers from management (especially) and certain professional occupational sectors exhibited markedly higher profiles of supervisory duty experience over the six-year time frame. Conversely, female workers, those without any university education, and workers from both blue and white collar occupational sectors were more likely to report no supervisory duty experience over time. Based on the cumulative R^2 analog statistic from the optimal bivariate stage model (Table 4), log-linear modelling confirmed that approximately 90 percent of variation found in the 120-cell, four-variable data array could be accounted for through the inclusion of these three bivariate interaction terms (of gender, university education and occupational sector, each by supervisory duty experience of workers).

Log-linear modelling also identified two trivariate interactions (university education by occupational sector by supervisory experience, and sex by occupational sector by supervisory experience) as statistically important, accounting for an additional five percent of explained variation within the data array, yielding a cumulative total R^2 analog value of 96.1 percent (Table 4). Closer inspection of the percentage tables for these two trivariate interaction terms (Tables 5 and 6) revealed that associations between university education and supervisory experience, and sex and supervisory experience were mediated to some degree by occupational sector of employment. The strengths of the bivariate associations were clearly impacted by the occupational sector where workers were initially employed at the beginning of the survey panel.

In terms of notable interactive combinations, male workers from management occupations were the most likely to report experience on all four supervisory duty dimensions over time (70.7 percent), followed by university-educated workers from the same occupational sector (65.1 percent). University-educated workers from natural sciences and related occupations also exhibited a 'high' supervisory experience profile (42.7 percent), along with male workers from business, finance and administrative occupations, and social sciences and related occupations sectors (33.7 and 33.4 percent, respectively). Conversely, workers without any university education from the health occupations sector were the least likely to report a 'high' level of supervisory experience over time (5.8 percent), as well as female workers from blue collar occupational sectors (ranging from 6.2 to 11.4 percent across the three sectors). From the other end of the scale, female workers from each of the three blue collar occupational sectors were most likely to report no supervisory duty experience (ranging from 51.7 to 67.6 percent across sectors), along with female workers from white collar sales and services occupations (50.4 percent). As well, workers without university education from blue collar sectors of processing, manufacturing and utilities occupations, and trades, transport and equipment operator occupations were most likely to have no supervisory duty experience over time (at 51.9 and 46.2 percent, respectively).

This analysis focused on four distinct dimensions of supervisory responsibilities in the workplace (influencing budget and staffing, pay and promotions, deciding work for others, and supervising others), as captured in SLID longitudinal panel data, and subsequently reduced to a basic supervisory duty experience scale. While these four dimensions are clearly important in defining workplace supervisory roles, they are certainly not exhaustive. There are other facets of supervisory responsibilities in the workplace – these would include the number of subordinates supervised, relative position within the organizational hierarchy, the scope or extent of decision-making responsibilities within organizations, and whether decision-making authority is exclusive or shared. These facets were not captured through SLID and accordingly could not be investigated. Future research could explore these and other dimensions of workplace supervisory roles to better appreciate the full scope and context of such duties.

The temporal design of the SLID longitudinal panel (covering a six-year period between 1996 and 2001) restricted the analysis of supervisory duty experiences to a relatively short time span. Given typical career durations of thirty or more years, the panel design covers only a small segment of total career experiences of workers. If feasible, future research could broaden the scope of investigating supervisory experiences and career outcomes either through the use of more extended longitudinal panel surveys, or through survey methodologies which gather more retrospective data encompassing a broader time frame. For research on the many and varied forms of job mobility, Rosenfeld (1992) highlighted the importance of examining complete work histories, which would go well beyond the limited time frame afforded by SLID longitudinal data. Ideally, future research could address the full career histories of workers, from the school-to-work transition to currently-held positions. Despite the aforementioned limitations to the measurement of supervisory duty experiences, these SLID data did reflect the prevalence of such experiences among Canadian workers, and also exposed the dynamic and evolving nature of such duties over even a relatively brief time span in the careers of workers.

While log-linear modelling techniques applied in this paper were very useful for identifying and statistically prioritizing both bivariate and trivariate interaction effects involving the dependent scale of supervisory duty experience, this analysis was clearly restricted in terms of the number of factors or determinants which could feasibly be included in the model. Even working with the large-scale national sample captured in SLID, higher dimension data arrays (more than the four-variable/120-cell array explored here) would produce serious statistical complications with unacceptable numbers of ‘sampling zero cells’ and associated inflated sampling errors. Other multivariate techniques (such as multinomial logistic regression to investigate a three-category ordinal dependent variable) could certainly accommodate greater numbers of independent variables in a given model, but are far less suited to exploring complex interaction effects among determinants or factors within the model. The primary purpose of this analysis was to explore complex interactive effects with supervisory duty experience. This was accomplished through the application of log-linear modelling techniques to a limited set of variables, supplemented by assessing and interpreting identified interaction effects within percentage tables.

Future research could explore other factors or determinants which may influence or impact supervisory responsibility experiences over time, going beyond the gender, university education and occupational sector effects investigated here.

Differences in work time arrangements (employment status, working hours, weeks worked) between male and female workers may impact supervisory duty experiences in the workplace, with consequences for career progression and mobility. Among workers with some post-secondary education, the field or discipline of study, or possession of specific educational credentials may directly influence subsequent supervisory responsibility experiences in the workplace. Other career-related factors such as tenure with a given organization, occupational and industrial mobility, as well as career interruptions may alter supervisory duty experiences. As well, individual-level socio-demographic attributes such as age, race or ethnicity (and gender interactions with these characteristics) may also have some bearing on the likelihood of assuming supervisory duties in the workplace. Future research investigating these and other factors or determinants is important given the prevalence of supervisory roles among workers, and the consequences for longer-term career development and progress for workers.

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New Realities in the Work World: The Impact on Workers and on the Professional Practice of Career Counsellors

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Once associated with difficult situations and largely reserved for the poor, paid work began to serve, starting in the 1940s, as the main safety net for social risks and as a clear sign that a person was participating in the development of society (Castel, 1995). Modernity, which accompanied the effects of the industrial revolution, started out as a period of collective fulfillment in which paid work played an important role as a regulator of social order (Chalifour, 1997). In the last twenty years however, the work world has undergone considerable change at the economic, social, and technological levels. These changes have led to the emergence of new forms of work that are more demanding, flexible and nonstandard, and to the appearance of new issues in socio-occupational integration.

The reconfiguration of the work world is reducing, for a large segment of the work force, the chances of finding a lasting and satisfying job. Workers now have to make several transitions in this evolving, uncertain context where career paths are no longer straight, upward-bound, and lifelong. Consequently, they must re-evaluate their work market status all throughout their career and make numerous occupational and personal choices. These challenges encourage people to adopt a different view about their career and redefine the place of work in their lives. For some people, the diverse statuses and employment situations give them the freedom and space they need to fulfil themselves in other life roles. Others, however, feel it is impossible to find a stimulating, enriching job that also meets their daily needs. In certain cases, the lack of occupational and financial stability can, regardless of age and gender, result in a decline in living conditions and make it increasingly complex to manage occupational, family, and social responsibilities. These circumstances indirectly contribute to making guidance and career counselling an important social issue as well as a process likely to last from the beginning to the end of people's working lives (Guichard & Huteau, 2001). In order to maximize their chances of finding and keeping a job and their ability to deal with the related problems, a growing number of people are turning towards career counsellors. However, while the current structure of the work world affects many types of people, this structure also makes it more complicated for career counsellors to help their clients make personal and occupational choices. Counsellors must adjust to the

characteristics of the people they are guiding, to the possibilities of different fields of work, and to the demands of the work world to which they themselves are subjected.

Given the above briefly outlined elements, the first goal of this article will be to discuss the results of recently conducted research into the many new forms of work that are being created, focusing, in particular, on how workers are affected and how they attempt to deal with the inherent challenges. The second goal of this article will be to analyze how these changes are impacting on the professional practice of career counsellors.

Changes in the Work World

The economic benefits of the Second World War (1939-1945) pushed Canada and most of the industrialized countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) into a period of prosperity (1945-1975)¹⁴ which was without precedent in terms of its scale (Crompton & Vickers, 2000; Singh, 2004).

The relative stability of this prosperous period was characterized by full employment and facilitated by the emergence of the welfare state, all of which helped to reinforce paid work and the redistribution of wealth (Chalifour, 1997). Because the workforce was not sufficient enough to ensure industrial productivity, countless workers, many of whom came from the rural sector, seized the chance offered during this period to escape poverty and improve their living conditions (Paugam, 2004).

In addition to full employment, it was normal for workers to find a stable, permanent job (Marchand, 1998). The governments of that period likewise invested in social security policies and programs dealing, in particular, with unemployment, health, family, and retirement (Bédard & Grignon, 2000; Desrochers, 2000). Unions were most active during the 1970s, and, due to the economic stability of the time, had more bargaining power when negotiating their work conditions. Moreover, a large number of women and young baby-boomers also began to work.

Nonetheless, certain authors such as Singh (2004) have stated that 1945-1975 period, from a purely statistical point of view, was an "anomaly" in the history of industrialized countries' economic development. The 1973-1975 oil crisis and the 1981-1982 recession quickly demonstrated that the "thirty glorious years" were nothing other than an exceptional economic period. These crises were marked, among other things, by high unemployment, loss of jobs, and increased inflation (Crompton & Vickers, 2000). The recession in the 1990s created similar effects and though fewer workers lost their jobs than during the 1980s, those who did tended to stay unemployed longer (Bédard & Grignon, 2000).

There has clearly been a considerable change in the work world when we look back over the last few decades. Currently, even though countries like Canada, and in particular some of its provinces, have full or close-to-full employment, socio-occupational paths are nonetheless becoming increasingly precarious. The upheaval that occurred in the middle and particularly at the end of the 1970s disillusioned many workers. Indeed, stable work is no longer the norm. It has given way to nonstandard

¹⁴ In the French-speaking world, this period is called "les Trente glorieuses" (the thirty glorious [years], Fourastié, 1979).

work¹⁵ which, according to Matte, Baldino and Courchesne (1998), increased by 135% between 1976 and 1995, and could even proportionately surpass standard work by 2017. People who are entering or re-entering the labour market are especially affected by the rise in this type of employment. This is particularly true for women, immigrants, younger, and older workers (Conseil permanent de la jeunesse, 2001). Many people now find it very difficult to find suitable work because of this more flexible, nonstandard, and complex type of employment. In this context where one's educational level is no longer enough to ensure a stable career path (Fournier, Pelletier & Beaucher, 2003), workers, young and old alike, are experimenting with numerous social and occupational transitions that are often unpredictable and involuntary (Fournier & Bujold, 2005).

There are those who believe that these changes in the work world are the result of structural factors such as globalization, international competition, and technological improvements (Matte & al., 1998). At the same time that world trade is being liberalized, international competition is becoming more intense. This competition is most evident in North America and Western Europe where labour costs are high (Van Liemt, 2004). Companies have consequently adopted a series of "flexible" measures intended to increase competitiveness and confront constant, ferocious, and unpredictable competition by producing more at a lower cost (Desrochers, 2000; Vinokur, 1997). These structural changes have also made the work lives of people more complex, in particular because of the new skills and the new efficiency standards that are required (Appay, 1997).

This new configuration has led to a different view of the role of workers and greater recognition of their knowledge (Capron, 2004). Workers are no longer expected to be drones who execute a simple task (Paugam, 2003). They are required, whatever their qualifications, to play a more active role in their work (Paugam, 2000).

Even though the greater recognition accorded to employees has resulted in more work latitude, this latitude can also be attributed to a general improvement in the workers' qualifications and the introduction of new technologies (Paugam, 2003). Improving technologies have not only made the production process more mentally demanding, they have made it more flexible and continuous (Capron, 2004). New information and communication technologies such as the Internet, e-mail, telephone, and videoconference services are resulting in an ever faster work rate. Nonetheless, while greater use of technology tends to favour an ever-more qualified labour force, it also excludes unqualified workers, thereby widening the gap between the two (Desrochers, 2000).

Even though these recent changes are making some workers' tasks easier and more satisfying, the greater intensity, stress and fatigue has engendered more suffering for other workers (Capron, 2004; De Bandt, Dejourn & Dubar, 1995). Subjected to tight

¹⁵ There are many definitions of nonstandard or atypical work. Nonstandard work is generally defined as fixed-term employment whose status is poorly defined (Fournier, Bourassa and Béji, 2003; Matte et al. 1998). Job insecurity is an essential element of the definition of nonstandard work and several types of work can be qualified as nonstandard: part-time work, self-employed work without employees, multiple employment (more than one job at the same time), and temporary work (fixed-term, casual, seasonal, placement agency work, and all work whose finishing date is determined) (Vosko, Zukewich & Cranford, 2003).

deadlines and intense productivity pressure (Paugam, 2000), workers, to be efficient in their work, must deal every day with sometime paradoxical demands involving prescribed work, their expected latitude, and the real possibilities available to them in terms of the time, material, and information needed to carry out tasks (Huez, 1997).

Furthermore, more intense work and a lack of job and financial security sometimes contributes to a decline in living conditions and makes it increasingly complex to manage occupational, family, and social responsibilities (Burchell, Ladipo & Wilkinson, 2002; Fournier & Bujold, 2005; Hoque & Kirkpatrick, 2003; Lachance & Brassard, 2003; Malenfant, Larue, Jetté, Vézina & St-Arnaud, 2004; Spain, Bédard & Paiement, 2006).

Over the last few years, researchers at the Centre de recherche et d'intervention sur l'éducation et la vie au travail (CRIÉVAT, centre for research and interventions in education and work life) have conducted considerable research into the new forms that work is taking, examining, from different points of view, their impact on various clientele. Several of these studies have served as a basis for the following section, which pays particular attention to current career path challenges, ranging from complex occupational and life choices to work-family balance and changes in the social representation of work.

New Forms of Employment and Diverse Career Paths

Research that has been undertaken by researchers from CRIÉVAT in the last fifteen years among different groups of workers has led to a better understanding of career paths based on nonstandard work. Three main studies were analyzed in order to describe how these new types of employment affect people's lives at work and outside work. The primary research method used was that of the interpretative paradigm in education research (Boutin, 2000; Poisson, 1991). Semistructured interviews were conducted with all the subjects. The first study, which was longitudinal, looked at the career entry of a group of 150 graduates¹⁶ up to six years after graduating (Fournier, Pelletier & Beaucher, 2003). When the researchers realized that, even after this period, almost 60% of the graduates still held nonstandard jobs, a second, cross-sectional study was conducted with a group of 125 workers from 20 to 65 years old who had held nonstandard jobs for at least three years (Bujold & Fournier, 2008; Fournier & Bujold, 2005). A third study, likewise cross-sectional, was also conducted among workers 45 and over who were on an atypical career path.

Some interesting observations can be drawn from the results of these three studies concerning the repercussions of nonstandard employment on the work and non-work lives of these people. For example, close to one third of the people surveyed considered that their career path allowed them to fulfil themselves and gain work experience that they otherwise would not have had in a permanent job. These people reported being well integrated in the labour market despite the irregularity of their work life. They had the impression, moreover, of having achieved, over the years, some mastery of a particular field of which they were proud. And even though many of them pointed out that they would like to improve their general employment conditions, especially their revenue, most of them observed that they had a certain control over

¹⁶ The three studies discussed here were conducted with samples that were equally distributed according to gender and educational level (high school, community college, or university).

their work life despite their nonstandard work status. This control allowed them, furthermore, to pursue their goals in life. Some of the participants specifically mentioned that they were able to take advantage of periods of unemployment by spending more time with their families, in community activities, or in training programs. Nonstandard work provided them with the opportunity to undertake significant projects in other parts of their lives. In brief, for approximately a third of the participants who were interviewed over the years, their relationship with work was rather positive. Far from destabilizing them, their work lives, which were punctuated by a series of relatively unpredictable jobs, helped them to keep their lives moving in the right direction by meeting their needs, motivations, and aspirations.

However, for a majority of the people interviewed (approximately two thirds), the repercussions of regularly occurring nonstandard work seemed to be rather detrimental. Some of them held jobs for which they were plainly overqualified and considered that their abilities were not sufficiently recognized, a fact which did not contribute to building a positive occupational identity. Others worked in relatively stable jobs that sometimes were even relatively well paid but which they did not enjoy. For others, each improvement in their situation was followed by a decline which gave them the impression that they continually had to start over from "scratch." These people were especially disappointed about not being accepted and integrated in a given field. They sometimes mentioned being tired of continuously having to prove themselves and depending on the good will of their employers. Their occupational situation generated considerable stress, in particular because of the uncertainty about their short and medium-term future and even, in some cases, their immediate survival. Finally, the vast majority of those who did not enjoy their atypical career path likewise reported feeling short-changed in non-work activities and projects. In short, close to two thirds of the interviewees felt that regularly occurring nonstandard work disqualified them from normal life and led to rather negative perceptions of work: self-fulfilment opportunities were limited, occupational identities took a beating, non-work life was greatly destabilized, and, for a few respondents, career paths were synonymous with failure and powerlessness. These people considered that the balance between the different areas of their lives was fragile and unstable, that non-work projects were difficult to envisage, and that atypical career paths led to a decline in general living conditions and to a very pronounced feeling of occupational and personal precariousness.

The interviewed workers developed strategies for navigating career paths founded on non-standard work, the main strategies involving a modification of their career and life goals. For example, some people decided to change from one field of work to another due to difficult work conditions that were jeopardizing their family life (e.g., irregular work hours) or that were keeping them from developing a more solid, coherent occupational identity (e.g., too much part-time work). A second strategy consisted in redefining one's life values and goals. This was particularly the case for people who described how they had completely re-evaluated their life choices and deliberately renounced the competition of the work world and its corresponding performance, efficiency, and productivity values. This is likewise true for those who chose to change the way they consumed and thereby reduce their financial needs. A third strategy involved working very hard so as to cope with occupational and financial precariousness. People who adopted this strategy frequently felt overrun by workplace demands, often feeling they had no life outside of work. From their point of view however, overworking became the only way of ensuring their financial independence

and meeting employer demands, and as such, constituted a relatively acceptable compromise. The last common strategy consisted in choosing to see work from a purely utilitarian viewpoint and to no longer personally invest oneself in this area of life. This was the case, for example, for those who actively searched for personal gratification and well-being outside of work life and saw their job as a means to pursuing personal projects. It is obvious that the strategies that people developed to adapt to the new realities of the work world involved choices whose repercussions extended well beyond their work life. In a context marked by insecure, convoluted career paths, the career and life choices that people made were constantly questioned, necessitating the consideration of complex and diverse elements.

The Growing Complexity of Career and Life Choices

Given these changes in the work world, what is a person's career path now based on? In an attempt to answer this question, two successive studies were conducted, the first with 60 women from 16 to 62 years of age, the second with 12 men from 24 to 62. These studies were exploratory, inductive, and qualitative in nature, and employed a semistructured interview for data collection.

The study conducted with the women indicated that the main way that the participants shaped their identity and developed life projects was through their social relationships. Work life was not an isolated, separate aspect of their lives. All the different life roles, including in their love, family, and social lives, influenced the direction their career paths took. While participants saw work as an aspect of their lives that was essential to their fulfilment, they did not separate it from the rest. This view, which is referred to as a global perspective, led to complex, tortuous, and distinctive career paths. This type of path was composed of a series of commitments, stoppages, and rehiring in which continuity was found in the social relationships that gave meaning to the path, as described from a subjective, reflective viewpoint by the interviewed women.

The relationship dimension, as it has been progressively defined through previous research, consists in an openness to, quest for, and availability for social interactions that are made up of reciprocal relations which allow people to develop and know themselves. The relationship dimension has four dynamic, complementary aspects that motivate, initiate, orientate, and integrate the activities and values that are pursued as part of one's self-fulfilment at work.

The careers of the interviewed women did not unfold in a linear manner. In addition to being influenced by the current changes in the work world, they were also affected by conjugal, maternal, family, social, economic, financial, and technological realities (Spain, Bédard & Paiement, 2003). A typology of the strategies used by the interviewed women emerged from the first results. It was comprised of three main types, namely: the exclusive strategy, which was used by women who concentrated on one role at a time; the integrated strategy, used by those who invested in work and family life by planning various life cycle stages; and the intermittent strategy, employed by women who approached work life and family in an unpredictable and sporadic manner (Spain & Bédard, 1990).

A subsequent study explored the career paths and choices of men. There were linear paths where the initial training led to a job with one or several employers. There were also sinuous paths where the initial training set the starting direction, though

several paths were then taken. Fractured paths were, however, the most frequent. They were made up of a series of career breaks where the initial training did not necessarily correspond to the subsequent choices. The participants on this path had a weakened occupational identity and difficulties making employment choices. Their career progression was unpredictable, sporadic, and interspersed with periods of unemployment. The men in this sample displayed a path diversity that was attributable not only to the new parameters of the work world but also to family, social, and economic contexts. According to them, taking other, significant people into account had affected their occupational decisions many times (Spain, Bédard & Paiement, 2004).

The occupational decisions that the men took involved pragmatic, relationship, and developmental issues. The pragmatic issues could be seen in the need to earn a living or increase one's income, the desire to seize an opportunity or be more comfortable, the wish to improve their work or living conditions, and the way they wished to spend their time and organize their lives. Relationship issues could be seen in the proximity or distance between teenagers and their parents, siblings and peers, between young workers and their colleagues, boss, and clients, between spouses, between parents and their children, and between mentors and their apprentices. They could also be seen in the citizen's view of their social usefulness and the adult's quest for recognition, influence, or power. As for developmental issues, they refer to the stimulating effect on one's personal evolution of returning to school, taking training courses, drawing lessons from colleagues, taking pleasure in one's work, being promoted, using one's skills, fulfilling one's ambitions, meeting challenges, taking on responsibilities, performing, succeeding, creating, respecting oneself, and giving priority to one's quality of life. These issues were combined in various ways depending on the person. The choices made by participants increasingly had to take into account spouses and other family members, obliging people to learn how to reconcile their occupational role with their other roles in life.

Work-Family Balance

Changes in the work world, particularly the feminization of the labour force and the growth in two-income couples, has given rise to a lifestyle in which many people have to deal with several occupational and family responsibilities (Lachance & Brassard, 2003). Given that the risk of incompatibility and conflict between the different life roles has increased, couples must now reconsider who does what in the family and house so as to respect both members' occupational aspirations. These changes led the researchers and practitioners to ask questions about the relationship between work and family life. It soon became clear that a better understanding of the factors underlying inter-role conflicts was needed due to the conflicts' harmful consequences for the participants, their families, and their workplaces.

Though the inter-sex differences in the reconciliation of life roles have been studied many times, the results have often been contradictory. A quantitative study (Lachance, Brassard & Tétreau, 2005) was conducted with 106 professionals (53 men and 53 women) who were matched in terms of age and job title so as to control for third variables that might influence the results. The results seem to indicate that there were more similarities than differences between the sexes with respect to individual, family, and organizational characteristics. The women were similar to men in terms of career concerns, life role salience, work attitudes, dyadic adjustment, and life satisfaction.

Likewise, they did not report more work-family conflicts, even though the description of family roles highlighted a significant difference in work-home management conflicts. Furthermore, the considerable differences in the distribution of tasks were in keeping with the traditional model of male and female roles and suggest that family responsibilities were primarily the mother's domain whatever her work status. Even though male involvement with the children and the domestic chores has been increasing over the years, the men's participation in these activities was still less than that of the women. The results of a quantitative study conducted among 133 ophthalmologists were consistent with the above-mentioned results (Viviers, Lachance, Maranda & Ménard, 2007). The ophthalmologist study revealed, moreover, that the large number of hours devoted to parental and domestic responsibilities was related to family-work conflicts and distress, women under 45 being particularly affected. That being said, these ophthalmologists noted that work interfered with personal life more than personal life interfered with work. This result might have been attributable to the personal investment required by their profession that limits the energy and time available for their other activities. Given that there are precise professional expectations and formally prescribed roles, it was easier for the ophthalmologists to limit their family commitments since they had more control over this area of life.

Given that people invest more in roles that they deem important and that the stressors stemming from these roles have more impact on well-being, it was postulated that the risk of experiencing conflict and its consequences is greater in people who accord considerable importance to several life roles. This postulate was examined in a quantitative study of 486 adults (Lachance, Gilbert & Tétreau, 2006). Three commitment profiles for the roles of worker, spouse, parent, and person in charge of a home management were identified. The first two were characterized by a high level of engagement in either the family (FAMILY) or worker (WORK) roles, whereas the third group was comprised of people who were strongly committed to both areas of life (DUALITY). Contrary to expectations, the people in the DUALITY profile did not report more inter-role conflicts or consequences. This finding not only reinforces the growth hypothesis stating that having several roles has beneficial effects, it underlines the importance of considering the reasons why people take on their life roles. The study likewise revealed that people in the DUALITY and FAMILY profiles had greater life satisfaction, a better dyadic adjustment, and less work-home management conflicts than people in the WORK profile. The family would thus seem to represent one of the most important areas of life.

Surprisingly, gender distribution across the profiles was not significantly different. A similar commitment to work among highly educated people, as well as the modern desire to fulfil oneself both in one's work and family life could explain these results. Moreover, it is important to distinguish between commitment, which corresponds to the importance of a role for a person's identity, and participation, which refers to time invested. This distinction helps us to understand why the men and women in the sample showed similar profile distributions even though they were different in terms of work-leisure, work-home management, and family-work conflicts, as well as in terms of the time devoted to their various roles.

So as to identify the strategies that facilitate the reconciliation of life roles, three studies were conducted among populations that were likely to find it difficult to assume their occupational and family responsibilities due to the amount of time invested in the care of a child or older family member. In the first study, home-based

interviews were conducted with 139 parents of school-aged children with an intellectual disability and 4 focus groups were held (Lachance, Richer, Côté & Poulin, 2004). The second study involved 159 couples from the "sandwich generation" who had to care for both children and an aging parent. Of the 159 who answered the questionnaire, 36 then participated in semistructured, individual interviews (Lachance, Maltais & Ducharme, 2005). The third, qualitative study involved 60 semistructured interviews of caregivers helping aged family members and living in 7 different environments (Maltais, Lachance, Richard & Ouellet, 2006).

The result of the quantitative parts of the first two studies showed that the average level of inter-role conflict was fairly low (Lachance & al., 2004, 2005). Indeed, undertaking several roles seemed to represent a source of personal accomplishment and to contribute to a feeling of competency. Some of the parents and caregivers stated that holding a job gave them a break from caregiving, in addition to the financial advantages.

The analysis of the focus groups and the semistructured interviews nonetheless added nuance to these conclusions. Many of the parents and caregivers, in particular the women, had lowered their occupational goals by opting for a non-standard job, taking temporary retirement, or dropping out of the labour market because it was too difficult to reconcile their various life roles (Lachance & al., 2004, 2005; Maltais & al., 2006). Furthermore, this decision was more often imposed than chosen. Insufficient social and organizational measures for work-family balance led these people to consider more personal solutions which, though they undoubtedly reduced inter-role conflicts, also put several of the respondents in more precarious financial and social positions (Lachance & al., 2004). It is thus not at all surprising that there was a disturbing proportion of participants with a high stress level in the quantitative part of the studies.

Even though the traditional family model of the male provider might seem outdated to younger generations who are entering the labour market expecting equal employment opportunities and equal sharing of family responsibilities, the research results from groups at risk of inter-role conflicts suggest that the gap between the sexes is far from having been closed. The latest changes in the work world have thus had a considerable influence on people's personal and occupational paths, particularly on the way they see work, that is as an activity which plays a central role in their existence.

Social Representation of Work

Whether it be because of new post-materialist values (Inglehart, 1997), a social representation of work based on pleasure (Flament, 1996), the new capitalist spirit (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999), or the promotion of self-fulfilment at work (Lalivie d'Épinay, 1998), people are forming new representations of their work which are influenced by and are in turn influencing the new conditions of socio-occupational integration.

For example, a recent study of business administration students showed that these students had internalized, during their university career, the new norms of the business world (Negura, Maranda & Yergeau, 2006). Twenty-one of these students were invited to take part in a semistructured interview on "objective and subjective time." The data revealed that the students' social representation of time was strongly influenced by the ideas of excellence and productivity conveyed by the present-day

managerial culture. The students' time was structured to optimize the use of available resources so as to satisfy the most demanding requirements of employers. This representation perhaps explains the excellent competitiveness of these students in the labour market. According to the research results however, their well-being was greatly affected; the students talked about the strong emotional tension that stemmed from the conflict between their perception of their internal resources and that of institutional, university requirements.

An earlier study that was carried out among 70 company managers from the Quebec City and Montreal regions shed light on the internalization of new productivity standards (Negura & Maranda, 2004). The study looked at how the managers' attitudes toward hiring of former drug addicts are produced by two «natural logics» (Grize, 1993), based on their social representations of ex-addicts and companies. The managers who had a business-related education (MBA, industrial relations, etc.) tended to refuse to hire former drug users since the latter represented a risk for the company. In the managers' eyes, the sole goals of their companies were productivity and excellence, concepts which were incompatible with the acknowledged failures of ex-drug users. On the other hand, managers who had completed non-business-related studies (work psychology, sociology, etc.) were more open to hiring these people. Their openness was based on the idea that companies had a social responsibility and that drug abuse could not be considered as a uniquely personal weakness. This study thus demonstrated that the social representations of managers gave rise to specific attitudes when hiring new employees, especially with regard to those whose profiles seemed out of keeping with the expected performance criteria.

In another study (Negura, in press) conducted with 14 independent¹⁷ workers from the Ottawa and Montreal regions, a paradoxical perception of their general work situation was observed. Despite the fact that the participants in this study declared that they felt overloaded and distressed about their unstable work status, they also said that they were generally satisfied about their work situation. Their social representation of work could explain this apparent paradox. The fact that they saw work as a constant, disciplined effort eliminated the psychological tension created by the heavy workload that they considered to be normal. They perceived self-employment as an entrepreneurial activity that involved risk and instability, flexibility and performance, thereby leading them to put the insecurity stemming from their job status into perspective and to reduce the probability of being dissatisfied with their work. The latitude that came from this type of work was even sometimes seen as a means of self-fulfilment as well as a possibility to reconcile work with other areas of life, particularly spousal relationships.

The social representations of both employers and employees play an important role in the present-day socio-occupational integration of people, especially people who are at risk of being excluded. Knowing these representations could greatly help career counsellors in their work.

¹⁷ In this research, a restricted definition of independent work was used. It is defined as work conducted only by the worker, without the help of employed workers, and excluding an employer-employee relation with their clients. This is the most precarious category (D'Amours, 2006) of all the categories of self-employed workers in Canada. In 2004, self-employed workers constituted 14.4% of the working population (Statistics Canada, 2005).

Impact on the Work of Career Counsellors

As has just been shown, the current labour market is dominated by incessant changes – some companies start up while others close down, while still others develop at such a fast pace that their employees must be able to adapt quickly and acquire new skills. Likewise, the choice in training and career possibilities has increased steadily since the 1950s (Cooper & Burke, 2002). All of this has had a direct influence on people's educational and career-integration paths. Many young people now find it hard to choose, integrate or re-integrate into careers, keep a job, deal with reassignments and new jobs, conciliate work and personal life, and prepare their retirement. Consequently, more numerous and diversified requests for professional career counselling are arising out of the complex situations created by this uncertainty, instability and questioning.

These new realities demand a broader approach from counselling. As has been noted in the literature, there is no one theory or practice in helping relations that can pretend to be universal (Hansen, 2002, 2006; Kemmis, 2005; Le Bossé, Chamberland, Bilodeau & Bourassa, in press; Polkinghorne, 1999). Counselling that is sensitive to labour market, social, and life-style changes, to the numerous personal and occupational paths, and to the ensuing difficult guidance choices does not easily incorporate stereotypical, unequivocal answers. When modern career counsellors work every day in a precise context with clients experiencing "common" problems, they must regularly reconsider the way they see and do things in order to meet the particular needs of each client even if they as counsellors prefer a certain theoretical approach. For example, the medical model,¹⁸ which has strongly inspired the approach to helping relationships and the expectations of clients, is increasingly revealing its limitations in this regard (Le Bossé & al., in press). Indeed, another epistemology of our practice is slowly taking root (Schön, 1996) which encourages practitioners to adopt another approach that is better adapted to contemporary situations. Several studies have recently examined the evolution of professional practices – in particular those in career counselling and in education (Bourassa, Leclerc & Filteau, 2005; Peavy, 2001; Perrenoud, 2001, 2004a). The various possible implications of this new approach for career counsellors are briefly presented here.

the counsellor as guide. One thing is becoming increasingly clear when the work of present-day practitioners such as career counsellors in education or employment related services is studied: if they are to understand and resolve the specific difficulties their clients are going through, they cannot do so without their clients. Seen from this viewpoint, clients are no longer considered to be "undecided, wounded, or destitute patients" whom practitioners must treat with remedies derived from accepted theories. Rather, they are seen as being competent,¹⁹ and this competency is just as necessary for successful counselling as that of the counsellor. Clients have a valuable understanding of their situation along with personal and even professional experience that should be put to use in the helping process. Clients also, however,

¹⁸ According to this model, practitioners are seen as "healers" or "saviours," the holders of accepted knowledge and solutions that must be bestowed upon clients. Practitioners focus on the failings of their clients, who are attributed a passive role.

¹⁹ This provides a successful alternative to the inadequacy perspective inherent in the medical model.

ponder about where they are going, run into difficulties, and perceive needs that they cannot always satisfy by themselves. Counsellors thus become valuable allies who help clients find answers and solutions that are useful and significant. In this approach, practitioners no longer fulfill the role of specialists in the classical sense of the term, of holders of a grand theory (Polkinghorne, 1999) that is used to reveal the true nature of things and to indicate the precise measures which need to be taken to solve career problems. Rather, they act as guides (Ardoino, 2000; Beauvais, 2006; Clavier & di Domizio, 2007) who bring their personal experience and skills to a task that involves the co-construction of meaning, projects, and alternatives that will allow their clients to progressively overcome the difficulties they encounter.

the counsellor: an astute handyman. Because they cannot rely on absolute truths and unfailing procedures, and because they must continually reinvent the wheel and adapt their approach to the situations facing them, counsellors can also be seen as astute handymen (Peavy, 2001; Perrenoud, 1994, 2004b). They must work with and for their clients to find possible ways of solving problems or carrying out important projects. To accomplish this, counsellors must rely on their professional habitus,²⁰ modifying it when need be, draw inspiration from pertinent concepts and theories, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, turn to colleagues and other people, and develop new ideas and strategies to be tested in real life. The process and results of their work become a unique composition that is validated through its progressive adjustments and concrete effects.

From an epistemological viewpoint, this is a socio-constructivist and eclectic approach. It is deemed socio-constructivist because of its intersubjectivity and its relationship with the Other, whether real or symbolic, and also because of its attempt to develop more viable approaches to dealing with the questions and problems stemming from the personal, cultural, and social realities of their clients (Peavy, 2001). It is also deemed eclectic²¹ (Hansen, 2002; Polkinghorne, 1999) because it draws, fairly explicitly, on different approaches and disciplines (Morin, 1997), and because it uses diverse means to help its clients. Nothing is neglected by counsellors to help clients develop solutions and personal abilities that can be employed to overcome their obstacles, uncertainty, and distress.

the counsellor: a complexity analyst. As we have seen, career counsellors are operating in a new socio-occupational reality by trying to find the best possible solutions for the different needs of the people and groups they accompany. Counsellors find themselves at the centre of different, complex situations that influence both their professional choices and the possibilities available to the people consulting them. To take advantage of these complex situations, practitioners must first be able to analyze

²⁰ Concept developed by Bourdieu (see especially Bourdieu, 1994), and applied by Perrenoud (1994) in his analysis of professional practice.

²¹ This does not mean excessive eclecticism. It would, for example, be difficult to simultaneously support two theses that are epistemologically irreconcilable. Furthermore, practitioners can borrow ideas or strategies from other approaches to enhance those that they normally use (Polkinghorne, 1999).

them and understand the dynamic relations between the various elements and levels; in short, they must be capable of complex thinking (Morin, 2005). This is accomplished for example by: understanding how clients represent their current difficulties; taking into account the clients' specific skills and limitations; considering and even including other people involved in the problem; cooperating with other practitioners; identifying institutional and other constraints and resources likely to affect the helping process; dealing with the different, even contradictory goals of the various actors; comprehending the influence of their goals as practitioners and people; and understanding the current state and variations of the worlds of education and work (Bourassa & al., 2005).

When practitioners consent to work with a complex representation of the modern world and the counselling problems to which this gives rise, they must also then be aware of how the numerous elements at play, be they contextual (personal, interpersonal, organizational, institutional, social) or temporal (short, medium, or long term), influence the situation and each other.

the counsellor: a reflective practitioner. The counselling practice, as we have seen, cannot be reduced to a strict application of idealized intervention models, which Schön (1996) refers to as "technical rationality." Counsellors must regularly invent, review, and modify their approach. Because they must work with different actors, with unusual requests for help and, in particular, with the changing realities of the education and work worlds, counsellors must exploit the knowledge they have garnered over the years (which nourishes their professional *habitus*), and adapt and even develop it further. Nonetheless, this constant refining and adjustment of their counselling expertise does not occur without some effort. If they are to achieve this, counsellors must fully exploit their reflective abilities by seeing themselves as an object worthy of attention and analysis. As Perrenoud (2004a) wrote, drawing on Schön (1987, 1994): "Reflective practitioners are those (...) who observe their actions as if in a mirror, (...) who reflect upon these actions and strive to understand how and why they do what they do, sometimes unwillingly" (p.37-38).

A better understanding of the postulates underlying their approach to counselling can help practitioners to better understand how they accompany people, why they are sometimes ineffective, and where their unexplored, potential improvements lie. Otherwise, practitioners risk going astray themselves, subjected as they are to the numerous changes of modern-day life. They must therefore ensure they have the necessary tools to set their own course and enhance their counselling skills.

Conclusion

It is clearly evident that changes in the work world, and particularly recent changes, affect people, groups, and organizations in various ways and contribute to the emergence of new socio-occupational problems.

As the research conducted by the authors of this article shows, the reconfiguration of the work world in the last few years and the new types of employment have reduced many people's chances of obtaining or creating stable, satisfying careers. This reconfiguration has forced many people to follow irregular career paths marked by precariousness, assorted jobs, and periods of unemployment. Due to these situations and the related difficulties, people are led, at different moments

in their lives, to redefine their personal and occupational projects by taking into account pragmatic, relational, and developmental issues, whether this be done explicitly or not.

Among the considerable changes in the work world, three are particularly noteworthy: the growth in the female labour force, the rise in dual-income couples, and the emergence of a related problem, namely work-family balance. Reconciliation attempts result in a constant search for realistic and efficient ways of managing the many investments and responsibilities inherent in each area of life. Some people adapt so well to reconciling the different areas of their lives that it becomes an important source of self-fulfilment. For others however, in particular women, work-family responsibilities give rise to inter-role conflicts that, due to a lack of social and organizational measures, lead them to make heartbreaking personal and occupational choices, such as opting for a part-time job, considering a relatively long absence from the labour market, or seriously reconsidering their career choices.

Other studies have shown that new ways of representing this human and social activity are arising out of the modern work world. The principles of excellence, performance, and latitude at work are increasingly transcending organizations and workers. The work practices ensuing from these principles provoke a justified feeling among workers of being overloaded, stressed, and even psychologically distressed.

The various studies discussed here have not only shed light on new problems in the work world but likewise on the unease that people feel and the imbalance they see between their life projects and career path. Some of these people will turn to career counsellors in order to better understand the difficulties they are encountering and to find relevant, adapted solutions. As might be expected, this new work world is also impacting on the work of career counsellors. Thus, the second goal of this article was to analyze the effect of these impacts on their professional practice.

We observed in our studies that career counsellors, who are subjected to many diversified, changing, and complex demands, are striving to find an approach that provides optimal support for their clients. We have thus attempted in this paper to clarify this approach by proposing four dimensions that help to characterize it, namely the career counsellor as guide, astute handyman, complexity analyst, and reflective practitioner. Since none of these general analyses and solutions can always succeed in responding to the clients' various demands, it is increasingly clear that counselling must be adapted to each person or group. Furthermore, counselling must take advantage of people's abilities by inviting them to work with counsellors to co-develop alternatives to the difficulties they face. This co-development of alternatives should take the form of a joint, improvised, and adapted response informed by different types of resources and knowledge (scientific, experience-based, technical) from various sources (practitioners, clients, and others) to meet the clients' needs as well as possible. It is also noteworthy that, to achieve pertinent results, career counsellors must be able to analyze the complexity of the problems they encounter. This requires that several elements (e.g., the clients' requests, possibilities and limits) be considered and their consequences be evaluated. All of these aspects lend credence to the idea that if career counsellors are to refine their own expertise, then they must be the object of their own analysis. In short, they must be reflective practitioners in search of constant development.

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Organizational and Individual Determinants of Atypical Employment: The Case of Multiple Jobholding and Self-Employment In Canada

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Introduction²²

For several years, organizations have been rocked by profound structural changes, compounded by the advent of management philosophies that have impacted work organization and the nature of the job market. Central to the structural modifications that are radically transforming organizations is a generalized and constant goal: to enhance organizational flexibility (Keller & Seifert, 2005; Atkinson, 1984; Chênevert and Tremblay, 1995). There is every indication that this quest for flexibility and the growth of different forms of atypical employment in the workforce are two indissociable phenomena. Issues related to commitment are necessary components of analyses of atypical employment, given that the use of non-standard workers heightens autonomy, independence and distance between individuals and organizations (Torka, 2004; Payette, 1998). Forms of atypical employment such as self-employment considerably transform the aspects of control because in these cases control is manifested largely by the attainment of objectives and results included in a global mandate. Organizational control is thus limited to products, not processes, and human resource management can be compared to a client/supplier process.

As various forms of atypical employment gain ground, the consolidation of contingent work strengthens the thesis of the constantly decreasing core workforce (Ogoshi, 2006; Booth, 1997; Macbride-King, 1997). There is a consensus that these forms of employment are constantly growing within the Canadian labor force, and even more extensively in Europe and North America as a whole (Buschoff and Protsch, 2008; Booth, 1997; Hipple, 2001; Krahn, 1991, 1995). Some authors argue that by increasingly targeting external flexibility, organizations are partially relieving themselves of the responsibility of career management (Brousseau et al., 1996; Hall, 1996). The predominance of management practices oriented toward increasing organizational flexibility and consolidating non-standard employment thus directly contributes to accelerating the evolution of the traditional career paradigm.

Organizational career management conventionally implied the existence of professional mobility channels that enabled individuals to ascend through a series of positions and functions, along with an identification system of potential candidates and management mechanisms that support and direct individuals (Smith & Sheridan, 2006; Caudron, 1994). In this career management system, individuals would spend little time organizing their career paths because they followed fairly standardized models that corresponded to criteria such as qualification, age, stage and seniority. These career

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models evolved within social and organizational environments that were relatively stable and predictable, which represents a stark contrast with new careers, whose development and consolidation unfold in unstable, constantly changing organizational settings. As a result, the representation of the traditional career no longer constitutes a universal reference paradigm, even if several “nostalgic” scholars continue to cling to universality and desperately wish the paradigm to hold true. The multiple jobholding and self-employment forms of atypical work deserve particular attention owing to their substantial, continuous and rapid growth (Edwards & Hendrey, 1996; Kranh, 1995).

The research question that underlies our analysis is as follows: what are the organizational and individual determinants that increase the probability that a standard worker will join the ranks of multiple-jobholders and self-employed workers. Our hypotheses examine the probability of a standard worker’s engaging in one of these two forms of atypical employment. To our knowledge, most studies on this topic are limited to descriptive analyses whose main objective is to identify the individual characteristics of atypical workers (Akyeampong, 1997; Kranh, 1995; Webber, 1989). Apart from Carr’s (1996) study of self-employment determinants, few scholars have seriously attempted to predict the use of specific forms of atypical employment, and none have conducted this type of analysis with respect to both multiple jobholding and self-employment in the Canadian labor force; these analytical goals are the principal objectives of this article.

Determinants of Atypical Employment

Most studies of internalization and externalization of work are grounded in the theory of market duality proposed by Doeringer and Piore (1971). This theory states that internalization of work, generally discussed in the context of the internal job market, enhances the stability of labor while enabling an organization to better control its employees. In addition, in an organization that has a hierarchical structure that favors mobility between jobs, the internal market provides employees with the necessary competency and career development opportunities to ensure organizational loyalty. Nonetheless, because this approach encourages stability and control, it is costly and sometimes inefficient to implement for companies that operate in an unstable and turbulent environment (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993).

In contrast, externalization of work enhances organizational flexibility, making it easier for companies to weather changing market conditions and respond rapidly to organizational requirements. Externalization of work enables an organization to adjust its personnel to changing market requirements and thus reduce administrative and labor costs. Companies can also terminate a position without tarnishing their corporate image; additionally, they acquire easy access to specialized resources, without having to offer long-term commitment in exchange (Belous, 1989; Matusik & Hill, 1998). Externalization of work is thus a strategy that directly contributes to the emergence and consolidation of what have been labeled “boundaryless careers.”

Unlike the traditional career paths that are generally characterized by a linear and sequential trajectory within the same organization, boundaryless careers entail individual paths that exceed the frontiers of the traditional job status. Such paths are associated with new forms of careers that atypical job growth generates strongly. Whereas job market conditions propel individuals toward this type of career, the recent literature specifies that many people will opt for a boundaryless career owing to the

exchange value of their human capital or because of their experience on the job market. An additional motivator is that this type of career furthers the development of workers' expertise through contact with several companies instead of only one (Marler et al., 1998), a situation that certainly applies to a large proportion of the worker population.

As Davis-Blake and Uzzi (1993) observed, the factors that influence internalization of work are identical to those that induce externalization of work. The analytical model that we have adopted places particular emphasis on the factors specifically linked to organizational characteristics (e.g. sector of activity, unionization), job and career attributes (e.g. type of job, promotions, mobility) and individual characteristics (e.g. gender).

organizational characteristics.

sector of activity. Some sectors of activity have been traditionally identified as being atypical-labour intensive owing to their strong propensity to promote externalization of work. For example, the construction sector and the services sector endorse a staffing strategy that is oriented toward the use of atypical jobs, more specifically self-employed workers and multiple jobholding, arising from the seasonal nature of their activities or the customer service requirements (Bregger, 1996; Hipple, 2001). In contrast, sectors such as the public sector have a low historical rate of recourse to atypical jobs. This phenomenon has been attributed to the government's need to demonstrate its social responsibility and attitude of good corporate citizenship (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993). Nonetheless, it is difficult to clearly identify the precise influence of a sector of activity on the probability of adopting a specific atypical job form.

unionization. Studies of the relation between unionization and atypical jobs have not consistently yielded conclusive results (Bielmann et al., 1999; Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993). Nonetheless, it has been shown that to avoid the union influence, some organizations attempt to externalize work so as to maximize the use of human resources outside of union control. Nevertheless, recent studies conducted in the United States report that only 5.9% of atypical employees are unionized, versus 14.8% of full-time employees (Hipple, 2001). In addition, unions are historically opposed to externalization of work and often oblige employers to use this practice sparingly by emphasizing the need to increase stability and job security in order to create an atmosphere conducive to collective bargaining (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993).

job and career attributes. As mentioned above, the literature demonstrates that the search for flexibility extends to central activities that are non-critical for organizations. As a result, atypical work is not limited to low-skilled jobs and poorly qualified occupational categories (Caudron, 1994; Hipple, 2001; Matusik & Hill, 1998); in consequence, all occupational categories should be equally affected. The specialized literature reveals that many self-employed individuals are highly educated, which implies that they hold skilled occupations (Carr, 1996; Meyer & Bruce, 1996).

For at least the past decade, many career analysts have studied issues that directly call into question the traditional notion of the career. The classic view has since been overturned, a phenomenon that is even more evident in a context of generalized atypical employment. Given that the scarcity of hierarchical movement is

manifested as one of the characteristics of the generalization of plateauing of traditional careers, and also as a net trend toward the systematic use of non-standard employment, the absence of promotions substantially increases the probability of being an atypical worker (Marler & Milkovich, 2000; Simard, 2000). In 1994 atypical Canadian workers were more likely to be in careers with non-ascending movement than standard workers, although this factor did not considerably influence the probability of being an atypical worker (Carr, 1996; Simard, 2000).

individual characteristics. Several individual variables may also influence the probability of being self-employed or holding multiple jobs. Gender, education and age are notable examples. Whereas the overall effect of these variables is inconsistent, gender is an exception: the specialized literature suggests that for several reasons women are more present than men in atypical jobs examined as a whole.

We have grouped some of the most frequent explanations into two broad categories. First, a more self-determined explanation for the higher presence of self-employed women is personal choice. These workers are motivated by the search for greater flexibility, given the presumed effects of this flexibility on the reduction of conflict related to the work/family balance (Hipple, 2001; Jurik, 1998; Marler & Milkovich, 2000).

In contrast, in a perspective dominated by a more Schumpeterian approach to structural constraints, self-employment corresponds to a response to unemployment or a refuge for aging workers. Carr (1996) established that men and women have different motivations for seeking self-employment, but that overall these motivations originate from constraints on career choices. However, from a strictly factual standpoint, men far outnumber women among self-employed workers, a trend that has been identified in American studies (Matthews & Moser, 1995).

Lastly, our previous research has found that Canadian multiple jobholders do not form a very homogeneous group (Simard, 1997). The same finding applies to self-employed workers (Carr, 1996; Jurik, 1998; Marler & Milkovich, 2000). These forms of atypical jobs are associated with unequal individual characteristics, conditions and living opportunities for the same type of workers (Carr, 1996; Hipple, 2001).

Research Methodology

To attain our research objectives, we used secondary data produced by Statistics Canada, namely the micro-data file of the General Social Survey (GSS). In this article, we examine respondents in Section H, i.e. individuals in the labor force at the time of the survey (which excludes retired people but not active people age 65 and over). The sample therefore comprises 6,365 cases. Note that two samples are analyzed: 808 individuals for regression of multiple jobholders and 1,204 for self-employed workers.²³

²³ To obtain equal groups in logistic regression analyses, we used a sampling factor of 0.08 for multiple jobholders and 0.125 for self-employed workers.

Operational Definition of Variables

dependent variables. The dependent variables are dichotomous, and correspond to the job status of respondents—multiple jobholder or self-employed. Multiple jobholding is covered directly in question H1, which asks the respondent whether they held more than one job in the week preceding the survey. Self-employment is a constructed variable that encompasses individuals who claim to be self-employed professionals in question H13, and those who consider themselves self-employed workers in question H8, and who have no employees, i.e. the reply to question H9. This transformation and control are necessary to avoid counting respondents that fall into more than one variable more than once. In addition, if a self-employed worker has employees, he/she is considered an employer rather than a non-standard worker.

independent variables. We will now describe the seven independent variables integrated in the two logistic regression equations. First, there are two organizational characteristics: the sector of activity in which the respondents primarily situate their work activity in the past five years, and whether the respondents held a unionized job five years ago. The latter variable is dichotomous, and is listed in raw form in the database. For the sector of activity, we have recorded the original Statistics Canada variable constructed based on an open question. This variable includes 18 sectors of activity, whereas the variable we used encompasses the primary sector, the manufacturing sector and the commerce sector.

Job and career attributes are the focus of questions that determine the occupational category held five years ago, along with the number of job changes without vertical mobility and promotions in the past five years. The occupational category held five years ago is determined by an open question coded according to the 16-category Pinéo scale. We have recoded this variable in six categories by grouping professionals in the first category, managers in the second, supervisors and foremen in the third, vendors in the fourth, manual labourers in the fifth and farmers/farm workers in the sixth.

The number of movements in the past five years is obtained from a question that asks the respondent to indicate the number of different jobs held, specifically the holding of different positions within the same company or another company. The sum of these two variables provides the basis for the variable used in this study. Variance is low after six jobs, and we have grouped respondents into seven categories: from one to seven and up. The number of promotions is evaluated by an open question. Similar to the number of jobs, we have grouped respondents into five categories: none, one, two, three/four and five and up. Lastly, for individual variables, we use gender (1=female; 2=male) and age. This variable is produced based on a metric variable, and includes five categories: 18-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60-64, and 65 and +.

In the bi-variate analyses used to describe the families of multiple jobholders and self-employed workers, we also use the number of hours worked per week, annual income and the highest level of education attained. The duration of the work week is obtained by an open question that yields a metric variable that we have used as such. The respondents' annual income is recorded by the same type of variable and is used in raw state, whereas the level of education is measured by an ordinal 12-category scale, with the lowest category corresponding to no education. The variable has five

categories: graduate studies, certificate, undergraduate studies, college studies and the equivalent of a Secondary V (Grade 11) diploma or less.

Methods of Analysis

To adequately answer the questions raised by the literature, logistic regression analysis and various bi-variate analyses have been used. For logistic regression, we used the ENTER method to force all variables into the equation. The four category variables (sector of activity, number of movements, number of promotions and occupational category) are integrated in the regression model using the deviation technique. This technique allows generation of coefficients expressing the differing impact of each of the categories of the variable in relation to the general effect of the variable. The three other variables are dichotomous, and are integrated in the model using the “indicator” technique, which allows selection of the category of the variable included in the constant. The logistic regression analysis initially evaluates the validity of the global model, i.e. the model’s capacity to reproduce original data at a level of significance of $\alpha = 0.05$. In this case, the null hypothesis that expresses the similarity of the global model to the model that contains the constant only must be accepted. Whereas the results of the classification table have been used by some scholars, this statistic is not reliable, as it is largely descriptive (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989). The chi-square statistic, which clarifies the significant character of the variation of $-2 \log$ likelihood, may be used. To identify the variables that influence the probability of becoming a multiple jobholder or self-employed worker, we use Wald’s statistic to evaluate the importance of the contribution of a variable or variable category. To tease out the individual effect of the significant variables, the impact of each variable is translated into a net variation (percentage) of the base probability.²⁴

To isolate the families within each of the atypical forms of employment selected, we performed a cluster analysis with the annual income and duration of the work week variables. The groups produced in these analyses will be used as independent variables in bi-variate analyses to produce the descriptive results.

Results

The General Social Survey indicated that 7.2 % of the respondents were holding multiple jobs. Self-employed workers represented 11.6% of the GSS, a result that is comparable with corresponding American data (Edwards & Hendrey, 1996; Segal, 1996).

The logistic regression analysis shows that the validity of the global model is significant because the value of the chi-square of Goodness of fit is 482.245— the critical distribution of chi-squares with 27 degrees of freedom is 55.47 — $p = 0.000$ — for the model relating to self-employment, whereas the statistics for multiple jobholders are 113.765 for the chi-square.²⁵ The global model is significant because

²⁴ $[(1+e^{-(a+b)})^{-1}/(1-e^{-a})^{-1}]-1$.

²⁵ Other statistical tests allow evaluation of the significance of the $-2 \log$ likelihood whose classification ensues from the model. Several authors including Hosmer & Lemeshow (1989) warn that these results should not be used to assess the predictive capacity of the model because

overall the coefficients are different from zero ($p = 0.000$). The two models thus generate valid predictions of the probability of being a multiple jobholder or self-employed worker. Nonetheless, the predictive capacity of the two models is not identical. The statistic of Cox and Snell, which provides a pseudo R^2 , reveals that the model used for multiple jobholders explains only 13% ($R^2=0.131$) of the probability of the shift from standard work to multiple jobholding, whereas that of self-employment is markedly stronger ($R^2=0.330$).

Only three variables are excluded from the model used for multiple jobholding: age group, gender and union membership. Regarding self-employment, two variables are rejected: number of jobs in the past five years and age group.

Organizational Characteristics

Table 1 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses performed for multiple jobholders and self-employed workers. The sector of activity has a determining influence on the probability of being self-employed (Wald = 100.7830). This result differs substantially from that of multiple jobholders. Table 1 reveals that 8 out of 12 sectors of activity of the original variable have a significant effect on the probability of being a self-employed worker. Of these sectors, four produce a negative effect and the remaining four a positive effect.

Table 1

Net variation in the probability of holding multiple jobs or being self-employed

Variables	Multiplication factor Exp (B)	Percentage points	Net variation in %
Self-employed			
Manufacturing sector	-0.8025	-19.5 %	-29.7 %
Construction	1.1498	20.1 %	30.6 %
Clerical and public service	-1.1977	-29.1 %	-44.2 %
Personnel	1.2067	20.8 %	31.6 %
Finance, insurance, real estate	0.5443	11.1 %	16.8 %
Management	1.0743	19.2 %	29.2 %
Education	-0.7278	-17.6 %	-26.9 %
Public administration	-2.9472	-56.6 %	-86.1 %
Senior and middle management	-0.5625	-13.5 %	-20.6 %
One promotion or more in past 5 years	-1.4303	-34.3 %	-52.2 %
No union membership in past 5 years	0.5194	10.6 %	16.1 %
Male	0.4487	9.3 %	14.2 %
Multiple jobholder			
Construction	0.5206	10.1 %	46.7 %

they are overly influenced by factors independent of the performance level of the model, notably the segregation point (0.5) and the relative size of each of the groups.

Finance, insurance, real estate	-0.6395	-8.9 %	-41.2 %
Professional and semi-professional	0.5790	11.4 %	52.6 %
Senior and middle management	-0.4941	-7.2 %	-33.4 %
4 jobs or more	0.5078	9.8 %	45.4 %
One promotion or more in past 5 years	-0.4820	-7.1 %	-32.7 %

The probability of being self-employed decreases by 86.1% for individuals that work in public administration, 44.2% in the communications and public services sector, 29.7% in the manufacturing sector and 26.9% in the education sector. In contrast, the personnel services sector increases this probability by 31.6%, construction 30.6%, management services 29.2% and finance, insurance and real estate 16.8%. Regarding multiple jobholding, the results show a weaker effect of sector of activity on this variable (Wald = 14.5669). Nonetheless, for individuals working in the construction sector, the probability of holding multiple jobs increases by 46.7%, whereas that of workers in finance, insurance and real estate decreases by 41.2%. In the latter case, the influence is strong but negative, which indicates that this sector does not use multiple jobholding; this does not imply, however, that all forms of atypical jobs are excluded.

Lastly, unionization exerts a mitigated influence on the probability of being self-employed, but not of holding multiple jobs, which is explained by the fact that multiple jobholders use atypical forms of employment that are generally unionized, such as part-time work. Therefore, holding a non-unionized job five years before the study increases the probability of being self-employed by 16.1%.

Job and Career Attributes

Regarding the influence of the occupational category held five years ago, Table 1 shows that 2 out of 7 categories of the original variable affect the probability of holding multiple jobs. The influence of this variable is comparable to that of the sector of activity (Wald = 15.2970). The two most influential categories are professionals and semi-professionals, and senior and middle managers. For the first group (respondents that held a professional or semi-professional position five years ago), the probability of holding multiple jobs increases by 52.6%, whereas it decreases by 33.4% for respondents that held a senior or middle manager position five years before the survey.

For self-employment, Table 1 illustrates that the influence of the professional category is fairly weak (Wald = 16.4104). Accordingly, 1 category out of 7 of the original variable affects the probability of self-employment. Note that respondents that were senior and middle managers five years earlier are 20.6% less likely to be self-employed. This result is consistent with that obtained for multiple jobholders, and indicates that this occupational category is affected by these atypical forms of employment, perhaps even by all types of non-standard work.

In addition, Table 1 reveals that some career elements have a marked influence on the probability of being in a multiple jobholding situation. This is notably and clearly the case with frequency and direction of movement in the five years preceding the study (Wald = 53.8196 and Wald = 41.1818). Respondents that experienced one or more promotions in the past five years were 32.7% less likely to hold multiple jobs and 52.2% less likely to be self-employed. Moreover, a very high frequency of non-

hierarchical movement (over five jobs) increases the probability of holding multiple jobs by 45.4%. In contrast, frequency of movement in the past five years does not influence the probability of being self-employed.

Individual Characteristics

Regarding self-employment, only one individual characteristic influences the probability of carrying on this form of atypical employment: the gender of the respondent. Accordingly, men have a 14.2% higher probability of being self-employed. As for multiple jobholding, no individual variable emerged from the logistic regression analysis, which implies that men and women have an equal probability of holding multiple jobs.

Multiple Jobholding and Self-employment: Homogeneity or Heterogeneity?

Table 2 shows that it is possible to isolate three broad families of multiple jobholders: a majority of *insecure* (51.7 %), followed by *consolidated* (40.7 %) and a minority of *stars* (7.6 %), who are characterized by very high income. The *stars* also report the longest work weeks, yet their results are similar to the *consolidated* family. In contrast, the *stars* clearly stand out from the *insecure* because of their considerably longer work weeks. When annual income is taken into consideration, *stars* are categorically differentiated from *insecure* and *consolidated* by a much higher average annual income. Table 2 shows that men and women are equally represented in the group of multiple jobholders. However, two out of three women fall into the *insecure* family, whereas, inversely, two thirds of the *star* family are men. *Stars* account for most of the university graduates that hold multiple jobs, whereas the *insecure* group comprises more individuals with a high school diploma or less.

Table 2

Families of multiple jobholders and self-employed workers

	Multiple jobholders				Self-employed			
	Insecure	Consolidated	Stars	ref. %.	Victims	Survivors	Conqueros	ref. %.
Hrs. work/week	41	52	55**		37	47	54**	
Level of education								
Graduate Studies	2.3%**	6.7%**	32.0%*	6.3%	1.7%**	4.4%**	15.9%**	5.1%
Bachelor	13.1%**	21.5%**	36.0%*	18.2%	1.7%**	21.3%**	49.2%**	21.3%
Univ. certificate	1.7%**	5.2%**	8.0%**	3.6%	11.0%*	3.7%**	3.2%**	2.7%
College	26.9%**	34.1%**	12.0%*	28.7%	32.0%*	26.5%**	12.7%**	26.7%

High school or less	56.0%**	12.0%**	12.0%*	43.3%	53.5%*	44.1%**	19.0%**	44.2%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Av. annual income	\$21,092	\$45,414	\$86,987**		\$17,665	\$45,952	\$89,158**	
Gender (Male)	36.6%	60.4%	64.0%*	48.1%	40.1%	75.7%	77.8%**	59.6.6%
Age								
18-29	42.2%**	23.7%**	0.0%**	31.5%	15.9%	16.5%	9.5%	9.5%
30-44	39.8%**	46.7%**	69.6%*	44.8%	45.2%	55.9%	55.6%	55.6%
45-59	16.9%**	28.1%**	26.1%*	22.2%	31.8%	22.1%	27.0%	27.0%
60-64	1.2%**	1.5%**	4.3%**	1.5%	7.0%	5.5%	7.9%	7.9%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
% of the family	51.7%	40.7%	7.6%		46.4%	36.7%	17.0%	

** p < 0.01

Table 2 distinguishes three significantly different families among the self-employed. The first is made up of *conquerors*, who comprise 17% of the population, the second family, *survivors*, accounts for 36.7% and *victims* are the majority, at 46.4%. Similar to multiple jobholders, one family of self-employed workers clearly stands out from the others. *Conquerors* have an annual average income of \$89,158, i.e. twice as high as that of *survivors* and five times higher than that of *victims*. In terms of education, *conquerors* encompass the majority of self-employed university graduates, whereas the *victims* family comprises more than half of respondents with high school diplomas or less. In contrast with multiple jobholders, men are over-represented in self-employment, at 61.6% of the population holding this type of atypical job. Moreover, men constitute the majority among the *conquerors* and the *survivors*. In terms of duration of work week, *conquerors* significantly stand out from the other two families because of their considerably longer average schedule.

Discussion

Overall, the results related to the effect of the sector of activity show that self-employment tends to span more sectors of activity than multiple jobholding. The fact that Canadian self-employed workers work in various sectors of activity clearly reveals the extent that this form of work has penetrated the job market. These results corroborate Matusik and Hill (1998), who describe the advantages of using atypical employment in some organizational environments, because this approach supports the creation of knowledge and competencies that organizations inevitably require. However, the results obtained confirm a trend toward polarization, or rejection of recourse to self-employment in certain sectors of activity, given that four of the sectors have a positive influence on the probability of holding this form of atypical job, while four other sectors have a negative effect. This finding therefore indicates resistance to

generalization of externalization strategies. Apparently, some sectors of activity refuse to use self-employment, i.e. this employment link is not part of their organizational reality, whereas other sectors rely on it considerably. There is notable underrepresentation of self-employment in sectors traditionally related to government activities, which have never opted for this type of employment (Hipple, 2001). In this respect, our results confirm the conclusions found in the specialized literature (Jurik, 1998; Matusik & Hill, 1998). Nonetheless, the case of the manufacturing sector is somewhat surprising. Although the manufacturing sector has always concentrated human resources and means of production, one would expect, as Matusik and Hill (1998) suggest, that organizations in this sector would opt for the use of atypical employment, especially given that a number of self-employed workers would presumably agree to work as subcontractors, under service contracts, in premises and with equipment situated outside of the organization.

Further, self-employment can easily expand in the manufacturing sector because, like real estate, the form and organization of work lends itself well to this type of employment. In contrast, the construction sector has a positive effect on both self-employed workers and multiple jobholders. This sector should therefore be considered to place particular value on strategies based on external flexibility, together with fewer employee commitments and employment costs (Tremblay, D.G, 1990). Because the construction sector produces a significant effect for both types of atypical jobs analyzed, our results partially support the conclusions of other studies on the subject (Bregger, 1996). This is hardly surprising because this sector is characterized by frequent fluctuations in activity that oblige organizations and individuals to be flexible. Consequently, it is not surprising that several authors (Davis-Blake and Uzzi, 1993; Matusik & Hill, 1998) reported that organizations that operate in an unstable or seasonal environment would benefit greatly from adopting a strategy of externalization and from offering atypical jobs. In addition, this sector of activity is replete with small contractors, subcontractors and craftspeople that can easily engage in multiple jobholding and self-employment.

To conclude the discussion of sector, it is worth noting that holding a job in the management services sector increases the probability of self-employment. Indeed, our results illustrate a trend toward outsourcing of many activities formerly carried out by the core workforce of organizations. It would be interesting to more precisely determine the management activities that are most affected. Overall, it is clear that atypical work affects activities that were formerly carried out by the central core workforce (Booth, 1997; Chênevert and Tremblay, 1995; Jacob, 1993). It would also be interesting to investigate, in future studies, the size of the organization because the number of employees within a specific sector may impact the formality and longevity of the job relationship and thus become an important determinant of atypical employment.

In the area of unionization, our results reflect those of Blanchflower and Meyer (1994) in that the fact of having held a unionized job five years earlier reduces the probability of becoming self-employed. The advantages of unionization in terms of job conditions and job security may be dissuasive factors in the decision to abandon a traditional job in favor of self-employment. Nonetheless, the growing presence of atypical workers poses a major challenge for unionized organizations: that of representing workers whose interests vary considerably and whose presence in the job market is often virtual (Mackbride-King, 1997; Wever, 1997).

At first glance, for both multiple jobholding and self-employment, the results relating to occupational category held five years ago confirm that individuals in hierarchical situations are unlikely to engage in atypical work. These results corroborate studies (Addison & Surfield, 2006; Brousseau et al. 1996; Hall, 1996) that conclude that new careers lack a hierarchy. At the very least, one can presume that individuals that find themselves in traditional career paths, characterized by relative job stability, promotions and high social status, as is the case for senior and middle managers, are not truly affected by the phenomenon studied. Our results nonetheless illustrate that more highly skilled jobs such as those held by professionals and semi-professionals, are beginning to be slightly but significantly affected by multiple jobholding. Here again, the results show that atypical work extends to activities and functions that call for skills previously found within the core workforce; in other words, the phenomenon concerns essential but non-critical tasks (Booth, 1997; Chênevert and Tremblay, 1995; Jacob, 1993).

With regard to multiple jobholding, the results related to the frequency of movement confirm the findings reported in the literature, namely that respondents that have experienced high non-ascending mobility are more likely to hold multiple jobs. In line with the literature on new careers, this observation implies that multiple jobholders experience more mobility than the majority of workers with traditional career itineraries. In contrast, frequency of movement does not influence the probability of being self-employed. There are two possible explanations for this situation. First, several self-employed workers may have been in a very stable job situation before the study; this possibility should be explored. In addition, one should bear in mind that self-employed workers do not change jobs frequently, the changes mainly concern the clientele.

Lastly, for these two forms of non-standard employment it is clear that hierarchical experiences are not predominant, reflecting a fundamental characteristic of new careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Bailly et al., 1998; Hall, 1996). Studies on career plateauing (Tremblay, 1995) have demonstrated the way in which the concept of the traditional career is being increasingly eroded by structural or individual blockage mechanisms.

Concerning individual variables, only the gender of the respondent exerts a significant influence. Indeed, our results point in the expected direction. The gender of the respondent does not influence the probability of holding multiple jobs. In addition, the results obtained for self-employment support the specialized literature (Matthews & Moser, 1995), which states that men have a higher probability of being self-employed than women. These results suggest that in the atypical job context, occupational distribution apparently perpetuates stereotypes associated with traditional jobs. For instance, male self-employed workers are concentrated in professional and managerial professions, whereas women predominate in secretarial and office jobs, a pattern that reproduces within atypical jobs the same sexual stereotypes found in traditional jobs (Maler & Milkovich, 2000). Moreover, these results confirm those of Carr (1996), which clearly demonstrates that men and women do not hold atypical jobs for the same reasons and at the same ages.

Following the analyses of the differentiation between multiple jobholders and self-employed, we assert that these two forms of atypical jobs differ. Despite similarities within each of these two types of non-standard work, it is quite evident that the families are by no means homogeneous groups. In addition, the differentiation of

families within the multiple jobholder and self-employed worker groups highlights the discriminating influence of education. Our results show that the higher the respondents' education, the more likely they will belong to the *star* or *conqueror* family, a finding that corroborates the conclusions of several researchers (Carr, 1996; Jurik, 1998). Therefore, even if the trend is clearer for the *stars*, multiple jobholders and self-employed workers follow the same logic pattern as standard workers, in that education apparently engenders markedly better living conditions. Annual income of both *stars* and *conquerors* is much higher than the average income. Nonetheless, higher income often co-occurs with longer work weeks. Women are over-represented among the *insecure* and the *victims*, which tends to indicate that they do not occupy choice places in the atypical labor force.

Conclusion

The results of this study clarify the role of some organizational and individual variables in the probability of being a multiple jobholder or self-employed worker. Eight out of twelve sectors of activity influence this probability for self-employed workers. As for determining sectors, we have observed that the probability of being a self-employed worker decreases by 86.1% among respondents that work in public administration, thus confirming the lack of importance placed on this employment link in the government apparatus. The sector variable nonetheless has a more mitigated effect on multiple jobholding, because only two sectors of activity influence the probability of holding multiple jobs. More generally, our results clearly demonstrate that the construction sector is characterized by a constant search for external flexibility, because only this sector positively influences the probability of joining one of the atypical groups studied.

In terms of career-related factors, ascending mobility plays a unique role. This effect, homogeneous for both multiple jobholding and self-employment, is significantly manifested with respect to the probability of engaging in either of these atypical forms of employment. The fact of being promoted in the five years prior to the survey thus substantially reduces the chances of belonging to one of the two atypical employment categories studied, whereas non-ascending mobility increases only the probability of holding multiple jobs. Further, individuals that held senior and middle manager positions five years prior to the survey have a substantially lower probability of holding multiple jobs and being self-employed, thus confirming the persisting impact of more traditional career paths on occupational categories with a high hierarchical status. Consequently, we can consider that individuals in a situation of blockage in traditional paths may be inclined to adopt these forms of atypical employment in order to satisfy expectations beyond promotion and financial status.

Lastly, aside from the fact that men are over-represented in the self-employed category and that their probability of taking on this atypical employment is higher, gender has no influence on multiple jobholding. It is worth mentioning that these two forms of atypical employment are subdivided into families that are not homogeneous in terms of annual income, level of education, hours worked and average age. In addition, women are much more prevalent in the families that have the most precarious job and living conditions. Nonetheless, major differences exist among the families of multiple jobholders and self-employed workers, and prudence is thus recommended to avoid

indiscriminately pairing the concepts of atypical and precarious. In conclusion, although precariousness is indeed present, it is not a sine qua non of atypical employment.

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Déterminants Organisationnels et Individuels de l'emploi Atypique: Le Dossier du Cumul D'emplois et Du Travail Autonome au Canada

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Introduction²⁶

Depuis plusieurs années, les organisations sont secouées par de profonds changements structuraux, aggravés par l'apparition de philosophies de la gestion qui ont des répercussions sur l'organisation du travail et la nature du marché de l'emploi. Au cœur des modifications structurelles radicales qui touchent les organisations se trouve un objectif généralisé et constant : l'amélioration de la flexibilité organisationnelle (Keller et Seifert, 2005; Atkinson, 1984; Chênevert et Tremblay, 1995). Tout indique que cette quête de flexibilité et la croissance des différentes formes d'emplois atypiques chez la population active sont deux phénomènes indissociables. Les questions relatives à la mobilisation sont des éléments nécessaires aux analyses de l'emploi atypique, étant donné que le recours à des travailleurs non conventionnels augmente l'autonomie, l'indépendance et la distance entre les personnes et les organisations (Torka, 2004; Payette, 1998). Les formes d'emplois atypiques, comme le travail autonome, transforment considérablement les aspects du contrôle puisque, dans ces cas, le contrôle s'exerce pour une grande part par l'atteinte des objectifs et les résultats d'un mandat global. Le contrôle organisationnel est donc limité aux produits, non aux procédés, et la gestion des ressources humaines peut être comparée à une relation client/fournisseur.

Comme les diverses formes d'emplois atypiques gagnent du terrain, la consolidation de ces types de travail renforce la thèse de la décroissance constante de la main-d'œuvre permanente (Ogoshi, 2006; Booth, 1997; Macbride-King, 1997). Il existe un consensus à l'effet que ces formes d'emplois gagnent constamment du terrain chez la population active canadienne, et de manière encore plus poussée en Europe et dans l'ensemble de l'Amérique du Nord (Buschoff et Protsch, 2008; Booth, 1997; Hipple, 2001; Krahn, 1991, 1995). Certains auteurs argumentent que les organisations, en visant de plus en plus la flexibilité externe, se dégagent partiellement de la responsabilité de la gestion des carrières (Brousseau et al., 1996; Hall, 1996). La prédominance des pratiques de gestion orientées vers l'accroissement de la flexibilité organisationnelle et la consolidation du travail non conventionnel contribue donc directement à l'accélération de l'évolution du paradigme de la carrière traditionnelle.

La gestion de carrière organisationnelle classique impliquait l'existence de canaux de mobilité professionnelle qui permettaient aux individus de grimper les échelons par une série de postes et de fonctions, ainsi que d'un système d'identification des candidats potentiels et de mécanismes de gestion qui appuyaient et dirigeaient les individus (Smith et Sheridan, 2006; Caudron, 1994). Dans ce système de gestion des carrières, les personnes pouvaient ne consacrer qu'un peu de temps à organiser leur

²⁶ Une première version de ce texte a été présentée à la dernière réunion de l'AGRH à Lyons, en France. Une deuxième ébauche du travail a été présentée à la réunion de l'Academy of Management à Toronto en août 2000. Les auteurs désirent remercier les éditeurs pour leurs précieux commentaires.

cheminement de carrière, puisqu'ils suivaient des modèles assez standardisés qui correspondaient à des critères tels que la qualification, l'âge, le niveau et l'ancienneté. Ces modèles de carrière ont évolué dans des environnements sociaux et organisationnels relativement stables et prévisibles, qui contrastent nettement avec les nouvelles carrières dont le développement et la consolidation se font dans un environnement organisationnel instable et en constante mutation. Il en résulte que la représentation de la carrière traditionnelle ne constitue plus un paradigme de référence universel, même si plusieurs universitaires « nostalgiques » continuent de s'accrocher à la notion d'universalité et veulent désespérément que le paradigme reste le même. Les formes d'emplois atypiques que sont le cumul d'emplois et le travail autonome méritent une attention spéciale en regard de leur croissance importante, continue et rapide (Edwards et Hendrey, 1996; Kranh, 1995).

La question de recherche à la base de notre analyse est la suivante : quels sont les déterminants organisationnels et individuels qui augmentent la probabilité qu'un travailleur ordinaire rejoigne les rangs des travailleurs autonomes ou cumulant les emplois. Notre hypothèse examine la probabilité qu'un travailleur ordinaire s'engage dans l'une de ces deux formes d'emplois atypiques. À notre connaissance, les plupart des études sur ce sujet se limitent à des analyses descriptives dont le principal objectif est d'identifier les caractéristiques individuelles des travailleurs atypiques (Akyeampong, 1997; Kranh, 1995; Webber, 1989). Sauf Carr avec son étude des déterminants du travail autonome (1996), peu d'universitaires ont sérieusement tenté de prédire le recours à des formes spécifiques d'emplois atypiques, et aucun n'a effectué ce type d'analyse à la fois sur le cumul d'emplois et le travail autonome de la population active canadienne; ces résultats d'analyse forment les principaux objectifs du présent article.

Déterminants d'un Emploi Atypique

La plupart des études sur l'internalisation et l'externalisation du travail sont basées sur la théorie de la dualité du marché proposée par Doeringer et Piore (1971). Cette théorie énonce que l'internalisation du travail, généralement discutée dans le contexte du marché interne de l'emploi, améliore la stabilité de la main-d'œuvre tout en permettant à l'organisation de mieux contrôler ses employés. En outre, dans une organisation dont la structure hiérarchique favorise la mobilité entre les emplois, le marché interne fournit aux employés les compétences nécessaires et les possibilités de développement de carrière pour assurer leur fidélité. Néanmoins, comme cette approche encourage la stabilité et le contrôle, elle est coûteuse et parfois difficile à appliquer pour les compagnies qui opèrent dans un environnement instable et turbulent (Davis-Blake et Uzzi, 1993).

En contraste, l'externalisation du travail améliore la flexibilité organisationnelle, facilitant ainsi l'adaptation aux conditions changeantes du marché et la rapidité de réponse aux demandes organisationnelles. L'externalisation du travail permet à une organisation d'adapter son personnel aux exigences d'un marché changeant et donc de réduire les coûts d'administration et de main-d'œuvre. Les compagnies peuvent aussi mettre fin à un poste sans ternir leur image; de plus, elles obtiennent un accès facile à des ressources spécialisées, sans devoir offrir un engagement à long terme en échange (Belous, 1989; Matusik et Hill, 1998).

L'externalisation du travail est donc une stratégie qui contribue directement à l'émergence et à la consolidation des « carrières sans limites ».

Contrairement aux cheminements de carrière traditionnels, qui sont généralement caractérisés par une trajectoire linéaire et séquentielle au sein d'une même organisation, les carrières sans limites donnent lieu à des cheminements de carrière qui dépassent les frontières des états de travail traditionnels. De tels cheminements sont associés à de nouvelles formes de carrières créées par la croissance des emplois atypiques. Tandis que les conditions du marché de l'emploi propulsent les individus vers ce type de carrière, la documentation récente mentionne que beaucoup de gens opteront pour une carrière sans limites en raison de la valeur d'échange de leur capital humain ou de leur expérience du marché de l'emploi. Un autre élément de motivation est que ce type de carrière favorise le développement de l'expertise des travailleurs en les mettant en contact avec plusieurs entreprises au lieu d'une seule (Marler et al., 1998), une situation qui s'applique certainement à une grande proportion de la population active.

Comme Davis-Blake et Uzzi (1993) l'ont observé, les facteurs qui influencent l'internalisation du travail sont identiques à ceux qui incitent à recourir à l'externalisation du travail. Le modèle analytique que nous avons adopté met spécialement l'accent sur les facteurs liés aux caractéristiques organisationnelles (par ex. : secteur d'activité, syndicalisation), aux caractères qualitatifs de l'emploi et de la carrière (par ex. : type d'emploi, promotions, mobilité) et aux caractéristiques individuelles (par ex. : genre).

Caractéristiques Organisationnelles

secteur d'activité. Certains secteurs d'activité ont de tout temps été identifiés comme ayant activement recours au travail atypique en raison de leur forte propension à favoriser l'externalisation du travail. Par exemple, le secteur de la construction et le secteur des services endossent une stratégie de dotation en personnel orientée vers l'utilisation d'emplois atypiques, plus précisément les travailleurs autonomes et ceux qui cumulent plusieurs emplois, dû à la nature saisonnière de leurs activités ou au besoin de s'adapter aux exigences du service à la clientèle (Bregger, 1996; Hipple, 2001). En contraste, les secteurs comme le secteur public ont historiquement un faible taux de recours aux emplois atypiques. Ce phénomène a été attribué au besoin du gouvernement de démontrer sa responsabilité sociale et une attitude de bon citoyen (Davis-Blake et Uzzi, 1993). Néanmoins, il est difficile d'identifier clairement l'influence précise d'un secteur d'activité sur la probabilité d'adopter une forme spécifique d'emploi atypique.

Syndicalisation. Les études portant sur la relation entre la syndicalisation et les emplois atypiques n'ont pas toujours donné des résultats concluants (Bielmann et al., 1999; Davis-Blake et Uzzi, 1993). Néanmoins, il a été démontré que pour éviter l'influence syndicale, certaines organisations ont tenté de sous-traiter le travail afin de maximiser l'utilisation des ressources humaines hors du contrôle du syndicat. Quoi qu'il en soit, des études récentes menées aux États-Unis rapportent que seulement 5,9 % des employés atypiques sont syndiqués, contre 14,8 % des employés à temps plein (Hipple, 2001). De plus, les syndicats sont traditionnellement opposés à l'externalisation du travail et obligent souvent les employeurs à n'utiliser cette pratique

que de façon restreinte en plaidant la nécessité d'augmenter la stabilité et la sécurité d'emploi afin de créer une atmosphère propice à la négociation collective (Davis-Blake et Uzzi, 1993).

Attributs des Emplois et des Carrières

Comme il est mentionné précédemment, la documentation démontre que la recherche d'une flexibilité s'étend aux activités centrales non critiques pour les organisations. Il en résulte que le travail atypique n'est pas limité aux emplois peu spécialisés et aux catégories d'emploi n'exigeant que peu ou pas d'instruction (Caudron, 1994; Hipple, 2001; Matusik et Hill, 1998); en conséquence, toutes les catégories d'emploi devraient être touchées également. La documentation spécialisée révèle que beaucoup de travailleurs autonomes sont très instruits, ce qui implique qu'ils détiennent des postes spécialisés (Carr, 1996; Meyer et Bruce, 1996).

Depuis au moins dix ans, plusieurs analystes ont étudié les enjeux qui remettent en question la notion traditionnelle de la carrière. L'opinion classique a depuis été renversée, un phénomène qui est encore plus évident dans un contexte d'emploi atypique généralisé. Vu que la rareté du mouvement hiérarchique se manifeste comme l'une des caractéristiques de la généralisation du plafonnement des carrières traditionnelles et aussi une nette tendance vers le recours systématique de l'emploi non conventionnel, l'absence de promotion augmente substantiellement la probabilité de devenir un travailleur atypique (Marler et Milkovich, 2000; Simard, 2000). En 1994, les travailleurs atypiques canadiens étaient plus susceptibles que les travailleurs ordinaires de se trouver dans des carrières n'offrant pas de mouvement ascendant, bien que ce facteur n'ait pas eu d'influence considérable sur la probabilité d'être un travailleur atypique (Carr, 1996; Simard, 2000).

Caractéristiques Individuelles

Plusieurs variables individuelles peuvent aussi influencer la probabilité d'être travailleur autonome ou de cumuler plusieurs emplois. Le sexe, l'éducation et l'âge sont des exemples importants. Tandis que l'effet global de ces variables est erratique, le sexe fait exception : la documentation spécialisée suggère que les femmes sont plus présentes que les hommes dans l'ensemble des emplois atypiques étudiés, et ce, pour de nombreuses raisons.

Nous avons regroupé certaines des explications les plus fréquentes en deux catégories principales. D'abord, une explication de la présence plus forte des femmes travailleuses autonomes relève du choix personnel. Ces travailleuses sont motivées par la recherche d'une plus grande flexibilité à cause de ses effets présumés sur la diminution des conflits liés à l'équilibre travail-famille (Hipple, 2001; Jurik, 1998; Marler et Milkovich, 2000).

Par contraste, et dans une perspective dominée par une approche plus schumpétérienne des contraintes structurelles, le travail autonome correspond à une réponse au chômage ou un refuge pour les travailleurs vieillissants. Carr (1996) a établi que les hommes et les femmes choisissent le travail autonome pour des motifs différents, mais que dans l'ensemble ces motifs tirent leur source des contraintes quant au choix de carrière. Toutefois, d'un strict point de vue factuel, les hommes sont

nettement plus nombreux que les femmes chez les travailleurs autonomes, une tendance identifiée par des études américaines (Matthews et Moser, 1995).

En dernier lieu, notre recherche précédente avait conclu que les travailleurs canadiens qui cumulent plusieurs emplois ne forment pas un groupe très homogène (Simard, 1997). La même conclusion s'applique aux travailleurs autonomes (Carr, 1996; Jurik, 1998; Marler et Milkovich, 2000). Ces formes d'emplois atypiques sont associées à des caractéristiques individuelles, des conditions et des possibilités de vie inégales pour le même type de travailleurs (Carr, 1996; Hipple, 2001).

Méthodologie de Recherche

Pour atteindre nos objectifs de recherche, nous avons utilisé des données préexistantes de Statistique Canada, à savoir le fichier de microdonnées de l'Enquête sociale générale (ESG). Dans le présent article, nous examinons les répondants de la section H, c.-à-d. des individus faisant partie de la main-d'œuvre active au moment de l'enquête (ce qui exclut les retraités, mais pas la population active âgée de 65 ans et plus). L'échantillon comprend donc 6 365 cas. Remarquez que deux échantillons sont analysés : 808 individus pour la régression du cumul d'emplois et 1 204 travailleurs autonomes.²⁷

Définition Opérationnelle des Variables

variables dépendantes. Les variables dépendantes sont dichotomiques et correspondent à l'état d'emploi des répondants : travailleur qui cumule les emplois ou travailleur autonome. Ceux qui cumulent plusieurs emplois sont couverts directement à la question H1, qui demande aux répondants s'ils ont exercé plus d'un emploi pendant la semaine précédant l'enquête. Le travail autonome est une variable construite qui regroupe les individus qui se déclarent des professionnels à leur compte à la question H13, et ceux qui se considèrent eux-mêmes comme des travailleurs autonomes à la question H8, et qui n'ont pas d'employés, c.-à-d. la réponse à la question H9. Cette transformation et ce contrôle sont nécessaires pour éviter de compter des répondants qui se retrouvent plus d'une fois dans plusieurs variables. De plus, si un travailleur autonome a des employés, il est considéré comme un employeur plutôt qu'un travailleur non conventionnel.

variables indépendantes. Nous allons maintenant décrire les sept variables indépendantes intégrées dans les deux équations de régression logistique. D'abord, il y a deux caractéristiques organisationnelles : le secteur d'activité dans lequel les répondants situent principalement leurs activités de travail dans les cinq dernières années et si les répondants ont occupé un emploi syndiqué il y a cinq ans. Cette dernière variable est dichotomique et elle est inscrite en forme brute dans la base de données. Pour le secteur d'activité, nous avons enregistré la variable originale construite par Statistique Canada et basée sur une question ouverte. Cette variable comprend 18

²⁷ Pour obtenir des groupes égaux dans les analyses de régression logistique, nous avons utilisé un facteur d'échantillonnage de 0,08 pour les personnes qui cumulent les emplois et de 0,125 pour les travailleurs autonomes.

secteurs d'activité, tandis que la variable que nous avons utilisée comprend les secteurs primaire, manufacturier et commercial.

Les attributs d'emploi et de carrière sont le point central des questions qui déterminent la catégorie professionnelle d'il y a cinq ans, avec le nombre de changements d'emplois sans mobilité verticale ni promotion dans les cinq dernières années. La catégorie professionnelle d'il y a cinq ans est déterminée par une question ouverte codée en fonction de la classification des professions en 16 catégories de Pinéo. Nous avons recodé cette variable en six catégories en groupant les professionnels dans la première catégorie, les gestionnaires-cadres dans la seconde, les superviseurs et les contremaîtres dans la troisième, les vendeurs dans la quatrième, les ouvriers manuels dans la cinquième et les fermiers et travailleurs agricoles dans la sixième.

Le nombre de mouvements durant les cinq dernières années est obtenu par une question qui demande aux répondants d'indiquer le nombre d'emplois différents exercés, et plus précisément l'occupation de différents postes dans la même entreprise ou une autre. La somme de ces deux variables fournit la base de la variable utilisée dans la présente étude. La variance est faible après six emplois et nous avons groupé les répondants en sept catégories de 'un' à 'sept et plus'. Le nombre de promotions est évalué par une question ouverte. Comme pour le nombre d'emplois, nous avons groupé les répondants en cinq catégories : aucune, une, deux, trois/quatre, et cinq et plus. En dernier lieu, pour les variables individuelles, nous avons utilisé le sexe (1=femme; 2=homme) et l'âge. Cette variable est produite en se basant sur une variable métrique et comporte cinq catégories : 18-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60-64, et 65 et plus.

Dans les analyses bivariantes utilisées pour décrire les familles de travailleurs cumulant plusieurs emplois et les travailleurs autonomes, nous avons aussi utilisé le nombre d'heures travaillées par semaine, le revenu annuel et le plus haut niveau de scolarité atteint. La durée de la semaine de travail est obtenue par une question ouverte qui produit une variable métrique que nous avons utilisée comme telle. Le revenu annuel des répondants est enregistré par le même type de variable et est utilisé à l'état brut, tandis le niveau de scolarité est mesuré par échelle ordinale de 12 catégories, où la plus basse catégorie correspond à aucune scolarité. La variable comporte cinq catégories : études supérieures, certificat, études de premier cycle, études postsecondaires et l'équivalent d'un diplôme de secondaire V (11^e année) ou moins.

Méthodes D'Analyse

Pour répondre adéquatement aux questions soulevées par la documentation spécialisée, nous avons utilisé l'analyse de régression logistique et les diverses analyses bivariantes. Pour la régression logistique, nous avons recouru à la méthode ENTER pour forcer toutes les variables dans l'équation. Les quatre variables de catégorie (secteur d'activité, nombre de mouvements, nombre de promotions et catégorie professionnelle) sont intégrées dans le modèle de régression avec la technique de déviation. Cette technique permet de générer des coefficients qui expriment l'impact divergent de chacune des catégories de la variable par rapport à l'effet général de la variable. Les trois autres variables sont dichotomiques et sont intégrées dans le modèle en utilisant la technique de l'« indicateur », ce qui permet la sélection de la catégorie de la variable incluse dans la constante. Au départ, l'analyse de régression logistique évalue la validité du modèle global, c.-à-d. la capacité du modèle à reproduire les

données originales au niveau de la signification de $\alpha = 0,05$. Dans ce cas, l'hypothèse de différence nulle, qui exprime la similitude du modèle global au modèle qui contient la constante, doit seulement être acceptée. Bien que les résultats de la table de classification aient été utilisés par certains universitaires, cette statistique n'est pas fiable, étant donné qu'elle est surtout descriptive (Hosmer et Lemeshow, 1989). On peut utiliser la variable chi carré qui clarifie le caractère significatif de la variation de -2 du logarithme du rapport de vraisemblance. Pour identifier les variables qui influencent la probabilité de devenir un travailleur qui cumule les emplois ou un travailleur autonome, nous avons recours au critère de pessimisme de Wald pour évaluer l'importance de la contribution d'une variable ou d'une catégorie de variables. Pour tirer au clair l'effet individuel des variables significatives, l'impact de chaque variable est traduit en une variation nette (pourcentage) de la probabilité de base.²⁸

Pour isoler les familles dans chacune des formes atypiques d'emplois sélectionnées, nous avons procédé à une analyse typologique avec les variables du revenu annuel et de la durée de la semaine de travail. Les groupes produits dans ces analyses serviront de variables indépendantes dans les analyses bivariées pour produire des résultats descriptifs.

Résultats

L'Enquête sociale générale indique que 7,2 % des répondants avaient plusieurs emplois. Les travailleurs autonomes représentaient 11,6 % de l'ESG, un résultat comparable aux données américaines correspondantes (Edwards et Hendrey, 1996; Segal, 1996).

L'analyse de régression logistique montre que la validité d'un modèle global est importante parce que la valeur du chi carré de la qualité de l'ajustement est 482,245 — la distribution critique des chi carrés avec 27 degrés de liberté est 55,47 — $p = 0,000$ — pour le modèle concernant le travail autonome, alors que les statistiques pour ceux qui exercent plusieurs emplois sont de 113,765 pour le chi carré.²⁹ Le modèle global est significatif parce que les coefficients sont dans l'ensemble différents de zéro ($p = 0,000$). Les deux modèles génèrent donc des prédictions valables de la probabilité de devenir un travailleur qui cumule les emplois ou un travailleur autonome. Néanmoins, la capacité prédictive des deux modèles n'est pas identique. La statistique de Cox et Snell, qui donne un pseudo R^2 , révèle que le modèle utilisé pour les travailleurs qui cumulent les emplois n'explique que 13 % ($R^2=0,131$) de la probabilité de passer du travail conventionnel au cumul d'emplois, tandis le travail autonome est nettement plus fort ($R^2=0,330$).

Seulement trois variables sont exclues du modèle utilisé pour le cumul d'emploi : l'âge, le sexe et l'appartenance à un syndicat. Concernant le travail

²⁸ $[(1+e^{-(a+b)})^{-1} / (1-e^{-a})^{-1}] - 1$.

²⁹ D'autres tests statistiques permettent d'évaluer la signification du logarithme du rapport de vraisemblance -2 dont la classification résulte du modèle. Plusieurs auteurs, dont Hosmer et Lemeshow (1989), font une mise en garde à l'effet que ces résultats ne devraient pas être utilisés pour évaluer la capacité prédictive du modèle parce qu'ils sont trop influencés par des facteurs indépendants du niveau de performance du modèle, particulièrement le point de ségrégation (0,5) et la taille relative de chaque groupe.

autonome, deux variables sont rejetées : le nombre d'emploi au cours des cinq dernières années et le groupe d'âge.

Caractéristiques Organisationnelles

Le tableau 1 présente les résultats des analyses de régression logistique effectuées pour les travailleurs qui cumulent des emplois et les travailleurs autonomes.

Le secteur d'activité a une influence déterminante sur la probabilité d'être travailleur autonome (Wald = 100,7830). Ce résultat diffère considérablement dans le cas des travailleurs occupant plus d'un emploi. Le tableau 1 révèle que 8 des 12 secteurs d'activité de la variable originale ont un effet important sur la probabilité de devenir un travailleur autonome. De ces secteurs, quatre produisent un effet négatif et les quatre autres ont un effet positif.

Tableau 1

Variation nette de la probabilité de cumuler plusieurs emplois ou d'être travailleur autonome

Variables	Facteur de multiplication Exp (B)	Points de pourcentage	Variation nette en %
Travail autonome			
Secteur manufacturier	-0,8025	-19,5 %	-29,7 %
Construction	1,1498	20,1 %	30,6 %
Administration et service public	-1,1977	-29,1 %	-44,2 %
Personnel	1,2067	20,8 %	31,6 %
Finance, assurance, immobilier	0,5443	11,1 %	16,8 %
Gestion	1,0743	19,2 %	29,2 %
Éducation	-0,7278	-17,6 %	-26,9 %
Administration publique	-2,9472	-56,6 %	-86,1 %
Gestion (cadres supérieurs et intermédiaires)	-0,5625	-13,5 %	-20,6 %
Une promotion ou plus – 5 ans avant	-1,4303	-34,3 %	-52,2 %
Non syndiqué – 5 ans avant	0,5194	10,6 %	16,1 %
Homme	0,4487	9,3 %	14,2 %
Cumul d'emplois			
Construction	0,5206	10,1 %	46,7 %
Finance, assurance, immobilier	-0,6395	-8,9 %	-41,2 %
Professionnel et semi-professionnel	0,5790	11,4 %	52,6 %
Gestion (cadres supérieurs et intermédiaires)	-0,4941	-7,2 %	-33,4 %
4 emplois ou plus	0,5078	9,8 %	45,4 %
Une promotion ou plus – 5 ans avant	-0,4820	-7,1 %	-32,7 %

La probabilité de devenir travailleur autonome baisse de 86,1 % pour les personnes qui travaillent dans l'administration publique, de 44,2 % dans le secteur des

communications et des services publics, de 29,7 % dans le secteur manufacturier et de 26,9 % dans le secteur de l'éducation. En contraste, le secteur des services du personnel augmente cette probabilité de 31,6 %, la construction de 30,6 %, les services de gestion de 29,2 % et la finance, l'assurance et l'immobilier de 16,8 %. Concernant les personnes qui détiennent plusieurs emplois, les résultats montrent que le secteur d'activité a un effet moindre sur cette variable (Wald = 14,5669). Néanmoins, pour les individus qui travaillent dans le secteur de la construction, la probabilité de cumuler plusieurs emplois augmente de 46,7 %, tandis que celle des travailleurs du secteur de la finance, de l'assurance et de l'immobilier baisse de 41,2 %. Dans ce dernier cas, l'influence est forte mais négative, ce qui indique que ce secteur n'a pas recours au cumul d'emploi; ce qui ne signifie pas, toutefois, que toutes les formes d'emplois atypiques sont exclues.

En dernier lieu, la syndicalisation exerce une influence mitigée sur la probabilité de devenir travailleur autonome, mais pas de cumuler les emplois, ce qui s'explique par le fait que les personnes qui cumulent les emplois utilisent des formes atypiques qui sont généralement syndiquées, comme le travail à temps partiel. En conséquence, avoir exercé un emploi non syndiqué cinq ans avant l'étude augmente la probabilité d'être travailleur autonome de 16,1 %.

Attributs d'emplois et de carrières

Concernant l'influence de la catégorie professionnelle occupée il y a cinq ans, le tableau 1 montre que 2 des 7 catégories de la variable originale affectent la probabilité de cumuler plusieurs emplois. L'influence de cette variable est comparable à celle du secteur d'activité (Wald = 15,2970). Les deux catégories les plus influentes sont celle des professionnels et semi-professionnels, et celle des cadres supérieurs et intermédiaires. Pour le premier groupe (les répondants qui occupaient un poste en tant que professionnel ou semi-professionnel il y a cinq ans), la probabilité de cumuler plusieurs emplois augmente de 52,6 %, tandis qu'elle baisse de 33,4 % dans le cas des répondants qui occupaient un poste de cadre supérieur ou intermédiaire cinq ans avant l'enquête.

Pour le travail autonome, le tableau 1 montre que l'influence de la catégorie professionnelle est relativement faible (Wald = 16,4104). Par conséquent, 1 catégorie sur 7 de la variable originale affecte la probabilité d'un travail autonome. Notez que les répondants qui étaient des cadres supérieurs ou intermédiaires il y a cinq ans sont 20,6 % moins susceptibles d'être travailleurs autonomes. Ce résultat est compatible avec celui obtenu pour les détenteurs de plusieurs emplois et indique que cette catégorie professionnelle est affectée par ces formes atypiques d'emplois, et peut-être même par tous les types de travail non conventionnel.

En outre, le tableau 1 révèle que certains éléments de la carrière ont une nette influence sur la probabilité de se retrouver dans une situation de cumul d'emplois. C'est clairement le cas en ce qui a trait à la fréquence et à la direction du mouvement dans les cinq ans qui ont précédé l'enquête (Wald = 53,8196 et Wald = 41,1818). Les répondants qui ont connu une ou plusieurs promotions dans les cinq dernières années étaient moins susceptibles dans une proportion de 32,7 % de cumuler plusieurs emplois et moins susceptibles dans une proportion de 52,2 % d'être travailleurs autonomes. De plus, une fréquence très élevée de mouvement non hiérarchique (plus de cinq emplois) augmente de 45,4 % la probabilité de détenir plusieurs emplois. En contraste, la

fréquence de mouvement dans les cinq dernières années n'influence pas la probabilité d'être travailleur autonome.

Caractéristiques Individuelles

En ce qui a trait au travail autonome, une seule caractéristique individuelle influence la probabilité d'adopter cette forme d'emploi atypique : le sexe du répondant. La probabilité qu'un homme soit travailleur autonome est 14,2 % plus élevée. Quant au cumul d'emplois, aucune variable individuelle n'émerge de cette analyse de régression logistique, ce qui implique que la probabilité de cumuler plusieurs emplois est égale chez les hommes et les femmes.

Cumul D'emplois et Travail Autonome : Homogénéité ou Hétérogénéité?

Le tableau 2 montre qu'il est possible d'isoler trois grandes familles de personnes qui cumulent plusieurs emplois : une majorité d'*insécurés* (51,7 %), suivie des *accomplis* (40,7 %) et d'une minorité de *stars* (7,6 %), qui se caractérisent par un revenu très élevé. Les *stars* rapportent aussi les plus longues semaines de travail, pourtant leurs résultats sont semblables à ceux de la famille des personnes accomplies. En contraste, les *stars* se démarquent clairement des *insécurés* en raison de leurs semaines de travail considérablement plus longues. Lorsqu'on prend en compte le revenu annuel, les *stars* se démarquent nettement des *insécurés* et des *accomplis* par un revenu annuel moyen beaucoup plus élevé. Le tableau 2 montre que les hommes et les femmes sont représentés à parts égales dans le groupe des travailleurs qui cumulent les emplois. Toutefois, deux femmes sur trois se retrouvent dans la famille des *insécurés*, tandis qu'au contraire, les deux tiers de la famille des *stars* sont des hommes. Les *stars* constituent la majorité des diplômés universitaires qui cumulent les emplois, tandis que le groupe des *insécurés* comprend plus d'individus avec un diplôme d'études secondaires ou moins.

Tableau 2

Familles des travailleurs cumulant les emplois et des travailleurs autonomes

	Travailleurs cumulant les emplois				Travailleurs autonomes			
	Insécurés	Accomplis	Stars	% réf.	Victimes	Survivants	Conquérants	% réf.
H de travail/semaine	41	52	55**		37	47	54**	
Niveau de scolarité								
Études supérieures	2,3 %**	6,7 %**	32,0 %**	6,3 %	1,7 %**	4,4 %**	15,9 %**	5,1 %
Baccalauréat	13,1 %**	21,5 %**	36,0 %**	18,2 %	1,7 %**	21,3 %**	49,2 %**	21,3 %
Certificat université	1,7 %**	5,2 %**	8,0 %**	3,6 %	11,0 %**	3,7 %**	3,2 %**	2,7 %
Collège	26,9 %**	34,1 %**	12,0 %**	28,7 %	32,0 %**	26,5 %**	12,7 %**	26,7 %
Secondaire ou moins	56,0 %**	12,0 %**	12,0 %**	43,3 %	53,5 %**	44,1 %**	19,0 %**	44,2 %

	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Revenu annuel moyen	21 092 \$	45 414 \$	86 987 \$**		17 665 \$	45 952 \$	89 158 \$**	100 %
Sexe (homme)	36,6 %	60,4 %	64,0 %**	48,1 %	40,1 %	75,7 %	77,8 %**	59,6 %
Âge								
18-29	42,2 %**	23,7 %**	0,0 %**	31,5 %	15,9 %	16,5 %	9,5 %	9,5 %
30-44	39,8 %**	46,7 %**	69,6 %**	44,8 %	45,2 %	55,9 %	55,6 %	55,6 %
45-59	16,9 %**	28,1 %**	26,1 %**	22,2 %	31,8 %	22,1 %	27,0 %	27,0 %
60-64	1,2 %**	1,5 %**	4,3 %**	1,5 %	7,0 %	5,5 %	7,9 %	7,9 %
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
% de la famille	51,7 %	40,7 %	7,6 %		46,4 %	36,7 %	17,0 %	

** p < 0.01

Le tableau 2 distingue trois familles très différentes parmi les travailleurs autonomes. La première est constituée de *conquérants*, qui forment 17 % de la population; la deuxième famille, celle des *survivants*, compte pour 36,7 % et les *victimes* sont la majorité, à 46,4 %. Comme pour les travailleurs occupant plusieurs emplois, une famille de travailleurs autonomes se démarque clairement des autres. Les *conquérants* ont un revenu annuel moyen de 89 158 \$, c.-à-d. deux fois plus élevé que celui des *survivants* et cinq fois plus élevé que celui des *victimes*. En termes d'éducation, les *conquérants* comprennent la majorité des diplômés universitaires qui sont travailleurs autonomes, tandis que la famille des *victimes* comprend plus de la moitié des répondants avec un diplôme d'études secondaires ou moins. En contraste avec ceux qui cumulent les emplois, les hommes sont surreprésentés chez les travailleurs autonomes : 61,6 % de la population qui occupe ce type d'emploi atypique. De plus, les hommes constituent la majorité des *conquérants* et des *survivants*. En termes de durée de la semaine de travail, les *conquérants* se démarquent de manière significative des deux autres familles en raison de leur horaire considérablement plus long.

Discussion

Dans l'ensemble, les résultats liés à l'effet du secteur d'activité montrent que le travail autonome tend à se répandre dans plus de secteurs d'activité que le cumul d'emplois. Le fait que les travailleurs autonomes canadiens travaillent dans une variété de secteurs d'activité révèle clairement à quel point cette forme de travail a pénétré le marché de l'emploi. Ces résultats corroborent Matusik et Hill (1998), qui décrivent les avantages de recourir aux emplois atypiques dans certains environnements organisationnels, parce que cette approche favorise la création de connaissances et de compétences dont les organisations ont inévitablement besoin. Toutefois, les résultats obtenus confirment une tendance vers la polarisation, ou le rejet du recours au travail autonome dans certains secteurs d'activité, vu que quatre des secteurs ont une influence

positive sur la probabilité d'occuper cette forme d'emploi atypique, tandis que quatre autres secteurs ont un effet négatif. Ce résultat indique donc une résistance à la généralisation des stratégies d'externalisation. Apparemment, certains secteurs d'activité refusent de recourir au travail autonome, c.-à-d. que ce lien d'emploi ne fait pas partie de leur réalité organisationnelle, tandis que d'autres secteurs s'y fient considérablement. Il n'y a pas de sous-représentation notable du travail autonome dans les secteurs traditionnellement liés aux activités du gouvernement, qui n'ont jamais opté pour ce type d'emploi (Hipple, 2001). À cet égard, nos résultats confirment les conclusions qu'on trouve dans la documentation spécialisée (Jurik, 1998; Matusik et Hill, 1998). Néanmoins, le cas du secteur manufacturier est quelque peu surprenant. Bien que le secteur manufacturier ait toujours concentré les ressources humaines et les moyens de production, on pourrait s'attendre, comme le suggèrent Matusik et Hill (1998), à ce que les organisations de ce secteur optent pour le recours à l'emploi atypique, compte tenu surtout qu'un certain nombre de travailleurs autonomes accepteraient probablement de travailler comme sous-traitants, en vertu de contrats de services, dans des lieux et avec des équipements situés à l'extérieur de l'organisation.

De plus, le travail autonome peut facilement prendre de l'ampleur dans le secteur manufacturier parce que, comme dans le secteur immobilier, la forme et l'organisation du travail se prêtent bien à ce type d'emploi. En contraste, le secteur de la construction a un effet positif sur les travailleurs autonomes et sur ceux qui occupent plusieurs emplois. Ce secteur devrait donc être considéré comme accordant une valeur particulière aux stratégies basées sur la flexibilité externe, associée à moins d'engagement des employés et moins de coûts salariaux (Tremblay, D.G, 1990). Parce que le secteur de la construction produit un effet important sur les deux types d'emplois atypiques analysés, nos résultats appuient partiellement les conclusions d'autres études sur le sujet (Bregger, 1996). Ceci est peu surprenant car ce secteur se caractérise par de fréquentes fluctuations d'activité qui obligent les organisations et les individus à être flexibles. Conséquemment, il n'est pas surprenant que plusieurs auteurs (Davis-Blake et Uzzi, 1993; Matusik et Hill, 1998) rapportent que les organisations qui opèrent dans un environnement instable ou saisonnier auraient grandement intérêt à adopter une stratégie d'externalisation et à offrir des emplois atypiques. De plus, ce secteur d'activité regorge de petits entrepreneurs, sous-traitants et artisans qui peuvent facilement s'engager dans le cumul d'emplois et le travail autonome.

Pour conclure la discussion sur les secteurs, il est bien de noter qu'occuper un poste dans le secteur des services de gestion augmente la probabilité du travail autonome. À vrai dire, nos résultats illustrent une tendance vers l'impartition d'un grand nombre d'activités autrefois exécutées par la main-d'œuvre permanente des organisations. Il serait intéressant de déterminer plus précisément les activités de gestion les plus touchées. Dans l'ensemble, il est clair que le travail atypique affecte les activités autrefois exécutées par la main-d'œuvre permanente (Booth, 1997; Chênevert et Tremblay, 1995; Jacob, 1993). Il serait également intéressant d'étudier dans le futur la taille de l'organisation parce que le nombre d'employés dans un secteur précis peut avoir des conséquences sur la formalité et la longévité de la relation de travail, et donc devenir un déterminant important de l'emploi atypique.

Dans le domaine de la syndicalisation, nos résultats vont dans le sens de ceux de Blanchflower et Meyer (1994) en ce que le fait d'avoir occupé un emploi syndiqué cinq ans plus tôt réduit la probabilité de devenir travailleur autonome. Les avantages de la syndicalisation en termes de conditions de travail et de sécurité d'emploi peuvent être

des facteurs dissuasifs dans la décision d'abandonner un travail traditionnel en faveur du travail autonome. Néanmoins, la présence croissante des travailleurs atypiques pose un défi majeur aux organisations syndicales : celui de représenter des travailleurs dont les intérêts varient considérablement et dont la présence sur le marché du travail est souvent virtuelle (Mackbride-King, 1997; Wever, 1997).

À première vue, à la fois pour le cumul d'emploi et pour le travail autonome, les résultats liés à la catégorie professionnelle occupée il y a cinq ans confirment que les personnes occupant des postes hiérarchiques sont peu susceptibles de s'engager dans un travail atypique. Ces résultats corroborent les études (Addison et Surfield, 2006; Brousseau et al. 1996; Hall, 1996) qui concluent que les nouvelles carrières manquent de hiérarchie. À tout le moins, on peut présumer que les personnes qui se trouvent dans un cheminement de carrière traditionnel, caractérisé par une relative stabilité d'emploi, des promotions et un statut social élevé, comme les cadres supérieurs et intermédiaires, ne sont pas vraiment concernées par le phénomène étudié. Nos résultats illustrent néanmoins que les emplois de plus haute spécialisation comme ceux des professionnels et semi-professionnels, commencent à être affectés de manière significative par le cumul d'emplois. Ici encore, les résultats montrent que le travail atypique s'étend aux activités et aux fonctions qui demandent des compétences qu'on trouvait auparavant dans la main-d'œuvre permanente; en d'autres mots, le phénomène concerne des tâches essentielles mais non critiques (Booth, 1997; Chênevert et Tremblay, 1995; Jacob, 1993).

En ce qui a trait au cumul d'emploi, les résultats relatifs à la fréquence du mouvement confirment les résultats rapportés dans la documentation, à savoir que les répondants qui ont connu une grande mobilité non ascendante sont plus susceptibles d'occuper plusieurs emplois. Conformément à la documentation sur les nouvelles carrières, cette observation signifie que les travailleurs qui occupent plusieurs emplois connaissent une plus grande mobilité que la majorité des travailleurs qui ont un cheminement de carrière traditionnel. En contraste, la fréquence des mouvements n'influence pas la probabilité de devenir travailleur autonome. Il existe deux explications possibles pour cette situation. D'abord, de nombreux travailleurs autonomes peuvent avoir été dans des situations d'emplois très stables avant l'étude; cette possibilité devrait être explorée. En outre, on devrait garder à l'esprit que les travailleurs autonomes ne changent pas d'emploi fréquemment, le changement concerne surtout la clientèle.

En dernier lieu, pour ces deux formes d'emplois non conventionnels, il est clair que les expériences hiérarchiques ne sont pas prédominantes, ce qui témoigne d'une caractéristique fondamentale des nouvelles carrières (Arthur et Rousseau, 1996; Bailly et al., 1998; Hall, 1996). Les études sur le plafonnement des carrières (Tremblay, 1995) ont démontré comment le concept de carrière traditionnelle est de plus en plus érodé par les mécanismes de blocage individuels ou structurels.

En ce qui a trait aux variables individuelles, seul le sexe des répondants exerce une influence significative. À vrai dire, nos résultats pointent dans la direction attendue. Le sexe des répondants n'influence pas la probabilité de cumuler les emplois. De plus, les résultats obtenus en regard du travail autonome sont compatibles avec la documentation spécialisée (Matthews et Moser, 1995) à l'effet que les hommes sont plus susceptibles d'être travailleurs autonomes que les femmes. Ces résultats suggèrent que dans un contexte d'emploi atypique, la répartition dans les catégories professionnelles perpétue apparemment les stéréotypes associés aux emplois

traditionnels. Par exemple, on retrouve les travailleurs autonomes masculins surtout chez les professionnels et les gestionnaires, tandis que les femmes prédominent dans les emplois de secrétariat et de bureau, un modèle qui reproduit dans les emplois atypiques les mêmes stéréotypes sexuels qu'on trouve dans les emplois traditionnels (Maler et Milkovich, 2000). En outre, ces résultats confirment ceux de Carr (1996), qui démontrent clairement que les hommes et les femmes n'occupent pas des emplois atypiques pour les mêmes raisons ni aux mêmes âges.

Après une analyse de différenciation entre les personnes cumulant les emplois et les travailleurs autonomes, nous affirmons que ces deux formes d'emplois atypiques diffèrent. Malgré des similitudes entre ces deux types de travail non conventionnel, il est assez évident que les familles ne sont aucunement des groupes homogènes. De plus, la différenciation des familles au sein des groupes de travailleurs autonomes et de ceux qui cumulent les emplois met en lumière l'influence discriminatoire de la scolarité. Nos résultats montrent que plus la scolarité des répondants est élevée, plus ils sont susceptibles d'appartenir à la famille des *stars* ou des *conquérants*, un résultat qui corrobore les conclusions de plusieurs chercheurs (Carr, 1996; Jurik, 1998). En conséquence, même si la tendance est plus nette pour les *stars*, les personnes qui occupent plusieurs emplois et les travailleurs autonomes suivent le même modèle logique que les travailleurs conventionnels : l'éducation engendre manifestement de meilleures conditions de vie. Le revenu annuel des *stars* et des *conquérants* est de loin supérieur au revenu moyen. Néanmoins, un revenu plus élevé est souvent associé à des semaines de travail beaucoup plus longues. Les femmes sont surreprésentées parmi les *insécures* et les *victimes*, ce qui tend à indiquer qu'elles n'occupent pas des places de choix au sein de la main-d'œuvre atypique.

Conclusion

Les résultats de cette étude clarifient le rôle de certaines variables organisationnelles et individuelles dans la probabilité de devenir un travailleur qui cumule les emplois ou autonome. Huit des douze secteurs d'activité influencent cette probabilité pour les travailleurs autonomes. En ce qui a trait aux secteurs déterminants, nous avons observé que la probabilité de devenir travailleur autonome diminue de 86,1 % chez les répondants qui travaillent dans l'administration publique, ce qui confirme le manque d'importance accordée à ce type d'emploi dans l'appareil gouvernemental. La variable secteur a néanmoins un effet plus mitigé sur le cumul d'emplois, parce que seulement deux secteurs d'activité influencent la probabilité de cumuler les emplois. En général, nos résultats montrent clairement que le secteur de la construction se caractérise par une recherche constante de flexibilité externe, ce secteur étant le seul qui influence positivement la probabilité de joindre un des groupes atypiques étudiés.

En termes de facteurs liés à la carrière, la mobilité ascendante joue un rôle unique. Cet effet, homogène pour les travailleurs autonomes et ceux qui cumulent les emplois, se manifeste de manière significative quant à la probabilité de s'engager dans l'une ou l'autre de ces formes atypiques d'emplois. Le fait d'être promu cinq ans avant l'enquête réduit donc substantiellement les chances d'appartenir à l'une de ces deux catégories d'emplois atypiques étudiés, tandis que la mobilité non ascendante n'augmente que la probabilité d'occuper plusieurs emplois. En outre, pour les individus qui occupaient des postes de cadres supérieurs ou intermédiaires cinq ans avant

l'enquête, la probabilité est considérablement plus faible de cumuler les emplois ou d'être travailleur autonome, ce qui confirme l'impact persistant des cheminements de carrière plus traditionnels sur les catégories professionnelles de statut hiérarchique élevé. En conséquence, nous pouvons considérer que les individus en situation de blocage de cheminement traditionnel peuvent être enclins à adopter ces formes d'emplois atypiques de manière à satisfaire leurs attentes au-delà des promotions et du statut financier.

En dernier lieu, excepté le fait que les hommes sont surreprésentés dans la catégorie des travailleurs autonomes et que la probabilité qu'ils occupent cet emploi atypique est plus forte, le sexe n'a pas d'influence sur le cumul d'emploi. Il est intéressant de mentionner que ces deux formes d'emplois atypiques sont subdivisées en familles qui ne sont pas homogènes en termes de revenu annuel, de niveau de scolarité, d'heures travaillées et de moyenne d'âge. De plus, les femmes prévalent largement dans les familles qui comportent le plus d'emplois précaires et de conditions de vie précaires. Néanmoins, des différences importantes existent au sein des familles des travailleurs autonomes et des personnes qui cumulent les emplois, et la prudence est de mise pour éviter l'appariement indiscriminé des concepts de ce qui est atypique et précaire. En conclusion, bien que la précarité soit en fait bien présente, ce n'est pas un déterminant de l'emploi atypique.

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Charting Workplace Transitioning Pathways of Generation -Y Human Resources Practitioners

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Examining how new recruits adapt to change comes at a critical time when a new wave of HR practitioners, Generation Y (Gen Y), makes its debut on the business stage. Gen Y – those born between 1981 and 2000, bring a distinct set of values, expectations, and behaviours to the workplace. Characterized as entrepreneurial and independent; digitally savvy; rejecting micromanagement; and valuing empowerment, challenge, and excitement (Izzo, 2002), Gen Y has an unorthodox approach to career management that does not parallel traditional paths charted by Baby Boomers and Generation X.

Prevailing trends show more than half of Gen Y recruits resign from their first job within seven months (Saratoga Institute, 2000). Cited in the literature are low levels of trust and loyalty to corporate cultures, attributed to intense media scrutiny of corporations tainted with scandal (Wolburg & Pokrywczynski, 2001) and having witnessed several instances of organizational downsizing (Loughlin & Barling, 2001). Consequently, they have become sceptical; mistrustful, and apathetic toward traditional hierarchies and authority (Martin & Tulgan, 2002). With Gen Y declared “the most entrepreneurial generation in history”, organizations are confronted with the added weight of convincing young workers that working for a corporation has greater appeal than self-employment (Martin, 2005).

Gen Y brings an impressive, portfolio of academic credentials and requisite skills in technology to the workplace along with lofty expectations for fast-track promotion, raises, perks, independence, flexible work arrangements, and a need for fun (Zemke, 2001). They expect continuous recognition and daily feedback (Hastings, 2008). They also call for managerial support as well as clear and comprehensive instructions, yet seek autonomy to chart the path and pace for achieving goals (Yeaton, 2008; Martin, 2005). Given their pressing sense of immediacy and impatience, Gen Y is unlikely to be enticed by promises of distant pay raises and promotions (Lancaster & Stillman, 2002). As stated by senior management interviewed by Weber (2008), “You want to think about how to prepare the next generation to move into leadership and they’re already thinking about buying the company.” (p.52).

Dissonance between personal expectations and organizational realities coupled with low tolerance of work environments that fail to deliver expectations, frequently result in swift resignation responses (Hunt & Weintraub, 2002; Nyce & Schieber, 2002). Job jumping every two years in search of greater compensation or purposeful work is the norm due to a boundaryless view of career and an awareness of their sought-after technological expertise (Zemke, Raines, & Filipczak, 2000). Gen Y’s definition of long term commitment is one year (Martin, 2005), and only one in five anticipates tenure with the same company for six years or longer (Hastings, 2008). Security is still valued by younger workers, but is defined as career security whereby they build a solid portfolio of transferable skills permitting them to change jobs (Lancaster & Stillman, 2002; Hira, 2007). Gen Y attitudes, expectations, and

behaviours bring a new set of opportunities and challenges to the HR profession that press for unconventional approaches to attract, motivate, and retain their expertise.

Complicating the situation is the grave reality of a shrinking labour force coupled with heightened demand for HR practitioners as organizations comprehend the value-added contribution to bottom line and to competitive edge afforded by premier management of their workforce. The generation of workers currently in the workforce and available to replace Baby Boomers are 20% fewer in numbers (Statistics Canada, 2007). Statistics Canada (2007) reported that the labour force is precariously balanced with one employee leaving for every one employee entering, yet in ten years a sharp negative replacement ratio is expected with more retirees than workforce entrants. The Conference Board of Canada (2006), forecasts an accelerated rate of retirement beginning in 2012 when 30% of older, “front end” Baby Boomers which represent 6.6 million workers reach age 65. By 2030, a quarter of Canada’s population will be 65 and ready to retire (assuming age 65 departure). By 2016, a shortage of one million workers is predicted (Barrett, 2005; McIntyre, 2007), yet more disturbing is the forecast of over ten million more jobs than people capable of filling them by 2010 (Thompson, 2003).

Instinctively, Canada looks to the United States as a source of potential labour, yet it faces the same dilemma. Approximately 60 million U.S. Baby Boomers are expected to retire in the next 15 years (Drake Beam Morin, 2003; McClintock, 2003) and 19% of Baby Boomers in management positions are forecast to retire in the next five years (Carey, 2003). International recruitment offers little resolution as census data reports sixty-one countries are experiencing below average birth rates to meet workforce replacement needs (Kaye & Jordan-Evans, 2005).

Increasing demand for HR expertise, a dwindling labour force in which to compete for talent, and a new workforce profile raise the stakes for investigating how recruits experience transition and where change is needed in order to become employers of choice and to staff positions with star performers. Ultimately, transition management could become a key ingredient in building organizational prosperity and sealing competitive advantage.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold: to present results from a study exploring experiences of Gen-Y HR recruits as they transition from academia to the workplace; and to propose a pathway to streamline the transition. Results and change initiatives from this study can be used not only to enhance HR graduates’ transition into their respective roles; but used on a macro level by HR practitioners to develop organization-wide policies and procedures to support transitioning of all new recruits. HR is ideally positioned to advocate for and direct this initiative, given their front line accountability for developing, managing, and sustaining work environments that attract, motivate, and retain workforce talent to achieve high productivity levels. According to Batt (2002), organizations with high involvement HR championing progressive workplace initiatives report lower employee turnover.

Research Findings

This research is framed within a grounded theory approach which focuses on developing defensible theories that are informed by events, as well as the interactions of people and their communications (Halloway & Todres 2003). Strengths related to grounded theory include “strategies that guide the researcher step by step through an analytic process; the self-correcting nature of the data collection process; the methods’

inherent bent toward theory and the simultaneous turning away from a contextual description; and the emphasis on comparative methods” (Chamaz 2000: 522).

Research findings from this study are cumulative results from on-line surveys, and individual and focus group interviews with 221 college graduates in their first year of employment, 170 supervisors of these workforce entrants, and 42 college educators. For research purposes, the spotlight is on recent college graduates from Human Resources programs in Ontario, Canada. The majority of HR programs in Ontario colleges have accredited courses toward a professional designation granted by the Human Resources Professionals Association (HRPA) – the governing body regulating course curriculum. Hence, the high degree of consistency in competency profiles of HR graduates creates a level playing field of knowledge when pursuing careers which, from a research perspective, decreases the probability that there are significant academic variances to rationalize why some graduates are more, or less, effective in transitioning into the workplace.

During data collection, participants shared experiences, insights, and observations of the academic-workplace transition; specifically, addressing challenges faced, changes experienced, and significant learnings. Emerging from content analysis of data were the following thematic categories: assigned workload, strategic accountability, establishing internal networks, office politics, mentoring, and conflict management.

assigned workload. New HR recruits described first year of employment as a radical shift from academic familiarity to labour market urgency. Having come from academic stability – less likely rocked by external influences – the volatility of the work environment was disarming, causing 58% to doubt ability to ride winds of change.

In light of apprehensions, new recruits credited academic training for equipping them with skills to secure employment (73%); comprehending HR roles (71%); and developing general business acumen (54%). Supervisors awarded high satisfaction ratings to new recruits for critical thinking (81%), problem solving (78%), and analytical skills (73%); with lower ratings assigned to verbal communication skills (60%), written communication skills (54%), and taking initiative (37%).

A prevailing workplace stressor noted by new recruits was disproportionate amounts of clerical work requiring administrative competency that, in their opinion, were disconnected from the HR competency profile honed during their studies. New recruits estimated 75% of daily routines devoted to administrative tasks, with 77% perceiving their professional portfolio as undervalued. Especially frustrating was being privy to departmental commotion surrounding HR start-ups, yet asked to contribute administrative support instead of HR expertise.

New recruits and educators concurred that dissatisfaction stemmed from a shaky continuation of project-based initiatives in the workplace that new recruits were familiar with from application-based learning environments where projects replicated real-life scenarios. Having developed HR competencies, they sought work environments to test drive knowledge, skills, and abilities developed in academia.

Educators also argued that the disconnect was rooted in lack of awareness of competencies brought to the workforce, potential of college graduates, and characteristics of Gen Y. Although 53% of supervisors acknowledged the disconnect, they explained that no job is immune from administration and it orients new recruits to departmental operations. Although 51% of new recruits agreed, they remained

disgruntled that administration occupied a larger than anticipated portion of workload. According to Kofman and Eckler (2005), the greatest anxiety plaguing Gen Y is lethargy resulting from accountabilities that fail to challenge intellect.

The remaining 25% of workload devoted to project-based initiatives posed their own set of challenges. Eighty-one percent expressed difficulty prioritizing work given the constant flux of change and were unnerved by the revolving door whereby assignments – originally stamped as “top priority” - were shelved and replaced with assignments deemed of greater importance. Frustration mounted when midway through research they were asked to embark in different directions – with no assurances they would return to finalize previous projects. Often spinning in attempts to re-focus their efforts, they questioned their value-added contributions not having seen projects through to fruition.

strategic accountability. Although there was clarity regarding HR functionality in the broader organizational context, new recruits questioned how their specific roles and responsibilities contributed to strategic mandate. Survey results revealed 18% were fully aware of job-organization linkage, and 56% required clarification. Of the 56%, the majority pointed to heavy administrative workloads and compartmentalization of projects as blocks to construing strategic relevance. In sharp contrast, 72% of supervisors affirmed that they communicated strategic relevance as part of orientation, and 65% communicated how projects fulfilled strategic mandate.

Under the umbrella of role ambiguity, new recruits noted they were hesitant volunteers. With a fragile grasp of role, new recruits were reluctant to risk embarrassment by offering input that may be skewed from organizational reality. Risks potentially jeopardizing stellar professional reputations being honed were not worth taking, especially at this sensitive time in their careers when management was vigilant as to what professional impact they would make.

New recruits were not under illusions of grandeur that they would contribute to revolutionary organizational change, but needed to grasp a thread of connectivity between entry level and organizational mandate. Noted in the survey, 76% declared that this information fed motivation and established credibility. Instead of undertaking assignments in a vacuum – with analysis and recommendations void of linkages to organizational values, vision, and direction – they could frame their work within the organizational context. Subsequently, their work would stand as legitimate strategic contributions from which their professional reputation would be honed. According to 68%, making clear and focused connections are fundamental in preparation for management positions.

establishing internal networks. New recruits expressed elevated levels of social anxiety during their inaugural year. Finding their place on “the team” – with its dynamic and complex web of interactions – was a complicated strategic manoeuvre requiring laser-precision. There was no prescribed methodology for executing this mission, but art and science leveraging of observation and executive decision making as to the precise moment to ask questions and offer input.

Results indicated 48% preferred to be observers during initial involvement with teams; scrutinizing communication patterns, norms, power brokers, personalities, work habits to achieve success, and behaviours to gain team acceptance. Having come from academic settings, new recruits were cognizant of their Gen Y jargon used in

conversations with college colleagues, with admission by 58% of being self-conscious about verbal presentation skills and 65% apprehensive about business writing skills. Sixty-seven percent were carefully examining speech patterns, vocabulary use, and written correspondence used by seasoned practitioners to discern business etiquette.

Of the 52% choosing participatory roles in initial involvement with teams, 29% were satisfied with their actions, and 48% assessed their actions as premature. In haste to carve out professional identity and overzealous need to impress management, their contributions often missed the mark hence, creating a less than favourable impression. In hindsight, they would have engaged in team shadowing and reflection on process before leaping forward with input.

office politics: negative side of organizational interactions. One of the most illusive and complex dynamics faced was office politics. Survey results revealed 87% struggled to respond, with 69% choosing flight responses to avoid politically-loaded scenarios. Of the 31% who became involved, they assumed involvement would solidify acceptance by the team. In hindsight, 71% regretted getting trapped in political webs for they became locked in grapevine cliques that detracted time and energy from work. Through trial and error they learned avoidance was a safer route.

According to supervisors, circumventing office politics was not an option. No organization is anesthetised from political clutches, and 89% concurred that proficiency in managing hurdles created by office politicking was a measure of professional success. Sidestepping office politics was perceived as indifference to the inner machine fuelling interpersonal dynamics, or incompetence in rising to the challenge of crafting responses that shut office politics down when on the brink of sabotaging work.

Educators explained that the study of organizational political behaviour was compulsory in college curriculum, but complexities of office politics coupled with power dynamics, personality differences, demographic mix, and organizational norms made formulating definitive courses of action in response to politics improbable. However, new recruits were not unfamiliar with politics as many experienced “academic politics” when collaborating with colleagues on projects. According to new recruits, as team interactions became hot beds of political activity, their typical response was to ignore disruptive behaviours and sprint toward the task finish line vowing never to work with perpetrators of team discord. It was easier to evade disruptive behaviours, since flagging process issues often escalated into unbridled conflict which further derailed relations and resulted in substandard final products.

On average, new recruits grasped the political landscape of the workplace within six months of employment, with their greatest challenges being ability to differentiate truth from fiction in storylines communicated (57%); and ascertaining informal power hierarchies in operation (41%). Pressure to take sides in office debates were averted by 52%, with 39% taking a stance on issues and regretting their decision.

mentoring. Mentoring was identified by 85% of new recruits as the cornerstone of successful workplace transitioning to fully embrace organizational priorities, structure, and culture. Results indicated 32% were satisfied with mentoring received; 38% required more concentrated support systems; and 21% received no mentoring. Similar results were received when asked about quality of feedback. New recruits were pleased with formal performance evaluations, with 64% not recommending any changes. However, low grades were assigned to quality of informal

daily feedback, with 16% fully satisfied, 36% moderately satisfied, and 35% dissatisfied. Of the 35% dissatisfied, 37% received more criticism than praise, and 40% rarely received any feedback. Seventy-eight percent expected job feedback to pattern academic feedback.

Aggregate data shown to supervisors were met with shock as results were lower than expected. Supervisors cited a range of constraints prohibiting them from offering strong support systems. Given a business landscape of unprecedented and unpredictable change and an HR culture characterized by chronic hours, fatiguing workloads, multi-tasking, and shrinking deadlines, support systems often take a backseat. Supervisors spend exorbitant amounts of time at the boardroom table locked in strategic discussion and devote little, if any time, to new recruits. Junior staff are typically delegated the task of supervising new recruits, but often are not trained in effective feedback. Hence, new recruits craving feedback to gauge rightness of their directions are left unsatisfied.

New recruits agreed without feedback, time and energy was wasted trying to figure out the basics or focusing efforts in the wrong direction. Proceeding through early career stages with trial and error approaches was identified as career suicide, especially when attempting to make a favourable impression. Feedback was earmarked as the fuel that galvanized effort toward excellence in task completion and in shaping their professionalism. According to Folger and Cropanzano (1998), there is a strong correlation between perception of management support and employee commitment.

conflict management. When asked about approaches to resolving interpersonal conflicts and disparities between personal and workplace expectations, 77% were resolute in their conviction not to address concerns with management. Expressed were reservations that raising such concerns would be perceived as having poor conflict management skills and subsequently, reflected in performance evaluations – possibly tarnishing their professional image and hindering promotion into positions demanding exemplary conflict management. Given the signature importance of being a team player able to work through conflict, new recruits did not want questions ignited about their conflict management skills.

To safeguard their professional reputation, new recruits chose to consciously bury issues and focus on assigned tasks (38%), seek advice from colleagues employed elsewhere (36%), or resolve issues under their own steam (23%). New recruits conceded that these approaches temporarily shield discontent, yet over time sustaining the façade was exhausting and gradually began to erode work relations and quality of work. If conflict did not subside, 41% were prepared to resign, with 29% casually scanning the job market for their next career move. Sixty-two percent viewed their first job as a trial run en route to finding a company with whom to formally launch a long term career.

When asked to rate overall satisfaction with transitioning experiences on a Likert scale, the average response was 5.8 – “10” denoting “outstanding”. Sixty-two percent stated their personal lives were submerged by uphill battles to understand their new role, carve out professional identity, and deliver value-added contributions. Although overstretched, with 29% showing symptoms of burnout, new recruits agreed that these were growing pains as they settle into their chosen profession.

Analysis of Results

Inevitably, a more streamlined transition is needed to move new recruits from academia to the workplace. Although new recruits credited academia with providing solid knowledge to launch their careers, work is still required for workplace readiness. Preparation must progress beyond aptitude and interest assessments to find connectivity between person, job, and organization; and on how to be resourceful in one's job search. Although these practices are staples of career preparedness, transitional challenges raised in this study invite more assertive approaches.

If no action is taken there are risks that the divide may be sustained or expanded. The business community risks losing status as employers of choice and facing turnover when dissatisfied new recruits resign. Turnover has a crippling effect, especially on bottom line. Costs of turnover stemming from three primary sources – separation costs for departing employees; replacement costs associated with recruitment and selection; and training costs for new hires – are two to three times the monthly salary of departing employees (Mercer, 2002). Recruitment and selection costs alone for an entry level position are \$6000 Cdn. ((Leibowitz et al., 1991). Costs are likely higher as equations do not include indirect costs, such as decreased morale, lower productivity preceding resignation, and overtime payouts for employees juggling responsibilities of employees who have left.

Turnover perpetuates the cycle of recruiting, selecting, and training which is expensive and robs time and attention from strategically important work that fulfils the organizational mandate. With the complexion of the workplace constantly changing as a result of a steady stream of new employees, sustaining organizational stability in performance and productivity is challenged; especially critical in consumer-driven landscapes where consistency and excellence in service and product delivery are demanded. Also jeopardized is succession planning that relies heavily on workplace constancy. With short lived tenure it becomes problematic to work with employees on mapping internal career progression and providing requisite professional development, especially for leadership in key functionalities requiring intense mentoring to ensure competence.

Implications for academia take the form of eroded reputation if programs fail to deliver graduates with a full complement of workforce skills. Turbulent workforce initiations may also get communicated through academic grapevines to the next wave of learners preparing for the workplace. If repairs to transitioning potholes are not executed, these messages may snowball and be communicated to potential college entrants, leaving blemishes on the institution's reputation as it tries to compete for star students. This translates into lower enrolment of new students and graduates returning for advanced credentials, reduced capacity to attract funding which leads to reduced budgets for program delivery, and program cuts. It may also impact the calibre of educators attracted to academic institutions which, if profiles of educators are not par excellence, the quality of instruction comes into question.

That which new HR recruits experience during these formative years is what they know and consequently model. Rocky transitions have implications for how new recruits will perform as they progress to senior HR roles, especially how they design orientation programs for new recruits not just in their own departments, but throughout the organization. Hence, a less than stellar transition may be perpetuated throughout

organizational entry level positions and, given the impactful first impression it carries, may perpetuate organization-wide turnover.

Repairing the highway traveled from academia to the workplace requires 360-degree involvement from key stakeholders in the transitioning process – educators, community organizations, and new recruits while in their academic role as learners. Although partnerships to some degree exist, they need to be more firmly entrenched and have more prominence in the architecture of academia and business, with all stakeholders pledging joint accountability.

Blueprint for Transitioning

Proposed is a template for fostering academic-business partnerships that capitalizes on learning for and from the workplace. Although the blueprint originates from HR research, it is intended for use in all disciplines.

The objective is to promote phased introduction to the work world by weaving partnerships into academic and business landscapes with more pronounced visibility and earlier in learners' academic careers. Gradual transitioning from learners' sophomore years into employment enables incremental advancement of business knowledge; regular assessment of skills against expected competencies and performance expectations; and builds confidence in the competency profile offered to the labour market. With progressive transitioning, learners conceivably enter the workforce having ironed out questions, concerns, and anxieties which could mitigate the reality shock that immobilizes learners when starting careers.

Heightened contact between learners and supervisors in this partnership advances the business world's understanding of Gen Y. Specifically, business leaders learn about Gen Y needs and expectations; their perceptions of business and recommendations for change; and qualities of work environments and jobs that are enticing. Not only does this enhance how generations understand and communicate with each other, but also gives supervisors the edge in creating work environments that appeal to workforce entrants, hence improving ability to recruit and retain them.

Partnership empowering business to sustain excellence in creating climates conducive to Gen Y needs can be a competitive advantage when competing for star performers in a shrinking labour pool. Synonymously, academia benefits from elevated image and visibility in the community when they stay current on business expectations and deliver market-ready graduates – earning the coveted distinction of preferred academic institution from which employers recruit graduates.

The proposed partnership is supported by 81% of supervisors, 76% of learners, and 72% of educators, agreeing the bulk of the transition should not rest on the months proceeding graduation as the learning curve is too steep. Survey results indicated 77% of supervisors preferred “business ready” graduates – trained and positioned for employment without prolonged orientation.

Figure 1

Blueprint for Generation Y Transitioning from Academia to the Workplace



collaborative consultation: setting partnership in motion.

Quintessential to the academic-business model is collaborative consultation whereby parties exchange needs, expectations, resources, and assets giving clarity to that which is brought to the table and that which drives their involvement. It also provides a venue for business to enlighten academia about current business priorities and challenges; share workplace learning initiatives; and communicate performance standards and employability skills expected of graduates. Correspondingly, academia articulates how instructional design, delivery, and evaluation are tailored to meet business expectations and foster competency development.

To fuel ongoing collaboration, an academic-business advisory committee should be established meeting quarterly to review status of initiatives; explore new directions en route to perfecting the recipe for balancing academic and workplace learning; and tackle challenges that surface. In doing so, stakeholders have a finger on the pulse of the transitioning process so minor derailments are corrected before causing irreparable damage. To give voice to diverse perspectives and to prevent the committee from becoming insular and operating in a knowledge vacuum, 360-degree communication channels can be developed to canvass insights and recommendations from the larger community.

business application in academic curriculum. Integrating business culture into academia entails comprehensive review of curriculum design, delivery, and evaluation scouting for learning objectives to be enriched by business application. Duly noted, many academic institutions capitalize on business application through workplace practicum, and - provided placements promise application-based orientations - they serve as valuable outlets to pilot run skills and abilities before graduation. Proposed in this blueprint is a more expansive plan whereby business linkages are widely dispersed throughout the curriculum providing a wide swath of activities exposing learners to business diversities and complexities. Consequently, business applications ready learners for both the workplace and practicum demands.

Course assignments necessitating contact with the business community – such as, interviews and surveys to collect data – are befitting for cultivating business-oriented curriculum. Experienced is the richness of diverse research methodologies coupled with synthesizing scholarly works; and a training ground for mastering interview and survey skills for employment marketability.

To augment appeal of these assignments in the eyes of learners, copies of completed assignments can be given to business practitioners for assessment alongside academic grading. Feedback from business leaders should be similar to that which learners would receive if employed by the organization. If assignments take the form of class presentations, business leaders could be invited guests providing feedback. The advantages are two-fold: vicarious learning for the entire class from feedback on each presentation; and plenary debriefing where learners and business leaders dialogue about expectations and practices to perfect skills. Business leaders gain a better grasp of Gen Y disposition and competencies so they can deliberate on how to support preparation for the workforce.

Feedback from business leaders provides learners with a glimpse of how their work is judged in professional arenas. Since business leaders have hiring authority, it is likely learners will be sensitive and receptive to their comments. Learners should be encouraged to reflect on emergent feedback themes to acknowledge strengths – and continue refining development – and map improvements for underdeveloped skills. Preferably, confronting limitations and taking action to perfect skills will unfold while still in academia instead of in the workplace where costly consequences surface in performance evaluations; quality and quantity of projects assigned; and promotions.

realistic career previews. Academia is fraught with continually exploring career alternatives and testing capabilities and interests to ascertain if one is steering in the right occupational direction. Pressure to lock in one's final career choice amidst boundaryless advice and an endless battery of interest, aptitude, and values assessments, can be harrowing.

Narrowing down the decision calls for introduction to the profession through realistic career previews. The aim is similar to realistic job previews – create an accurate profile of the profession so learners are fully cognizant of perks and pitfalls. This can be achieved through job shadowing, panel discussions with representation from diverse HR specialities, facilitation of classroom learning by practitioners, and invitations to networking events sponsored by professional associations. When learners get a taste of front-line opportunities and pressures; and glean first-hand advice from practitioners they weigh the data and make informed decisions about whether HR is

their destiny. Previews may also diminish unrealistic career expectations often provoking organizational turnover within initial employment years.

As perceptions of the profession crystallize, learners are asked to target three goals with corresponding action plans for moving toward full HR competency. To sustain momentum, in-class discussions are encouraged about progress, challenges, and suggestions for shifting directions. Emergent is a developmental plan serving as a roadmap for transition into business. An aggregate profile of goals could prove valuable to academic-business advisory committees enlightening them on learner priorities from which to generate new transitioning pathways.

learner-supervisor consultation: setting the stage for workplace entry.

Career entry is a time of reality testing when job expectations collide with realities of organizational life, giving rise to a stinging reality shock. Learner-supervisor consultation following general employee orientation should be an organizational staple, acclimatizing learners to workplace expectations. Learners comprehend their role on the supervisor's team and how their job links to organizational vision; full extent of accountabilities; and performance standards and expectations that will frame actions. Although overstretched supervisors may be tempted to delegate orientation to junior staff, the temptation should be avoided. If the task is delegated there are not the same assurances that the right organizational tone will be set nor questions answered with the same precision and polish.

Consultation is not intended as an isolated event with a means to an end, but a continuous process woven into learner-supervisor working relationships. Periodic meetings should be scheduled to check progress, raise issues, and contemplate future pursuits. If solid rapport has been built, then a safe haven exists for learners to test their professional wings in offering feedback, suggesting change, and asking questions – even those loaded with business sensitivity. As well, supervisors gain insights into business operations through the lens of new recruits to gauge degree of success in fostering work environments conducive to productivity and satisfaction, and where change is warranted.

Although time consuming, this practice should be extended to all employees. Regularly voicing concerns and working toward minimizing barriers decreases the probability of problems festering and eventually eroding satisfaction and performance. Early detection and response to the need for change are more manageable than attempting to navigate the change process once problems take flight leaving employees despondent. Making changes based on employee input launches a cyclical feedback process whereby supervisor develop and sustain connection with employees disclosing that which is, and isn't, contributing to workplace efficiency and effectiveness (Rekar Munro & Laiken, 2004).

project-based orientation in entry level jobs. Survey results disclosed learners' preferences for project-based concentration in entry level jobs. Opportunity presents itself for supervisors and learners to dissect existing job structures and collaborate on job redesign to leverage learner and organizational needs.

Job redesign enables supervisors to capitalize on learners' rich competency profiles by stretching walls of job accountability so learners can contribute the full gamut of their talents. Intrinsic satisfiers such as skill variety, challenge, and involvement not only enhance participation, commitment, and productivity, but

research suggests employees who embark on challenging projects early in their careers fine-tune professional resources to achieve greater success later in their careers and are less likely to resign (Harter et al., 2002). From management's perspective, new skill sets may fill pockets of unattended departmental needs and resurrect projects that were shelved due to lack of resources. Resultantly, both parties reap benefits of job redesign – organizations acquire high performance from a skilled and committed workforce; and employees exercise unrestrained potential in gratifying careers, and are less likely to leave.

However, questions still loom as to what should be done with administrative duties opposed by new recruits. Job redesign calls for scrutiny of clerical tasks in an attempt to streamline operations for maximum effectiveness and efficiency; and to address what can be automated out. Of paramount concern should be whether full technological capabilities are harnessed in all HR functionalities, especially in manually-driven tasks. This is critical in a digitally advanced era imprinted with lightening advances, and given the arrival of Gen Y known for ultra-technological sophistication. Exercising due diligence through e-HR initiatives may alleviate many operational burdens, liberating HR practitioners to reposition themselves in project-based orientations carrying strategic relevance (Rekar Munro, 2007).

mentorship. Transitional challenges confronted by learners warrant prudent matching of mentor and protégé so experiences span beyond exchanges of knowledge; acclaimed for holistic value. Instituting impactful mentorship programs starts with a competency profile as the basis for selecting mentors. Screening of candidates is imperative as star performers in their designated disciplines are not inevitably predestined to be mentors, since a markedly different skill set is required for the role.

Training programs for mentors should be compulsory for universal understanding of expectations and consistency in creating climates conducive to learning. A sample of the training agenda includes: timely and constructive feedback; proactive problem solving; consulting on progress; conflict management; offering developmental assignments and support; linking learners with internal and external networks and resources; support for goal setting and generating options for action strategies; and facilitating career development discussions.

Matching of mentor and protege should be executed with the same precision afforded to training. Both participate in pre-mentoring meetings to discuss expectations, interests, work habits, and preferences to ascertain if there is “working chemistry” as the bedrock upon which to build a working relationship. The final verdict is participant-driven so both are confident there is enough to bond them – integral when managing pressure points that may arise.

Given the global and technological landscape in which business operates, mentoring is no longer reserved for face-to-face mentor-protégé contact. The predominance and ease with which teleconferencing and videoconferencing are used to connect globally present opportunities for on-line mentoring. E-mentoring offers its own brand of value: educating proteges about inter-connectedness of business operations to achieve global mandate; diversity on environmental, legal, social, economic, and political fronts; and how this intricate web of operations is managed. These experiences are beneficial for those with international career aspirations.

career tracking. Career tracking plants clear and realizable visions of potential lateral and horizontal career paths that motivate learners to excel in workplace undertakings in order to satisfy career ambitions; and improve organizational succession planning and reduce threats of turnover. If learners remain fixed on long term vision it is probable they will ride the wave of unfulfilling tasks – despite best efforts in job redesign – cognizant that their compass points in a direction that garners greater satisfaction.

Supervisors provide a goldmine of input to translate career goals into action by identifying prerequisite competencies required for success; mapping academic avenues to upgrade skills and enhance professional marketability; and recommending high visibility workplace and community assignments to enrich one's portfolio and build professional networks. To diffuse the probability of goal setting becoming an academic exercise and enhancing the probability that career strategies have management backing, career management should take its place in performance evaluations. Formal assessments ensure learners and supervisors keep career aspirations on the radar and periodically assess whether revisions are needed to fine-tune career direction.

evaluation: where do we go from here? The whirlwind of transitional activity begs periodic intermissions to evaluate the transformative path pursued. As the steering body for transition, academic-business advisory committees are best positioned to lead evaluation. Major decisions need to be made: identifying performance indicators for assessment and evaluation tools, format, and administration; and determining how far the net will be cast in canvassing feedback from the community.

Evaluation affords an opportune time to critique strengths and limitations of each component of the transitional process – learning, development, service, teaching, and partnership. From the strengths, best practices are extrapolated for crafting policies and procedures that perpetuate consistency in how stakeholders define their roles and how they deliver first-class transitioning experiences. Limitations are equally potent developmental opportunities from which to catch areas of dysfunction before they derail the process, and to canvass recommendations for metamorphosing weaknesses into strengths. Evaluation also ignites questions for generating new research initiatives to advance understanding and management of transitioning pathways.

Feedback creates a surge in momentum from which to raise the bar and progress to the next chapter. Commitment to annual evaluation enhances the likelihood that stakeholders have a finger on the pulse of the transitioning process and are prepared to deliver a pre-emptive strike by shifting in new directions in the face of change.

Conclusion

Partnerships are powerful catalysts for ensuring premier academic and business experiences are delivered to steer Gen-Y HR practitioners into the work world – one of the steepest learning curves in their career lifespan. By comprehending how new recruits experience transition and detecting discontinuities and fractures in current practice, stakeholders can mobilize resources to provide an unparalleled, first-class training ground for professional practice. With a high premium placed on transition management new recruits enter the HR profession with a full complement of competencies to advance and perpetuate organizational success; ultimately making transition management the new pillar of organizational prosperity. Some may argue

that academic-business partnerships involve distressing expenditures of resources. True – yet indisputably imperative as part of society’s due diligence in preparing the next generation of knowledge workers under whose leadership global communities will thrive.

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The Intersection of Gender & Race: Effects on The Incidence of Promotions

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An employee's rank in an organizational hierarchy not only determines the level of financial rewards (Gerhart & Milkovich, 1989; Baker, Gibbs & Holmstrom, 1994a,b; McCue, 1996; Bognanno, 2001), but also confers other non-pecuniary benefits, such as more autonomy and more opportunities for personal development. Promotions also lead to higher levels of job satisfaction (Berkowitz & Kotowitz, 1993; Francesconi, 2001). Opportunity for career advancement, therefore, is a key determinant of workers' labour market experiences.

The substantial flattening of organizations in the last two decades has eliminated several layers in most organizations' hierarchies. In this new environment, career achievement through a series of lateral moves to increase the employees' breadth of knowledge and experience has become more common than career advancement through the organization hierarchy. Although these lateral moves may be seen as necessary building blocks for career advancement, it is upward mobility that provides significant monetary and non-monetary returns. This paper will first look at the determinants of promotions and then explore the intersection of race and gender on the incidence of promotions. Finally, this paper will assess the proportion of the gross gap in promotion opportunity between white males and white females/minority males/minority females that can be accounted for by differences in levels of productivity-related characteristics including education, age and tenure.

Previous Empirical Studies

Researchers studying promotions have mostly focused on the effect of gender. A number of studies have found that women were less likely to receive a promotion than men (Cassell, Director & Doctors, 1975; Cabral, Ferber & Green, 1981; Olson and Becker, 1983; Hartmann, 1987; Cannings, 1988; Spurr, 1990; Pergamit & Veum, 1999; Jones & Makepeace, 1996; Chernesky, 2003; Chow & Crawford, 2004; Blau & Devaro 2007). For example, Cassell, Director & Doctors (1975) looked at gender differences in the rate at which workers move up the organizational hierarchy. Based on a sample of 1,330 blue-collar and lower-level, white-collar workers from three companies in the mid-western U.S., they found that a majority of the females experienced post-hire grade promotion discrimination while a very small number of females received grade promotions as rapidly as males.

Olson and Becker (1983), using data from the U.S. Quality of Employment Panel and a promotion measure based on self-reported evaluation of job changes by respondents who did not change employer between 1973 and 1977, found that women, in general, were held to higher promotion standards than were men and, women received fewer promotions than did men with equal measured abilities. More recent studies have also found that women faced a higher promotion threshold than men (Pekkarinen & Vartianinen, 2006; Lyness & Heilman, 2006). Finally, Blau & Devaro

(2007), using data from the Multicity Study of Urban Inequality employer survey, also found that women have lower probabilities of promotion than men.

A few researchers have found "positive" gender effects in promotions. Stewart & Gudykunst (1982) found that females enjoyed more promotions than men in a financial institution in the northeastern United States. Gerhart & Milkovich (1989) found that at lower levels in the organization hierarchy in a manufacturing firm, women received more promotions than men over a 6-year period. Hersch & Viscusi (1996), in their analyses of a sample of employee in a public utility firm, also found that women were promoted more often than men.

Finally, several studies found no gender effect at all (Eberts & Stone, 1985; Lewis, 1986; Elvira & Zatzick, 2002; Booth, Francesconi & Frank, 2003). Eberts & Stone (1985) found significant negative gender differences in promotion to administrative positions in the elementary and secondary public school system in Oregon in the early 1970s, but the effect was no longer significant by the end of the 1970s. Lewis (1986) also found no significant difference in promotion chances by gender among full-time federal white-collar workers.

With regards to race, some studies have found that Blacks or Hispanics were less likely to be promoted than whites (Hartmann, 1987; Pergamit & Veum, 1999; James, 2000) or that minorities were as likely to be promoted (Lewis, 1986; Elvira & Zatzick, 2002). For example, Elvira & Zatzick (2002) looked at data from a financial institution in one U.S. state also found no significant difference in promotion rates between whites and non-whites.

To-date, there are relatively few studies that look at the effects of race and/or gender in both Canada and the United Kingdom. Two studies that utilized Canadian data both found negative gender effects on the probability of promotions. In a survey of managerial employees in a large Canadian corporation, Cannings (1988) found that gender had a significant effect on chances for promotion even after controlling for career-relevant factors. The study found that female managers were only 80% as likely as male managers to be promoted in any given year. Swimmer (1990), studying female clerks in a large public utility, found that women were at a disadvantage when it came to advancement opportunity to junior levels of management. Similarly, two studies in the United Kingdom found negative gender effects. Jones & Makepeace (1996) found that women faced tougher promotion criteria than men in a financial company. Pudney & Shields (2000) found that male nurses were promoted more quickly than female nurses and white nurses were promoted more quickly than non-white nursing staff.

Different data on different industries focusing on different employee populations and employing different methods yielded varied conclusions on the effects of race and gender on promotions. This paper adds to the current body of research and presents empirical findings on the incidence of promotions that cover a wide range of the organizational hierarchy in the Information & Communications Technology sector. This is also one of the very few studies that explores the intersection of race and gender on this very important employment outcome.

Data

Differences among firms, industries and the overall economic and market conditions in which they operate will affect their employees' promotion prospects. For example, large established firms may be better able to offer higher rewards, more job

security and better career opportunities (Oi, 1990; Brown & Medoff, 2001). By focusing on only one company, factors that may have a significant impact on promotion decisions, including the firm's age, size, industry, business strategy, compensation policy and career development philosophy, are appropriately controlled for. In other words, within-firm findings will not reflect any unobserved inter-firm differences that are common in national studies. The study of promotions also requires that jobs be ordered and the use of firm-level data ensures that the rankings are consistently determined based on the firm's policies. The firm's administrative records can also provide accurate information on employees' age, job function, salary and their tenure with the firm.

This paper utilizes confidential archived administrative records on non-unionized employees as of year-end 1995 and those who commenced employment with the firm between 1996 and 2000. In this firm, there are ten job levels below the chief executive officer level, eight of which are included in the analyses. Promotion data for the top two levels representing the presidential and vice-presidential level employees were not available. The final dataset contains 22,338 employees.

Method

To examine the determinants of promotion, a multivariate probit model of promotion was estimated. The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable that takes on a value of "1" if the employee received one or more promotions between 1996 and 2000, and "0" otherwise. The probability that an employee is promoted to a higher job level between one year and a subsequent period is estimated by the following: $\Pr(y_i \neq 0 | X_i) = \Phi(X_i\beta)$ where the outcome (or dependent variable) is a dichotomy indicating the incidence of promotion to the next higher job level, Φ is the standard normal cumulative distribution and β is a vector of probit coefficients and X is the corresponding vector of explanatory variables together with a set of dummy variables to measure the impact of race/gender status on the probability of promotion. The estimates presented in the empirical analysis are maximum likelihood estimates that are most likely to give rise to the pattern of the observations in the data. The estimates reported in the following analyses are marginal effects, calculated as the derivative of the conditional expectation of the observed dependent variable evaluated at the sample means. These marginal effects reflect the changes in the probability of promotion for an infinitesimal change in the continuous independent variable and for a discrete change in the probability of promotion for dummy independent variables. To explore the differential effects for groups situated at different levels of the organizational hierarchy, analyses are also conducted by partitioning the data into three separate segments: the entry levels, the feeder group and the senior levels.

In addition to the dummy variable approach, this paper will employ a technique similar to the Oaxaca/Blinder decomposition (Oaxaca, 1973; Blinder, 1973) to decompose any gender/racial gap in the probability of promotion between white males and each of the minority groups into two components: an explained component due to differences in productivity-related characteristics and an unexplained component due to the differences in the returns to characteristics. This technique, decomposing the differences in probit models, has been utilized to analyze a variety of phenomena: the decline in unionism (Even & MacPherson, 1990), the impact of unionization on the

gender wage gap (Doiron & Riddell, 1994), the propensity to report a crime (MacDonald 1998), labour market participation (Blackaby et al., 1998), attitudes toward foreigners in the European Union (Gang et al., 2002), and the source of the gender gap in promotions (Cobb-Clark, 2001).

The Dependent Variable

Without controlling for any differences in characteristics, a slightly higher percentage of whites (59.4%) received one or more promotions than non-whites (55.7%), a 3.7 percentage-point differential that is statistically significant at the 1% level. Differentiating by gender, a higher proportion (57.2%) of male employees received one or more promotions, as compared to 54.7% of the female employees, a 2.5 percentage-point differential that is also statistically significant at the 1% level.

The gross promotion rates between white males and the other race/gender minority group are also compared. While the proportion of white females who were promoted was lower than that of white males (58.1% versus 60.0%), the differential is not statistically significant at conventional levels. The promotion gaps between white males and minority males (3.4 percentage-points) and between white males and minority females (7.5 percentage-points) are both significant at the 1% level. This simple comparison of gross promotion rates indicates lower promotion probabilities for both minority females and minority males.

The Independent Variables

The explanatory variables included in this paper can be classified into four main groups: a set of key independent variables representing race and gender characteristics, a set of supply side variables (human capital variables), a set of demand side variables (structural variables) and a set of control variables.

key independent variables. Race and gender are the key independent variables. It is important to note at the outset that the race variable only differentiates between whether an employee is a member of a visible minority or not, based on employees' self-identification. To allow the investigation of the inter-relationships between gender and race in addition to their individual effects, four race/gender combination variables were also created: white males, white females, visible minority males and visible minority females³⁰. These four race/gender groups may have very different labour market experiences and the creation of these variables will allow us to gauge whether visible minority females experience a "double whammy"; that is, whether they are penalized for being female and for being a member of a visible minority.

³⁰ Declaration of visible minority status in Canada is based on self-identification and some employees have chosen to not self-identify their ethnicity. As such, an "undisclosed" category is included in the analyses in this paper.

Supply Side Variables

The model also includes a set of conventional human capital and demographic variables. These variables include tenure, age, education attainment, performance rating and break(s) in service.

tenure. Tenure is included in the model as a proxy for firm-level or specific skill accumulation. In their analyses of promotion for nonunion salaried employees in a manufacturing firm in the United States, Abraham & Medoff (1985) found evidence that seniority had a substantial negative impact on promotion decisions for 60% of the employees, whereas Stewart and Gudykunst (1982) found positive effects of tenure on promotion rates. A logical expectation is that one needs to accumulate enough firm-level skills before (s)he is considered ready to be promoted. However, it is also fair to expect that this effect is not a linear one. Studies have found a negative tenure effect on promotions after the initial years. Tenure is therefore expected to have a positive effect on the probability of promotion initially but will become a burden (negative effect) when tenure reaches a particular point in time.

age and education. Age and education are included as proxies for general skill accumulation. Conventional beliefs suggest that the probability of promotion increases as one's general skill increases (Prendergast 1993). Rosenbaum (1979) suggested that, as with job tenure, the relationship between age and promotion opportunity exhibits a curvilinear relationship, in the shape of an inverted U. Therefore, one's opportunity for advancement is expected to increase with age up to a certain point and then decrease. However, other studies have found that the incidence of promotion falls with age while education effects are frequently found to be not significant in explaining the incidence of promotion (Lewis, 1986).

performance rating. Performance rating is included as a measure to account for an employee's performance and productivity. In this firm, objectives are usually agreed to between the employee and his or her supervisor at the beginning of a performance period, followed by an evaluation at the end of the period. Performance ratings, determined by the supervisor in consultation with the employee, are one of the outcomes of the evaluations. Two dummy variables are included in the model: one reflects superior performance and one shows that objectives have been met. Previous research studies have shown that good performance ratings usually increase the chances of promotion or career advancement (Gibbs, 1995; Igbaria & Greenhaus, 1992). In a meritocratic setting, therefore, employees who perform relatively better than others would stand a better chance to be awarded a promotion. Previous studies have found that women and minorities tend to receive lower performance ratings than their male and white counterparts (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Elvira & Town, 2001; Lyness & Heilman, 2006).

break in service. As the data contain consecutive end-of-year information on all employees, it allows the establishment of a "break in service" variable that identifies whether or not an employee's tenure with the company was continuous during the time period studied. Although the reason for the break cannot be determined by the available data, these breaks can represent a termination/rehire situation or they can be due to a

parental or educational leave. A rehire or return from education leave may signal a higher level of skills whereas a return from parental leave might be seen as a depreciation in skills. However, this variable may not be statistically significant as any significant positive effect may cancel out any negative effect, depending on the nature of the breaks. Hewlett (2005) shows that women and men take “breaks” for very different reasons and that these breaks in careers may have a larger negative impact in fast-moving industries such as engineering and technology than in other sectors. Discontinuous labour market experience, especially for women who take time out for child-bearing and child rearing, may have significant negative effects on career advancement as these work interruptions are associated with skills loss (Edin & Gystavssibm 2008).

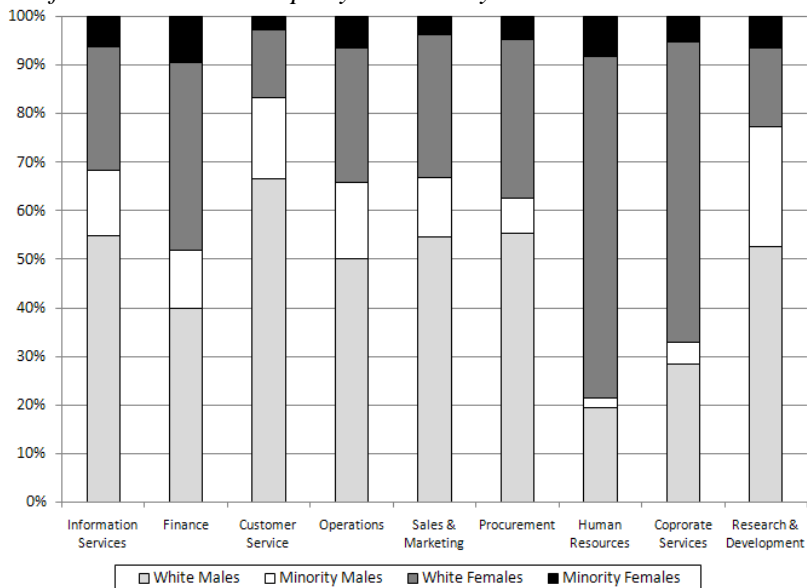
Demand Side Variables

To aid our understanding of the nuances of the promotion process from the firm's perspective, a set of demand side variables that account for how work is structured in this firm is included. These variables include job family, job level, and the race/gender composition of each job family/level combination.

job family. Employees in this firm were classified into nine job families based on the functions they perform (see Figure 1). Minorities account for a small percentage of all employees in all job families. The Human Resources function has a high representation of white females and Customer Service has the highest representation of white males.

Figure 1

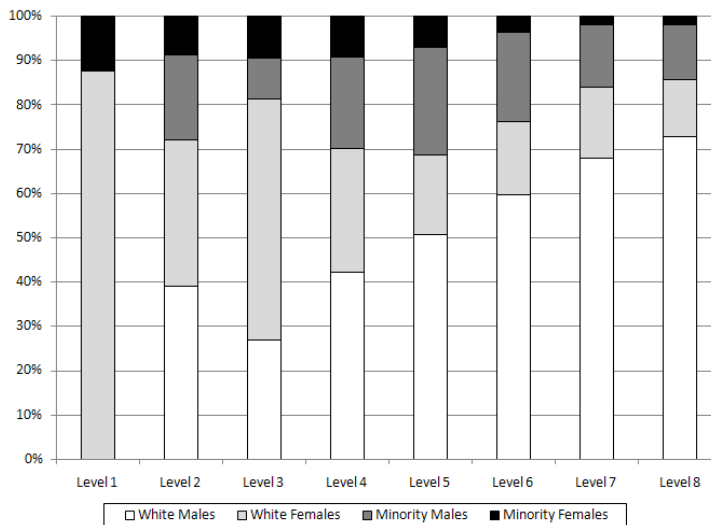
Distribution of Race/Gender Groups by Job Family



Job Level. Employees in each job family can be situated at different job levels in the organizational hierarchy based on the complexities and the levels of responsibility of the jobs (see Figure 2). The proportion of white females is higher in the lower job levels, and decreases significantly at the higher levels in the organizational hierarchy. The opposite is true for white males: they are more likely to be situated in the top half of the organization hierarchy. The representation of racial minorities is quite low throughout the organizational hierarchy. Conventional wisdom suggests that it is increasingly difficult to be promoted as one rises up the organizational hierarchy as there are fewer positions available at more senior levels. Accordingly, if white males are more often situated at higher job levels, then the probability of promotion for white males should be lower than the other race/gender groups if promotion decisions are made fairly. For this reason, job level is included as an explanatory variable in the model.

Figure 2

Distribution of Race/Gender Groups by Job Level



Previous research has suggested that because men are more likely to be situated at higher levels of the organizational hierarchy, analyzing promotion data across all organizational levels may produce the spurious result that females are more likely to be promoted (Konrad & Cannings, 1997). To explore the differential effects for groups situated at different levels of the organizational hierarchy, these eight levels have been partitioned into three categories: levels 1 to 3 are defined as the entry level; levels 4 and 5 are combined as the feeder group while the remaining three levels are collectively grouped into the senior level employees. The ideal case is to partition the data by each job level, however, the relatively small sample size at each job level made it difficult to conduct statistical tests for any gender or racial differentials in career advancement opportunity. As discussed earlier, the probability of promotion is expected to decrease as one rises up the organizational hierarchy. This effect should apply to the different race/gender groups equally in a non-discriminatory environment.

race/gender job composition. The mix of incumbents in jobs may also contribute to differential treatment in promotions (Gerhart & Milkovich, 1989; Maume, 1999; Barnett, Baron & Stuart, 2000). To capture the effect of race/gender composition on the probability of promotion, three new variables are created: percent white female, percent visible minority male and percent visible minority female for each of the job family/level combinations. Finally, control variables to account for the year of promotion and the region where each employee worked are included.

Table 1

Means and Proportions for Selected Variables by Race/Gender Groups

	Overall	White Males	White Females	Minority Males	Minority Females	The Undisclosed
Proportion Promoted	56.5%	60.0%	58.1%	56.7%	52.6%	52.7%
Age [in years]	35.7	37.1	37.3	35.9	34.4	33.7
Tenure [in years]	7.0	9.6	8.6	6.4	5.3	4.1
Proportion with University Degrees	57.7%	57.1%	41.3%	77.4%	68.5%	57.1%
Job Level	5.1	5.5	4.6	5.1	4.6	4.9
Annual Salary [in \$'000]	61.8	68.4	54.3	64.0	54.3	58.3
With "Exceeded" Performance Rating	13.9%	17.2%	18.7%	13.1%	11.4%	8.9%
With Break in Service	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%
% White Female	22.9	18.6	35.7	18.1	26.7	23.0
% Minority Male	19.6	19.4	15.0	22.6	20.1	20.6
% Minority Female	6.4	5.2	7.0	6.4	8.2	7.0
No. of Observations	22,338	7,689	3,388	2,826	901	7,534
[%]	100.0%	34.4%	15.2%	12.7%	4.0%	33.7%

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for selected explanatory variables by race/gender groups. White males and white females, on average, are slightly older than the visible minorities and have accumulated a slightly longer average tenure. A higher proportion of visible minorities possess university education than white males and white females. The average job level for white males is 5.5, followed by 5.1 for minority males, and 4.6 for both white and minority females. The average salary for white males is highest at \$68,400, followed by minority males at \$64,000 and both female groups at \$54,300.

Although about 14% of the full sample received the highest performance rating (i.e., exceed rating), the proportion of whites that received an “exceed” rating was higher than in the the minority groups. Of white males and white females, almost one in five received the highest performance rating; whereas, the proportions for minority males and minority females who received “exceed” ratings were only 13% and 11% respectively. This is in line with the observation by Greenhaus et al. (1990) that nonwhites received lower job performance ratings that may indirectly affect their promotability. However, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent this difference reflects true differences in performance and the impact of discrimination. Finally, the proportion of employees with a break in service was very small -- 0.4% of white males, 0.1% of white females and 0.3% of minority groups had a break in service. The small number of employees with breaks may not allow the assessment of the impact of work interruption on the incidence of promotion.

Empirical Results

Table 2 presents the estimates from the probit model of promotion for all employees in the sample. The first column of Table 4 reports the marginal effects on the probability of promotion for the full sample. Even after controlling for an extensive list of supply side, demand side and control variables, white females, minority males and minority females were all less likely to receive promotions than white males.

Table 2

Determinants of Promotion by Race/Gender Group

	Overall		White Males		White Females		Minority Males		Minority Females	
	dF/dx	Std.Err.	dF/dx	Std.Err.	dF/dx	Std.Err.	dF/dx	Std.Err.	dF/dx	Std.Err.
[White Males]										
White Females	-0.0454 **	0.0121								
Minority Males	-0.0788 **	0.0123								
Minority Females	-0.1612 **	0.0192								
Undisclosed	-0.0974 **	0.0096								
[High School or Less]										
Post HS / College	0.0909 **	0.0119	0.0756 **	0.0214	0.0649 *	0.0263	0.0973	0.0508	0.0781	0.0819
Undergraduate Degrees	0.1119 **	0.0120	0.0648 **	0.0228	0.0847 **	0.0298	0.0481	0.0487	0.1694 *	0.0731
Graduate Degrees	0.0963 **	0.0135	0.0688 **	0.0254	0.1082 **	0.0378	0.0709	0.0501	0.1002	0.0823
Undisclosed	0.0962 **	0.0160	0.0904 **	0.0285	0.0878 *	0.0332	0.0899	0.0648	0.0267	0.1042
Age [in years]	-0.0089 *	0.0039	-0.0089	0.0072	-0.0124	0.0095	-0.0015	0.0123	0.0199	0.0227
Age Squared	-0.0001 *	0.0001	-0.0001	0.0001	0.0000	0.0001	-0.0002	0.0002	-0.0005	0.0003
Tenure [in years]	0.0136 **	0.0017	0.0079 **	0.0027	0.0045	0.0045	0.0223 **	0.0062	0.0493 **	0.0149
Tenure Squared	-0.0006 **	0.0001	-0.0004 **	0.0001	-0.0002	0.0002	-0.0011 **	0.0003	-0.0021 **	0.0007
Break in Service	-0.1346 *	0.0626	-0.2002 *	0.0936	-0.2032	0.2910	-0.3448	0.1516	-0.0193	0.3192
[Levels 1 & 2]										
Level 3	-0.5527 **	0.0133	-0.6016 **	0.0228	-0.6397 **	0.0368	-0.6412 **	0.0148	-0.6950 **	0.0284
Level 4	-0.4005 **	0.0255	-0.3245 **	0.0611	-0.5673 **	0.0461	-0.5553 **	0.0772	-0.6246 **	0.0786
Level 5	-0.7400 **	0.0175	-0.6534 **	0.0467	-0.7215 **	0.0374	-0.8241 **	0.0609	-0.9328 **	0.0284
Level 6	-0.7516 **	0.0110	-0.7433 **	0.0351	-0.7105 **	0.0263	-0.8168 **	0.0361	-0.7326 **	0.0302
Level 7	-0.7481 **	0.0067	-0.8101 **	0.0190	-0.7174 **	0.0159	-0.7592 **	0.0216	-0.6467 **	0.0231
Level 8	-0.6479 **	0.0043	-0.7137 **	0.0098	-0.6361 **	0.0101	-0.6528 **	0.0132	-0.5709 **	0.0199
Annual Salary (\$'000)	0.0145 **	0.0005	0.0148 **	0.0009	0.0089 **	0.0015	0.0225 **	0.0018	0.0224 **	0.0035
<u>Performance Rating</u>										
Exceeded	0.2904 **	0.0097	0.2631 **	0.0166	0.3058 **	0.0247	0.2897 **	0.0281	0.2157 **	0.0693
Achieved	0.1648 **	0.0101	0.1370 **	0.0185	0.1946 **	0.0283	0.1717 **	0.0297	0.0907	0.0584
[Research & Development]										
Information Technology	0.0627 **	0.0185	0.0559	0.0309	0.0926 *	0.0427	-0.0746	0.0740	0.0426	0.1128
Finance	0.1438 **	0.0261	0.1075 *	0.0481	0.1109 *	0.0511	-0.0045	0.1190	0.2166	0.1372
Customer Service	0.1166 **	0.0204	0.2130 **	0.0251	0.0625	0.0569	0.1392	0.0685	-0.1964	0.1413
Operations	0.0001	0.0187	0.1145 **	0.0272	-0.0992 *	0.0439	0.0640	0.0674	-0.2044	0.1107
Sales & Marketing	0.1730 **	0.0158	0.1436 **	0.0265	0.1330 **	0.0366	0.0030	0.0712	0.2399 *	0.1032
Procurement	0.0828 **	0.0264	0.1272 **	0.0391	0.0360	0.0585	0.0054	0.1246	-0.0543	0.1633
Human Resources	0.2440 **	0.0319	-0.0163	0.1150	0.2443 **	0.0516	-0.4038	0.2086	0.3285	0.1404
Corporate Services	-0.0025	0.0375	-0.1033	0.0833	-0.0072	0.0611	0.0204	0.2010	-0.1143	0.2113
<u>Job Composition</u>										
Percent White Female	-0.0007	0.0009	0.0066 **	0.0019	-0.0013	0.0017	0.0087	0.0045	-0.0071	0.0049
Percent Minority Male	-0.0055 **	0.0015	0.0007	0.0025	-0.0008	0.0035	-0.0147 **	0.0056	-0.0194 *	0.0090
Percent Minority Female	0.0035	0.0022	0.0084	0.0043	-0.0034	0.0043	0.0338 **	0.0096	-0.0039	0.0116
[Ontario]										
The Maritimes	-0.0444	0.0399	-0.1035	0.0721	-0.2346 **	0.0712	-	-	-	-
Quebec	0.0032	0.0138	-0.0540 **	0.0202	-0.0004	0.0329	0.0817	0.0480	0.0639	0.0916
The Prairies	-0.0262 *	0.0121	0.0178	0.0196	-0.0563	0.0292	-0.0517	0.0401	-0.0052	0.0743
British Columbia	-0.1687 **	0.0333	-0.1600 **	0.0538	-0.1693 *	0.0822	-0.1843 *	0.0760	-0.2279	0.1252
Others	0.2088 **	0.0289	0.2102 **	0.0398	-0.0234	0.1103	0.3731 **	0.0359	0.0728	0.1604
[Promoted in 1996]										
Promoted in 1997	0.2417 **	0.0117	0.2478 **	0.0190	0.2593 **	0.0300	0.2763 **	0.0312	0.2217 **	0.0674
Promoted in 1998	0.0430 **	0.0121	0.0490 *	0.0198	0.0626 *	0.0287	-0.0149	0.0345	0.0998	0.0650
Promoted in 1999	0.0145	0.0122	-0.0032	0.0201	0.0597 *	0.0290	0.0191	0.0344	0.0187	0.0651
Promoted in 2000	0.0510 **	0.0118	0.0525 **	0.0197	0.1317 **	0.0270	0.0233	0.0347	0.1074	0.0655
Observed Prob.	0.5654		0.6001		0.5817		0.5666		0.5250	
Predicted Prob.	0.5784		0.6227		0.5956		0.5889		0.5233	
No. of Observations	22,338		7,689		3,383		2,824		899	
LR Chi-sq	5244.02 (43)		1894.01 (39)		642.23 (38)		789.01 (37)		332.89 (37)	
Log Likelihood	-12670.12		-4227.54		-1978.40		-1537.84		-455.57	
Pseudo R-sq	0.1715		0.1830		0.1396		0.2042		0.2676	

Reference categories in square brackets. **, * denote significance at p<0.01 and p<0.05 respectively.

White females were 4.5% less likely to be promoted than comparable white males and minority males 7.9% less likely. Minority females were 16% less likely than similar white males to receive promotions. The model was also estimated excluding those whose race/gender status cannot be identified. The results are substantially the same.

Most of the independent variables included in the model exhibited the expected patterns of influence. For example, employees with higher levels of education attainment are significantly more likely to be promoted. Tenure had a significant inverted U-shaped relationship with the probability of receiving a promotion: a positive effect reaching a maximum at around 11 years and declining thereafter. Break in service reduced the probability of promotion by 13%. The likelihood of promotion also decreased as one moved up the organizational hierarchy, confirming the common belief of the increasing difficulty in climbing the corporate ladder. In line with meritocratic principles, employees who performed well relative to others stood a better chance of promotion. Higher salaries were also positively and significantly related to higher promotion probability. In terms of the effect of race/gender job composition, only the variable percent minority male had significant negative effect on the promotion probability in this overall model. Percent white female had an insignificant negative effect whereas percent minority female had an insignificant positive effect on the likelihood of receiving a promotion.

Older employees seem to be significantly less likely to be promoted, and the probability further decreases the older one gets. This may potentially indicate that ageism exists in this organization. In summary, all race/gender groups were significantly less likely than white males to be promoted even after controlling for an extensive list of factors that affect the promotion probability in the overall model.

Decomposition Analyses

The dummy approach used in the analyses so far only allows for a constant shift in the probability of promotion and constrains the coefficients of the explanatory variables to be the same for each of the four race/gender groups. Results from likelihood ratio tests show that the effects of the explanatory variables (as a group) are indeed different from that for white males. In other words, treating each race/gender group as a distinct group and allowing for variation in the regression coefficients will allow us to further investigate the potential differences in probability of promotion and potential sources of the differences. Separate regressions are therefore estimated in order to account for any differences in the promotion mechanisms for each of the race/gender groups. The rest of Table 2 presents the maximum likelihood estimates from the probit model of promotion by race/gender group.

Education is a strong positive predictor of promotion of white males and white females. In general, higher educational attainment increases one's likelihood of being promoted. For the minority group, education is not significantly related to the probability of promotion. This may potentially reflect that minorities' education credentials are not be fully recognized by their employers (Tomaskovic-Devey, Thomas & Johnson, 2005). As visible minorities are more likely to be immigrants who may have obtained their credentials in their home countries, arguments can be made that the undervaluation is due to the fact that these credentials were not seen as comparable to Canadian standard. However, Li (2008) found that while male immigrants enjoy and earnings advantage, visible minority men actually suffered an earnings disadvantage.

Age is not a significant predictor of promotion for any group. The effect of tenure on promotion probability takes on the shape of an inverted U for all race/gender groups but the effect is not significant for white females. Break in service seems to have a negative effect on the probability of promotion but is only significant for white males. On average, a white male employee who had a break in service was 20% less likely to be promoted than a white male whose service with the company had been continuous.

The effect of job composition on the likelihood of promotion is also quite different for the four race/gender groups. Percent white female has a significant positive effect on the promotion probability for white males. White males are 6.6% more likely to receive a promotion with every 10% increase in the percent white female in the job composition. This may be an indication of a phenomenon which some researchers have called the “glass escalator” effect, where men are more likely to be promoted in female-dominated occupations (Williams 1995). On the other hand, percent white female has a negative, though not significant, effect on the likelihood of promotions of both white and minority females. Finally, percent white female increases the probability of promotion of minority males, but the effect is not statistically significant at conventional levels.

Percent minority male significantly lowers the promotion probability for white females and both minority groups, but is only significant for the minority groups. A 10% increase in percent minority male of a job decreases the probability of promotion for minority males and minority females by 15% and 19% respectively. However, its effect on the probability of promotion of white males is positive, though not significant. Percent minority female in job composition has a significant positive effect on the probability of promotion of minority males. A 1% increase in percent minority female significantly increases minority males’ chances for promotion by 3%.

To further understand the gaps in promotion probabilities, decomposition analyses as described in the methodology section were performed using white males as the reference group for the full sample and for each of the three partitions. This methodology allows the partition of these overall gaps into an "explained" component and an "unexplained" component. The main findings are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

Summary of Results from Various Probit Decompositions

	Reference Group = White Males					
	White Females		Minority Males		Minority Females	
	Gap	%	Gap	%	Gap	%
Overall Sample						
Differences in Predicted Probabilities	0.03	(100%)	0.03	(100%)	0.10	(100%)
Due to Differences in Productivity-Related Characteristics	0.01	(43%)	-0.04	(35%)	-0.07	(30%)
Due to Differences in Returns	0.02	(57%)	0.07	(65%)	0.17	(70%)
Job Levels 1 to 3						
Differences in Predicted Probabilities	0.22	(100%)	-0.02	(100%)	0.47	(100%)
Due to Differences in Productivity-Related Characteristics	0.15	(69%)	-0.11	(55%)	0.29	(60%)
Due to Differences in Returns	0.07	(31%)	0.09	(45%)	0.19	(40%)
Job Levels 4 to 5						
Differences in Predicted Probabilities	0.07	(100%)	0.09	(100%)	0.15	(100%)
Due to Differences in Productivity-Related Characteristics	0.02	(32%)	0.01	(8%)	0.02	(10%)
Due to Differences in Returns	0.05	(68%)	0.08	(92%)	0.14	(90%)
Job Levels 6 to 8						
Differences in Predicted Probabilities	-0.09	(100%)	0.04	(100%)	0.01	(100%)
Due to Differences in Productivity-Related Characteristics	-0.06	(63%)	0.00	(7%)	-0.32	(49%)
Due to Differences in Returns	-0.03	(37%)	0.04	(93%)	0.33	(51%)

The decomposition results for the overall sample presented in Table 3 show that relative to white males, white females and minority males are predicted to be about 3% less likely to be promoted, while minority females are almost 10% less likely to receive a promotion in the overall sample. About two-thirds of the gender/racial differences in promotion probability for the minority groups are explained by differences in coefficients (or returns). Differences in productivity-related characteristics account for about one-third of the differences in promotion rates. Taking into account the productivity-related characteristics of the male and female minority groups, their probability of promotion would have improved by 4% and 7% respectively. However, this “advantage” is not enough to compensate for the lower rates at which their attributes are being rewarded, relative to white males. The difference in promotion rates between white females and white males is almost evenly split between differences in coefficients (or returns) and differences in their productivity-related characteristics.

The decomposition results by partitions provide further information on the promotion process for the various groups. White females in the entry group are predicted to be 22% less likely to be promoted compared to white males. The situation is much worse for minority females who are 47% less likely than white males to receive a promotion, while minority males are 2% more likely to be promoted than white males at these job levels. Only about one-third of the differences in promotion probabilities between white males and both female groups in this segment of the organizational hierarchy are explained by differences in coefficients (or returns). The majority of the difference is explained by differences in productivity-related characteristics, i.e., the promotion gap can be significantly reduced if the female groups can increase their levels of productivity-related characteristics. In this segment of the organizational hierarchy, the difference in promotion rates between white males and minority males are about evenly split between differences in returns and differences in productivity-related characteristics. Given the level of productivity-related characteristics of the minority males, their promotion probability would have been 11 percentage-points higher, but the effect is almost totally eliminated by the differences in the rates of return to their productivity-related characteristics as compared to white males.

For employees in the feeder group, white females and minority males are predicted to be 7% and 9% less likely to be promoted as compared to white males. The situation for minority females improved from the previous sample. At these levels, minority females are only 15% less likely than white males to receive a promotion. About one-third of the difference in promotion probability between white male and white female employees in this segment is explained by differences in productivity-related characteristics (32%); the majority of the difference is explained by differences in coefficients (68%). The picture for the minority groups is quite different. About 90% of the gap can be accounted for by differences in coefficients. This means that employees in these job levels are not very different in terms of their levels of productivity-related characteristics but the attributes possessed by minority groups are not rewarded at the same rate as those of white males.

At the senior levels, white female employees are predicted to be 9% more likely to receive a promotion than white males. Two-thirds of the 9% can be attributed to white females’ higher levels of productivity-related characteristics and the balance to higher returns to their productivity-related characteristics. Minority males and minority females still suffer some disadvantages, but to a lesser extent than those in the middle levels (4% and 1% respectively). The decomposition results show that the 4%

disadvantage experienced by minority males is almost exclusively due to differential returns to productivity-related characteristics. In other words, minority males at these levels are “the same” as white males in terms of their attributes, however, they do not receive the same rate of return in opportunity for advancement that white males do. Finally, the results for minority females show that although the differential in promotion rate is small (1%), the decomposition results show that minority females possess a higher level of productivity-related characteristics than their white male counterparts and that given their level of productivity-related characteristics, they should be 32% more likely to be promoted than their white male counterparts. This advantage is completely eliminated as their productivity-related characteristics are not valued in the same way as those of white males.

Cobb-Clark (2001), using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to investigate the role of gender in the promotion process, found that the gender gap in promotions could be explained by the differential returns to productivity-related characteristics. The analyses breaking down the organizational hierarchy into partitions contained in this paper showed that this finding is most pronounced for female employees situated at the middle levels of the organizational hierarchy. The gap in promotions between white males and the female groups at the lower rungs of the organization is more likely as a result of differences in productivity-related characteristics or attributes possessed by the minority groups as compared to white males. On the other hand, the disadvantage suffered by minority males (as compared to white males) can be explained almost exclusively by differential returns.

Limitations

There are a number a number of data limitations that have inhibited the potential to better understand the promotion mechanisms in organizations. First, information on employees who have terminated their employment during the time period studied is not available. To the extent that those who left differ from those in the sample analyzed, the results may be biased by the attrition rate. For example, if white males are more likely than other race/gender groups to leave the firm after being promoted, the findings on the differences will be overstated. Booth et al. (2003) concluded that women have a higher propensity than men to quit after promotion though the difference is not statistically significant; and that women who were not promoted were also more likely to quit than their male counterparts.

Table 4 shows the gross termination rates by gender and/or race for those who had been promoted and those who had not. A cursory inspection of these raw rates did not show any specific differences among the four race/gender groups. In general, those who did not receive a promotion are more likely to quit than those who were promoted.

Second, the measure of the race variable is quite broad and does not indicate “ethnicity”. This poses a limitation as numerous researchers have found that the experience among racial minority groups is not homogeneous, especially in research related to earnings differentials (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Hum & Simpson, 1999; Stelcner, 2000, Christofides & Swidinsky, 2002)

Third, the dataset lacks variables that measure the impact on non-market opportunities and activities on the likelihood of promotion. Economists have often explained the lower promotion rates for women by their relative advantage in non-market roles (Lazear & Rosen, 1990), either by way of less investment or by turning

down advancement opportunities. Women's specialization in household activities is the usual argument for the differential treatments received by men and women in employment outcomes. An additional argument is that women tend to interrupt their careers for child bearing and child rearing, which may affect their intent to further accumulate their human capital. However, Winter-Ebmer et al. (1997),

Table 4

Proportion Terminated by Promotion Status

	Promoted				Promoted		
	Yes	No	Overall		Yes	No	Overall
Males	0.24 (0.42) [9,264]	0.39 (0.49) [6,919]	0.30 (0.46) [16,183]	Females	0.20 (0.40) [3,365]	0.38 (0.48) [2,790]	0.28 (0.45) [6,155]
Whites	0.22 (0.41) [6,582]	0.40 (0.49) [4,495]	0.29 (0.45) [11,077]	Non-whites	0.26 (0.44) [2,076]	0.43 (0.49) [1,651]	0.33 (0.47) [3,727]
White Males	0.22 (0.42) [4,614]	0.40 (0.49) [3,075]	0.29 (0.46) [7,689]	White Females	0.21 (0.40) [1,968]	0.40 (0.49) [1,420]	0.29 (0.45) [3,388]
Minority Males	0.27 (0.45) [1,602]	0.42 (0.49) [1,224]	0.34 (0.47) [2,826]	Minority Females	0.22 (0.42) [474]	0.43 (0.50) [427]	0.32 (0.47) [901]

using data from the Austrian micro-census, have shown that only a minor part of the unequal gender distribution in job positions is explained by discontinuous labor market experience, as measured by past and expected future employment interruptions. In addition, the inclusion of the break(s) in service variable may have helped mitigate the issue.

Marital status is another important determinant of labour force participation and hours of work that may have an effect on promotion opportunity. However, one study has shown that marital status has no significant effect on the promotion of clerical workers after their work experience has been adequately controlled for (Ferber & Birbaum, 1981).

The models considered here also exclude certain unobservable measures of individual attributes. For example, the willingness to sacrifice one's career for family reasons may be stronger in women and racial minorities. In other words, they may be more likely to forego promotion opportunities to avoid increased responsibilities on the job that interfere with taking care of their families. The analyses could therefore be improved if gender and racial differences in the incidence of being offered promotions are observed versus observing the actual incidence of promotion that captures the combined outcome of the offer and the acceptance of promotion.

Finally, since the dataset contains only employees at one firm, in one particular industry, the results will likely not be generalizable to the overall Canadian labour force. However, the detailed analyses, made possible by the firm-level dataset, allow us to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms of the promotion process and may help shed light on the labour market experiences of women and minorities in large Canadian firms.

Conclusion

Controlling for a wide range of variables, white females, visible minority males and visible minority females are less likely to receive a promotion than comparable white males. Education, age, tenure, break in service, salary level and performance ratings are all significant determinants of promotion for the overall sample. Age and promotion opportunity are negatively related. Tenure exhibits the predicted inverted U-shaped relationship with promotion and performance and promotion are positively related to the incidence of promotion. A break in service with the firm has a negative impact on the likelihood of promotion. Salary level is positively related to promotability, that is, employees with higher salary levels are more likely to be promoted.

Partitioning the overall sample into three job level groups shows that most of the explanatory variables in the models by segments of the organizational hierarchy exhibit similar signs to those in the overall sample except for tenure, break in service and job composition. For employees at lower job levels, tenure and promotion have a U-shaped relationship. For employees in job levels 4 and above, tenure and promotion take on an inverted U relationship. The negative effect of a break in service is only significant for employees at the senior levels of the organizational hierarchy. Finally, the racial and gender composition of jobs have significant negative effects on the probability of promotion for employees situated at the middle levels of the hierarchy. The higher the representation of white females, minority males or minority females in a job, the lower the probability of receiving a promotion for the minority groups in those jobs. The reverse is true for white males.

The decomposition exercise sheds further light on the promotion gap between white males and each of the three minority race/gender groups. Given their characteristics, the minority groups should have enjoyed higher promotion probability, but differential returns negate the positive effect. The reasons for white females' lower promotion probability are split between their lower levels of productivity-related characteristics and differential returns compared to their white male counterparts. The lower promotion probability for white and minority females at the lower job levels is mostly due to their lower levels of productivity-related characteristics. For women and minorities at the lower job levels, focusing on skills development should help alleviate and mitigate the disadvantage. Whereas the disadvantage experienced by the minority groups at the middle levels are mostly as a result of differential returns, the picture at the senior levels is quite different for the different groups. For white females, their higher level of productivity-related characteristics and higher level of returns contributed to their higher promotion probability. The disadvantage suffered by minority males is almost exclusively due to differential returns. Finally, the positive effect of minority females' higher level of productivity-related characteristics was completely eliminated by the differential returns. Considering the high level of productivity-related characteristics possessed by a majority of the women and visible minority employees at higher job levels, systemic barriers must have existed in the company's policies, programs and practices. Identifying these barriers and striving towards a transparent promotion process, will not only benefit these disadvantaged groups but also allow all employees an equal opportunity to advance.

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The Importance of Partner Involvement in Determining Career Decision-Making Difficulties

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Research investigating the processes of career development and decision-making has begun to move beyond individual factors to embrace contextual and relational influences (e.g., Blustein & Fouad, 2008; Collin, 2006; Spiker-Miller & Kees, 1995; Whiston & Keller, 2004). This transition reflects the continued influence of systems theory and accommodates the needs of a changing workforce. Despite this trend in the broader field, research investigating career decision-making difficulties has remained focused on probing individual characteristics alone (e.g., Kleiman, et al., 2004; Saka & Gati, 2007; Saka, Gati, & Kelly, 2008). As Patton and McMahon (1999) and Collin (2006) have suggested, frameworks for understanding career processes that fail to acknowledge interpersonal relationships are becoming irrelevant amidst the increasing prominence of dual-career couples.

The importance of a systemic perspective on career development has been advanced by the work of Patton and McMahon (1999). In their systems theory framework (STF), career decision-making is understood as a process occurring within a myriad of individual, social and environmental systems. As the authors suggest, STF provides a cohesive conceptual basis for the investigation of relational factors in both research and counselling settings. A small but growing body of research has investigated the intersection of systems theory and career decision-making (e.g., Chope, 2008; Hargrove, Creagh, & Burgess, 2002; Okubo, Yeh, Lin, & Fujita, 2007; Pixley, 2008; Shea, Ma, & Yeh, 2007), revealing that parental pressure and expectations are often associated with young adults' career indecisiveness. Researchers investigating multicultural career counselling have disproportionately contributed to this investigation of systemic influences on career decision-making. Unfortunately, most of these investigations have focused only on the impact of family-of-origin on career decision-making. As a result, the impact of family of procreation (i.e., spouse, committed life partner) on the career decision-making process remains inadequately delineated.

Investigation of family-to-work conflict and spillover is an exception within vocational research that has recognized family of procreation influences. This literature has focused primarily on the negative family-to-work conflicts rather than investigating the potential positive family-to-work enhancements that may be occurring (Frone, 2003). Additionally, other avenues of empirical study have explored family of procreation influences on decision-making in other life domains, such as health and religion (e.g., Roest, Dubas, Gerris, & Rutger, 2006; Stephens, et al., 2009). Although these streams of research suggest that family of procreation may have many important effects on individuals' decision-making, there is currently little empirical evidence

delineating the impact that romantic partners have on the career decision-making difficulties of individuals.

Itamar Gati and colleagues have pioneered the measurement of career decision-making difficulties (Amir, Gati, & Klieman, 2008; Gati & Asher, 2001; Gati, Krausz, & Osipow, 1996) and demonstrated its associations with career decision-making self-efficacy, career decision-making style (Amir & Gati, 2006), emotional and personality based facets (Saka & Gati, 2007; Saka, Gati, & Kelly, 2008) and decidedness (Kleiman, et al., 2004). Despite these advancements, research on career decision-making difficulties has yet to investigate the influences of systemic factors such as family of procreation. In light of the theoretical position advanced by Patton and McMahon (1999) and the emerging empirical research (e.g., Pixley, 2008, Roest et al., 2006; Stephens et al., 2009), this omission represents a gap in the literature. The present study began to address this deficit by investigating the importance of partner involvement in determining the amount of career decision-making difficulties experienced by adults in romantic relationships. More specifically, it was hypothesized that a significant portion of the variance in career decision-making difficulties can be accounted for by romantic partner involvement, even after controlling for a range of individual differences (i.e., gender, age, and student status).

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 105$; see Table 1) were recruited from an urban centre in Western Canada through a variety of advertising media including local newspapers, internet, electronic mailing lists, and via flyers posted at family/community centers, churches, and local universities. Eligible participants were between the ages of 20 and 40 ($M = 29.94$ years) and were in a committed romantic relationship (dating, common law, or married) of at least one year in duration ($M = 6.60$ years, $SD = 5.35$ years).

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics (N = 105)

Variable	Frequency	%
Sex		
Male	29	28
Female	76	72
Ethnicity		
Caucasian	96	91.40
Asian/South Asian	6	5.71
Aboriginal	1	1.00
No response	2	1.90
<i>Highest Level of Education</i>		
Some high school or Grade 12 Graduate	5	4.76
Some college, university or post-secondary training	32	30.50

Bachelor's Degree	44	41.90
University or Professional Degree	24	22.86
Relationship status		
Dating	13	12.40
Engaged	10	9.50
Married or Common-Law	82	78.10
Student Status		
Student	25	23.80
Not a student	80	76.20
Employment status		
Full time employment	60	57.10
Part time employment	20	19.00
Unemployed	22	21.00
No response	3	2.90

Note: Because of rounding, percentages may not total 100

Measures

A self-report questionnaire was used to collect a range of demographic information, including age, gender, and student status (i.e., “student” or “not a student”). Partner involvement in career decision-making was operationally defined as participants’ self-reported perception of their partner’s involvement, on a 9-point Likert scale. Participants’ level of career decision-making difficulty was assessed using Gati, Krausz, and Osipow’s (1996) Career Decision-Making Difficulties Questionnaire (CDDQ). The CDDQ probes 10 areas of career decision-making difficulty: (a) lack of readiness due to lack of motivation, (b) lack of readiness due to general indecisiveness, (c) lack of readiness due to dysfunctional beliefs, (d) lack of knowledge about the process, (e) lack of information about one’s self, (f) lack of information about occupations (g) lack of information about additional sources, (h) inconsistent information due to unreliable information, (i) inconsistent information due to internal conflicts, and (j) inconsistent information due to external conflicts. Consistent with previously reported levels of internal consistency (Amir & Gati, 2006), the CDDQ had a Cronbach alpha score of .91 in this sample.

Procedure

All measures were administered anonymously, using an online survey. Participants were instructed to complete the survey independently from their romantic partners and, in cases where both partners wished to participate, they were asked to avoid discussing their responses until both had completed the survey. Hierarchical multiple regression was subsequently used to test the predictive value of partner involvement on career decision-making difficulties. Post-hoc correlational analyses were then conducted to identify which of the 10 specific areas of career decision-making difficulty are most closely associated with partner involvement.

Results

Primary Analysis

Data screening revealed 3 outliers, which were removed from subsequent analyses. Test assumptions were met, with one exception: normality was violated in the response variable, making it necessary to conduct a square root data transformation. In the primary analysis, age, gender, and student status were treated as control variables and entered in the preliminary block. Partner involvement was then entered into the model. Results revealed that, after controlling for the effects of gender, age and school status, partner involvement remains a small but significant predictor of career decision-making difficulties, accounting for approximately 5% of the variance in the final model ($\Delta R^2 = .05, p = .02$; see Table 2). The direction of relationship between partner involvement and career decision-making difficulties was inverse ($\beta = -.23, t = 2.37, p = .02$). That is, higher partner involvement was associated with lower career decision-making difficulty. Interestingly, in the final model, age was also a significant predictor ($\beta = -.29, t = 2.89, p = .01$). Although this was not a hypothesized relationship, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that career decision-making difficulties decreased as the age of the participants increased.

Table 2

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Testing Partner Involvement as a Predictor of Career Decision-Making Difficulties (N = 105)

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Age	-0.015	0.006	-.264*
Gender	-0.040	0.071	-.055
Student or Not	-0.010	0.076	-.013
Step 2			
Age	-0.017	0.006	-.288**
Gender	-0.021	0.069	-.029
Student or Not	-0.029	0.075	-.038
Partner Involvement	-0.03	0.013	-.226*

Note. $R^2 = .07$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .05$ for Step 2 ($ps < .05$).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Post Hoc Analysis

Additionally, an exploratory post hoc procedure was conducted to determine whether partner involvement is more strongly associated with certain components of the CDDQ than others. Spearman's rank-order bivariate correlation was used to identify the relationships between partner involvement and career decision-making difficulties (see Table 3). Results suggest that romantic partner involvement is specifically associated with 'lack of readiness due to dysfunctional beliefs' ($r = -.22, p < .05$). Additionally, the

relationship with the ‘lack of information about self’ factor approached significance ($r = -.18, p = .07$).

Table 3

Intercorrelations Between Partner Involvement and CDDQ Subscales (N = 105)

Subscale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Partner Involvement	—	.01	.11	.22*	-.14	-.18	.15	-.10	-.08	-.06	-.13
Readiness											
2. Lack of motivation			.23*	.22*	.36*	.41*	.15	.24*	.27*	.26*	.04
3. General indecisiveness			—	.23*	.34*	.38*	.21*	.28*	.38*	.25*	.17
4. Dysfunctional beliefs Lack of information				—	.26*	.11	.12	.12	.10	.15	.26*
5. Stages of CDM process					—	.70*	.55**	.61*	.65*	.47*	.36*
6. Self						—	.64**	.72*	.67*	.62*	.36*
7. Occupations							—	.79*	.52*	.55*	.32*
8. Obtaining information Inconsistent information								—	.62*	.53*	.28*
9. Unreliable information									—	.71*	.45*
10. Internal conflicts										—	.50*
11. External conflicts											—

Note. CDM = Career decision-making.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

These correlations were also completed for male ($n = 29$) and female participants ($n = 76$) separately, with results suggesting that the associations may differ by gender: For women, romantic partner involvement was only significantly associated with lack of readiness due to dysfunctional beliefs ($r = -.23, p < .05$) while, for men, it was only significantly associated with the career decision-making difficulty of lack of information about self ($r = -.46, p < .05$). The divergence of these results across gender suggest that the more involved a female's romantic partner is in the career decision-making process, the fewer dysfunctional beliefs she experiences, while involvement of a male's romantic partner decreases the lack of information about self he experiences. However, caution must be exercised when interpreting the results of the gender specific analyses, given the small size of the two sub-samples.

Discussion

Confirming the research hypothesis, the results of this study reveal that romantic partner involvement has a significant, albeit small, role in determining career decision-making difficulties. The more that partners were perceived as being involved in the process, the less career decision-making difficulty the individual experienced. Romantic partner involvement appeared to be particularly linked to two specific kinds of career decision-making difficulty: (a) dysfunctional beliefs, which Gati and colleagues (1996) describe as the process of overestimating the importance and impact of the decision, and (b) lack of information about the self, which is defined as a lack of awareness of personal strengths, weaknesses and potential. These results suggest that partner involvement is helpful for specific types of decision-making difficulties, and what it is helpful may be dependent on the decision maker's gender. These results provide preliminary support for the importance of attending to the influence of family of procreation on the career development of adults who are in romantic relationships.

The present study also provides justification for further empirical exploration of family of procreation influences within career development and decision-making conceptualizations. For instance, the contextual component of Patton and McMahon's (1999) STF, which acknowledges the influence of family on an individual's career development in a generic sense, may be enhanced by further specification of the concept of family influence. The results of this study indicate that this influence encompasses not only family of origin, which has been the focus of most previous research, but also factors related to an individual's family of procreation.

Although more empirical investigation is necessary, the results of this study also suggest that Gati, Krausz, and Osipow's (1996) model of career decision-making would benefit from greater incorporation of systems theory and examination of the role that romantic partners can play in the career decision-making process. The results also suggest that romantic partner involvement is not only important but is also beneficial both in preparation and during the career decision-making process. Gati and colleagues (1996) propose that the career decision-making difficulty of dysfunctional beliefs impedes an individual's readiness to make a career decision. The correlational analysis conducted in the present study indicates that increased partner involvement was associated with fewer dysfunctional beliefs, particularly for women. This increased communication provides an opportunity for romantic partners to listen to and then challenge individuals' dysfunctional beliefs about their future career.

The post hoc analyses provide tentative indication that, for men, partner involvement may be particularly beneficial in reducing the career decision-making difficulty of lack of information about self. This aspect of the decision-making process involves knowledge of one's own abilities and preferences. Romantic partners may reduce this decision-making difficulty as they are intimately aware of their partner's gifts and abilities and may act as a resource in helping both the individual and counselor in clarifying these strengths and preferences. Future research investigating family of procreation influences on career decision-making difficulties should focus on deciphering the role partners play in minimizing these career decision-making difficulties, and further clarifying how this role differs across genders.

Implications for Counselling

The results of the present study reveal the importance of family of procreation influences in the career decision-making difficulties of individuals. Assuming the findings of this exploratory study are confirmed in future research, practitioners who are working with clients who are in committed romantic relationships should consider involving the client's romantic partner in the career counselling process. Partners may be involved either as a resource to draw on for assistance with career decision-making difficulties or may be involved directly in career counselling. For some clients, it may be sufficient to educate them about the potential benefits of engaging in discussion with their partners regarding their career-related decisions, and using their partner as a way to double-check their assumptions (thus correcting dysfunctional beliefs). Similarly, clients may use their partners as a resource in order to obtain more objective information about themselves and their capabilities (thus correcting for problems associated with lack of information about the self). Given the benefits of open communication for couples, a secondary benefit of this approach may be to improve the quality of the romantic relationship itself.

Alternatively, those seeking professional assistance with career decision-making may benefit from a systemically-oriented career counselor who is able to actively involve the client's partner as a resource in the career counselling process. Indeed, Spiker-Miller and Kees, discussing the specific situation of clients who are in dual-career couple relationships go so far as to suggest that "career counselors in any setting, private or public, retail or wholesale, should consider conjoint counselling with an integrated counselling approach as 'standard operating procedure'" (1995, p. 44). Specific areas for intervention may include identification and resolution of decision-making difficulties associated with the client's romantic partner or the nature of the relationship itself (e.g., conflicting career and relational goals), remediation of communication and conflict resolution problems, or drawing on the romantic partner's experiences of successes in career decision-making as a model for the client's process.

In situations where counsellors may be deliberating the value of involving a romantic partner in the career counselling process, Gati, Krausz, and Osipow's (1996) CDDQ may be a useful tool. Given that results suggest partner involvement is beneficial for clients struggling with dysfunctional beliefs or lacking knowledge about their own abilities, counsellors may use the results of the CDDQ to identify clients explicitly suited for this type of intervention. These results will further provide support for counsellors' suggestions and encouragement of romantic partner involvement.

Systemically-minded career counsellors employing Patton and McMahon's (1999) STF of career development and its associated clinical tool, My System of Career Influences (McMahon, Watson, & Patton, 2005) may wish to consider expanding the specification of the influence of family in the social system. The influence of family within the STF may be more clearly understood as the influences of two connected but separate systems, the family of origin and family of procreation. Counsellors may even want to alter the family influence factor within the My System of Career Influences tool in order to explicitly acknowledge both family systems and ensure that those employing this instrument recognize and probe both aspects of family influence on career decision-making.

Limitations and Future Directions

Some caution must be employed in generalizing from the results of this study, given the relatively small sample size and homogeneity of the couples' levels of functioning. Specifically, the vast majority of participants had a functional and affectively close relationship, as measured by Gorall, Tiesel, and Olson's (2006) Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scale IV, and their responses to Holman and Jarvis (2003)'s couples' conflict scenarios, which are grounded in Gottman's (1994, 1998) theory of couples conflict. Therefore, it is unclear whether adults in abusive or highly conflictual relationships will experience the same beneficial effects from having partners who are more highly involved in their career decision-making. Indeed, it is possible that increased romantic partner involvement may actually be detrimental to the career decision-making difficulties of couples in dysfunctional relationships. Future research needs to be undertaken to determine if the same patterns emerge in more heterogeneous samples, or if the relationship between partner involvement and career decision-making difficulties is mediated or moderated by the quality of the romantic relationship. In addition, despite efforts to recruit individuals in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships, all participants reported being in a heterosexual relationship. Future research would benefit from being more inclusive and exploring whether these findings also apply to GLBT couples. Lastly, the study focused on longer-term, committed couples and may not be indicative of career decision-making difficulties experienced by individuals in dating or newly established romantic relationships. Thus, it is unclear whether romantic partner involvement has the same influence on the career decision-making difficulties of these divergent populations. Despite the presence of these limitations, the results of the present study reveal the importance of romantic partner involvement in career decision-making, at least for adult, heterosexual individuals in longer-term, close relationships. On the basis of these results, further research exploring the links between these variables and greater incorporation of systems theory into models of career decision-making should certainly be encouraged.

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Effective Career Counselling: Relationship Between Work Personality, Learning Style and Client Intervention Preferences

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There are many services today that provide career counselling and employment skills related training. However, consideration may be lacking as to a systematic means of discerning client preferences in career counselling (Niles, 1993; Galassi, Crace, Martin, James & Wallace, 1992).

The determination of client preference and subsequent application of this information to the choice of career counselling strategy could be expected to proffer certain benefits. This may be especially true when working with clients who are resistant to typical intervention approaches. One such group commonly identified for this characteristic is offenders. In the field of offender rehabilitative services, increasing client responsivity to treatment is considered to be a key component of effective intervention in terms of reducing recidivism (Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau & Cullen, 1990; Bonta, 1997). This may be witnessed through the reduction of client resistance as is often characterized in correctional counselling interventions by absenteeism, failure to complete homework assignments, disengagement in discussions, argumentativeness and apathy. Accommodating preference for approach may result in a client who is more engaged in a process that has greater meaning and, as a result, who is more positively affected by it. In fact, the importance of client expectations has been a major research focus in psychotherapy for over 40 years but it has received little attention in the area of career counselling (Galassi et. al., 1992)

The use of a work personality typology such as Holland's (1966, 1973, 1985) to explore relationships between client personalities and career counselling interventions has received historical as well as recent support (Riverin-Simard, 1999; Boyd and Cramer, 1995; Niles, 1993; Rosenberg and Smith, 1985). Holland developed six basic personality types: Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising and Conventional (RIASEC) and argued that people tend to affiliate with and be most like one, two or three of the types. Rosenberg and Smith (1985) developed six strategies for career counselling based on these Holland types. They claimed that realistic types would prefer a hands-on approach, investigative types a problem-solving approach, artistic types a low structured approach, social types a highly verbal approach, enterprising types a challenging approach and conventional types a highly structured approach. Niles (1993) explored this concept further in a sample of undergraduate students and found support for parts of this theory. More specifically, realistic and enterprising males preferred congruent career counselling environments, but results were less conclusive for the other typologies.

Boyd and Cramer (1995) in examining this theory, explored four aspects of client preferences as they related to Holland type: the framework of the counselling intervention, career aspirations, the process of decision-making, and counselor characteristics. Overall, support was found for the desirability of considering client

personality type when devising a career counselling intervention. In particular, in looking at the framework of counselling variable, a significant difference was found between the social and realistic types, with the enterprising types responding similarly to social types and conventional types most similarly to the realistic types.

Riverin-Simard (1999) has also suggested that distinctly different career counselling approaches should be provided to clients based on their Holland typology. She proposes that individuals tend towards one of two opposite poles, that of being and doing. More specifically, the pole of “being” describes clients who must first clarify who they are (or have become) in order to deal with the career dilemma they face and that three of Holland’s occupational typologies (artistic, social, enterprising) share this pole. Their preferred counselling approach would seek to help them redefine themselves through examination of their personal assets, qualities of their being that make them act and motivate them in vocational activities. On the opposite side, Riverin-Simard suggests that the pole of “doing” describes clients who emphasize what they produce rather than who they are and is represented mainly by Holland’s other three typologies (Realistic, Investigative, Conventional). Accordingly, their preferred approach would assist self-definition through acting and doing. Therefore, the first intervention priority should be to get them to act; to accomplish and do things.

A review of the literature on learning styles (Dunn, 1996; Hewitt, 1995; Simms and Sims, 1995; Dunn and Griggs, 1995; Reiff, 1992; Keefe, 1987; Gregorc, 1979; Messick & Assoc., 1976; Witkin, 1976; Kagan, 1965; Myers, 1962; Jung, 1921) provides support to the concept that adapting intervention strategies to the preferences of the ‘learner’ (client), will increase the likelihood there will be a positive learning or teaching experience and that client responsiveness will be enhanced. Kolb’s (1984) experiential learning model is useful in identifying adult learning styles and this information can then be used to modify the approach taken in a career counselling intervention. Kolb maintains there is a four stage cycle of learning that is structured around two dimensions of learning style: concrete experience versus abstract conceptualization (taking in experience) and reflective observation versus active experimentation (dealing with experience). Kolb proposes that the most effective learners have competencies in and use all four stages when learning. However, some learners are more comfortable with a particular stage and prefer this approach, often skipping other stages.

Using Kolb’s (1999) Learning Style Inventory (LSI) that contains 12 sentence stems, each having four completers that are rank ordered by the test-taker to determine the client’s preferred way of taking in experience (concrete experience versus abstract conceptualization), will provide an additional assessment of preferred approach to career counselling. This additional measure will provide a means of evaluating the relationship between an individual’s preferred counselling strategy and their Holland code as postulated by Riverin-Simard above.

This research was designed to explore the career counselling preferences of a representational sample of Newfoundland offenders. A career counselling preferences questionnaire was designed to provide an assessment tool for career counselors working with this population. Through a comparison of responses on this questionnaire to responses on two standardized and validated instruments that identify work personality by Holland code (Holland, 1985) and learning style (Kolb, 1984), the ability of this questionnaire to accurately identify these indicators for counselling preferences can be established. In effect, clients demonstrating a propensity towards an abstract

conceptualization learning style were predicted to be more responsive to a self-reflective approach to career counselling than those who preferred to learn through concrete experience. Additionally, this preference for a reflective, less-structured approach was also expected to exist more frequently in artistic, social and enterprising Holland types in comparison to realistic, investigative and conventional Holland types. The degree of correlation of responses to items on the career counselling preferences questionnaire developed for this study with Holland code and Kolb's learning style could result in a new way of approaching career counselling that reduces resistance and increases client responsivity to the intervention, thus increasing effectiveness of the counselling strategy.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 60 adult, male offenders selected by means of a stratified random sampling procedure. The sample represented all Federal and Provincial Parolees residing on the Avalon peninsula of Newfoundland, all inmates of Her Majesty's Penitentiary and Salmonier Correctional Institute, and all clients (excluding females and low-risk males) under supervision of the Corrections and Community Services office in St. John's. This last group included individuals on electronic monitoring, a conditional sentence or under a probation order. The average age of participants was 33 years. The group aged 20 to 29 years accounted for 48% of all participants. The majority of participants were single (60%), currently living in the community in a non-halfway house setting (60%), and were unemployed (72%) at the time of interview. The level of education of the participants ranged from grade 5 to university graduate, with an average of grade 10.

Instruments

The Self-Directed Search, Form E (SDS-E) is based on and developed from John Holland's well established theory (Holland, 1966, 1973, 1985) that links personality with occupational choice. The six personality types (RIASEC) are matched by six types of work-place environments on the assumption that these environments can be classified according to their demands and that people seek out work settings where there are others like themselves who share their interests and skills (Diamond, 1998). The SDS instrument seeks to estimate the test-taker's similarity to these six types by exploring experiences and competencies.

The SDS-E assessment booklet contains 192 items and can be administered in 20 to 40 minutes. The Form E (easy) was selected because of its applicability to a special client group, that is, adults with low education. Form E was specifically designed for adults (and adolescents) with as low as a grade four reading level.

Internal reliability of the SDS scales is moderate: KR 20's for the six scales ranging from .67 to .94 (Holland, 1991). Comparisons of the internal consistency between the 1985 and 1990 revision was examined by Ciechalski (1998) and found to be high (Cronbach's alpha above .95). The retest reliability of the SDS summary scales are reported in the manual to also be favourable (.81 to .92).

The Learning Style Inventory (LSI) was developed from David Kolb's (1984) experiential learning model that holds there is a four stage cycle of learning that is

structured around two dimensions of learning style: concrete experience versus abstract conceptualization (taking in experience) and reflective observation versus active experimentation (dealing with experience). The cycle is thought to follow a sequence that begins with concrete learning experiences, and moves to reflective experiences where the focus is building meaning and structured understanding. It then progresses to abstract experiences where theory building and logical analysis of ideas are central and ends with active experimentation experiences where application of what has been learned to real life occurs. Kolb proposes that the most effective learners have competencies in and use all four stages when learning. However, some learners are more comfortable with a particular stage and prefer this approach, often skipping or not moving into other stages.

The Learning Style Inventory (LSI) has been developed by Kolb (1999) to help individuals assess their modes of learning and learning styles (Murphy et al., 1999). The LSI contains 12 sentence stems, each having four completers which are rank ordered from four to one by the test-taker. Four is assigned to the completer with the stem that best characterizes the participant's learning style and one is assigned to the least. Reliability testing carried out since introduction of the first version in 1981 found the instrument to be rated as "strong in regard to reliability and fair in terms of validity" (Hickcox, 1995, p.34). Gregg (1989) in his review of this instrument, stated that the reliability of the LSI showed good internal reliability using Cronbach's Alpha but that further research is required to answer questions of validity.

The Career Counseling Preferences Questionnaire (CCPQ) was designed for this study to assess offender's preferences for career counseling interventions. The questionnaire contained 50 statements that require the respondent to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each statement on a six point Likert Scale. A six point scale was used in order to eliminate a middle answer. The response choices range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". A total of 50 items were developed in five categories that were considered significant to the determination of career counseling preference. The first two categories, the importance of work and the perceived need for counseling, contain five items each and were designed to assess the client's motivation to engage in the workforce and to engage in a career counseling intervention. The third category, group versus individual counseling preference, contains four items which allow the client to indicate which of these two basic approaches are preferable. The fourth category contains 24 items that were constructed to assess client preferences for active (doing) versus reflective (thinking) approaches to career counseling. The final category of 12 items was developed to provide referencing to the six Holland types in order to investigate the questionnaire's ability to detect differentiated Holland personalities through correlations with responses on the SDS-E.

Development of the 50 items took place over several months and involved numerous revisions. As items were added to the questionnaire they were evaluated for literacy-level and face validity by two experienced career counselors who work with offenders. Once the total group of 50 items was obtained, the items were intermixed throughout the questionnaire and adjustments were made to allow reverse scoring on approximately half of the items. This original draft of the questionnaire was reviewed for wording, item construction, face validity and instrument structure by several individuals well-versed in career counseling and research design. Subsequent drafts were then produced as these revisions were incorporated into the design of the instrument.

In order to determine that the items addressed the theories they were designed to address, a “back translation” procedure similar to that used by Boyd and Cramer (1995), was employed. This process is thought to increase validity and involved five judges assigning the items back to the five categories from which they originated. Three of the judges were correctional workers familiar with career counseling and Holland’s theory and the other two judges were graduate students trained in career counseling and familiar with the population.

Finally, the CCPQ was pilot tested with offenders to obtain their overall impressions of the instrument as well as an item by item critique. This review attempted to determine readability of each item, their comprehension of the items, their explanation of choices on each item and their sense of face validity. Final revisions were made to alleviate any ambiguities or difficulties encountered.

Interview Process

All participants who had been selected for inclusion in the study sample were contacted by phone or in person. A general description of the study was provided which included a brief summary of the three instruments involved. Potential participants were informed that participation was completely voluntary and anonymous and that refusal to participate would not be reported to their supervisory agency (parole or probation officer). If the individual agreed to participate, an appointment was made for the instruments to be administered at a time convenient for the participant.

Each participant met individually with the researcher in a either private interview room in the prison (for those incarcerated) or in a counseling room of the John Howard Society’s C-STEP program in St. John’s. This setting was chosen to provide consistency for instrument administration, it’s central location and because of the positive client perception of this agency as an offender advocacy organization. The initial part of the meeting was used to describe the purpose of the study, the procedure involved and to answer any questions the participant had. The consent form was then reviewed and signed. The three instruments were administered in the order of the CCPQ first, followed by the LSI and finally the SDS-E. The participant was encouraged to take their time and ask questions if unsure of anything. The researcher moved out of the participant’s vision but remained within earshot in case assistance was requested. Responses on each instrument were checked for errors or missed items before the interview ended. This meeting lasted approximately 40 - 60 minutes per participant.

Results

The majority of participants were found to be unemployed, repeat offenders who had not received any form of career counselling previously. Over 70% have been imprisoned at some time, almost 40% for more than two years. The most common Holland personality was found to be the Realistic type in this sample, as indicated by results of both the SDS-E and the CCPQ. Reliability of the SDS-E was found to be .80 and higher, while reliability of the other standardized instrument used in the study, the LSI, was lower (alpha of .33 to .71). The study-designed instrument, the CCPQ, was found to produce reliability alphas ranging from .41 to .76 for this sample.

Strong positive correlations were found between the SDS-E and the CCPQ on each of the six Holland typologies, suggesting a role for the CCPQ in screening for

work personality (Table 1). The CCPQ also indicated that the majority of participants perceived a need for career counselling, but that approximately half preferred neither group nor individual interventions, the remainder equally split in their preferences for these two approaches. The only Holland typology found to be correlated with the group/individual preference was the Social type, showing a negative correlation with individual career counselling ($r = -.266, p < .05$).

Table 1

CCPQ and SDS-E Inter-correlations (RIASEC)

	CCPQ R SDS-E R	CCPQ I SDS-E I	CCPQ A SDS-E A	CCPQ S SDS-E S	CCPQ E SDS-E E	CCPQ C SDS-E C
Pearson	.604***	.343**	.402**	.548***	.534***	.423**
Sig. level	.000	.009	.130	.000	.000	.001
** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$						

The Thinker construct of the CCPQ was found to be significantly and positively correlated with four of the Holland types, Artistic, Social, Enterprising and Investigative, as displayed in Table 2. The Doer construct, however, was found to be correlated with only the Social typology. The Realistic and Conventional Holland types were not found to be significantly correlated with either of these constructs. Approximately 25% of the sample were found to be 'Thinkers'. An unexpected finding was a positive correlation between the Thinker and Doer scores on the CCPQ ($r = .33, p < .05$) suggesting the possibility that another construct may be involved in the explanation of these findings.

Table 2

CCPQ Thinker/Doer and SDS-E correlations (RIASEC)

	R	I	A	S	E	C
CCPQ Thinker						
Pearson	-.066	.387**	.423**	.347**	.270*	.130
Sig. level	.639	.003	.002	.009	.046	.354
CCPQ Doer						
Pearson	-.011	.126	.081	.282*	.006	-.009
Sig level	.937	.350	.560	.034	.965	.947
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$						

Results from the LSI showed a positive correlation ($r = .33, p < .05$) between the abstract score (AC) and the CCPQ Thinker score. Interestingly, the LSI AC score was also positively correlated with the Investigative typology ($r = .35, p < .01$) supporting the finding of this Holland type's affinity to the Thinker construct.

Table 3 displays the findings of the relationship between scores on the Holland Self-Directed Search (SDS-E) and scores on the Kolb Learning Style Inventory (LSI) in this offender population. Six significant correlations were found. The Investigative score for participants was found to be positive correlated with the Abstract Conceptualization score ($r = .35, p < .01$) as well as the Abstract - Concrete (AC - CE) score ($r = .30, p < .05$) and negatively correlated with the Active Experimentation score ($r = -.36, p < .01$). The SDS-E Artistic score for participants was negatively correlated with their Reflective Observation score ($r = -.28, p < .05$). Finally, participants' score for Holland's Conventional typology was found to be negatively correlated with their Active Experimentation score ($r = -.33, p < .05$) and their Active - Reflective (AE - RO) score ($r = -.29, p < .05$).

Table 3

SDS-E and LSI Inter-correlations

		CE	RO	AC	AE	AC - CE	AE - RO
R	Pearson	-.197	.130	-.015	.084	.088	-.019
	Sig. level	.145	.340	.910	.536	.521	.888
I	Pearson	-.104	.051	.346**	-.355**	.296*	-.254
	Sig. level	.437	.706	.008	.006	.024	.054
A	Sig. level	.077	-.275*	.132	-.128	.055	.067
		.578	.042	.337	.353	.692	.627
S	Pearson	.131	-.051	-.016	-.028	-.075	.011
	Sig. level	.326	.703	.905	.834	.573	.935
E	Pearson	-.084	-.110	.187	-.144	.173	-.029
	Sig. level	.530	.410	.160	.280	.194	.827
C	Pearson	-.137	.137	.224	-.329*	.226	-.286*
	Sig. level	.315	.315	.097	.013	.094	.032
* $p < .05$		** $p < .01$					

Finally, significant correlations were found between four Holland typologies and three demographic variables of the sample. Years of education was found to be positively correlated with both the Investigative ($r = .29, p < .05$) and Artistic types ($r = .38, p < .05$), but negatively correlated with the Realistic typology ($r = -.29, p < .05$). On the other hand, the total time incarcerated was found to be positively correlated with the Realistic scores ($r = .29, p < .05$) but negatively correlated with Investigative scores ($r = -.35, p < .01$). The last demographic variable found to be significantly correlated with a Holland type was size of home town. This was found to be negatively correlated ($r = -.27, p < .05$) with the Enterprising typology scores of the CCPQ.

Discussion

One of the primary purposes of this study was to investigate the idea put forward by Riverin-Simard (1999) that in times of occupational stress, individuals tend

towards one of two opposite poles, either of clarifying who they are and will become (Thinker) or what they produce (Doer) depending upon their characteristics. Although some support was found for this theory, the results were mixed. Comparisons of the SDS-E scores with the CCPQ Thinker scores revealed that four of Holland's six typologies were significantly correlated with this construct. Three of these four were Artistic, Social and Enterprising (ASE); Holland types proposed by Riverin-Simard to share the Thinker pole. Further, when scores of these three types are totaled for each participant, this combined ASE score on the SDS-E was found to be strongly correlated with the CCPQ Thinker score ($r = .41, p < .01$). The equivalent combination of Realistic, Investigative and Conventional (RIC) SDS-E scores was found to be not significantly correlated with the CCPQ Thinker scores. Finally, when comparing scores for the CCPQ Doer with the SDS-E ASE combination, the resulting correlation was not significant.

These results then, lend support to the existence of a relationship between Holland's artistic, social and enterprising work personalities and a 'Thinker' approach to career distress or transition. However, other findings from this study suggest this whole postulate to be more complex than first proposed, at least for this population. One of the greatest detractors is the results regarding the Investigative typology. Scores for this type on the SDS-E were found to be strongly and positively correlated with the Artistic, Social and Enterprising typologies (as well as the Conventional typology). This effect was replicated through the CCPQ results. Additionally, the Investigative scores on the SDS-E were found to be positively correlated with the CCPQ Thinker scores ($r = .39, p < .01$). It would appear then, that the Investigative typology does not conform to its proposed membership in a 'doing' genre. In fact, higher scores in this typology are correlated to higher scores in the 'thinking' typologies (ASE) as well as to the CCPQ Thinker construct.

This notion that the Investigative typology is actually distinct from the Realistic typology, instead of similar, is supported by other results of the study. For example, higher Investigative scores (in both SDS-E and CCPQ) were found to be positively correlated with years of education and negatively correlated (CCPQ scores only) with time spent in jail. Conversely, higher Realistic scores (in both SDS-E and CCPQ) were found to be positively correlated with time spent in jail and negatively correlated (CCPQ scores only) with years of education, the complete opposite. Additionally, scores for the LSI Abstract Conceptualization (AC) learning style were found to be positively correlated with both the SDS-E and CCPQ Investigative scores. The LSI AC - CE (abstraction over concreteness) score was also positively correlated with the SDS-E Investigative score. Furthermore, SDS-E Investigative scores were found to be negatively correlated with the LSI Active Experimentation (AE) scores and the CCPQ Investigative scores were found to be negatively correlated with the LSI Concrete Experience (CE) scores. These findings strongly suggest that the Investigative occupational personality is very much an abstract learner and prefers a "thinkers" approach to career transition and counselling as opposed to a "doers" approach.

Alternatively, no significant correlations were found between any of the Holland Realistic, Investigative and Conventional typologies and the CCPQ Doer scores. Upon examination of the relationship of these three Holland types and LSI learning styles, it was found that the SDS-E Conventional type was negatively correlated with LSI active over reflective (AE-RO) scores. Similarly, the CCPQ Realistic type was negatively correlated with LSI Concrete Experience (CE) scores but

positively correlated with LSI Abstract Conceptualization (AC) and Reflective Observation (RO) scores. These findings would not be expected of “doers” and indeed, are somewhat surprising. This is particularly true of the negative correlation between the Realistic type and the LSI Concrete learning style. One possible explanation for this may rest with the LSI’s ability to accurately measure this style. The LSI’s reliability in CE scores for this sample was very low when all 12 items were included ($\alpha = .33$) and was only improved when seven items were dropped ($\alpha = .65$). Also, upon examination of the five remaining items that are used to construct the CE score, it is apparent that the respondents feelings are emphasized (eg. “when I learn, I like to deal with my feelings”, “I learn by feeling”, “I learn best when I rely on my feelings”, “I learn best when I trust my hunches and feelings”) in this learning style. It may be possible that offenders reacted negatively to these items based on this emphasis and, as Realistic types were the most common in this sample, this significant negative correlation was found. Thus, the usefulness of the LSI instrument to indicate an inclination towards a ‘concrete’ learning style in this sample is doubtful. In fact, Kolb in defending the LSI, has often argued that the best measure of his instrument was not reliability, but construct validity (Highhouse and Doverspike, 1987). As well, none of the significant correlations found by Highhouse and Doverspike between LSI styles and Holland type were replicated by this study. Overall, results from the LSI proved to be mixed on finding a means of triangulating evidence in the investigation of Riverin-Simard’s theory. Support for the theory and for the CCPQ’s ability to identify Thinkers, came from the LSI when a positive correlation was found between the LSI Abstract Conceptualization score and the CCPQ Thinker score for participants. However, the positive correlation of the LSI AC score and the CCPQ Realistic typology contradicts the theory, as mentioned above. The impact of this correlation on the theory is somewhat diminished, however, as it was not replicated by the SDS-E Realistic scores. None-the-less, the correlation is opposite to that expected based on the theory and cannot be dismissed, especially when the relationship between the two measures (SDS-E and CCPQ) of Realistic typology is strong ($r = .60, p < .01$).

The LSI Reflective Observation (RO) scores also presented findings contradictory to Riverin-Simard’s theory. As mentioned above, the CCPQ Realistic typology was positively correlated with LSI RO scores while the CCPQ Social and SDS-E Artistic typologies (both proposed ‘thinkers’) were found to be negatively correlated with the LSI RO scores. The Reflective Observation style is described by Kolb (1999) as “learning by reflecting” and involves viewing issues from different perspectives and looking for the meaning of things. It should be noted that the RO scores were the least reliable of the LSI instrument ($\alpha = .48$) and perhaps should not receive undue attention here because of this. At the very least however, one may conclude that these Holland typologies are not simply categorized on one continuum, such as thinking-doing, and most probably represent a number of complexities and constructs.

Conclusion

In light of the present findings, it would appear that a place for constructivist approaches, as distinguished by the development of self as a function of construction in the context of social participation, relationships and dialogue (Peavy, 1996), does

indeed exist in the area of career interventions for offenders. The four “thinking” Holland types, Artistic, Investigative, Social and Enterprising, would appear to be most suited to this approach. Based upon the characteristics the CCPQ Thinker items attempted to identify, it would seem that these typologies would benefit from an intervention where reflection and meaningful activity are essential processes and the broader perspective of the client’s whole life is considered as opposed to simply making a career choice or focusing on the occupational aspect of the client’s life. Approaches such as Peavy’s (1992; 1996) outlined earlier, where the intervention will be active, dynamic and re-constructive and the focus of the intervention will be the client’s own perception’s and personal meanings of what was, is and will be significant for them, would be appropriate to include in career interventions for these typologies. Typical constructivist activities such as counsellor elicited stories, metaphors, narratives and dialogues soliciting the clients’ self-reflections would comprise some of the methods used.

Based on the findings regarding thinking versus doing as a response to career transition, it is clear that more research is required to further understand these constructs and to effectively identify these preferences in clients. Future efforts to understand the interaction of learning styles and work personalities could benefit from the utilization of a more reliable assessment tool. Finally, replication of this study with a population other than offenders would assist in determining the generalizability of these findings.

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Evaluation of an Online Psychoeducational Career Workshop

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Student support services for post secondary students are commonplace for on-campus students and are increasing in relevance for students who study at a distance (LaPadula, 2003). These services facilitate student admission, registration, retention and other factors contributing to successful student experiences and outcomes. A specific type of student service is that of career counselling and advising, focusing on assisting students with career related decisions, such as choosing courses and acquiring work. This service helps students to make the successful transition from the role of student to worker at the time of graduation. Career counselling and advising can be offered to individual students or to a group in the form of a psychoeducational workshop. Psychoeducational groups are task oriented, facilitate the development of human potential, and use self-assessment and reflection methods to increase self awareness (Authier, 1977).

One such career workshop was successfully offered at the University of Calgary during in-person sessions to groups of 50 students who were preparing to apply for work experience positions (Crozier & Lalande, 1995). Work experience programs, such as cooperative education, internship programs, and practicum placements allow students to alternate work placements and academic terms, thereby increasing their employability. Students also acquire self-knowledge and knowledge of the world of work, and these insights facilitate life long career decisions. The career workshop for these students was designed to enhance their ability to acquire work experience positions, as the application process for these positions is highly competitive. Informal evaluations of these workshops indicated the participants increased their skills and knowledge in the areas of resume writing, interview strategies and job search techniques.

Due to the increasing numbers of students registering for this service and limitations in resources for staffing and space, the option of delivering this career workshop in an online environment was pursued. Other post secondary institutions in the region that offered similar services were approached to discuss the possibility of collaborating in a project to redevelop this workshop for delivery an online environment. A group consisting of four post secondary institutions was successful in acquiring funding from Alberta Advanced Education to develop a new Internet based program, "Ex-Scape: Experience student and placement education" (Ex-Scape).

This article provides an overview of the Ex-Scape program along with a description of how the original in-person workshop was redeveloped to meet the needs of the collaborating institutions and also be delivered online. Research conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the new program will be described along with a summary of the results of this research. Implications of these results for the future development of online career development services will be considered.

Development and Delivery of Ex-Scape

The collaborating parties met regularly over a two-year period to revise the content of the original workshop and to reformat it for delivery over the Internet. The content was revised to include specific examples that are relevant to students at each post-secondary institution. It was also updated to include the latest information. The learning objectives of Ex-Scape are to (a) acquire the knowledge of effective job search strategies including resume writing, portfolio development, interview strategies, career research, and labor market information; (b) improve knowledge of personal skills, values, interests and accomplishments related to conducting an effective job search; (c) acquire experiential work positions; and (d) improve the decisions students make about educational programs.

In addition to the redevelopment of content, the web site was designed to provide a high quality, learner-centered environment. The in-person workshop provided students with opportunities for personal development through discussions, self-assessments, reflection and easy access to information from the instructor. Ex-Scape included a number of features to maintain this development and further learning. To engage the students, a number of short animations were developed to introduce content sections. Over 200 audio clips of students and employers who offered tips were included throughout the content as a supplement to the text based information. A series of nine short videos of actors in interview situations were included to demonstrate effective interview strategies. The site is highly interactive, allowing students to complete self assessment quizzes online and prepare sections of their personal resume as they worked through the instructions. Students can also talk to other students and the instructor via the discussion forum or real time chat room, in which employers are occasionally invited to answer questions. Instant access is provided to the many high quality career information resources that are currently available online. In addition to the online program, students participated in two in-person sessions (a) a one-hour orientation session; and (b) a three-hour session where they extend their learning, critique each other's resumes and participate in mock interviews. The program was also designed to be offered as a credit course and includes features for the online administration of competency based assessments and the marking of these assessments by the instructor.

Evaluation of Ex-Scape

Evaluation of career development programs has been identified as a critical component of program design and delivery (Flynn, 1994; Hutchinson, 1994). Collins and Burge (1995) encourage the use of summative evaluations to provide student feedback on the effectiveness of computer-mediated learning. Delivering a program online requires the evaluation to determine whether there are problems with the technology or other factors (Powers, 1997). Reviews and evaluations have been conducted on educational courses that have successfully gone online, however there is a scarcity of information regarding the effectiveness of career workshops that are offered via the Internet (Levin, 1997; Monk, 1996). There was a need to assess the knowledge and skill outcomes of students who participated in this new program. There was also a need to compare the outcome success of students in the new course to those students who learned through the traditional in-person method, to determine the effectiveness of

computer-mediated learning. Consequently, the developers conducted an extensive evaluation of Ex-Scape after it had been implemented with the students at three of the post-secondary institutions.

The evaluation was conducted to answer the following questions related to the effectiveness of the Ex-Scape online workshop:

1. Did the students who completed the web-based workshop improve their understanding of how to write a resume, cover letter, and participate in an interview?
2. Did the students who completed the web-based workshop acquire the skills to write a resume, cover letter, and participate in a job interview?
3. Did the students who completed the web-based workshop do as well or better in the careers knowledge and skills outcomes of the course as the students who completed the program offered in the original in-class career workshop?
4. What are the students' experiences regarding participating in an online career workshop?

Method

To assess the effectiveness of the new program, the researchers conducted (a) summative evaluations by measuring career knowledge and skill outcomes through a pre- and posttest design (Kidder & Judd, 1986); (b) an analysis of the students' evaluations of the program; (c) focus groups to determine participants' reaction to the program; and (d) skill and knowledge outcomes for 34 students who completed the program online, as compared to 8 students who completed the program in person.

Participants

Students at three post-secondary institutions in the southern Alberta region of Canada who participated in the ExScape program were invited to participate in the evaluation research. A total of 360 students participated in the evaluation, with 42 students completing pre- and posttest assessments, 291 students completing course evaluations, and 27 students participating in focus groups. The students enrolled in the online course who completed pre- and posttest assessments included 16 out of 25 first- and second-year diploma students from Mount Royal College (MRC) and 18 out of 18 first- and second-year diploma programs from Medicine Hat College (MHC). The majority of these students were female and the average age was 19. The students enrolled in the last in-class course who completed pre- and posttest assessments included 8 out of 50 third-year students at the University of Calgary (U of C). The majority of these students were male and the average age was 22. All students completed the online or in-class course prior to applying for cooperative education or experiential work placements.

Program evaluations for ExScape were administered and completed by 291 out of 600 second- and third-year students from the U of C and MRC. The participants majored in the areas of engineering, general studies, science, social science, and business administration. The majority of students were male and the average age was 22.

Focus groups were conducted at the U of C, MHC and MRC with a total of 27 students who completed the ExEscape program. The students from the U of C were third-year students in cooperative and internship programs in the areas of engineering, science, and general studies. The students from MHC and MRC were first- and second-year diploma students from the areas of health studies and business administration.

Instrumentation

Assessment tools were developed to measure knowledge in the areas of résumé writing, cover letter writing, and interview techniques. The assessments were in the format of a short quiz with a variety of question types including short answer, multiple choice and true/false questions. The résumé quiz included 20 questions, the cover letter quiz included seven questions, and the interview quiz included 21 questions. These quizzes were offered before and after completion of the program in print form to the in-class students, and in print form or online to the online students. Sample questions are provided in Table 1.

Course evaluations were utilized to survey the students' perception of their skill outcomes and to gather information concerning their impressions of the online workshop. Students completed this survey upon completion of the workshop. The 62-question survey gathered information concerning program objectives, content, instruction, technology, and assignments using a 5-point Likert-type scale. The survey also included six open-ended questions that surveyed (a) students' expectations, (b) features that should be removed or added, (c) their overall rating of the course, (d) whether or not the student would take another online course, and (e) general suggestions or comments. Sample questions from this survey are provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Sample Questions – Resume, Cover Letter, Interview Knowledge Assessments and Course Evaluation

Resume

Name three courses you have taken that could be highlighted on the Education section of your résumé. What were the criteria you used for choosing these three courses?

The disadvantage of having a Career Objective is _____.

Cover Letter

It is acceptable with most employers to take initiative and indicate that you will contact the employer in the future.

True or False

Cover letters have _____ (give a number) main sections, which include (list the sections).

Interview

In preparation for an interview you should review _____ and _____.

Name three strategies that you can use during the Opening of an Interview.

Course Evaluation

Please indicate if you had any expectations, other than those listed, for this program that were or were not met by this program.

New features I would like to see incorporated into the course include:

The students in the focus groups were given an opportunity to express their views regarding their learning experiences after they completed the workshop. A semi-structured interview was used employing a list of 9-11 open-ended questions that the participants were invited to respond to. Each interview was recorded with a tape recorder and later transcribed by a professional transcriptionist. A total of six interviews were conducted with focus groups ranging from two to eight students in each group. The length of the interviews was approximately 1.5 hours. Students in each group were guided by the following questions:

1. Please comment on how your experience of registering for the program and whether the program scheduling met your needs.
2. What did you learn from the program you just completed?
3. What was good about how the instruction was delivered?
4. What was bad about how the instruction was delivered?
5. Was the instructor/facilitator helpful?
6. Did you find the information given by students and employers helpful?
7. Were you able to develop tools and strategies that will help you to find or participate in your work/practicum placement?
8. Please give any suggestions you have for improving this program.
9. Do you have any additional comments?
10. Additional questions for students who completed the on-line program:
11. Please comment on the benefits you experienced of completing this program online.
12. Please comment on the difficulties you experienced due to the program being offered online.

Procedure

Students who participated in the last in person session of the workshop at the U of C were asked to volunteer to participate in the research. After this workshop was completed, ExScape was offered online by different workshop facilitators for students at the U of C, MHC, and MRC. The research was conducted over an 18-month period between 1999-2001. During that time the substantive content of the program did not change, however, changes were made based on the informal feedback of the students regarding how the program was offered, for example the time students were given to

complete the workshop on-line varied. All students were required to participate in the workshop prior to applying for the work experiences, however some students completed the program as a credit course, while others completed the program as a non-credit pre-requisite.

Results

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed by addressing each of the research questions separately.

analysis of pre-and post assessments to determine outcome. Data from the pre- and posttest assessments and from the course evaluations were analyzed to determine whether students who completed the web-based workshop improved their understanding of how to write a résumé, cover letter, and how to do a job interview.

Résumé knowledge. A paired sample *t*-test was used to compare each of the student’s pre- and posttest assessment of their résumé knowledge. Thirty out of 34 students completed both the pre- and posttests. Table 2 illustrates that students significantly ($p < .05$) improved their understanding of how to write a résumé in nine of the 19 questions. Their scores were higher in the posttest than in the pretest for 8 other questions, but not significantly higher. A few of the larger differences may be due to general knowledge of résumés. For example, question two asked for three main purposes of a résumé from an employer’s perspective (which may not be general knowledge). The results of the posttest showed a significant improvement of correct answers, whereas, question one, which showed little statistical improvement, asked how many pages a résumé should be and found that most students answered correctly on both the pre-and posttests.

Table 2

Paired Samples t-test, Résumé Knowledge Assessment – Online Groups (N=30)

	Maximum Score	Pretest (Mean)	Posttest (Mean)	Post-Pre Mean)	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Q2	3	1.33	2.50	1.17	2.43	29	.02*
Q7	1	.43	.80	.37	3.27	29	.00*
Q8	1	.27	.53	.27	2.50	29	.02*
Q10	1	.17	.40	.23	2.25	29	.03*
Q12	4	1.53	2.20	.67	2.09	29	.05*
Q13	6	1.80	3.03	1.23	4.03	29	.00*
Q17	1	.27	.63	.37	3.27	29	.00*
Q18	3	1.23	2.10	.87	3.43	29	.00*
Q19	3	1.07	2.33	1.27	5.00	29	.00*

NOTE: All non-significant paired sample *t*-test analyses were omitted.

* $p < .05$

In addition to the pre- and posttest assessments, two questions from course evaluations addressed students’ understanding of how to write a résumé. In the first

question, 95% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I have learned how to develop the sections of a résumé.” In the second question, 88% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I know how to profile my skills in a résumé.” The close-ended survey data supported the quantitative data that students improved their understanding of how to create a résumé.

Cover Letter knowledge. A paired sample *t*-test was used to compare each student’s pre- and posttest assessment of cover letters. The results of this analysis, based on the responses of 29 out of 32 students who completed both the pre- and posttests, are in given in Table 3. Table 3 indicates that students improved their understanding of how to write a cover letter by showing that of the 7 questions, all show improvement with three of these differences being statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

In addition to the pre- and posttest results, one question from course evaluations addressed students’ understanding of how to write a cover letter. The response rate showed that 88% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I know how to write a cover letter.” The close-ended survey data supported the quantitative data that students improved their understanding of how to create a cover letter.

Table 3

Paired Samples t-test, Cover Letter Assessment – Online Groups (N = 29)

	Maximum Score	Pretest (Mean)	Posttest (Mean)	Post-Pre (Mean)	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Q1	1	.97	.93	-.03	-.57	28	.57
Q2	1	.97	.86	-.10	-1.80	28	.08
Q3	1	.86	.93	.07	.81	28	.42
Q4	3	1.62	2.96	1.35	4.12	28	.00*
Q5	6	3.27	4.49	1.21	3.57	28	.00*
Q6	1	.76	.90	.14	1.28	28	.21
Q7	1	.38	.79	.41	3.55	28	.00*

NOTE: All non-significant paired sample *t*-test analyses were omitted.

* $p \leq .05$

Interview knowledge. A paired sample *t*-test was used to compare each student’s pre- and posttest assessment of the interview. Out of 21 questions, there was improvement in scores for 20 questions in the posttest, with 18 of these differences being significant at the 0.05 level (see Table 4).

In addition to the pre- and posttest results, four questions from course evaluations addressed students’ understanding of how to perform in an interview. In the first question, 83% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I know how to profile my skills during an interview.”

In the second question, 86% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I have increased my understanding of how to effectively handle the stages of an interview.” In the third question, 86% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I understand how my values are important in an interview.” In the fourth question, 72% of students agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, “I can draw from

my past experiences to answer Behaviour Description Questions." The close-ended survey data supported the quantitative data that students improved their understanding of how to perform in an interview.

Table 4

Paired Samples t-test, Interview Knowledge Assessment – Online Groups (N = 32)

Maximum Score	Pretest (Mean)	Posttest (Mean)	Post-Pre (Mean)	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
Q1	3	1.44	2.41	-.97	3.52	31	.00*
Q2	5	3.97	4.63	-.66	2.45	31	.02*
Q3	3	1.09	2.56	-1.47	5.97	31	.00*
Q4	2	.47	1.06	-.59	4.72	31	.00*
Q5	1	.34	.31	.03	-.30	31	.77
Q6	1	.81	.97	-.16	1.97	31	.06
Q7	1	.69	.91	-.22	2.52	31	.02*
Q8	3	2.10	2.74	-.65	3.07	30	.01*
Q9	3	.52	2.45	-1.94	8.91	30	.00*
Q10	5	1.87	3.42	-1.55	2.95	30	.01*
Q11	2	.55	1.68	-1.13	5.62	30	.00*
Q12	4	2.19	3.94	-1.74	5.37	30	.00*
Q13	2	.19	1.32	-1.13	7.11	30	.00*
Q14	1	.16	.45	-.29	3.06	30	.01*
Q15	1	.47	.94	-.47	4.68	30	.00*
Q16	4	.47	3.13	-2.66	7.73	31	.00*
Q17	9	7.28	8.56	-1.28	3.91	31	.00*
Q18	1	.50	.88	-.38	4.31	31	.00*
Q19	1	.94	1.00	-.06	1.44	31	.16
Q20	1	.72	.97	-.31	2.78	31	.02*
Q21	3	1.16	2.81	-1.21	7.76	31	.00*

*p< .05

analysis of data to determine skills outcomes. A response frequency analysis of the responses to the course evaluations were conducted to determine whether students who completed ExScape perceived that they acquired the skills to write a résumé, cover letter, and participate in a job interview.

A total of 291 students from the U of C and MRC taking the online program responded to a survey question asking if they acquired skills to develop a résumé; 98% of students agreed or strongly agreed that they did draft a résumé. From the same group of students, 91% agreed or strongly agreed that they did draft a cover letter. A total of 86% of the same group of students agreed that they have acquired the skills to participate in a job interview.

analysis of students' reported online learning experiences. Qualitative analyses were conducted on the responses to short-answer questions in the course evaluation and the focus group data. Out of the 291 students who completed the

evaluation survey, 66 students responded to the short answer questions. Each student's response to every short answer question was transcribed and the data was examined to reveal possible categories. Themes quickly emerged for the responses to the short answer questions.

The following themes emerged from students' impressions of what they felt were the most important issues surrounding the web-based course. The frequency of responses categorized in each theme is reported in brackets.

1. Expectations for the course were met (30).
2. Require more time to complete website (20).
3. Would like more interaction with peers, instructors (8).
4. Wanted accurate time line for completion of the course (6).
5. Require more information on specific job search topics (2).

The second theme was identified by students who were given a one-week timeline to complete the workshop. The timeline was adjusted after this group was evaluated.

Out of the 291 students who completed the survey, 194 students indicated that they would take another online course, with 82 students responding to the following question: "In the future, I would take another online course because."

1. Online course is flexible (42).
2. Can work at own pace (23).
3. Online course was very beneficial (7).
4. Able to go back and review material (5).
5. Easy course; user-friendly (3).
6. More time to complete (2).

Out of the 291 students who completed the survey, 78 students indicated that would not take another online course, with 45 students responding to the following question: "In the future, I would not take another online course because."

1. Prefer interaction with instructor and peers (14).
2. Took too long to complete (13).
3. Lack of interest; already covered information (6).
4. Poor, slow connections (5).
5. Not enough feedback (3).
6. Hard to look at a computer screen for long (2).
7. Motivation was a problem (2).

The majority of students indicated that they would take another online course. Students who said they would not take another online course gave a number of reasons including learning style preference, frustration with technology, and concern that it took more time to complete the workshop online than in-person.

The focus groups were taped and the tapes were professionally transcribed. The transcribed data was combined and divided into statements, then colour coded by meaning, grouped into clusters of meanings and finally transformed into four themes. Students' comments were recorded under each theme. The following themes emerged

from the 27 students' impressions of their learning experiences (a) students liked the flexibility of working online, (b) students were able to use the strategies learned online, (c) Ex-Scape offered variety, and (d) special features of the program were helpful.

comparison of data for in-class and on-line participants. Data was collected to compare the outcomes of the group of students who completed the workshop in-person with the outcomes of the group of students who completed the workshop online. However, due to the lack of volunteers from the in-class student group the sample size was too small to allow for a meaningful analysis. A simple comparison of the paired samples *t*-test analysis for both groups indicates that the online group had a similar amount of improvement in their knowledge and skills, as did the in-class group of students. See Tables 5, 6, and 7 for a comparison of the statistical results of the online and in-class groups in the areas of résumé, cover letter, and interview knowledge outcomes.

Table 5

Paired Samples t-test, Cover Letter Knowledge Assessment – Online and In-class Groups

	Online groups n=29			In-class group n=8		
	<i>t</i>	df	Sig.	<i>t</i>	df	Sig.
Q4	4.12	28	.00*	6.61	7	.00*
Q5	3.57	28	.00*	3.00	7	.02*
Q7	3.55	28	.00*	2.05	7	.08

NOTE: All non-significant paired sample *t*-test analyses in both online and in-class groups were omitted.

**p* < .05

Table 6

Paired Samples t-test, Résumé Knowledge Assessment – Online and In-class Groups

	Online groups n=30			In-class group n=8		
	<i>t</i>	df	Sig.	<i>t</i>	df	Sig.
Q8	2.50	29	.02*	3.00	7	.02*
Q19	5.00	29	.00*	2.65	7	.03*

NOTE: All non-significant paired sample *t*-test analyses in both online and in-class groups were omitted. **p* < .05

The analysis of the focus groups for students who participated in the online and in-class sessions revealed that both groups (a) thought the information obtained from the workshop was valuable, (b) indicated that they gained confidence for the interview, (c) believed they had prepared a more effective resume upon completion of the workshop, and (d) expressed a desire for more feedback from their instructors. Although the in-class focus group was a small sample size of five students, this data

indicates the in-class students had similar experienced outcomes and the desire for increased instructor feedback, as did the students in the online focus groups.

Table 7

Paired Samples t-test, Interview Knowledge Assessment – Online and In-class Groups

	Online groups n=32			In-class group n=8		
	<i>t</i>	df	Sig.	<i>t</i>	df	Sig
Q1	3.52	31	.00*	3.04	7	.02*
Q2	2.45	31	.02*	2.38	7	.05*
Q9	8.91	31	.00*	2.39	7	.05*
Q10	2.95	31	.01*	2.91	7	.02*
Q11	5.62	31	.00*	3.42	7	.01*
Q12	5.37	31	.00*	3.32	7	.01*
Q13	7.11	31	.00*	3.86	7	.01*
Q16	7.73	31	.00*	2.38	7	.05*
Q18	4.31	31	.00*	4.58	7	.00*
Q21	7.76	31	.00*	4.58	7	.00*

NOTE: All non-significant paired sample *t*-test analyses in both online and in-class groups were omitted.

**p*< .05

Discussion

The results of this research suggest that the students who participated in ExScape demonstrated a significant improvement in their knowledge in the areas of resume, cover letter and interview. The students also reported that they had acquired the skills to draft a resume, cover letter and perform in an interview. These findings support the use of online delivery as an effective method of delivery for career development workshops.

There is also evidence to suggest that online delivery methods in general can be as effective as in person delivery methods, because there was not a significant difference between the online group and the in-class group in each volunteers' individual pre- and posttest scores. There was also no significant difference when comparing the online group on the in-person group's overall test scores. The effectiveness of the online delivery method, however, is likely determined by the nature of the online web site and instructional design. ExScape utilized a variety of functions to increase student motivation and interaction (animations, interactive forms, samples, video-clips, and audio-clips). In-person instruction was also utilized to supplement the online learning component for skill practice and discussion.

The findings from the students' self reports regarding their positive experiences with online learning in the workshop are consistent with the statistical analysis results. Students indicated that overall they were able to learn from the course and found the flexibility in on-line learning to be beneficial. The focus group results further supported these findings.

However, this research had some limitations that suggest caution must be taken in the confidence one has in these results. The study did not look at potential differences in student retention, motivation, learning styles, class conferencing issues, or instructional time spent online or off line. There were difficulties in obtaining complete data from student volunteers. This resulted in collecting a small sample of pre-and posttests from the last in-class group, and relying on the use of self-reports from students through course evaluations to indicate whether or not students were able to write a résumé and cover letter, and perform acceptably in an interview. Larger samples are required to improve the validity of the results and a control group would also be advisable. It is also difficult to determine whether the effectiveness of online delivery is related to the design and delivery utilized in the ExScape program. Further research is recommended to assess the effect of various web site designs and instructional components on learning outcomes.

The study suggests that career development workshops and perhaps other similar forms of student services can be effectively offered online. With the growing number of students in post-secondary institutions and resource shortages in student services, online delivery of similar career workshops may provide a means to provide services to larger numbers of students. This may also be an effective option for educational institutions that offer degrees online, as the demand for student services increases amongst their student populations.

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The Relationship Between Negative Career Thoughts & Emotional Intelligence

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Career decidedness is a dynamic and interactive problem space (Savickas, 1995) that has been the subject of ongoing research. Originally considered a unidimensional continuum, current research has posited a more multidimensional domain (Gordon, 1998; Sampson, Reardon, Peterson & Lenz, 2004). As part of that domain, career indecision is the inability to specify a career choice within a career decision making milieu (Stewart, 1995).

Career indecision has demonstrated empirical relationships with other factors in the literature. In particular, emotional factors such as low self esteem (Chartrand, Martin, Robbins, McCauliffe, Pickerelle & Calliotte, 1994; Resnick, Faubles & Osipow, 1970; Stead, Graham & Foxcroft, 1993), neuroticism (Lounsbury Tatum, Owens & Gibson, 1999) and anxiety (Fuqua, Blum & Hartman, 1988; Holland & Holland, 1977; Larson, Piersel, Imao & Allen, 1990; Ohare & Tamburri 1986; Serling & Betz, 1990; Skorupa & Agresti 1998; Stead Graham & Foxcroft, 1993) have contributed to career indecision.

Moreover, cognitive factors such as external decision-making style (Osipow & Reed, 1985) low problem solving confidence (Larson & Heppner, 1985; Larson, Heppner, Ham & Dugan, 1988), external appraisal of control (Fuqua, Blum & Hartman, 1988; Larson, Piersel, Imao & Allen, 1990; Taylor, 1982), and greater self appraised pressure and barriers (Larson, Heppner, Ham & Dugan, 1988) also impair career decision-making. Career indecision has also demonstrated a significant relationship to self defeating beliefs (Sweeney & Shill, 1998), lower career decision-making self-efficacy beliefs (Taylor & Betz, 1983), irrational thinking (Enright, 1996; Skorupa & Agresti, 1998; Stead, Graham & Foxcroft 1993), poor career beliefs (Enright, 1996), and negative career thoughts (Saunders, Peterson, Sampson, & Reardon, 2000).

Most career indecision research has largely been studied with student populations (Gordon, 1998; McWhirtner, Rasheed & Crothers, 2000), leaving the majority of adults outside of this domain of research (Weinstein, Healy & Ender, 2002). Many adults do not make career choices in college or university settings (Desruisseaux, 1998; Perry, 2003) but rather in the midst of life and work transitions such as unemployment (Amundson & Borgan, 1996; Osipow, 1999; Phillips & Blustein, 1994). Similarly, older adults make career choices under the influence of distinct developmental, cognitive and emotional factors different than their younger student counterparts (Patton & Creed, 2001; Super, 1983; Super, Savickas & Super, 1996). For these reasons the career decision making of non-student adults was explored.

The concept of emotional intelligence has become increasingly popular and hotly debated over the last decade, and a number of instruments designed to measure this ability have appeared (Bar-On, 1997; Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2002; Schutte, Malouff, Hall, Haggerty, Cooper, Golden, & Dornheim, 1998). As with many new

constructs, the exact definition of emotional intelligence varies with the test designer, but all have common core features: awareness of, understanding, expressing, controlling, and managing emotions in oneself and in others (Ciarrochi, Chan, & Caputi, 2000). Bar-On, for example, defines emotional intelligence as “effectively managing personal, social and environmental change by realistically and flexibly coping with the immediate situation, solving problems, and making decisions” (Bar-On, 2005).

The application of emotional intelligence in predicting outcomes has been researched in a variety of domains, but the main focus has been in the area of human resources management (Salovey, et.al, 2004). The role of emotional intelligence has been investigated with respect to leadership style (Coetzee & Schaap, 2003), managerial decision-making (Syaegh, Anthony, & Perrew, 2004), training competence in financial advisors (Luskin, Aberman, & DeLorenzo, 2005), and worker performance and effectiveness (Bar-On, Handley, & Fund, 2006; Boyatzis, 2006).

Whereas negative career thoughts have related to various factors within career development research, it only recently been researched within the realm of positive psychology (Lustig & Strauser, 2002). Emotional intelligence has been noted as a significant positive psychological construct (Salovey, Mayer & Caruso, 2002; Salovey, Mayer, Caruso & Lopes, 2004) with career related implications. Research exploring the relationship between emotional intelligence and career thoughts is limited. A study by Brown, George-Curran and Smith (2003) focused on emotional intelligence and career decision-making in a college student sample. Analysis of the data suggested that the emotional intelligence factors of Empathy, Utilization of feelings, Handling relationships, and Self control related positively to career decision-making self-efficacy, and that Utilization of feelings and Self control were inversely related with vocational exploration and commitment. Among the conclusions to their research, authors suggested that further research with emotional intelligence and career development be considered. Moreover, research with non-student adults was suggested.

The present research focused on three questions: First, what is the relationship between overall dysfunctional career thinking and emotional intelligence? Based on our reading of the literature we hypothesized that individuals with higher emotional intelligence scores would display lower levels of negative career thoughts. Second, we were interested in discovering what aspects of emotional intelligence as defined by Bar-On are most associated with negative career thinking? Third, what aspects of negative career thoughts are most associated with total emotional intelligence?

Method

Participants

The sample was 394 (160 male & 234 female) adults enrolled in a community based career decision making program funded by the Government of Canada. All participants were unemployed, career undecided and non-student at the time of research. Research participants ranged in age from 16-64 with a mean age of 37 years. Participation in the research was voluntary.

Instruments

career thoughts inventory (Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon & Saunders, 1996). The CTI measures dysfunctional thinking, related to assumptions, attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, feelings, plans or strategies related to career choice, that inhibits effective career decision-making. The 48 item CTI total score measures a global factor of dysfunctional thinking pertaining to career problem solving and decision-making. Three subscales measure decision making confusion (dmc), commitment anxiety (ca) and external conflict (ec). Decision-making confusion (14 items) refers to the “inability to initiate or sustain decision-making as a result of disabling emotions and/or a lack of understanding about decision-making itself” (Sampson et al., p.28). The Commitment Anxiety (10 items) scale reflects the “inability to make a commitment to a specific career choice, accompanied by generalized anxiety about the outcome of decision-making. This anxiety perpetuates indecision” (Sampson et al., p.28). The External Conflict (5 items) scale reflects the “inability to balance the importance of one's own self-perceptions with the importance of input from significant others, resulting in a reluctance to assume responsibility for decision-making” (Sampson et al., p.28). All factors negatively impact career decision making. Respondents select one of four item responses ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 3 (strongly agree). Examples of items are “No field of study or occupation interests me” (dmc), “I can't be satisfied unless I can find the perfect occupation for me” (ca) and “I need to choose a field of study or occupation that will please the important people in my life” (ec).

The internal consistency (alpha) coefficients for the CTI Total score ranged from 0.97 to 0.93 for student and adults norm groups. However, for the adult group in particular the alpha coefficient was 0.97. Alpha coefficients for the construct scales ranged from 0.94 (dmc), 0.91(ca) and 0.81 (ec) for the adult group alone (Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon & Saunders, 1996). Convergent validity of the CTI was determined against My Vocational Situation, Career Decision Scale, Career Decision Profile and Revised NEO Personality Inventory. Principal component analysis supports the three CTI sub-factors.

bar-on emotional quotient inventory (EQi)(Bar-On, 1997). The EQi measures competencies in emotional, personal and social components of general intelligence. It is a self-report instrument consisting of 133 items for which a client provides a response ranging from “not true of me” (1) to “true of me” (5). In addition to a general EQi score, competencies are measured through five main composite scales: Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, Adaptability, Stress management and General mood. The Intrapersonal composite score reflects the inner self. As such it reflects the individuals self regard, emotional self awareness, assertiveness, independence and self actualization. The Interpersonal composite scale represents interpersonal functioning. As such it reflects an individual's empathy, social responsibility and interpersonal relationships. The Adaptability composite scale represents ones ability to cope with environmental demands. It reflects an individual's reality testing, flexibility and problem solving. The Stress management composite subscale represents an individual's tolerance towards stress and impulse control. The General mood composite scale reflects an individual's optimism and happiness. Examples of scale items are “I'm in touch with my emotions” (Intrapersonal), “I'm unable to show affection”

(Interpersonal), “It’s difficult to begin new things” (Adaptability), “I’m impulsive” (Stress management) and “I generally hope for the best” (General mood).

The Bar-On EQi manual reports an internal consistency alpha of .79 and test-retest have been reported as .85 and .75 at one month and four month intervals respectively. Factor analysis has strongly supported the total EQi structure and five composite factors.

The EQi includes three validity scales which measure the test-taker’s degree of inconsistency in responding to similar items, negative impression – i.e. overly pessimistic responses, and positive impression – i.e. overly optimistic responses. The validity scales provide information as to whether the individual’s responses are probably valid, possibly invalid, or probably invalid, and adjusts scores accordingly for the possibly invalid scores. For this study, any profiles classed as “probably invalid” were excluded from the data base.

Procedure

Subjects were attending a community based career decision making intervention. Assessments ascertaining negative career thoughts and emotional intelligence were administered as part of the intervention.

Results

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for CTI total and subscales and EQi total and subscales.

	CTI				EQi					
	Total	dmc	ca	ec	Total	Intra	Inter	Adapt	Stress	Mood
Mean	57.5	57.5	59.8	57.0	93.6	92.1	98.9	96.3	96.9	9.8
St. dev.	8.0	9.5	8.0	11.7	14.3	15.8	15.8	13.5	13.4	14.5

N= 392.

Note: Higher scores on CTI mean more negative career thoughts

Table 2

Correlations of Negative Career Thoughts (CTI) and Emotional Intelligence (EQi)

	EQi total	Intra	Inter	Adapt	Stress	Mood
CTI total	-.457**	-.426**	-.223**	-.433**	-.303**	-.385**
dmc	-.494**	-.471**	-.257**	-.438**	-.315**	-.442**
ca	-.319**	-.308**	-.136*	-.265**	-.263**	-.263**
ec	-.257**	-.233**	-.151*	-.232**	-.165*	-.221**

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

Pearson product-moment correlations were computed for all pairs of scores for EQi total, the five EQi composite scales, total CTI, and three CTI subscales. The

correlation matrix for relationships between EQi and CTI variables are shown in Table 1. As can be seen, a significant inverse relationship exists between all EQi and CTI variables. According to Cohen's criteria (Cohen, 1992), the relationship between total EQi and total CTI scores reflected a medium to large effect size ($r = -.46$, $p < .001$, $n = 392$).

Table 3

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Negative Career Thinking

Predictor variables	R	R ²	Change in R ²
Adaptability	.433	.188	.188**
Intrapersonal	.468	.219	.032**
Stress management	.468	.219	.000
General Mood	.471	.222	.003
Interpersonal	.472	.223	.001

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

To determine which aspects of emotional intelligence were most associated with negative career thinking, a stepwise multiple regression was conducted using the CTI total score as dependent variable and the five EQi scores as predictors. Results of this analysis, shown in Table 2, revealed the Adaptability and Intrapersonal composite abilities to account significantly for most of the variation in the relationship. Adaptability accounted for about 19% of the variation and Intrapersonal for 3%.

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Emotional Intelligence

Predictor variables	R	R ²	Change in R ²
Decision Making Confusion	.494	.244	.244**
Commitment Anxiety	.495	.245	.001
External Conflict	.496	.246	.001

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

Table 3 shows the results of the multiple regression computed to determine which aspects of negative career thinking were most associated with overall emotional intelligence. Total EQi score was used as the dependent variable and the three CTI subscales as predictors. Decision-Making Confusion accounted for about 24% of the variance; Commitment Anxiety and External Conflict did not figure significantly into the relationship.

Discussion

Question 1:

As expected, individuals in our study who showed higher overall emotional intelligence scores displayed less dysfunctional career thinking. This implies that those involved in career decision-making are likely better able to cope with that process if they possess more emotional intelligence. Professionals involved in career counseling would therefore likely benefit from information regarding a client's emotional functioning and modify the counseling process accordingly. It is probable that many clients will require more time to complete what others with higher emotional intelligence complete relatively quickly.

Question 2:

Results also indicated that of the five composite EQi scales Adaptability accounted for 19% of the variation in total CTI scores while Intrapersonal functioning accounted for 3%. If Adaptability reflects one's ability to cope with environmental demands in terms of reality testing, flexibility, and problem solving, it seems reasonable that a deficit in this salient aspect of EI would negatively affect one's career thinking. It is possible that someone with good Adaptability would be better able to handle career-related changes such as new work duties, geographic moves, or changes in co-worker composition. This type of person may also have a better ability to cope with mood fluctuations that result in potentially career-inhibiting feelings of anxiety, depression, frustration, or unsettledness. High Adaptability may also indicate that someone is better able to draw on their pre-existing resources as a method of coping with career-related change. All of these coping factors may play a role in mitigating against problematic career thinking.

Adaptability, as it relates to career thinking, involves reality testing. It might be that people with high Adaptability scores are more active in analyzing their career-related problems. This could involve both their ability to recognize that there is a problem and their ability to focus on the specific issues that need attention. It is also likely that they maintain rationality as they identify and address career-related problems and have the ability to focus on what is also going well, rather than only focusing on what might not be going well.

Adaptability reflects flexibility in that people with high Adaptability may see more options that they could pursue and that they find it easier to imagine themselves doing well at other things, rather than merely focusing on their areas of weakness. They may also have a better ability to identify their resources and to apply those resources in new ways. This may enable them to minimize negative career thought and to maintain an optimistic outlook because they believe they have resources to draw upon.

Finally, Adaptability reflects a problem solving ability. People with high Adaptability may experience less dysfunctional career thinking because they are able to build upon their pre-existing abilities and build upon those abilities rather than thinking they need to start from scratch. This may indicate an ability to keep negative career thoughts minimized so that more strategic meta-cognitions can be developed. It might also be that high Adaptability involves problem solving abilities that help people find ways around or through their realistic career difficulties.

In like manner, it seems logical that a dearth in Intrapersonal functioning, which reflects the individual's self regard, self awareness, assertiveness, independence and self actualization, would result in an increase in negative career thoughts. Low Intrapersonal functioning may trigger self-defeating thinking patterns that limit rational career decision-making. These thoughts could lead to mood fluctuations that make career-coping more difficult. However, a wealth of Intrapersonal functioning may indicate a greater awareness of emotions that may enable one to compartmentalize and analyze negative thoughts more rationally. This could have the effect of maintaining a sense of optimism and balance in career thinking for these individuals.

Question 3:

Research found that decision-making confusion significantly predicted lower overall emotional intelligence. One reason for this finding may relate to the common domain shared by these two factors. In particular, decision-making confusion pertains to an individual's decision-making impairment resulting from dysfunctional emotions or lack of understanding regarding choice-making. General emotional intelligence reflects a global emotional domain whereby an individual is not only aware of emotional states but also maintains the ability to manage those emotions toward effective decisions. Though the direction of influence remains unclear it is posited that one's general emotional intelligence would contribute to one's level of functioning at a task specific level. In essence poor awareness, expression and control of one's emotions would affect, and potentially impair, career choice behavior. This supposition has yet to be tested.

Researchers were surprised by the non-significant predictive relationships between commitment anxiety and external conflict with generalized emotional intelligence. It is posited that since a non-student adult sample was studied (average age 37), external conflicts common to younger students (parental pressure, educational system, peers, etc) would not be germane. Findings indicating Commitment Anxiety being lower in older persons reflects normative data collected by Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon and Saunders 1996. This may be due to competing roles (spouse, parent, etc...), responsibilities (mortgages, car payments, etc...), resources (working partners, real estate holdings, savings etc...), lack of options, life experience, and wisdom. Research using discrete age cohorts may assist in clarifying the developmental issues related to emotional intelligence and career thinking.

Limitations

Both tests utilized in this study are self-report instruments, and as a result scores may well be contaminated with self-perception distortions such as social desirability factors, deception, and impression management (Roberts, Zeidner, & Matthews, 2001). The difficulties with using a subjective assessment to determine one's emotional functioning have been a concern (Matthews, Roberts, & Zeidner, 2004; Schaie, 2001). It could be expected that exaggerations and misperceptions of one's negative career thoughts and emotional functioning are present in scores obtained from both instruments. Use of a more objective, ability-based measure of emotional intelligence would address at least part of this issue.

The significant relationship between emotional intelligence and negative career thinking does not infer causality – i.e. it cannot be determined from this research whether lower EI contributes directly to dysfunctional career thoughts or vice-versa. Probably they interact with each other – a relationship which needs to be further explored.

Conclusion

Brown, George-Curran, and Smith, (2003) state that “perhaps...the role of emotion is worthy of consideration when attempting to understand one’s self-efficacy for career decision-making tasks” (pg.386). The current study would confirm that this is the case. Healthy emotional functioning, even when assessed by self-report, does appear to relate to fewer negative career thoughts which can only expedite the career decision-making process.

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Deliberations on the Future of Career Development Education in Canada

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Could we develop a model for career development education that suggests specific educational requirements for those fulfilling different roles within the field? What kinds of enhancements could be made to career development curriculum to ensure that practitioners meet the needs of today's clients? Can education play a role in enhancing the professional identity of the field? These are questions that participants of the "Advancement of Career Counsellor Education in Canada" think tank, held in October 2006, attempted to answer.

The "Advancement of Career Counsellor Education in Canada" research project was conceived in order to begin a process designed to articulate the educational background that the profession believes is necessary for entry into, or advancement within, the field. The first phase of this project involved the production of the *Directory of Career Counselling/Career Development Education Programs in Canada*, available online at Contact Point at http://www.contactpoint.ca/resources/Directory_of_Education_Programs_2006.pdf. The second phase entailed surveying Canadian career practitioners to gain a better understanding of the career paths and educational backgrounds of current practitioners. Over 1,100 career practitioners responded to the survey, and its results are also published in this issue of the *Canadian Journal of Career Development*. The third and final phase of the research project, the think tank, gathered career development educators from universities, colleges, and private training institutions from across Canada to facilitate an in-depth discussion of career development education in Canada (for a list of think tank participants, please refer to Appendix A). This paper outlines the summaries of these discussions and presents associated research. It is our sincere hope that these deliberations, indeed, this research project as a whole, will strengthen the field of career development in Canada and ultimately enhance the quality of career development services for the benefit of all Canadians.

A Model for Career Development Education in Canada

the importance of developing an educational model. In most professions, it is clear what type of education is necessary to fulfill different roles at different levels. For example, within the field of nursing, a nurse practitioner is an independent care provider with the broadest scope of practice relative to other types of nurses who, in addition to a nursing diploma or degree, holds one to two years of post-graduate training. In contrast, a practical nurse works under the direction of a registered nurse or doctor and has one to two years of college education. This type of clarity in education/occupational scope does not exist within the field of career development in Canada. There is currently much diversity in the training and qualifications of practitioners in the field; furthermore, the training and education programs that do exist do not typically lead to clearly defined occupational roles.

In the absence of similar educational guidelines, it has been possible (even easy in some cases) for those with no career-specific education to practice in the field.

Without such career-specific education, many career guidance practitioners receive no thorough grounding in the basic theories of career guidance, little systematic exposure to the social and economic contexts and purposes of career guidance, and no systematic applied training in the techniques that form the basis of its practice (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2004, p. 99).

An educational model has the potential to draw attention to the importance of career-specific education and to ultimately increase the level of training required of career practitioners. Unlike other countries, Canada does not lack training opportunities for career practitioners – in fact, there are currently 37 programs offered by 28 learning institutions in Canada that either focus entirely on career development or have a significant career development component. Further, several of these programs are offered online and are thus very accessible. What is at issue, though, is that these programs vary significantly in terms of entry requirements, length, curriculum content, hours of required practicum placement, and nature of completion document (that is, certificate, diploma, degree, etcetera). Thus, one still has to ask: What type and level of education is required to enter the field of career development? What type of functions is an entry level practitioner qualified to do? What type of education is required to advance within the field of career development, and how do the occupational roles of these advanced practitioners differ from those of entry level practitioners? The development of an educational model offers the opportunity to answer these questions.

The development of an educational model is also ultimately in the best interest of our clients. Currently, the array of job titles and qualifications of practitioners within the field makes it very difficult for consumers to know where to go or what to expect when they seek employment-related assistance. In a study designed to determine the extent to which major career theories and research inform the work of career practitioners with varied qualifications, Brown found that although many clients present with clarified expectations and needs for services, the service options available to clients and the definition of career counseling will largely depend on the training level of the career counseling professional. Consequently, a clearer description and distinction of those who provide services and the types of services available is needed to assist the consumer in the appropriate identification and attainment of his/her goals (2002, p. 125).

The development of a model could also serve to enhance the field's professional identity. Sunny Hansen, in a recent analysis of the career counselling profession's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, states that one of the threats that seems important to me is what I call the 'deprofessionalization' of career counseling. It seems that increasingly, in some sectors, it has become an 'anyone can do it' profession, a view that actually diminishes the profession (2003, p. 47).

An educational model would certainly go a long way towards reassuring the public and related professionals that the field of career development is a serious one requiring specific training and preparation. An educational model that outlines the scope of practice at each level will also make it easier for practitioners to be cognizant of, and to adhere to, the boundaries of their level of training. Of particular importance in the field is the extent to which a career practitioner can or should provide personal counselling to their clients. That "career counsellors are frequently challenged to work with a career dilemma that encompasses a range of diverse issues and factors in their clients' personal lives" (Chen, 2001, p. 524) has been well studied and is an accepted premise within the field. Many would agree, however, that personal counselling

requires a higher degree of training than is offered by some of the existing programs, typically at least a master's degree. This is not always what happens in the field, however. In Brown's research, he found that both licensed psychologists /counsellors and non-licensed counsellors indicated that they do, in fact, address both personal and career issues in their work with career clients (2002). This is problematic given that some practitioners clearly do not have the level of training needed to be working with clients on such personal issues, but a model that outlines appropriate roles at each level of education will clarify the boundaries and make it easier for practitioners to know where to draw the line with clients and when to refer them on.

Another benefit of developing such a model is that it will provide a benchmark to see how programs at different levels connect to one another and thereby give us the opportunity to build bridges between certificate, diploma, undergraduate, and graduate programs. This will clarify how practitioners can advance within the field. Since there will very likely be both college and university programs within the field over the long term, an educational model will allow us to begin forming relationships that make sense between and among programs. The planned model will also be beneficial for any new programs being developed with respect to understanding how they can best fit into the current schema.

Finally, an educational model could help set the groundwork for certification requirements within the field. While the advantages and disadvantages of certification are beyond the scope of this research, it does seem obvious that a clearly articulated model could assist in the processes of certification that are beginning to take place in numerous provinces.

the challenges of developing an education model. Developing an educational model broad enough to incorporate the wide differences that currently exist in career development education across Canada is no small challenge. First, though the field is only in its adolescence, there are fully 37 programs that have either a significant or an entire career development focus. As stated earlier, however, these programs vary significantly; there are no less than seven different types of completion documents represented amongst these 37 programs: certificates of accomplishment, certificates, diplomas, undergraduate degrees, master's degrees, doctorates, and post-master's certificates. While most of these programs are strong in their own right and offer a valuable curriculum, it is the lack of similarity among many of the programs that makes it difficult to integrate them into a model.

Regional differences in career development education pose a second challenge to the development of a model. The differences between Québec and the rest of Canada pose a particular complexity, in that Québec is the only province to regulate the profession:

To be licensed as a career counsellor by the College, candidates must meet the requirements set out in the regulations adopted under the Professional Code of Québec, which state that one must have a master's degree in career guidance and counselling (Turcotte, 2005, p. 7).

It should be noted, however, that not all career development work is regulated in Québec: "The two other major occupations in the field of career development are employment counsellors and career information specialists. These two occupations do not have specific educational and occupational requirements and are not regulated"

(Turcotte, 2005, p. 7). In any case, this is clearly a very different picture from the rest of Canada, and once again, poses a challenge to the development of a nationwide model.

A third challenge involves the multitude of sectors in which career development work is carried out. “School counselors, community college and university career counselors and academic advisers, employment counselors, counselors in employee assistance programs, rehabilitation counselors, counseling and clinical psychologists, and other helping professionals all provide career counseling in organizations and private practice, although with different purposes and intensity. These persons differ in training and knowledge about career counseling and in the approaches to career counseling that they use” (Herr, 2003, p. 11). The question is, how do we deal with these different notions of what type and level of training is appropriate for practitioners in these different sectors? Currently there are educational guidelines or standards for some (for example, guidance staff in secondary schools) but not for others (for example, practitioners in community agencies). It may be necessary for the model to evolve over time in order to encompass each of these sectors.

A fourth challenge is presented by the varying amount of career-specific curriculum within each of the existing programs. Dagley and Salter found in the United States that special nondegree training programs for career development facilitators add a much needed emphasis in career development theory and research, but little in supervised counseling, whereas typical counselor preparation degree programs provide excellent supervised counseling training but little-to-no career development instruction or career counseling supervision (2004, p. 102).

This is not universally the case in Canada, but it is true that the certificate and diploma programs in most cases have more career-specific content than the graduate level programs in counselling psychology (except in Québec, where undergraduate and graduate programs are career-specific). Once again, then, this poses a challenge in developing a model. How do we devise a model that incorporates, on the one hand, programs that are entirely geared to career development with those that are geared more specifically towards counselling on the other?

A final challenge will be to form a collaborative, rather than a competitive, approach to future discussions amongst educators. A culture of competition has historically existed amongst universities and colleges in Canada, as all vie for top students, faculty, and staff as well as for rankings and research dollars. Fortunately, more recent initiatives have demonstrated a new trend towards collaboration, such as the Campus Alberta Applied Psychology: Counselling Initiative, a partnership between the University of Lethbridge, the University of Calgary, and Athabasca University. This type of initiative demonstrates a will and an ability to work together, which bodes well for increased sharing and connections among career development programs and for the development of an educational model, even in this culture of institutional competition.

presenting a model for career development education in canada. In spite of the inherent challenges involved in the development of an educational model, members of the think tank were able to formulate a draft model for career development education. While the model requires further elaboration (a working group has been struck to continue its development), it does begin to classify the different types/levels of services provided by career practitioners. It also suggests educational requirements for each type of service.

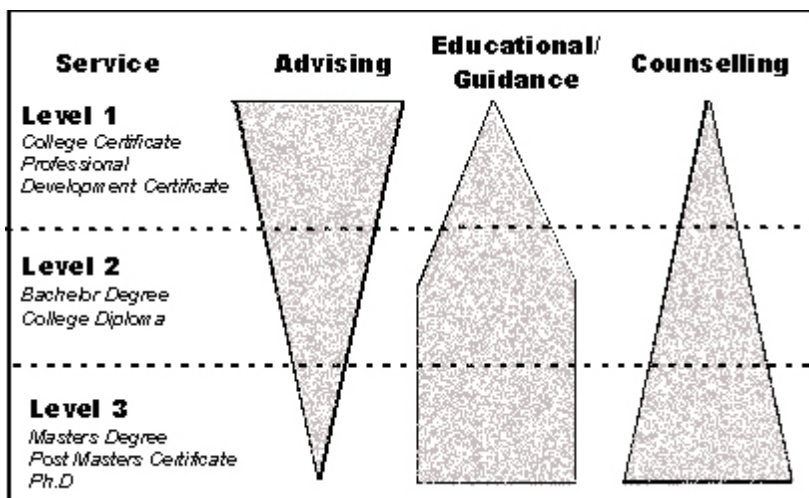
Although differentiated roles within the field of career development have never been clearly defined, the notion that there are multiple roles within the field, rather than one singular role, is not new. Herr has argued that “career counseling can be seen as a continuum of interventions rather than a singular process” (2003, p. 11). Furbish also suggests that career services encompass a range of activities and differentiates between services that are job, occupation, or career related. He defines job issues as those that provide “assistance with the development of employment seeking skills such as CV writing, finding job openings and interviewing skills,” occupational issues as those that call for “assisting clients to examine their preferences and investigate occupations that will satisfy those preferences,” and career issues as those that “are concerned with the holistic integration of work within one’s other life roles and adjusting to transitions within work-life patterns” (2003, pp. 3–4).

The draft educational model devised at the think tank sessions (see Figure 1) also recognizes the notion that there are multiple and distinct roles within the field. Based on previous work done by Borgen and Hiebert (2006, 2002), the model suggests that services carried out by career practitioners can be broken into three types: advising, guidance, and counselling. Each has a different objective and serves a different function. Advising is focussed primarily on the problem at hand, and involves the provision of general, “non-personalized” information regarding a particular topic or focus. For example, describing different styles of résumés to a client would be considered advising, as would helping clients access career information or making them aware of other career services that are available. Guidance is broader in scope and involves the provision of information or psychoeducational services more directly tailored to the client’s needs than the advisory function. Guidance requires the practitioner to first gather information about the client, often through an interview or other kind of assessment, thereby increasing the likelihood that services obtained are congruent with the client’s unique needs. A practitioner who explains to a client how the results of an interest assessment might influence her occupational choice would be providing guidance. Counselling moves beyond information provision to broader issues and could include the application of career counseling to stress reduction; anger management; integrating and resolving conflict between career and other life roles; helping persons reconstruct and reframe past experiences; learning ways to reduce their indecisiveness; assisting in modifying irrational career beliefs; addressing underlying issues that lead to work dysfunctions, including unresolved issues in the family drama being played out in the workplace; providing opportunities for displaced persons to vent their anger and their feelings about personal concerns; job loss; and the loss or diffusion of personal identity (Herr, 2003, p. 11).

Refer to Borgen & Hiebert (2006, 2002) and Hiebert & Borgen (2002) for more information regarding the distinction between advising, guidance, and counselling. This model demonstrates the proportional amount of time that practitioners with different credentials would spend offering the three different types of services: advising, offering guidance, or counselling. The use of such graphics to demonstrate the intensity of various roles is based on previous work done by think tank participant Kris Magnusson (Magnusson, Day, & Redekopp, 1993; Magnusson, 1992). The model suggests that a Level 1 practitioner, who would fulfill primarily an advisory function (and minor roles in guidance and counselling), would require a career-specific college or university certificate. A Level 2 practitioner, whose function would be primarily the provision of guidance (but who would also fill some advising and counselling functions),

Figure 1

Draft model for career development education. The shaded areas represent the proportional amount of time service providers with differing types of education would spend providing the three principal types of service.



would require either a career-specific diploma or undergraduate degree (though the latter exists only in Québec at the present time) or a non career-specific diploma or undergraduate degree plus a career-specific certificate or diploma. A Level 3 practitioner might perform a minor advising role, but his or her main functions would be either guidance and counselling, or designing and coordinating career services. Typically, these types of roles would require a master's degree, post-master's certificate, or doctoral degree in counselling psychology or a related field.

Worthy of discussion is the larger counselling role at Level 3. It is becoming increasingly commonplace to expect that those performing a counselling role have at least a master's degree in the counselling field. For example, in most American states, counselling is a regulated occupation requiring one to hold a minimum of a master's degree in counselling or a related field, plus a defined amount of supervised practice in the field. In Canada, there is no governmentally regulated credentialing of the profession, but the Canadian Counselling Association awards their 'Canadian Certified Counsellor' designation only to those holding an appropriate master's degree in counselling that includes a compulsory practicum. The draft model presented here reflects the notion that a higher level of education is indeed required to perform counselling functions.

Members of the think tank agreed that job titles should be created and used consistently to represent the three different levels presented in the model. While there is not yet consensus on what these titles should be, it was suggested that a Level 1 practitioner could be termed a *Career Advisor*, a Level 2 practitioner a *Career Practitioner*, and a Level 3 practitioner a *Career Counsellor*. An umbrella term to describe each of these types of roles within the field of career development must also be determined. This paper, and many others in the field, consistently uses the term *Career Practitioner* to refer to those performing any type of role within the field of career

development. Naturally, if the Career Practitioner title becomes the standard term used to denote Level 2 practitioners, we will need to devise a new umbrella title term.

One of the benefits of this draft model is that it incorporates all programs at all levels as they currently exist. It recognizes that each fills a specific need and does not put any program in jeopardy of being lost or deemed irrelevant. Another benefit is that it acknowledges that some roles within the field do not require in-depth counsellor training – a benefit given that the existing non-degree programs tend to have less counselling-specific curriculum and fewer supervised practicum hours.

A potential drawback of the model is that it could ultimately lead to more expensive service delivery, a risk inherent in any initiative that moves towards professionalization (OECD, 2004). Several think tank participants voiced concern that this model could indeed be ignored or rejected by primary funders concerned about service delivery costs. Communicating the benefits of this educational model to all stakeholders in the field will thus become an important task for the educators group.

next steps for the model. While the draft model presented in this paper has made great strides in defining occupational roles and corresponding educational requirements, we must remember that this is only its preliminary form; elaboration in several areas will further clarify and enhance the model. For example, the specific curriculum to be covered at each level needs to be determined, as does the number of hours of required, supervised practicum for each level.

As mentioned earlier, communication of the model to members of the field is also important and needs to be considered along with further refinements. How to communicate the model and with whom will both be important questions to consider. One approach would be to let the logic and value of the model speak for itself, rather than trying to fervently impose it on the field. The model's inherent logic and simplicity bodes well for its potential to have an important future impact on the field of career development in Canada.

As the field continues to grow and mature, it is possible that we will begin to see the development of educational specializations within the field. The possibilities for such specializations are numerous, but one might specialize in working with new Canadians, for example, or in working with individuals diagnosed with a mental illness. Similarly, the need for career development training for linked professions, for example, social workers or human resources professionals, is also beginning to be recognized and may start to be developed some time in the future. How or if such specialization and training for linked professions becomes incorporated into this model will need to be determined. One approach would be to link specializations and training for linked professions to the model, rather than actually embedding them within it.

Canadian Career Development Curriculum

Reflections on the Current Situation

As stated earlier, the first phase of this research project involved the development of the *Directory of Career Counselling/Career Development Education Programs in Canada*. While gathering data about their programs from directors and coordinators in order to compile the directory, additional inquiries were made about the type of curriculum each covered. Most programs contain at least some common content,

including but not limited to career development theories, interviewing skills, group facilitation skills, career assessment, ethics, and working with diverse populations.

Beyond this, there are some significant differences depending on whether the program is non-degree or degree granting. For example, career information, work trends, and work search techniques tend to be covered more often in the non-degree programs, whereas degree programs tend to expand their coverage of general counselling theories. When the career development education model (described in the section above) is more fully developed, it will be important to link different types of curriculum with the different program types/levels.

Another area of divergence was in the number of practicum hours required by programs; they ranged from no practicum requirement to as many as 770 hours. Shorter practicum requirements were connected for the most part with the certificate programs, while greater practicum requirements tended to be associated with diploma, undergraduate, and master's programs. If students enrolled in the certificate programs are already working in the field of career development, they have a natural venue where theory and practice can come together. However, for those not working in the field and/or who have no career development experience, providing an appropriate mechanism for them to connect theory and practice presents a serious challenge. Since the practicum is an ideal way to help students link theory and practice, further discussion by educators of what constitutes a practicum and how many practicum hours should be required is important.

An equally important aspect of helping students relate theory to practice is effective, career-specific supervision. McMahon identified the lack of importance paid to supervision and the relatively few professional articles written about supervision in the career counselling literature as long ago as 2003. Without supervision, especially for a student or a beginning practitioner, it is challenging to put theoretical knowledge into practice. This lack of supervision may also suggest to the trainee that career work is neither complex nor difficult enough to require supervision, a fundamentally incorrect assumption/perspective. It should also be noted that inadequate supervision becomes even more serious as the scope of career development practice expands.

The Importance of Expanding the Curriculum

In addition to working on a draft educational model, the think tank included discussions on what curriculum should be taught at the various levels of practice and how to effectively incorporate new concepts and ideas. Curriculum issues included the following questions: How should personal counselling and career counselling be reconciled in career education programs? How, and to what extent should cybercounselling content be incorporated into the curriculum? Finally, how should career counselling knowledge and skills best be provided to allied professional programs? These issues are discussed later in this paper.

The area given the most attention and that would require the greatest curriculum changes concerned the development of competencies that would expand the focus of career development education beyond providing services to the individual; these changes would help career practitioners address broader issues related to organizational and societal influences. Many of the career challenges individuals face are not the result of individual shortcomings, but rather arise from known deficiencies in systems and/or policies. To effectively address big picture problems, a practitioner

needs such knowledge and skills as advocacy, social planning and social policy, social action, and community development. Through inaction or a lack of attention to macro issues, career practitioners can in fact become a part of the problem. Arthur summarizes these points succinctly: “Career practitioners need to consider how their work inadvertently supports the status quo and be prepared to address social forces that pose as systemic barriers to people’s growth and development” (2005, p. 41).

An example from public policy helps to illustrate how this expansion of the work of the career practitioner can better serve clients. In most countries, career development has been the object of public policy. Nonetheless, career practitioners have not usually been involved in the creation of public policy. Thus, the profession is delegated to carrying out the notions and policies of the government in power without having much affect on them. This lack of direct involvement leads to policies that can adversely impact the delivery of who gets service, how they access that service, and what services are provided (Herr, 2003). When working with immigrants, the counsellor is often obliged to help individuals deal with the constraints imposed by immigration policy or professional certification bodies. These constraints at minimum appear to be fundamentally unfair, and they are, in fact, often inequitable. This is clearly an area where the direct experience of career practitioners could very positively affect public policy; it could potentially have an important, long-term impact on the conditions of employment for many immigrants and refugees while also making more effective use of the national talent pool.

Interestingly, the founder of the field of vocational psychology, Frank Parsons, was committed to social change, social justice, and social action. Dr. King Davis defines social justice as follows: Social justice is a basic value and desired goal in democratic societies and includes equitable and fair access to the societal institutions, laws, resources, opportunities, without arbitrary limitations based on observed, or interpretations of, difference in age, color, culture, physical or mental disability, education, gender, income, language, national origin, race, religion, or sexual orientation (2004, p. 236).

Parsons demonstrated in his writings a concern for the marginalized and less fortunate in society (O’Brien, 2001). Until recently, however, both the theory and practice of career counselling have been developed primarily to assist those who live in relative affluence. Those who are less fortunate and who need to work simply to meet their basic needs of shelter and housing have been largely neglected (Whiston, 2003).

There has recently been renewed interest in returning to the roots of career counselling as they were established by Parsons. This calls for a more expansive conceptualization of career theory and practice in order to help clients deal with issues like poverty, discrimination, and oppression. For example, Guichard (2003) discussed career counselling’s evolving goals and called for career practitioners to create a new context for research and practice, one that would attend to the broader context of human development in order to meet the needs of the human community without neglecting the individual in the process.

In related work, Hansen argues that it is no longer enough to match people to jobs. She calls for a more holistic approach to career counselling that requires various life roles and other life dimensions to be taken into account. “A weakness of career counselor education programs is the reluctance or inability to see career counselors as change agents who can help not only *individuals* to change, but *systems* to change as well” (2003, p. 45). She recommends that training programs expand the curriculum to

include related life roles as well as work roles, and that organizational career development be built into training programs. She recognizes that working to meet the needs of a diverse population is an important first step but goes on to say that “the work has just begun” (Hansen, 2003, p. 45). She evidently believes that expanding the curriculum to include the counsellor’s role as an advocate and an agent of change presents a challenge.

In keeping with career practitioners working with a broader conceptualization, there has been a developing commitment to working with multicultural populations in a way that recognizes and is sensitive to cultural differences. The number of journal articles addressing culturally competent career counselling continues to increase. This interest and concern with cultural differences has been extended to an even broader perspective to encompass diversity that includes gender, age, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, social class, ability, and religion. In fact, our curriculum research indicates that diversity is covered in all of the programs surveyed in some way, and that a full 43 percent devote an entire course to diversity issues.

Arthur, however, goes well beyond calling for cultural sensitivity and competence in career counselling, advocating that perspectives on social justice be incorporated into the roles and intervention methods of career practitioners. She also calls for career practitioners to develop the competencies needed to bring about institutional change and to carry out social action roles and systemic interventions. In fact, she has developed 17 competencies that would afford career practitioners the skills to support social justice interventions. She states that “ultimately, the linkage between social justice and career development needs to inform curriculum design for career practitioners” (Arthur, 2005, p. 143).

A review of social work education may provide insights into how such social justice competencies could be built into the education of career practitioners. Social work is a values-based profession. All education for the profession promotes the development and advancement of knowledge and skills that further clients’ well-being and promotes social and economic justice. Within this overarching framework, the curriculum is divided into “micro” and “macro” practice. Micro practice involves interventions aimed at problems confronting individuals, families, and small groups; macro practice, on the other hand, concerns social work interventions designed to bring about change in organizations and communities. In most social work programs, a student chooses to concentrate on either micro or macro practice, but must also take some courses from the other area.

The social work education approach may not be a complete model for the field of career development. It does, however, provide some guidance as to how we might strive to meet two general objectives. The first is to build in the values associated with social justice as a part of the foundation of the career development profession and its educational aims. The second is to build into the curriculum the development of some general skills and awareness regarding macro issues for all members of the profession and perhaps allow some to develop specialized skills in this area.

Roadblocks to Incorporating Macro Issues into the Curriculum

As with any proposed change, there will be uncertainty and some reluctance. What is proposed will require significant adjustments to a program’s curriculum, and this will only happen if educators are convinced of the value and importance of the

changes and thus motivated to incorporate them into the program of study. The motivation and education of educators are particularly important since each program's curriculum is typically very full, and there are many competing interests regarding what might be included. Further, phase one of this research project revealed that little attention is currently paid to macro issues in the programs, possibly because many of the educators themselves are graduates of individually focussed educational programs that do not naturally lend themselves to a macro viewpoint. Hiebert, McCarthy, and Repetto make a related point: "Career counsellor education primarily stems from a psychological background (versus a career development, adult transition, or labour market background), and does not address the diverse career paths and complex labour market that clients encounter" (2001, p. 1). It will be essential to find mechanisms that will keep educators at all levels informed about, and involved in, the evolution of the curriculum.

Practitioners and educators will also need to be convinced of the worth of expanding the curriculum and profession into new and less familiar areas of practice. In part because of their educational backgrounds, and especially in the early years of work, most practitioners are focussed on helping the individual and are not invested in learning how to change large systems and how those systems impinge on their client's lives. In later years, practitioners often develop a frustration with "the system," but they have not, for the most part, developed nor practiced the skills to effect change within it. In a survey of practitioners conducted in the second phase of this research project, macro skills like lobbying government, addressing social justice issues, advocating for clients, program promotion, management, and administration were all consistently rated less important than skills related to direct client work. If practitioners were to realize that career practitioners could and should influence social and political systems and could see a way to help their profession do that, the value they see in their work could change substantially (especially in later years) and provide strong support for the curriculum changes we propose. Effectively instituting these proposed changes will require a program of continuing education for practitioners.

One further roadblock is the lack of quality resource materials on macro issues, including social and economic justice, which can be readily utilized in a classroom or practice setting. This dearth makes it much more difficult for educators to experiment with incorporating these ideas or to adopt recommended curriculum changes. The development of effective educational resources must be a key aspect of an implementation strategy. As is outlined below, a newly formed educational group is beginning to develop educational resources, some of which emphasize social justice and macro-level issues.

Next Steps for the Curriculum

There was considerable support and enthusiasm at the think tank for the evolution of program curriculum towards providing theoretical and practical content on the ideas and values of social and economic justice and on the development of the skills required to promote social change. It is important to note that we are at the very beginning of this endeavour; it is no small task to evolve a curriculum (or curriculum guidelines) on a national level, given the requisite acceptance of the stakeholders of the development of a new lens and an expanded set of competencies. However, if we as

educators were able to incorporate social justice competencies into the curriculum on a nationwide level, Canada would clearly become a leader on the international stage.

The extent to which the various aspects of macro practice should be included at each level of training in the model discussed above will need careful consideration and discussion. For example, it would seem plausible that practitioners involved primarily in advising would need only a general awareness of macro practice issues and their importance as part of the career development environment. This awareness could perhaps be acquired from a well-designed course or module. On the other hand, practitioners primarily involved in counselling would be expected, from a macro perspective, to be able to engage in social planning initiatives, demonstrate advocacy skills with individuals or systems, and contribute to the designing of social policy as it relates to the world of work. A person would need to have at least one course, and perhaps more, that deals with macro theory and practice in order to work in the macro arena.

As noted earlier, a number of other curriculum questions and challenges arose that were not discussed in the depth they deserve owing to time constraints. One issue concerned the interface between career counselling and personal counselling. Career counselling cannot be neatly separated from the counselling that affects the other aspects of the client's life. Because of their particular education, some counsellors are able to deal with many of the major issues in clients' lives, including career issues, personal issues, and even some associated with mental health. Others will not be able to work with these broader issues and problems because they lack the required education, but at a minimum, career practitioners should have the knowledge to recognize personal problems and, when necessary, effectively refer clients to appropriate professionals. This interface will become clearer as the model develops and as the roles of various career professionals are more completely defined.

Cybercounselling, another curriculum issue addressed by the members of the think tank, currently receives little coverage in the training programs we reviewed. Although there has been skepticism of cybercounselling, especially as it relates to ethics, many career practitioners are clearly innovating and engaging in the practice of distance advising/counselling. Cybercounselling presents numerous complexities for career education, for example: What new or different competencies are needed to act effectively from a distance? Can these competencies fit within existing programs? To what extent should students generally be trained in these areas? Do we need a distance career development specialization? These complicated questions require much more discussion.

Yet another issue was how career education can best interface with the curriculum of related professions like social work, human resources, and vocational rehabilitation. These practitioners work with clients whose presenting problems are, for the most part, not directly work related. However, since work is so central to most people's well-being and can cause so much distress, work and career issues are often major contributing aspects of a client's problems. Thus, some knowledge of career development theory and career counselling techniques, as well as awareness of the possibility and importance of referral when career issues are paramount, would benefit related professionals and help them help their clients. We need to consider how important this is to the field, and whether it is possible to raise awareness within our educational institutions so that there is a role for career education programs to provide service courses in allied programs.

A preliminary step has been taken since the think tank, namely the establishment of a group of educators interested in developing written materials on current issues and advances in the field of career development in Canada. The exact form this publication will take is still under discussion, but social justice and social justice competencies as they pertain to career development will be a major focus. It is our hope that this work will lead to the development of an introductory text providing students and faculty with details and overviews of macro issues and a few more badly needed resource materials treating advancements and best practices in Canada. The development of these and other resource materials would help immensely to address pedagogical issues while easing the process of curriculum adjustment.

Professional Identity and the Role of Education

Career development educators, like others involved in the field of career development, are concerned with the field's professional identity. That the services provided by career practitioners receive little visibility and are not generally well understood or sought out by the general public is a commonly felt frustration for those working in this field. A 2006 CERIC survey conducted by Ipsos Reid found that when seeking career planning assistance, a majority of Canadians seek the help of relatives/friends/neighbours (68%), co-workers/associates (67%), or newspapers (67%) rather than the services of a career specialist (47%). That more Canadians would seek career assistance from a friend or relative over a career practitioner offers some proof that "career counseling's identity status resembles that of a client who lacks vocational identity and clearly articulated goals" (Niles, 2003, p. 73).

Of particular concern to educators with respect to professional identity is the number of titles being used within the field to describe this work. In the survey carried out as phase two of this research project, respondents were asked to indicate their job title. Significantly, a full 37% of respondents did not fit into one of 13 common job titles used in the field. (This issue does not carry over to Québec, where 69% of respondents fit into just one job title: *conseiller d'orientation*). This diversity of titles is also seen in the names of career development education programs across the country. While some program titles use the term "career practitioner," others use "career counsellor," "career management professional," "career facilitator," or "career development coach." Clearly this unrestrained use of titles in the workplace and in our program descriptions needs to be addressed, and educators can play a positive role through further development and communication of the education model outlined in the first section of this paper. This model has the potential to begin a process of making titles more descriptive, consistent, and meaningful, both to those in the field and to the general public.

While raising the professional identity of the field is no small task, and further, is one that will most certainly require a multi-faceted effort on the part of practitioners, employers, associations, and government alike, it is the educators' hope and belief that both increasing the profile of career development specific education (through the draft model presented earlier in this paper) and enhancing its curriculum will serve an important function in this regard. Indeed, McCarthy (2001) does suggest that training has a dominant effect in establishing a professional identity.

Conclusion

As was outlined earlier, this research project was conceived in order to begin a process designed to articulate the educational background that the profession believes is necessary for entry into, or advancement within, the field of career development. This paper developed out of the third phase of the project; bringing together educators from across Canada to a think tank in order to discuss these educational and professional issues. Although subsets of this group meet with some regularity for other purposes, this was the first meeting of career educators that included representatives from French- and English-speaking Canada, from universities and colleges, and from the private sector. Informal reports from participants suggest that these discussions set the stage for some significant progress towards developing an innovative and comprehensive framework for the education of career practitioners in Canada.

The development of an educational model has the potential to be a major step forward for the field. It has the potential to define exactly what education is required to enter the field of career development, how one could advance within the field, and how the occupational roles of the entry-level person differ from those of an advanced practitioner. This clarity of definition alone would help draw attention to the importance of career-specific education and the services that career practitioners have to offer. A well-developed model would also offer consumers more clarity to help them access the type and scope of service they require. This work is far from complete, but we hope that the energy and enthusiasm this project has generated will provide impetus to move the model forward.

The think tank brought to light many important discussions on curriculum that were as valuable as the discussion of the model. With representatives from all educational sectors, the deliberations afforded a rich dialogue on how the curriculum could evolve and expand. One area requiring significant effort is the inclusion into the curriculum of a social justice lens and macro practice competencies. The development of an appropriate curriculum and its adaptation into current Canadian career education programs would advance the field and make international leaders of Canadian career education programs. This challenge is indeed daunting, but it is also tenable. There was a spirit of co-operation among the participants at the think tank that we believe will support the initiative's forward momentum.

We would like to thank the educators who attended the think tank for their enthusiastic support of this research project and for the tremendous contributions that set the stage for more discussion and forward movement. We would also like to express our thanks to CERIC for their professional and financial support of this endeavour.

Appendix A

Think Tank Participants

Nancy Arthur	University of Calgary
Robert Boudouin	Université de Moncton
Marie-Denyse Boivin	Université Laval
Bruno Bourassa	Université Laval
Mildred Cahill	Memorial University
Deborah Day	Acadia University

Edwidge Desjardins	Université du Québec à Montréal
Carmen Forrest	First Nations University
Marcelle Gingras	Université de Sherbrooke
Bryan Hiebert	University of Calgary
Kon Li	Kwantlen University College
Kris Magnusson	University of Lethbridge
Greg Morrow	George Brown College
Nathalie Perreault	OrientAction
Geoff Peruniak	Athabasca University
Deirdre Pickerell	Life Strategies Inc.
Natalee Popadiuk	Simon Fraser University
Blythe Shepard	University of Victoria
Rob Straby	Conestoga College
Beverly Walters	Bow Valley College

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Délibérations sur l'avenir de L'enseignement en Développement de Carrière au Canada

Rebecca Burwell & Sharon Kalbfleisch

Serait-il possible de développer un modèle pour l'enseignement en développement de carrière qui soit en mesure de déterminer la formation requise pour les différents types de services proposés par les intervenants du secteur? Quelles améliorations pourraient être apportées au contenu des programmes d'enseignement en développement de carrière pour garantir que les intervenants soient en mesure de répondre aux besoins actuels des clients? La formation peut-elle jouer un rôle dans l'amélioration de l'image professionnelle du secteur? Voilà quelques-unes des questions auxquelles ont tenté de répondre les participants au groupe de réflexion « Promotion de la formation des conseillers d'orientation professionnelle au Canada », qui s'est réuni en octobre 2006.

Le projet de recherche intitulé « Promotion de la formation des conseillers d'orientation professionnelle au Canada » a été mis sur pied afin d'entamer un processus destiné à définir le type de formation, nécessaire selon les membres de la profession, pour entrer et évoluer dans le secteur. La première phase du projet a été consacrée à la compilation d'un *Répertoire des programmes de formation en orientation professionnelle et en développement de carrière au Canada*, qu'on peut télécharger (en anglais) à l'adresse suivante :

http://www.contactpoint.ca/resources/Directory_of_Education_Programs_2006.pdf

La seconde phase a consisté à mener une étude sur les consultants canadiens en orientation professionnelle pour mieux évaluer le parcours professionnel et le niveau de formation des intervenants actuels. Plus de 1 100 intervenants ont répondu à l'enquête (ces résultats sont d'ailleurs publiés dans ce numéro de *Revue canadienne de développement de carrière*). La troisième et dernière phase du projet, c'est-à-dire le groupe de réflexion, a rassemblé des enseignants en développement de carrière en provenance des universités, collèges et maisons d'enseignement privées du Canada entier, afin d'engager une discussion de fond sur les programmes de formation en développement de carrière au Canada (voir la liste des participants à l'annexe A). Cet article fait le résumé de ces discussions et présente les travaux de recherche qui s'y rapportent. Nous espérons vivement que ces discussions, ainsi que le projet dans son ensemble, vont appuyer le renforcement du secteur du développement de carrière au Canada et amélioreront la qualité des prestations en développement de carrière, et ce, pour le plus grand bien de tous les Canadiens.

Un Modèle pour L'enseignement en Développement de Carrière au Canada

de l'importance d'établir un modèle éducationnel. Dans la plupart des professions, on sait généralement quel est le type de formation nécessaire pour pouvoir exercer une fonction particulière. Prenons par exemple les soins infirmiers : une infirmière praticienne est autorisée à prodiguer un large éventail de soins de façon indépendante et possède, en plus de son diplôme d'infirmière, une ou deux années de formation supplémentaire. En comparaison, une infirmière auxiliaire travaille sous la supervision d'une infirmière autorisée ou d'un médecin et possède une ou deux années

de formation postsecondaire. Cette clarté en matière de formation et de vie professionnelle n'a pas cours dans le secteur du développement de carrière au Canada. Il existe actuellement une grande diversité de formations et de compétences chez les intervenants; qui plus est, les programmes d'enseignement en place ne conduisent généralement pas à des attributions professionnelles précises.

L'absence de lignes directrices comparables explique que des gens sans formation spécialisée en orientation professionnelle aient pu, parfois très facilement, entamer une pratique. Sans un programme d'enseignement spécialisé, de nombreux praticiens de l'orientation professionnelle ne reçoivent pas d'enseignement approfondi dans les théories de base de l'orientation professionnelle, ils sont rarement systématiquement mis en contact avec les contextes socioéconomiques et les finalités de cette orientation et ne bénéficient pas d'une formation appliquée systématique dans les techniques qui constituent la base de la pratique (Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, 2004, p.106).

Un modèle éducationnel pourrait mettre en lumière l'importance d'une formation spécialisée en développement de carrière et, à terme, faire rehausser le niveau de formation requis pour les intervenants. Contrairement à d'autres pays, le Canada n'est pas confronté à un manque de programmes de formation pour les intervenants en développement de carrière – on compte actuellement 37 programmes de formation répartis dans 18 maisons d'enseignement, qui sont soit spécialisés dans le développement de carrière ou qui y font une place importante. Plusieurs de ces programmes sont offerts en ligne et sont donc très accessibles. Mais ce qui en revanche pose problème, c'est que ces programmes présentent entre eux de grandes différences en termes de conditions d'admission, durée, contenu, heures de stages, type de diplôme délivré (certificat, diplôme universitaire, etc.). On continue donc à se questionner : quel parcours académique faut-il suivre pour entrer dans la profession? Quelles sont les tâches que peut exercer un intervenant débutant? Quel est le type de formation nécessaire pour avancer dans le secteur du développement de carrière et, enfin, en quoi le rôle des intervenants expérimentés diffère-t-il de celui des débutants? Le développement d'un modèle éducationnel permet de répondre à ces questions.

Nos clients auraient également tout intérêt à ce qu'un tel modèle soit mis en place. L'éventail des intitulés de postes et des compétences qu'on rencontre actuellement dans le secteur fait qu'il est très difficile pour le consommateur de savoir où aller et à quoi il doit s'attendre quand il entreprend une démarche d'orientation professionnelle. Dans une étude destinée à déterminer dans quelle mesure les théories en développement de carrière et la recherche viennent soutenir le travail des intervenants, peu importe leurs compétences, Brown a noté que bien que de nombreux clients se présentent avec des attentes et des besoins bien définis, le type de prestations proposées et la nature même de l'orientation vont dépendre largement du niveau de formation de l'intervenant. C'est pourquoi une description et une définition plus claire du rôle des prestataires et du type de services proposés sont essentielles pour aider le consommateur à identifier et atteindre ses objectifs (2002, p. 125).

La mise en place d'un modèle pourrait aussi être utile pour améliorer l'image professionnelle du secteur. Sunny Hansen, dans une analyse récente sur les forces, les faiblesses, les perspectives d'avenir et les menaces associées à la profession de conseiller d'orientation professionnelle, déclare que l'une des menaces importantes à mes yeux est ce que j'appelle la déprofessionnalisation » de l'orientation professionnelle. Il semble que de plus en plus, dans certains secteurs, ce soit devenu une

profession « que tout le monde peut faire », une façon de voir qui, de fait, rabaisse la profession (2003, p. 47).

Un modèle éducationnel aiderait certainement à rassurer le public et les intervenants sur le fait que le secteur du développement de carrière est une affaire sérieuse qui exige une formation et une préparation spécialisées. Un modèle éducationnel déterminant les grandes lignes de la pratique professionnelle à tous les échelons permettrait aux intervenants d'être conscients et d'adhérer aux limites fixées par leur niveau de formation. Un des points essentiels est de savoir dans quelle mesure un intervenant peut ou doit proposer des services de counselling individuel à ses clients. Le fait que les « consultants soient fréquemment confrontés à un dilemme professionnel qui repose sur un ensemble de préoccupations et de facteurs liés à la vie personnelle de leurs clients » (Chen, 2001, p. 524) a été bien étudié et est une prémisse acceptée au sein de la profession. Plusieurs s'entendent cependant pour dire que le counselling individuel exige une formation plus poussée que celle proposée à l'heure actuelle par certains programmes (il faudrait au minimum un diplôme de maîtrise). Ce n'est pourtant pas ce qu'on remarque dans la profession. Dans l'étude de Brown, les psychologues de même que les conseillers, autorisés ou non, ont indiqué qu'ils prenaient effectivement en compte tant les enjeux personnels que professionnels des clients venus pour une orientation professionnelle (2002). Cette pratique est problématique dans la mesure où certains intervenants n'ont pas le niveau de formation requis pour aborder avec leurs clients des questions personnelles. C'est pourquoi un modèle qui déterminerait les rôles associés à chaque niveau de formation serait utile pour clarifier les limites et aiderait les intervenants à déterminer jusqu'où ils peuvent aller avec le client et quand vient le moment de les référer à un autre professionnel.

Le développement d'un tel modèle permettra également d'examiner le lien entre les différents programmes de formation. On aura ainsi la possibilité d'établir des ponts entre les différents programmes d'enseignement (certificats, diplômes, enseignements de premier et deuxième cycle universitaire). Cela va clarifier la façon dont les intervenants peuvent progresser dans la profession. Comme il est plus que probable qu'il y aura à long terme des programmes d'enseignement collégial et universitaire dans le domaine, un modèle éducationnel nous permettra de commencer à établir des liens significatifs entre les programmes. Ce modèle à venir sera profitable à tous les nouveaux programmes de formation qui seront mis sur pied, en ce sens qu'il permettra de mieux comprendre comment ils peuvent s'intégrer au schéma actuel.

Un modèle éducationnel permettrait enfin de préparer le terrain en ce qui touche l'accréditation. Bien qu'il ne soit pas ici question de discuter des avantages et des inconvénients de l'accréditation, il semble cependant évident qu'un modèle clairement articulé pourrait apporter son appui aux processus d'accréditation qui commencent à être mis en place dans plusieurs provinces.

de l'importance d'établir un modèle éducationnel. Établir un modèle éducationnel suffisamment large pour qu'il puisse intégrer les différences importantes qui existent actuellement au Canada dans l'enseignement en développement de carrière ne sera pas chose facile. En effet, bien que le secteur n'en soit qu'à ses débuts, on compte plus de 37 programmes d'enseignement offrant un cursus entier ou substantiel en développement de carrière. Nous l'avons mentionné plus tôt, ces programmes d'enseignement présentent de grandes différences entre eux; il n'y a pas moins de 7 types de diplômes différents parmi les 37 programmes : attestation, certificat, diplôme,

baccalauréat, maîtrise, doctorat et diplôme d'études approfondies. Si la plupart de ces programmes sont valables en soi et proposent un cursus intéressant, c'est le manque de similarité entre eux qui fait qu'il est difficile de les intégrer à un modèle.

Les différences régionales dans l'enseignement en développement de carrière représentent une deuxième difficulté au développement d'un modèle. Les différences entre le Québec et le reste du Canada complexifient la donne, en ce sens que le Québec est la seule province à réglementer la profession : Pour obtenir d'elle l'autorisation de porter le titre de conseiller d'orientation, les candidats doivent répondre aux exigences établies dans les règlements adoptés en vertu du Code des professions du Québec, lequel stipule qu'il faut avoir une maîtrise en orientation professionnelle (Turcotte, 2005, p. 7).

Il faut noter cependant que ce ne sont pas tous les services en développement de carrière qui sont réglementés au Québec : « Les deux autres principales professions dans le domaine du développement de carrière sont celles de conseiller (conseillère) à l'emploi et de spécialiste en information sur les carrières. Ces deux professions ne sont ni rattachées à des exigences professionnelles ou de formation, ni réglementées » (Turcotte, 2005, p. 7). Il s'agit là en tout cas d'une différence importante par rapport au reste du Canada et, encore une fois, cela représente une difficulté pour le développement d'un modèle à l'échelle nationale.

Une troisième difficulté réside dans la multitude de milieux où sont proposés des services en développement de carrière. « Les conseillers scolaires, les conseillers en carrière et les conseillers pédagogiques des collèges et universités, les conseillers à l'emploi, les conseillers des programmes d'aide aux employés, les conseillers en réinsertion, les psychologues-conseils et les psychologues cliniciens, et tous les autres professionnels de l'aide aux personnes proposent tous des services en orientation professionnelle dans les entreprises ou en pratique privée, à un degré et avec des finalités qui varient. Ces personnes présentent des différences dans leur formation et leurs connaissances en développement de carrière ainsi que dans les méthodes qu'elles utilisent » (Herr, 2003, p. 11). Comment gère-t-on ces différentes approches quant aux types et niveaux de formation jugés appropriés pour intervenir dans ces différents secteurs? Des lignes directrices ou des normes éducatives existent pour certaines professions (pour le personnel d'orientation des écoles secondaires par exemple), mais pas pour d'autres (les intervenants des organismes communautaires par exemple). Il sera peut-être nécessaire, avec le temps, de faire évoluer le modèle pour qu'il englobe l'ensemble des professions du secteur.

Une quatrième difficulté est l'importance relative accordée au développement de carrière à l'intérieur des programmes d'enseignement existants. Dagley and Salter ont noté qu'aux États-Unis, certains programmes spéciaux de formation non diplômant pour facilitateurs de carrière ont ajouté à leur cursus des éléments de théorie et de recherche dans le domaine du développement de carrière, mais proposent peu de counselling supervisé; en revanche, les programmes d'enseignement qui mènent au diplôme de conseiller fournissent une excellente supervision en counselling, mais peu ou prou d'enseignement en développement de carrière ou de supervision en orientation professionnelle (2004, p. 102).

Ce n'est pas le cas partout au Canada, mais il est vrai que les programmes de certificats et de diplômes sont, la plupart du temps, plus orientés vers le développement de carrière que les programmes de niveau maîtrise en psychologie de l'orientation (sauf au Québec, où les programmes de baccalauréat et de maîtrise sont spécialisés en

développement de carrière). Encore une fois, cela représente une difficulté pour le développement d'un modèle. Comment établir un modèle qui intègre, d'une part, les programmes d'enseignement entièrement tournés vers le développement de carrière avec ceux, d'autre part, tournés plutôt vers le counselling?

Une dernière difficulté sera de proposer, pour les discussions futures entre enseignants, une approche axée sur la coopération plutôt que sur la compétition. La culture de compétition est depuis toujours présente dans les universités et les collèges canadiens (tout comme les étudiants, le personnel enseignant et les employés se disputent qui les premières places, qui une promotion, qui une bourse de recherche). Heureusement, des initiatives récentes démontrent une tendance nouvelle vers le partenariat (le *Campus Alberta Applied Psychology: Counselling Initiative*, un partenariat entre l'université de Lethbridge, l'université de Calgary et l' Athabasca University). Ce type d'initiative démontre une volonté et une capacité à travailler ensemble, ce qui augure bien pour des échanges et des articulations meilleurs entre les programmes d'enseignement en développement de carrière, et pour le développement d'un modèle éducationnel, même au sein de cette culture institutionnelle de la compétition.

proposer un modèle pour la formation en développement de carrière au canada. Malgré les difficultés inhérentes au développement d'un modèle éducationnel, les participants au groupe de réflexion ont pu établir un modèle provisoire pour l'enseignement en développement de carrière. Le modèle demande bien entendu à être amélioré (un groupe de travail a été désigné pour continuer à le développer), mais il a le mérite d'établir des catégories pour les différents types et niveaux de service proposés par les intervenants en développement de carrière. Il propose également des exigences de formation pour chaque type de prestation.

Bien qu'on n'ait jamais clairement défini les rôles dans le domaine du développement de carrière, l'idée qu'il existe de multiples rôles plutôt qu'un seul n'est pas nouvelle. Herr a ainsi affirmé que « l'on peut définir l'orientation professionnelle comme un continuum d'interventions plutôt qu'un processus unique » (2003, p. 11). Furbish suggère également que les services d'orientation professionnelle englobent un ensemble d'activités et il fait la différence entre les prestations selon qu'elles se spécialisent sur le travail, la profession ou la carrière. Les prestations tournées vers la question du travail sont celles, selon lui, qui fournissent « une aide pour le développement de compétences en recherche d'emploi telle que la rédaction d'un curriculum vitae, la recherche de propositions d'emploi et les techniques d'entretien »; la question de la profession appelle plutôt « une aide aux clients pour qu'ils déterminent leurs préférences et les professions qui leur correspondent »; les prestations en développement de carrière sont celles enfin qui « se préoccupent de l'intégration holistique du travail aux autres rôles de la vie et de l'ajustement aux transitions travail-vie privé » (2003, pp. 3–4).

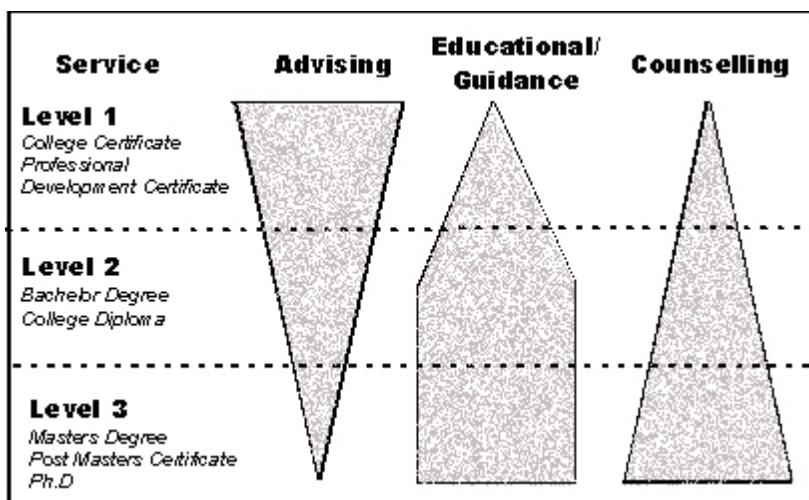
Le modèle éducationnel provisoire conçu lors des séances du groupe de réflexion (voir ill. 1) prend aussi en compte l'idée que la profession englobe des rôles multiples et distincts. S'appuyant sur les travaux précédents effectués par Borgen et Hiebert (2006, 2002), le modèle propose de répartir les prestations proposées par les intervenants en développement de carrière en trois catégories : conseil, orientation et counselling. Chacune d'entre elles a des objectifs et un rôle différents. La prestation en conseil s'occupe avant tout du problème immédiat et a pour but de fournir une

information générale et « non personnalisée » sur un sujet particulier (par exemple, expliquer à un client les différentes formes de curriculum vitae est considéré comme du conseil, tout comme l'aider à obtenir de l'information professionnelle ou le conseiller sur d'autres types de services d'orientation). L'orientation a une portée plus large et vise à fournir des informations ou des services psychopédagogiques mieux adaptés aux besoins du client que le simple conseil. L'orientation demande que l'intervenant rassemble d'abord de l'information sur le client, souvent grâce à un entretien ou une autre forme d'évaluation, s'assurant ainsi que les services proposés seront probablement mieux adaptés aux besoins particuliers du client. Un intervenant qui explique à un client comment une évaluation des champs d'intérêt pourrait influencer ses choix professionnels, propose un service d'orientation. Le counselling va plus loin que la fourniture d'informations. Il concerne des problèmes plus globaux et pourrait inclure l'utilisation de l'orientation professionnelle pour réduire le stress; la gestion de la colère; l'intégration et la résolution des conflits entre la carrière et les autres rôles de la vie; le soutien aux personnes pour reconstruire et recadrer les expériences passées; une méthode d'apprentissage pour atténuer leur manque d'esprit de décision; l'assistance pour modifier des attentes professionnelles irrationnelles; la prise en compte de problèmes sous-jacents qui conduisent à des dysfonctionnements, y compris les problèmes familiaux non résolus qui se répercutent sur le travail; la possibilité donnée aux personnes déplacées d'exprimer leur colère et leur ressentiment à propos de problèmes personnels; la perte d'emploi; la perte ou la diffusion de l'identité personnelle (Herr, 2003, p. 11).

Se reporter à Borgen et Hiebert (2006, 2002) et Hiebert et Borgen (2002) pour plus d'information concernant la distinction entre le conseil, l'orientation et le counselling.

III. 1

Modèle provisoire pour l'enseignement en développement de carrière. Les zones ombrées représentent le temps passé par les prestataires de services pour chacune des trois catégories de prestations, proportionnellement à leur niveau de formation.



Ce modèle démontre le temps que les intervenants ont accordé aux différentes catégories de prestations (conseil, orientation ou counselling), proportionnellement à leur niveau de formation. L'utilisation de ce type de graphique pour démontrer le degré d'intervention selon les rôles se base sur les travaux précédents effectués par l'un des membres du groupe de réflexion, Kris Magnusson (Magnusson, Day, et Redekopp, 1993; Magnusson, 1992). Le modèle suggère que les intervenants de niveau 1, qui remplissent surtout des fonctions de conseil (et proposent peu de services en orientation et en counselling), ont besoin d'un certificat collégial ou universitaire spécialisé en développement de carrière. Les intervenants de niveau 2, dont la fonction est avant tout de proposer des services d'orientation (mais qui vont aussi proposer un peu de conseil et de counselling), ont besoin, soit d'un diplôme spécialisé en développement de carrière, soit d'un baccalauréat (bien que ce dernier ne soit offert qu'au Québec pour l'instant), soit d'un diplôme ou d'un baccalauréat non spécialisé en développement de carrière avec en plus un certificat ou un diplôme spécialisé en développement de carrière. Un intervenant de niveau 3 peut fournir des prestations minimums de conseil, mais sa principale fonction est soit l'orientation et le counselling, soit la conception et la coordination de services en développement de carrière. Ce type de fonction exige généralement une maîtrise ou un diplôme d'études approfondies, ou encore un doctorat en psychologie de l'orientation ou dans un domaine apparenté.

Il faut s'attarder plus longuement sur le rôle important de l'intervenant de niveau 3. On exige de plus en plus des personnes pratiquant le counselling qu'elles possèdent au moins un diplôme de maîtrise dans le domaine. Par exemple, dans la plupart des États américains, le counselling est une profession réglementée qui exige au moins un diplôme de maîtrise en counselling ou dans un domaine connexe, plus un certain nombre d'heures de pratique supervisée sur le terrain. Au Canada, il n'y a pas de réglementation gouvernementale concernant la délivrance de titres pour la profession, mais l'Association canadienne de counselling octroie le titre de « conseiller canadien certifié » seulement à ceux qui détiennent un diplôme de maîtrise approprié en counselling comportant en plus des heures de stage obligatoires. Le modèle provisoire présenté ici reflète l'idée qu'une formation supérieure est requise pour exercer des fonctions de counselling.

Les participants au groupe de réflexion ont convenu que des intitulés de postes devraient être créés et utilisés de façon uniforme pour représenter les trois différents niveaux présentés dans le modèle. Bien qu'il n'y ait pas encore de consensus sur ces appellations, il a été suggéré que les intervenants de niveau 1 portent le titre de *consultant en orientation professionnelle*, les intervenants de niveau 2 celui de *intervenant en orientation professionnelle* et ceux de niveau 3 celui de *conseiller d'orientation professionnelle*. Il faut aussi choisir un terme générique pour décrire chacun de ces rôles dans le domaine de développement de carrière. Cet article, de même que bien des personnes du milieu, utilise constamment le terme « intervenant en orientation professionnelle » pour parler de personnes offrant un type de prestation quelconque dans le domaine du développement de carrière. Naturellement, si le titre « intervenant en orientation professionnelle » devient la norme pour désigner les intervenants de niveau 2, nous devons concevoir un nouveau terme générique.

Un des avantages du modèle provisoire est qu'il intègre tous les programmes d'enseignement à tous les niveaux tels qu'ils existent à l'heure actuelle. Il reconnaît que chacun de ces programmes répond à un besoin spécifique et ne leur fait pas courir le risque de disparaître ou d'être considérés inefficaces. Un autre avantage est qu'il

reconnaît que certaines tâches au sein de la profession n'exigent pas une formation approfondie de conseiller d'orientation – un avantage en ce sens que les programmes non diplômants qui existent actuellement ont tendance à offrir moins de spécialisation en counselling et moins d'heures de stage supervisé.

Un des possibles inconvénients de ce modèle est qu'il pourrait, à terme, provoquer une hausse des tarifs de prestations, un risque inhérent chaque fois qu'une initiative visant la professionnalisation est prise (OCDE, 2004). Plusieurs participants au groupe de réflexion ont exprimé leurs craintes de voir ce modèle ignoré ou rejeté par les principaux bailleurs de fonds préoccupés par le coût des prestations. Il sera donc important pour tous les enseignants du groupe de bien faire comprendre à toutes les parties prenantes les avantages de ce modèle éducationnel.

prochaines étapes pour le modèle. Bien que le modèle provisoire présenté dans cet article a fait de grands pas en avant dans la définition des tâches et des exigences de formation, nous devons garder en tête qu'il s'agit ici d'une version préliminaire. Le développement de plusieurs de ses composantes aidera à préciser et à améliorer son contenu (par exemple, le contenu du programme et le nombre d'heures requises pour les stages pratiques doivent être mieux définis pour chacun des niveaux).

Comme nous l'avons mentionné plus tôt, la diffusion de ce modèle auprès des membres de la profession est un aspect important qui doit être pris en compte, en même temps que d'autres formes d'améliorations. Comment et à qui diffuser et expliquer le modèle sont des questions importantes à considérer. On pourrait par exemple laisser la logique et la valeur même du modèle parler pour elles-mêmes, plutôt que d'essayer de l'imposer à la profession. La logique et la simplicité inhérentes du modèle augurent bien de l'impact significatif qu'il aura pour le secteur du développement de carrière au Canada.

Tandis que le domaine continue à grandir et gagne en maturité, il est possible que nous assistions au développement de spécialisations de formation au sein de la profession. Les possibilités sont nombreuses, mais une des spécialités à envisager serait, par exemple, le travail avec les nouveaux Canadiens, ou avec les individus souffrant de troubles mentaux. De la même manière, le besoin de formation en développement de carrière pour les professions apparentées (travailleurs sociaux, professionnels des ressources humaines...), commence aussi à être reconnu et pourrait se mettre en place d'ici quelque temps. Il reste à déterminer comment intégrer au modèle – si cela se fait – les spécialisations et les formations pour les professions apparentées. Une des approches possibles serait d'établir un lien entre la spécialisation et la formation des professions apparentées et le modèle, plutôt que de les incorporer comme telles à celui-ci.

Programmes D'enseignement en Développement de Carrière au Canada

Réflexions sur la Situation Actuelle

Nous l'avons dit plus tôt, la première phase de ce projet de recherche a été consacrée à la compilation d'un *Répertoire des programmes de formation en orientation professionnelle et en développement de carrière au Canada*. La collecte de données auprès des directeurs et coordonnateurs de programmes nous a permis par la même occasion de nous renseigner sur le contenu de chacun des programmes : la

plupart d'entre eux comportent un tronc commun minimum qui couvre, entre autres, les théories en développement de carrière, les entretiens, la facilitation sociale, l'évaluation professionnelle, l'éthique et le travail avec des populations diverses.

Mis à part cela, on note des différences importantes selon que le programme d'enseignement est diplômant ou pas. Par exemple, des sujets comme l'information sur les carrières, les tendances du marché du travail ou encore les techniques de recherche d'emploi sont plus souvent pris en compte dans les programmes d'enseignement non diplômants, tandis que les programmes diplômants ont tendance à donner plus d'importance aux théories générales sur le counselling. Lorsque le modèle éducationnel en développement de carrière (décrit plus haut) sera mieux défini, il sera important de proposer différents types de contenus pour les différents types et niveaux de programmes d'enseignement.

Un autre point de divergence est le nombre d'heures de stage demandées : il variait de pas de stage du tout à 770 heures. Les stages courts concernaient surtout les programmes de certificats, tandis que les stages plus longs avaient tendance à être associés avec les programmes diplômants et universitaires (baccalauréat et maîtrise). Si les étudiants inscrits dans les programmes de certificats évoluent déjà dans le domaine du développement de carrière, ils ont naturellement un lieu pour faire se rencontrer la théorie et la pratique. Mais pour ceux qui ne travaillent pas dans le domaine ou qui n'ont pas d'expérience en développement de carrière, proposer un mécanisme approprié pour que se rencontre la théorie et la pratique représente un enjeu de taille. Puisque le stage est la meilleure façon d'aider les étudiants à faire le lien entre théories et pratique, il est essentiel que les enseignants discutent plus avant de ses modalités pratiques, c'est-à-dire de son contenu et du nombre d'heures nécessaires.

Une autre façon d'aider les étudiants à faire le lien entre théorie et pratique est une supervision efficace en développement de carrière. McMahon a fait remarquer le manque d'importance accordé à la supervision et le peu d'articles écrits à ce propos dans la littérature sur l'orientation professionnelle jusqu'en 2003. Sans supervision, particulièrement pour un étudiant ou un intervenant débutant, il est difficile de mettre les connaissances théoriques en pratique. Ce manque de supervision pourrait aussi faire croire aux stagiaires que le travail en développement de carrière n'est ni complexe ni suffisamment difficile pour qu'une supervision s'impose, ce qui est une façon de voir fondamentalement erronée. Il faut rappeler qu'une supervision inadéquate a des conséquences sérieuses au fur et à mesure que s'étend la pratique d'un individu en développement de carrière.

De l'importance de Développer le Contenu des Programmes D'enseignement

Outre le travail sur un modèle éducationnel provisoire, le groupe de discussion s'est aussi demandé quel devrait être le contenu des programmes d'enseignement en fonction des différents niveaux de pratiques et comment intégrer de manière efficace les nouveaux concepts et les nouvelles idées. Les discussions à propos du contenu ont porté sur les questions suivantes : de quelle manière peut-on réconcilier le counselling individuel et le counselling professionnel dans les programmes d'enseignement en développement de carrière? Comment et dans quelle mesure le cybercounselling peut-il être intégré au contenu des programmes? Enfin, comment intégrer au mieux les connaissances et les compétences en orientation professionnelle dans les programmes apparentés? Toutes ces questions sont débattues plus loin dans cet article.

La question à laquelle on a accordé le plus d'attention et qui influencerait le plus le contenu des programmes est celle du développement de compétences autres que celles acquises dans les programmes d'enseignement en développement de carrière, dont les préoccupations concernent avant tout les prestations aux individus; ces changements pourraient aider les intervenants en orientation professionnelle à élargir leur intervention pour y inclure les enjeux relatifs aux influences organisationnelles et sociétales. Les difficultés professionnelles auxquelles les individus font face reposent souvent, non pas sur des lacunes individuelles, mais plutôt sur des carences connues à l'intérieur des systèmes et des politiques. Pour prendre en compte ce problème de manière efficace, un intervenant doit posséder des connaissances et des compétences dans des domaines tels que la défense des intérêts, la planification et la politique sociale, l'action sociale et le développement communautaire. Si l'intervenant accorde trop peu d'attention aux enjeux globaux ou fait preuve d'inaction à leur endroit, il peut devenir lui-même une partie du problème. Arthur résume brièvement cela : « les intervenants en orientation professionnelle doivent comprendre comment ils peuvent engendrer sans le vouloir un statu quo et doivent être préparés à confronter les forces sociales, barrières systémiques à la croissance et au développement des individus » (2005, p. 41).

Un exemple tiré d'une politique publique nous aidera à mieux comprendre comment cette expansion du travail de l'intervenant en orientation professionnelle peut améliorer la prestation au client. Dans la plupart des pays, le développement de carrière a fait l'objet d'une politique publique, sans pour autant que les intervenants aient été de manière générale impliqués dans son élaboration. La profession doit donc mettre en oeuvre les idées et les politiques du gouvernement en place sans avoir de réelle influence sur elles. Ce manque d'implication directe dans les politiques peut nuire à la mise en place des prestations, à savoir qui peut les obtenir, comment ils peuvent les obtenir et quels services sont proposés (Herr, 2003). Quand il travaille avec des immigrants par exemple, le conseiller doit souvent aider les individus à gérer les contraintes imposées par la politique sur l'immigration ou les organismes de certification professionnelle. Ces contraintes apparaissent pour le moins fondamentalement injustes et elles sont souvent inévitables. Voilà un domaine où l'expérience des intervenants en développement de carrière pourrait apporter un plus aux politiques publiques; cela pourrait avoir un effet important et à long terme sur les conditions d'emploi des immigrants et des réfugiés, tout en permettant une utilisation plus efficace du bassin de compétences à l'échelle nationale.

Il est intéressant de noter que le fondateur de la psychologie du travail, Frank Parsons, prenait à cœur le changement social, la justice sociale et l'action sociale. Le Dr. King Davis définit la justice sociale de la manière suivante : La justice sociale est une valeur essentielle et un but recherché dans les sociétés démocratiques. Elle comprend l'accès juste et équitable aux institutions sociétales, aux lois, aux ressources, aux perspectives d'avenir, sans limite arbitraire fondée sur l'observation ou l'interprétation de différences du point de vue de l'âge, de la couleur, de la culture, des déficiences physiques ou mentales, de l'éducation, du genre, des revenus, de l'origine nationale, de la race, de la religion ou de l'orientation sexuelle (2004, p. 236).

Parsons a fait montre dans ses écrits d'une préoccupation pour les marginaux et les moins privilégiés de la société (O'Brien, 2001). Jusqu'à récemment pourtant, autant la théorie que la pratique en orientation professionnelle ont été développées principalement pour venir en aide à ceux qui vivent dans une relative aisance. Les

individus moins privilégiés qui doivent travailler simplement pour pourvoir à leurs besoins vitaux ont été largement ignorés (Whiston, 2003).

On observe récemment un intérêt renouvelé pour un retour aux sources de l'orientation professionnelle telles qu'établies par Parsons. Cela appelle une conceptualisation plus large de la théorie et de la pratique en orientation professionnelle afin d'aider les clients à gérer des problèmes comme la pauvreté, la discrimination et l'oppression. Par exemple, Guichard (2003), a parlé des objectifs changeants de l'orientation professionnelle et a appelé les intervenants du domaine à mettre en place un nouveau contexte pour la recherche et la pratique, qui prendrait en compte le contexte plus large du développement humain afin de répondre aux besoins de la communauté humaine sans pour autant négliger l'individu.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, Hansen déclare qu'il ne suffit plus de faire correspondre des emplois à des individus. Elle appelle à une approche plus holistique de l'orientation professionnelle qui prenne en compte les dimensions et les rôles différents de la vie. « Une des lacunes des programmes de formation pour les conseillers d'orientation professionnelle est leur réticence ou leur incapacité à percevoir les conseillers d'orientation professionnelle comme des agents de changements pouvant aider non seulement les *individus*, mais aussi les *systèmes*, à changer » (2003, p. 45). Elle recommande que les programmes de formation intègrent à leur contenu les rôles vie-travail ainsi que le développement organisationnel. Elle reconnaît que chercher à répondre aux besoins d'une population diverse est un premier pas important, mais que « le travail vient à peine de commencer » (Hansen, 2003, p. 45). Elle croit de toute évidence qu'intégrer aux programmes de formation le rôle du conseiller en tant que porte-parole et agent de changement ne sera pas chose facile.

Toujours dans cette idée d'une intervention fondée sur une conceptualisation plus large, on a vu graduellement se mettre en place une façon de travailler capable de reconnaître et de s'adapter aux différences culturelles des populations multiethniques. Le nombre d'articles de revue portant sur l'orientation professionnelle culturellement compétente ne cesse de croître. Cet intérêt et cette préoccupation par rapport aux différences culturelles se sont développés en une perspective plus large pour y inclure la diversité en terme de genre, d'âge, d'orientation sexuelle, de statut socio-économique, de classe sociale, d'habileté et de religion. Notre recherche sur le contenu des programmes indique en fait que la diversité est prise en compte d'une manière ou d'une autre dans tous les programmes d'enseignement qui ont fait l'objet de l'enquête et que 43 p. 100 d'entre eux proposent un cours complet sur la question.

Arthur va beaucoup plus loin dans ce sens et propose d'intégrer la justice sociale dans les rôles et les méthodes d'intervention des intervenants en orientation professionnelle. Elle appelle aussi les intervenants à développer les compétences nécessaires pour provoquer le changement institutionnel et pour travailler sur l'action sociale et les interventions systémiques. Elle a déterminé 17 formes de compétences qui permettraient aux conseillers d'orientation d'avoir les aptitudes requises pour appuyer les interventions en justice sociale. Elle déclare que « tôt ou tard, l'articulation justice sociale/développement de carrière doit être prise en compte dans la conception des programmes de formation pour les intervenants en orientation professionnelle » (Arthur, 2005, p.143).

Un examen plus approfondi de l'enseignement donné en travail social pourrait nous aider à comprendre comment les aptitudes à la justice sociale pourraient être intégrées à la formation des intervenants en orientation professionnelle. Le travail social

est une profession qui repose sur des valeurs. Tous les enseignements liés à la profession encouragent le développement et la promotion du savoir et des compétences qui viennent en appui au bien-être du client, de même que la justice sociale et économique. À l'intérieur de ce cadre obligatoire, le contenu des programmes est divisé entre « micro » et « macro » pratique : la première correspond aux interventions destinées aux problèmes rencontrés par les individus, les familles et les petits groupes; la seconde s'agit plutôt d'un travail social destiné à provoquer un changement dans les organisations et les collectivités. Dans la plupart des programmes d'enseignement en travail social, un étudiant doit faire le choix entre l'une et l'autre, mais doit aussi suivre des cours dans le domaine non choisi.

L'approche éducative en travail social n'est certes pas un modèle qu'on peut appliquer tel quel au développement de carrière, mais elle nous indique comment faire pour atteindre les deux objectifs suivants : le premier est l'intégration à la profession d'intervenant en développement de carrière et à ses buts éducatifs les valeurs de justice sociale; le second est de permettre à l'intérieur des programmes de formation le développement de compétences générales et d'une sensibilisation aux questions plus globales et peut-être permettre à certains intervenants de développer des compétences particulières dans ce domaine.

Les Obstacles à L'intégration des Enjeux Globaux aux Programmes D'enseignement

Comme chaque fois que des changements sont proposés, il y aura une certaine dose d'incertitude et de réticence. En effet, les changements proposés auront pour conséquence que des ajustements importants devront être apportés aux programmes et cela ne sera possible que si les enseignants sont convaincus de la valeur et de l'importance des changements et ont donc la motivation nécessaire pour les intégrer aux programmes d'étude. La motivation et la sensibilisation des enseignants sont des facteurs clés, dans la mesure où les programmes sont généralement très chargés et que d'autres champs d'intérêt se disputent aussi une place au programme. D'autant plus que les travaux entrepris pendant la première phase du projet de recherche ont démontré que les programmes d'enseignement accordaient à l'heure actuelle peu d'attention aux enjeux globaux, peut-être parce que beaucoup d'enseignants sont eux-mêmes diplômés de programmes qui privilégient l'individu et, partant, sont moins enclins à adopter un point de vue plus global. Hiebert, McCarthy et Repetto ont souligné à cet égard que « l'enseignement en orientation professionnelle se fonde surtout sur une approche psychologique (plutôt que sur une approche axée sur le développement de carrière, la transition vers la vie adulte ou le marché du travail) et ne prend pas en compte le parcours professionnel divers et la complexité du marché du travail auquel est confronté le client » (2001, p.1). Il faudra des mécanismes qui garantissent que les enseignants, à tous les échelons, soient tenus informés et impliqués dans l'évolution des contenus de programme.

Les intervenants et les enseignants devront aussi être convaincus du bien-fondé d'intégrer aux programmes d'enseignement et à la profession des pratiques nouvelles avec lesquelles ils sont moins familiarisés. En partie à cause de leur formation, et particulièrement pendant les premières années de leur pratique, la plupart des intervenants privilégient l'aide individuelle et ne sont pas motivés à comprendre comment changer les systèmes et comment ces systèmes influent sur la vie de leurs

clients. Les intervenants nourrissent souvent, avec les années qui passent, une frustration envers « le système », mais ils n'ont pas, pour la plupart d'entre eux, développé ni mis en pratique les compétences pour apporter des changements à l'intérieur même du système. Lors de l'enquête sur les intervenants menée durant la deuxième phase du projet, les compétences globales telles que le lobbying auprès du gouvernement, la prise en compte des enjeux de justice sociale, la défense des intérêts du client, la promotion des programmes, la gestion ou encore l'administration, ont été constamment jugées moins importantes que les compétences liées au travail direct avec le client. Si les intervenants en orientation professionnelle réalisaient un jour qu'ils ont le pouvoir et le devoir d'agir sur les systèmes politiques et sociaux et s'ils pouvaient trouver un moyen d'aider leur profession à le faire, la valeur qu'ils accordent à leur travail pourrait changer notablement (particulièrement après quelques années) et permettre un appui solide aux changements de programme que nous proposons; les mettre en œuvre de façon efficace signifie que les intervenants devront suivre un programme de formation continue.

Une autre difficulté est le manque de matériel pédagogique solide traitant des enjeux globaux (y compris la justice économique et sociale), qui pourrait être utilisé facilement en classe ou sur le lieu de travail. Cette pénurie fait que les enseignants ont plus de difficulté lorsqu'ils tentent d'intégrer ces notions ou d'adopter les changements recommandés. Le développement de matériel pédagogique efficace est essentiel dans une stratégie d'implantation. Comme nous le soulignons plus loin, un groupe de travail éducationnel nouvellement formé travaille depuis peu au développement de ressources pédagogiques, dont certaines privilégient la question des enjeux globaux et celle de justice sociale.

Prochaines Étapes pour le Contenu des Programmes

Les participants au groupe de réflexion ont exprimé un soutien et un enthousiasme considérable en ce qui concerne l'évolution des programmes vers plus de théorie et de pratique sur les idées et les valeurs de justice sociale et économique et vers le développement des compétences nécessaires pour promouvoir le changement social. Il est important de noter que nous ne sommes qu'au tout début de cette initiative et qu'il n'est pas chose facile de faire évoluer un programme d'étude (ou les lignes directrices d'un programme) à l'échelle nationale, compte tenu du besoin préalable de faire accepter, par les parties prenantes, la mise en place d'une nouvelle façon de voir et d'un ensemble élargi de compétences. Si nous, en tant qu'enseignants, étions cependant en mesure d'intégrer aux programmes, à l'échelle nationale, les compétences en justice sociale, le Canada deviendrait sans conteste un chef de file sur la scène internationale.

Dans quelle mesure les différents aspects d'une « macro » pratique devraient-ils être intégrés aux différents niveaux de formation, selon le modèle discuté plus haut, cela devra faire l'objet d'un examen approfondi et d'une discussion. Par exemple, il semble plausible que les intervenants dont la pratique est axée principalement vers le conseil auront besoin uniquement d'une sensibilisation générale aux questions de « macro » pratique et à leur place dans le monde de l'orientation professionnelle. Cette sensibilisation pourrait s'acquérir grâce à un cours ou un module de formation bien construit. D'autre part, dans une « macro » perspective des choses, on s'attendra à ce que les intervenants tournés plutôt vers le counselling s'impliquent dans la planification sociale, fassent preuve d'aptitudes à la défense des intérêts avec les individus et les

systèmes et contribuent à l'élaboration de la politique sociale en ce qui concerne le monde du travail. Un individu devra suivre au moins un cours, voire plus, portant sur la « macro » théorie et la « macro » pratique, s'il veut évoluer dans ce domaine.

Comme on l'a mentionné plus tôt, un certain nombre de questions touchant aux contenus et aux enjeux de programme n'ont pas fait l'objet de discussions aussi approfondies qu'on l'aurait souhaité en raison du manque de temps. Une de ces questions portait sur la zone de contact entre l'orientation professionnelle et le counselling individuel. On ne peut pas établir de séparation nette entre l'orientation professionnelle et le counselling qui porte sur les autres aspects de la vie d'un individu. Certains intervenants sont en mesure, grâce à leur formation, de travailler sur les aspects importants de la vie d'une personne (au travail, dans la vie personnelle, ou même parfois en ce qui concerne la santé mentale). D'autres intervenants, en revanche, sont incapables de gérer ces situations compte tenu des lacunes de leur éducation. Il faudrait au minimum que les conseillers d'orientation possèdent les connaissances suffisantes pour identifier les problèmes d'ordre personnel et, si nécessaire, référer leurs clients vers des professionnels capables de les accompagner. Cette zone de contact va se préciser au fur et à mesure que le modèle va prendre forme et que les rôles des différents intervenants seront mieux définis.

Le cybercounselling, autre enjeu soulevé par les participants au groupe de réflexion, est peu abordé dans les programmes de formation. Bien que cette question soulève le scepticisme, surtout en ce qui concerne l'éthique, plusieurs intervenants en orientation professionnelle font preuve d'innovation et se lancent dans le conseil et le counselling à distance. Le cybercounselling engendre de multiples complexités pour les programmes d'enseignement : quelles sont les compétences nouvelles ou différentes requises pour pratiquer efficacement à distance? Ces compétences peuvent-elles s'intégrer aux programmes existants? Dans quelle mesure les étudiants devraient-ils être formés à cette technique? A-t-on besoin d'une spécialisation en orientation professionnelle à distance? Ces questions méritent une discussion plus approfondie.

Autre enjeu soulevé : comment peut-on au mieux faire le lien entre l'enseignement en développement de carrière et l'enseignement donné aux professions apparentées, comme le travail social, les ressources humaines ou encore la réinsertion professionnelle. Ces intervenants travaillent avec des clients dont les problèmes ne sont pas liés, la plupart du temps, au monde du travail; mais parce que le travail est si important pour le bien-être des individus et qu'il peut être à la source de tant de désespoir, les enjeux liés au travail et à la carrière forment souvent l'essentiel du problème. C'est pourquoi une connaissance des théories en développement de carrière ainsi que des techniques d'orientation professionnelle, de même qu'une sensibilisation aux possibilités existantes et à l'importance de diriger un client vers les services appropriés quand les problèmes liés à la carrière sont primordiaux, seraient profitables aux professionnels des domaines apparentés et leur procureraient un soutien dans l'aide qu'ils apportent à leurs clients. Nous devons envisager l'importance de cela par rapport à notre domaine et voir s'il est possible de sensibiliser nos maisons d'enseignement à ce qu'il y ait une place accordée dans les programmes apparentés à des cours en développement de carrière.

Une étape préliminaire a été franchie depuis que le groupe de réflexion s'est réuni : la mise sur pied d'un groupe composé d'enseignants souhaitant rédiger des documents sur les enjeux et les améliorations actuels dans le domaine du développement de carrière au Canada. La nature exacte de cette publication reste à

définir, mais il est certain qu'on fera une place importante aux questions de justice sociale et de compétences en justice sociale. Nous espérons que ce travail va mener à la rédaction, d'une part, d'un texte introductif permettant aux étudiants et au personnel enseignant d'acquérir plus d'information et des perspectives sur les enjeux globaux et, d'autre part, de matériel pédagogique traitant des améliorations et des pratiques exemplaires au Canada. La rédaction de ces documents et d'autres encore va aider grandement à prendre en compte les enjeux pédagogiques, tout en permettant que soit facilité le processus d'ajustement des programmes d'enseignement.

L'image Professionnelle et le Rôle de L'éducation

Les enseignants en développement de carrière, tout comme les autres intervenants du secteur sont préoccupés par la question de l'image professionnelle de la profession. Les prestations offertes par les intervenants en orientation professionnelle reçoivent peu de publicité et sont généralement mal comprises par le public. C'est un facteur de mécontentement largement ressenti par les professionnels du milieu. Une enquête menée par Ipsos Reid en 2006 pour le compte du CERIC a montré qu'une majorité de Canadiens (68 %) s'adressent à leur famille, à leurs amis ou à leurs voisins lorsqu'ils ont besoin d'assistance dans la planification de leur carrière. Ils sont 67 % à demander l'aide de leurs collègues de travail ou de leurs associés et 67 % encore à consulter les journaux. Seuls 47 % consultent un spécialiste du domaine. Que les Canadiens s'adressent à un ami ou à un membre de la famille plutôt qu'à un intervenant en orientation professionnelle illustre à quel point « l'image de l'orientation professionnelle est similaire à un client qui manque d'identité par rapport au travail et n'a pas de buts clairement articulés » (Niles, 2003, p. 73).

Les enseignants sont particulièrement préoccupés par les différentes appellations d'emploi utilisées pour décrire ce type de travail. Lors de l'enquête effectuée dans la seconde phase du projet, il a été demandé aux répondants d'indiquer l'intitulé de leur poste. De manière significative, 37 % d'entre eux ont mentionné des intitulés qui ne correspondent pas aux treize appellations d'emploi habituellement recensées. (Ce problème ne concerne pas le Québec, où 69 % des répondants ont indiqué une seule et unique appellation d'emploi : conseiller d'orientation). Cette multitude d'intitulés se retrouve également dans le nom des programmes d'études à travers le pays. Tandis que certains utilisent le terme « intervenant en carrière » (career practitioner), d'autres utilisent plutôt « conseiller en carrière » (career counsellor), « spécialiste en gestion de carrière » (career management professional), « facilitateur en développement de carrière » (career facilitator), ou encore « accompagnateur en développement de carrière » (career development coach). Ce libre usage d'appellations diverses dans nos lieux de travail et dans nos programmes d'enseignement est une question qu'il faut résolument soulever. Les enseignants peuvent jouer un rôle positif en développant et en faisant connaître le modèle éducationnel décrit dans la première partie de cet article. Ce modèle peut aider à concevoir des appellations plus descriptives, cohérentes et porteuses de sens, autant pour les professionnels du secteur que pour le grand public.

Soulever la question de l'image professionnelle n'est pas une tâche facile et demandera à ce que les efforts soient concertés (intervenants, employeurs, associations, gouvernement). Mais les enseignants espèrent vivement que le fait de rehausser le profil de l'enseignement spécialisé en développement de carrière (grâce au modèle provisoire

décrit plus haut) et d'améliorer le contenu des programmes conduira au but recherché. McCarthy (2001) déclare à cet effet que la formation joue un rôle important dans l'établissement d'une image professionnelle.

Conclusion

Comme nous l'avons mentionné plus tôt, ce projet de recherche a été mis sur pied afin d'entamer un processus destiné à définir le type de formation, qui apparaît nécessaire aux membres de la profession, pour entrer et évoluer dans le secteur du développement de carrière. Cet article est le fruit du travail entrepris lors de la troisième phase du projet : réunir des enseignants venus de tout le Canada pour participer à un groupe de réflexion sur ces questions éducatives et professionnelles. Bien que des sous-comités issus de ce groupe se rencontrent à l'occasion pour d'autres raisons, il s'agissait de la première réunion regroupant des enseignants francophones et anglophones provenant des universités, des collèges et du secteur privé. Les participants ont laissé entendre que ces discussions ouvraient la voie à des progrès importants dans la mise en place d'un cadre innovateur et global pour l'enseignement en développement de carrière au Canada.

Le développement d'un modèle éducationnel peut représenter un pas en avant pour la profession. Ce modèle peut déterminer avec précision quel type de formation est nécessaire pour travailler dans le secteur du développement de carrière, comment un individu peut évoluer dans le secteur et comment les tâches de l'intervenant débutant diffèrent de celles de l'intervenant expérimenté. Cette clarté dans la définition peut aider à elle seule à attirer l'attention sur l'importance d'un enseignement spécialisé et sur les services proposés par les intervenants en développement de carrière. Un modèle bien construit permettra aussi aux consommateurs de mieux choisir le type et l'étendue des services dont il ont besoin. Cette tâche est loin d'être terminée, mais nous espérons que l'énergie et l'enthousiasme que ce projet a suscités nous donneront l'élan nécessaire pour faire avancer le modèle.

Le groupe de réflexion a également abordé le sujet du contenu des programmes d'enseignement, une question qui a suscité des discussions tout aussi intéressantes que celles qui ont eu lieu autour du modèle éducationnel. Grâce à la présence de représentants venus de tous les secteurs éducatifs, les délibérations ont permis qu'un dialogue constructif se mette en place en ce qui concerne la manière de faire évoluer les programmes et d'étendre leur contenu. Un des domaines qui demande un effort considérable est la prise en compte dans les programmes d'enseignement d'une perspective en justice sociale et du développement de compétences en « macro » pratique. Le développement d'un programme approprié et son adaptation aux programmes canadiens actuels en développement de carrière feront avancer le secteur et feront du Canada un chef de file en la matière. L'enjeu est de taille, mais nous pouvons y parvenir. Nous espérons que l'esprit de coopération remarqué parmi les participants au groupe de réflexion viendra soutenir cet élan.

Nous souhaitons remercier les enseignants qui ont participé au groupe de réflexion pour leur appui enthousiaste au projet de recherche et pour leur formidable contribution qui ont ouvert la voie à de plus amples discussions et à la poursuite de cette initiative. Nous aimerions également remercier le CERIC pour son appui professionnel et financier.

Annexe A

Participants au groupe de réflexion

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Blythe Shepard	University of Victoria
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Psychodynamics of Student Work In a Context of Job Scarcity and Economic Insecurity

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Silence and Repression of Anxiety

In programs where job scarcity is well known, such as sociology, visual arts, literature, communication, love for the discipline is an overriding condition of integration. Passion is both vital and indispensable. Like any person who works, students in those programs are concerned about how the usefulness of what they do is valued, that is, they hope for living conditions, a recognition of the beneficial effect of their work and its marked value. However, these hopes are dampened by the image that society conveys to them of the thinker, the intellectual and the useless artist (old clichés that resurface in the race for high-paying jobs). This is heightened by the doubts that families and friends have about their future and by the taboos which block communication. In many programs, passion becomes an implicit and explicit norm: "You have to be born with it". In this message conveyed by employers, teachers and the media, enthusiasm and passion are prescribed as an antidote to moroseness. This motivation discourse takes the form of a paradoxical command. Thus, this context leaves no room for students to express doubts about the purpose of their studies, and even less room for them to criticize the training and the institution.

Silence on this subject becomes a burden, a suffering that is borne alone and which can become increasingly oppressive over time. To avoid bringing up these questions, students choose not to discuss the worrying factors because, for many of them, anxiety is something to be hidden. Students decide to not bring up these topics that are considered to be personal because they fear being judged by their peers and future employers. It is better to "appear to be motivated" in order to believe in the future and not be identified, or even labelled, as not being passionate enough, even if it means that you do not truly feel this at all. Passion could become instrumental in a quest for effectiveness and productivity.

Performance and Endurance

We now turn to the context in which employment is almost guaranteed but where competition and selection still prevail: computers and health sciences programs. Students are rigorously selected on the basis of academic results. For example, in occupational therapy, only 60 out of 500 applicants are chosen per year. Thus, those students are the symbols of excellence and have been the pride and joy of their families and friends since childhood. Although honours give the greatest of pleasure, the downside is that they include the requirements to perform. This requirement comes first from the education system whose practices are heavily focused on measuring results, and then from parents for whom marks are very important. Students have internalized these norms and are in the habit of setting extremely high targets for themselves and continuously keeping themselves above average, which gives them an immediate

feeling of euphoria that must be constantly renewed. The pressure exerted in this way has led to brilliant results but also to bouts of intense stress and even exhaustion.

A new requirements is added to the results-related requirements, that is, to be a well-balanced person. In wishing to project an almost perfect image as students and future professionals in the helping relationship, there is a risk of doubling the academic results performance with performance related to psychological balance. It is no longer enough to succeed, one must project the image of a well-balanced person, show self-confidence in the face of uncertainty, manage one's stress, etc. These students are aware of the dangers inherent in a productivity-centred work organization, having read academic studies on stress and burn-out. In this sense, they believe that they are on a well-balanced path because they have the information that allows them to develop an objective knowledge of these issues. However, this is but a narrow line. Within this ideal, there is little room for fatigue, bad mood, disagreement or mistake and there is a real risk of slipping towards a defensive ideology which over-values the individual's responsibility to adjust at the expense of a critique of systemic constraints. This defensive strategy means keeping one's problems to oneself, subjecting oneself to a harsh discipline, working without complaining, gritting one's teeth and ... often putting one's desire on the back burner. Students agree to subject themselves to this in the hope that, one day, they will no longer be forced to make so many sacrifices for their work. This second nature is laden with after-effects. Over time, they become experts in enduring and come to believe and say that they have no choice but to adjust to the situation.

Conclusion

This approach of psychodynamics of work can play a preventive role in counselling and guidance. In speaking out about work organization, concrete courses of action and intervention areas can be developed in the education community.

We conducted this study in partnership with the Counselling and Psychological Assistance Service and the Guidance and Counselling Clinic of the University. Their respective directors participated actively in the study as co-researchers. They were involved at all stages of the research, including the writing of the final report. Thus, the psychodynamics of work may well have a future in the academic environment (high school, college, university, etc.) because its theoretical and methodological approach can be used to support students as they construct their identity by helping them to recognize, at an early stage, the sources of pleasure and suffering linked to their occupational choice as well as the defence mechanisms being constructed at the same time. Through this approach, it is also possible to identify institutional shortcomings or problems linked to training programs. In this respect, this approach may prove to be a useful tool for student associations fighting for improvements in these areas. In short, the psychodynamics of work is an approach that allows for innovative actions in the relationship of students to their studies and to institutions.

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Psychodynamique Du Travail Étudiant Dans Un Contexte De Resserrement Des Conditions D'Access À L'Emploi Et D'Insécurité Économique

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Le Silenc et la Répression De L'angoisse

Dans les programmes où la rareté de l'emploi est connue, tels sociologie, arts visuels, littérature et communication, l'amour de la discipline doit primer comme condition d'intégration. La passion est à la fois vitale et obligée. Comme toute personne qui travaille, les étudiants des sciences humaines et des arts sont préoccupés du jugement d'utilité qu'ils méritent, c'est-à-dire qu'ils espèrent des conditions de vie décentes, une reconnaissance du bienfait de leur travail et de sa valeur marchande. Ces espoirs sont toutefois refroidis par l'image que la société leur renvoie du penseur, de l'intellectuel ou de l'artiste inutile (ce sont là de vieux clichés actualisés dans la course aux emplois payants). Celle-ci est exacerbée par les doutes de leur entourage à propos de leur avenir et par les tabous qui bloquent la communication.

Dans plusieurs programmes, la passion devient une norme qu'il faut intérioriser et afficher: " Il faut avoir le métier dans le sang ", leur dit-on. Cette condition implicite est inquiétante, car comment savoir si l'on possède en soi, presque dans ses gènes, ce potentiel pour supporter les contraintes associées à cette profession ? Dans ce message véhiculé par les parents, les enseignants, les employeurs, les médias, l'enthousiasme et la passion sont prescrites comme un antidote à la morosité. Mais ce discours de la motivation prend la forme d'une injonction paradoxale. Il n'y a pas de place, dans ce contexte, pour exprimer des doutes sur les finalités des études, et encore moins pour exercer une critique de la formation et de l'institution. Le silence à ce propos devient un poids, une souffrance que l'on porte seul et qui, avec le temps peut devenir de plus en plus oppressante. Pour éviter de soulever ces questions, on préférera taire certains éléments angoissants. Car pour plusieurs étudiants, l'angoisse est quelque chose à éviter ou à contrer, pour ne pas prêter flanc aux remises en question. Même dans les cas où la sociabilité est fortement présente, les étudiants n'abordent pas ces thèmes considérés intimes, car ils craignent le jugement des pairs ou celui des futurs employeurs.

La Performance et L'endurance

Abordons maintenant un contexte où l'emploi est quasi assuré où règne toutefois la compétition et la sélection: en informatique et en sciences de la santé. La performance scolaire exigée pour se faire admettre en sciences de la santé, par exemple, a des effets sur le rapport actuel aux études. Les étudiants sont rigoureusement sélectionnés sur la base des résultats scolaires: sur cinq cent demandes par année, une soixantaine de candidats sont retenus en ergothérapie, à titre d'exemple. Symboles d'excellence ils font la fierté de leur entourage depuis leur enfance. Si les honneurs font plaisir, ils comportent toutefois un revers, celui de l'exigence de la performance. Cette exigence provient d'abord du système d'éducation dont les pratiques sont fortement axées sur la mesure des résultats, puis des parents qui ont accordé beaucoup d'importance aux notes. Les étudiants ont intériorisé ces normes. Ils ont pris l'habitude

de se fixer des objectifs extrêmement élevés et de se maintenir constamment au dessus de la moyenne, ce qui leur procure une sensation immédiate d'euphorie qu'il faut renouveler sans cesse. La pression ainsi exercée a pu amener à de brillantes réussites mais aussi à vivre des épisodes de stress intenses, voire d'épuisement.

Aux exigences reliées aux résultats, s'en ajoute une nouvelle : celle de montrer un état d'équilibre. Dans le désir de projeter une image quasi parfaite en tant qu'étudiants et futurs professionnels de la relation d'aide, il existe un risque : celui de doubler la performance liée aux résultats scolaires par une performance d'équilibre psychologique. Il ne suffit plus seulement de réussir, il faut présenter une image d'équilibre, démontrer de l'assurance face à l'incertitude, gérer son stress... Ces étudiants sont conscients des risques inhérents à une organisation du travail axée sur le productivisme. Ils lisent des écrits scientifiques sur le stress et l'épuisement professionnel. En ce sens, ils se croient sur le chemin de l'équilibre car ils détiennent l'information leur permettant de développer une connaissance objective de ces problématiques. Mais le fil est mince. Dans cet idéal, il y a peu de place pour la fatigue, la mauvaise humeur, le désaccord ou l'erreur et il existe un risque réel de glisser vers une idéologie défensive qui sur-valorise la responsabilité individuelle d'adaptation au détriment d'une critique des contraintes systémiques.

La stratégie défensive consiste à garder ses problèmes pour soi, à se soumettre à une dure discipline, à travailler sans se plaindre, à serrer les dents et ... à mettre en veilleuse son désir bien souvent. Les étudiants acceptent de se soumettre dans l'espoir, qu'un jour, ils ne soient plus forcés de tant sacrifier pour leur travail. Cette seconde nature n'est pas sans laisser de séquelles. À la longue, ils deviennent des experts d'endurance et ils en viennent à croire, et à dire, qu'ils n'ont pas le choix de s'adapter ainsi.

Conclusion

Le travail de réflexion fait auprès des étudiants universitaires permet d'échanger sur les plaisirs et souffrances liés aux études, de reconnaître certains mécanismes défensifs inhérents au type de formation choisie, et de transposer cette réflexion dans les instances représentatives ou décisionnelles, lorsqu'ils le décident. En ce sens, nous estimons que l'approche de la psychodynamique du travail peut aussi agir sur un plan préventif. La prise de parole autour de l'organisation du travail ouvre la voie sur l'élaboration de pistes concrètes d'action en milieu éducatif et promet de nouveaux créneaux de recherche et d'intervention.

Nous avons réalisé cette enquête, en partenariat avec le Service d'orientation et d'aide psychologique et la Clinique d'orientation et de counseling de l'Université. Les directeurs respectifs ont participé concrètement à l'enquête à titre de co-chercheurs. Ils ont été présents à toutes les étapes de la recherche jusqu'à la production du rapport écrit. On peut donc penser que la psychodynamique du travail a un avenir en milieu scolaire (secondaire, collégial, universitaire, etc.) car cette approche théorique et méthodologique permet d'accompagner les étudiants dans leur construction identitaire en les aidant à reconnaître, tôt, les sources de plaisir et de souffrance liées à leur choix professionnel, de même que les mécanismes de défense qui se construisent au même moment. Elle permet aussi d'identifier des lacunes institutionnelles ou des problèmes liés aux programmes de formation. En cela, elle peut s'avérer un outil intéressant pour les associations étudiantes qui luttent sur ces plans. Bref, la psychodynamique du travail

constitue une voie d'action novatrice dans le rapport des étudiants à leurs études et aux institutions.

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Measuring Effectiveness in a Clinical Setting

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Measuring Effectiveness in a Clinical Setting

Fiscal restraint has resulted in an increased emphasis on accountability in professional practice (Hiebert, 1997; Flynn, 1997). Health Management Organizations in the U. S., despite the raging controversy, have led the movement in responsible counselling and psychotherapy by requiring their suppliers to demonstrate both client satisfaction and client outcome. It is straight forward to measure client satisfaction using an instrument such as the Counsellor Rating Form (Barak & LaCrosse, 1975; available in French from Bachelor, 1987). However, it is more of a challenge to measure outcome. In a clinical setting (as compared to a research setting), it is particularly difficult to monitor success in anything but the most subjective ways (Collins, 2001). Clients may not expect testing, counsellors may be resistant to a greater work load, even the most basic technical advice may not be available, and financial resources will generally not have been put aside for such an activity. However, an instrument has become available to simplify the task of monitoring client outcome: the OO-45 (Lambert, Hansen, Umpruss, Lunnen, Okiishi, & Burlingame, 1996).

The OO-45 is a 45 item questionnaire that measures client progress in therapy, and is designed to be repeatedly administered during the course of counselling. As pointed out by Howard, Moras, Brill, Martinovich and Lutz (1996), following client progress is a fairly straightforward activity. The key is to have criteria against which the client's progress can be evaluated. The OO-45 allows a degree of base-line screening and comparison with established norms. It is not intended for diagnostic purposes. The instrument is sensitive to changes, inexpensive, and has high levels of test-retest reliability ($r = .84$) and concurrent validity (.53 to .88). It is generally administered just before each session, and it takes about five minutes to complete. The instrument measures three aspects of client outcome: symptom distress, interpersonal relations, and performance of social roles (Lambert & Cattani-Thompson, 1996).

As a test of the value of the instrument, three counsellors used it with ten personal counselling clients in an internal Employee Assistance Program in a large office, and with ten vocational counselling clients used as a comparison. The clients were seen for at least five sessions with an average of seven sessions. The clients had an average age of 43 years, and the counsellors held two masters' degrees and one doctorate in appropriate fields.

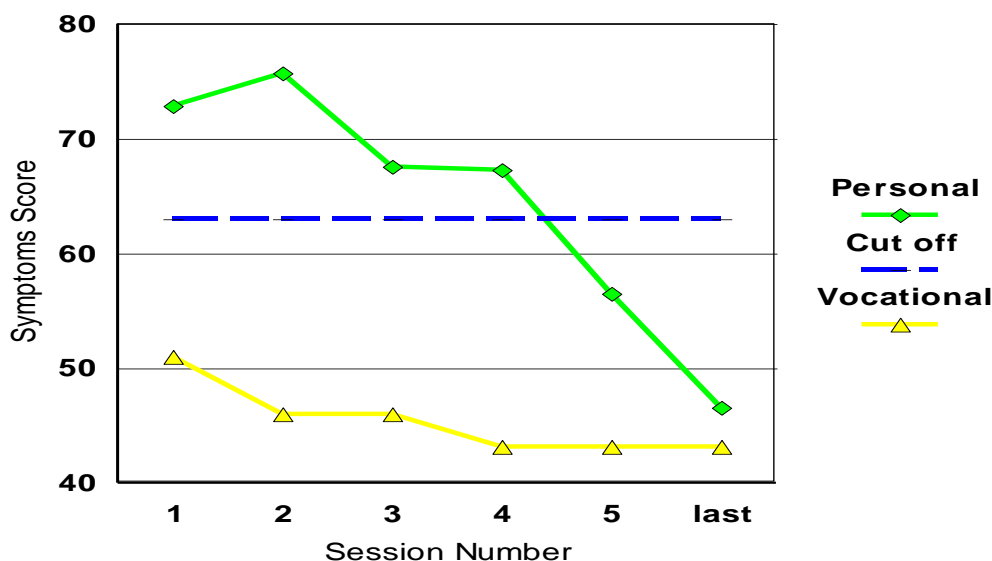
The results can be seen in Figure 1. The scores for personal counselling begin well above the cut-off, indicating real clinical need. They drop slightly in the next session presumably because the program has early intervention and the clients become even more aware of the presenting problem. By the third session, the scores dropped substantially, and by the last session, they are near the baseline score for the general population.

Interestingly, the vocational clients showed the same pattern of change, beginning slightly below the cut-off line, and improving in three sessions. In our very small sample, clients showed positive change to such questions as, "I am satisfied with

my life”, “I feel I am not doing well at work”, “I feel something is wrong in my mind” and “I feel blue”. This support Bégin’s (1998) view that vocational counselling is not just help getting a new job, but a question of reconstructing personal identity.

Figure 1

Results of the OQ-45 in a clinical setting.



In practice, using the OQ-45 was found to be a very simple, straight-forward task. Clients in personal counselling found the questions reasonable and the administration unobtrusive. Even in individual cases, the plotted results quickly showed realistic treatment responses. Some counsellors verify key questions such as suicidal ideation, drug use and the ability to work. Viau (1998), in a community clinic, found that many clients showed interest in seeing their results. In two cases where the clients were slow to respond to therapy, they were shown the results, asked to explain them and then invited to collaborate in redefining the counselling approach.

Overall, the instrument was an efficient way to monitor counselling effectiveness and it gave useful clinical feedback. Howard et al. (1996) point out that there are several advantages to measuring client progress, including judging the effectiveness of treatment, adjusting case loads based on expected treatment and comparing treatments in terms of dose-response relationships. The results were interesting to the clients and the counsellors. Managers appreciated the hard data on client progress when making decisions on funding priorities. The manual is clear and simple to read and understand. The instrument will be even easier to use when a shorter, 30 item version, becomes available. The author has observed that there is occasionally counsellor resistance but that this disappears after they see their first results. The instrument is limited to adult populations and to settings where a paper-and-pencil instrument would be seen as acceptable.

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Formula for Success in Career Building

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In the author's opinion, traditional education and training systems have failed to equip youth and adults for the continual life and work transitions they will face beyond graduation. The way people prepare for life and work transitions is changing, as are the goals of career education and counselling. The focus is shifting from an emphasis on helping people choose an occupational goal, then develop plans to meet its educational and training prerequisites, to also helping them learn essential life/work skills they need to be satisfied, self-reliant citizens, able to make the most of the myriad transitions life will present.

Prevailing wisdom in the twentieth century held that given reasonable access to good career information and guidance citizens will make good career decisions. The result will be improved human resource allocation, labour force mobility and productivity, and improved cost-effectiveness of employment, education and training programs (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999). Many countries have invested heavily in developing and distributing print, video, computer and web-based resources on this premise. Watts (1999) made a good case for "The Economic and Social Benefits of Career Guidance." Recent analysis of school-to-work and work-to-work transition processes raises doubts about whether simply providing good information and guidance, which remains vital, is sufficient to reap the benefits Watts describes (Blustein, et.al., 1997; Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999; Lent, Hackett, & Brown, 1999; Savickas, 1999; and Worthington & Juntunen, 1997).

In addition to academic and technical skills, youth and adults need to learn essential life/work skills that empower them to become healthy, productive and self-reliant citizens. Gysbers (1997) refers to this concept as life career development, defined as "self-development over a person's life span through the integration of the roles, settings, and events in a person's life". An important part of "life career development" is giving individuals life/work skills that empower them to locate and process information, and to make good choices at the many transition points they will inevitably encounter on their life journey. The Conference Board of Canada (2000), representing many of the largest employers in Canada, insist that employability (life/Work) skills are as important to employers as the communications, mathematics and science skills all students are expected to acquire before leaving formal education. Krumboltz and Worthington (1999) state that "The goals of career counseling and of the school-to-work movement should be to facilitate the learning of skills, interests, beliefs, values, work habits, and personal qualities that enable each participant to create a satisfying life in a constantly changing work environment" and Savickas (1999) suggests that students need to learn to "look ahead" and "look around" before they leave school to develop competence and skill in the following five domains: (a) self-knowledge, (b) occupational information, (c) decision making, (d) planning, and (e) problem solving. According to Worthington and Juntunen (1997) "When employers are asked why they prefer not to hire youth, or why there are high turnover rates among youthful workers, they will tell you that today's youth frequently fail to demonstrate

essential employability skills.” Employers implore educators to ensure students "don't leave school without them," yet life/work skills have not found the prominence they deserve in "mainstream" curricula.

Canada prides itself in the quality and quantity of career and labour market information available for youth and adults. Excellent resources like the National Occupational Classification, Job Futures, WorkinfoNET, Choices, Career Explorer, Career Cruising, Career Directions, Canada Prospects, The Realm and The Edge magazines, Destination 2020, Smart Options and many more are readily available to citizens of all ages across Canada. Yet, although most students have ready access to quality career information and guidance:

- 70% of secondary students expect to go on to post-secondary studies (university, college, technical or trade school) and 80% of their parents have the same expectation, but only 32% go directly to post-secondary, and only about 50% of them will graduate
- Nationally 26% of secondary students drop out of secondary school before graduation
- 9% of secondary students expect to work after they leave secondary school, yet 64% of secondary students actually do go to work before any other career destination
- 47% of post-secondary students change programs or drop out by the end of their first year, and 50% of those who graduate are not in work closely related to their programs two years after they complete their programs

These statistics (Statistics Canada School Leavers Survey, 1997) suggest that fewer than 25% of Canadian youth arrive at their short-term career goals, let alone longer term goals. Are the 64% of secondary students who go directly to work ready? Perceptions vary. One recent survey (Environics Alberta, 1995) yielded the following results to the question, "Are secondary students ready for work when they leave school?"

Response from:	Ready for the Workplace	Ready for Post-Secondary
High School Students	80%	87%
Parents (K-12 Students)	40%	65%
Post-Secondary Teachers	35%	53%
Employers	35%	70%

Secondary curricula focus on preparing students for post-secondary studies, yet most will not go on to post-secondary studies. To receive a secondary diploma, students are expected to master complex academic material many will not need in the short term, if ever. At the same, few students systematically learn essential life/work skills all will need as young adults. In short, the majority of Canadian youth are not adequately prepared for life after secondary school. The system is not meeting their needs as well as it might. It is testimony to their personal resourcefulness that most students eventually find their way to acceptable, if not optimal, employment and lifestyles.

Adults are often ill prepared for their career transitions. Many encounter involuntary career transitions due to privatization and "right-sizing," especially older workers, must overcome larger obstacles in re-connecting with work and learning opportunities. Many have responsibility for dependents, while dealing with issues of lost income, shock, anger, fear, uncertainty, diminishing self-esteem and dignity, ageism, loss of identity, and emotional and financial risks as they cope with transitions (Newman, 1995).

The traditional goal of career interventions has been "to help people make informed career decisions." It was assumed that at some point, usually between their 9th to 12th year of education, students could assess their interests and abilities, analyze their options, choose a suitable occupational goal, then develop and implement plans to reach their goal. Recent projections in Canada suggest that young people now entering the labour market are likely to experience a succession of different work roles, with as many as twenty-five jobs (with elements of multiple occupations) in up to five different industry sectors during their lives (Alberta Learning, 1999). At times they may have concurrent part-time jobs, while at other times they may have no paid work. Work periods will be interspersed with periods of learning, either full- or part-time while holding one or more jobs. Krumboltz and Worthington (1999) describe a future where "... there will be more of a need for worker flexibility as worker requirements change more frequently and new teams are formed to work on specific projects. Workers will increasingly be expected to move from project to project doing whatever work needs to be accomplished, and not merely to fulfill a written job description."

The oft-heard question from parents, teachers and counsellors, "What do you want to be?" loses relevance in labour markets characterized by this magnitude and frequency of change. It is unrealistic, even self-defeating, to expect students to commit to one occupation for a lifetime. Any answer they give will be either incomplete, or wrong. "Learning how to adapt to changing conditions in the workplace will be one of the essential skills for success" (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999). It is difficult for teachers and counsellors, who may work in the same building for much of their careers, to imagine this new work world let alone prepare students for it.

The end of work is not in sight. With all our "labour-saving" technologies, people have never worked harder. The notion of jobs is shifting dramatically. Except in unionized settings, those who say "That is not my job!" may not keep their jobs for long! Career is increasingly being viewed as something every human has, and the word is not being used as often synonymously with profession, occupation or job (Gysbers, 1997). The concept losing ground most rapidly is "occupation," yet it remains the cornerstone of most career information systems and databases, guidance processes and tertiary education and training.

Society expects youth and adults to define themselves in terms of an occupational goal, then choose education and training to prepare and qualify for their goal. Once on the path to their goal they are graded on acquisition of academic and technical skills, not essential life/work skills. Academic and technical qualifications are needed to get an employer's attention, but life/work skills determine subsequent success and advancement (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999 and Worthington & Juntenen, 1997). Job seekers who market themselves as skilled in a narrow occupational specialty do themselves a disservice. Those who can describe the skills they bring to helping the organization meet its immediate challenges and achieve long term success, in whatever combination of roles, are more in demand (Worthington & Juntenen, 1997).

People need to identify broad work sector destinations and secure foundation skills that will equip them to take on multiple roles within them. This is more about education than counselling. Mastery of the skills essential to realization of their goals should be learned in mainstream curricula. According to the school-to-work transition literature, a good school intervention would: include simulated work experiences that excite students with the opportunities presented and motivate them to explore their occupational possibilities with more enthusiasm (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999); teach them about the consequences of making decisions in life (Varenhorst, 1968,1973); allow them to test the adequacy of various decision making models (Krumboltz, Scherba, Hamel & Mitchell, 1982); allow students to sample various work roles (Krumboltz, 1970); incorporate role-playing, which is deemed the most useful intervention technique (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999); facilitate the learning of skills, interests, beliefs, values, work habits, and personal qualities that enable participants to create a satisfying life in a constantly changing work environment (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999); be developmentally appropriate and be distributed throughout the school years (Lent, Hackett, & Brown, 1999); and, allow students to develop employability skills (Worthington & Juntunen, 1997). Mastering the skills needed to find and maintain fulfilling employment also equips people to be better students, marriage partners, parents and citizens. What are these skills?

The Blueprint for Life/Work Designs

Pioneering work on an essential life/work skills framework was begun by the National Occupational Information Coordinating Committee in the United States in 1988, under the leadership of Juliette Noone-Lester. In 1998, the process of adapting the US *National Career Development Guidelines* for Canada began, resulting in the *Blueprint for Life/Work Designs*. Blueprint partners include the National Life/Work Centre, Human Resources Development Canada, Provincial Governments (Departments of Education and Labour) and national professional associations. Thousands of American and Canadian career practitioners and researchers have spent thirteen years developing, piloting, evaluating, revising and implementing this North American career building skills framework,

The Blueprint core *competencies* are sorted into three areas (A. Personal Management; B. Learning and Work Exploration; and C. Life/Work Building). These competencies are further defined for four levels:

Level One	Early Years (Primary/Elementary)
Level Two	Middle Years (Junior High)
Level Three	Senior Years (High School)
Level Four	Adult (including Post-secondary)

There are 10 or more *performance indicators* for each competency, at each level, organized by "learning stages." Measurable standards are developed by implementing agencies for each indicator. For the full framework of competencies and indicators, refer to: www.blueprint4life.

BLUEPRINT COMPETENCIES
AREA A: PERSONAL MANAGEMENT
1. Build and maintain a positive self-image 2. <u>Interact positively and effectively with others</u> [SEE BELOW] 3. Change and grow throughout ones' life
AREA B. LEARNING AND WORK EXPLORATION
4. Participate in life-long learning supportive of life/work goals 5. Locate and effectively use life/work information 6. Understand the relationship between work and society/economy
AREA C. LIFE/WORK BUILDING
7. Secure or create and maintain work 8. Make life/work enhancing decisions 9. Maintain balanced life and work roles 10. Understand the changing nature of life and work roles 11. Understand, engage in and manage one's own life/work building process

To illustrate, the indicators for competency 2 at the high school level follow:

COMPETENCY 2: Interact positively and effectively with others
Level Three (High School): Develop abilities for building positive relationships in one's life and work
Learning Stage I – Acquisition: acquiring knowledge -Discover the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to work effectively with and for others. -Explore helping skills such as facilitating problem solving, tutoring and guiding. -Examine appropriate employee-employer interactions and client-contractor interactions in specific situations. -Explore personal management skills such as time management, problem solving, personal financial management, stress management, life-work balance, etc.
Earning Stage II – Application: experiencing acquired knowledge -Demonstrate behaviours and attitudes required for working with and for others. -Demonstrate personal management skills such as time management problem solving, personal finances, stress management, life/work balance, etc. -Express feelings, reactions and ideas in an appropriate manner. -Demonstrate helping skills such as facilitating problem solving, tutoring and guiding.
Learning Stage III – Personalization: integrating acquired and applied knowledge -Determine the helping skills one feels comfortable with and wishes to contribute in relationships with others. -Acknowledge the positive effects of expressing one's feelings, reactions and ideas. -Integrate personal management skills such as time management, problem solving, stress management and life/work balance to one's life and work.
Learning Stage IV – Actualization: striving towards full potential -Engage in further learning experiences that help build positive relationships in one's life and work.

The Blueprint maps essential life/work skills all citizens would be well-served to master in order to proactively manage their life/work building process. It also provides administrators and practitioners with a systematic process for developing,

implementing, evaluating and marketing career development programs or redesigning and enhancing existing programs.

A national framework of essential life/work competencies and indicators helps service providers achieve a number of aims:

- Clarity of outcomes: The Blueprint framework enables practitioners (and their funders) clearly to articulate, and measure, the outcomes they are seeking and achieving.
- Service consistency: A common language within and between services and products helps citizens know what they need, and get what they need, as they move from one service or product, agency or organization, or geographic region to another.
- Efficiency: A common language for life/work skills helps clients and practitioners more efficiently review, compare and select programs and products.
- Reduced ambiguity: Assumptions abound regarding the meanings of terms such as *career planning* or *self-awareness*. Spelling out these assumptions for all to review enhances communication significantly.
- Career development culture: Having a common structure by which to discuss career development issues and aims helps all citizens become more conscious of career development and life/work issues.

The Real Game Series

Essential life/work skills, like literacy and numeric skills, should be mastered by students at all stages of their education (Lent, Hackett & Brown, 1999; Fouad, 1997; and Savickas, 1999) and by adults. Increased attention to these skills helps students see the relevance of their school studies, and can positively impact attendance, achievement and completion rates. Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, Hungary and Denmark are working together on *The Real Game Series* to help learners at all ages master essential life/work skills. The Real Game Series is everything the career transitions literature suggests (above) a good intervention program should be.

There are six programs in Real Game Series:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| • The Play Real Game | Ages 6-8 | Grades 3/4 |
| • The Make It Real Game | Ages 8-10 | Grades 5/6 |
| • The Real Game | Ages 11-13 | Grades 7/8 |
| • The Be Real Game | Ages 14-15 | Grades 9/10 |
| • The Get Real Game | Ages 16-18 | Grades 11/12 |
| • Real Times, Real Life | Adults | Post-secondary to Retirement |

All programs involve role-playing and are set in participants' futures. Realistic scenarios, based on contemporary labour market realities, are so engaging that participants don't realize they are learning. Participants establish lifestyles, budget time and money, transition through job-loss and acquisition scenarios, plan business trips and vacations, balance family and work, engage in community activities, for example, in safe roles allowing them to experiment risk-free. Students see clear connections

between adult life and work roles and the subjects there are learning in school. "Students who believe that high school education has relevance for their future success are strongly and significantly more likely to work hard in school, even after parent, peer, school, and psychological variables are controlled" (Rosebaum & Nelson, 1994). Teachers also learn about a broad cross section of contemporary life and work roles, and have fun with their students!

These programs lend themselves to team-teaching, involvement of student mentors, and participation by community members and parents. Participants are more motivated to seek out, process and absorb traditional career and labour market information resources (print, computer, video, Internet). For more information see: www.realgame.com.

Conclusion

Canada's school-to-work transition efforts have failed too many youth and adults because we have not had a national framework of essential life/work skills to be learned by all. These essential life/work skills complement the academic and technical skills now required for completion of formal education and training. Adopting such a framework, and implementing curricula and resources such as The Real Game Series to help citizens master these skills, help more youth and adults become fulfilled and self-reliant citizens.

As the title of this paper suggests, a new formula for success in career building is: Acquisition of Good Foundation Academic and Technical Skills

- + Mastery of Essential Life/Work Skills
- + Access to Quality Career and Labour Market Information and Guidance
- = GREATER SUCCESS IN CAREER BUILDING, AND IN LIFE!

Addendum

By the summer of 2001 The Real Game Series partnership includes eleven countries. All concur that resources like The Real Game Series will help youth and adults more effectively learn and master essential life/work skills. This international partnership is non-commercial and not-for-profit. It reflects the will of the partner countries to work together in developing resources that will transform the landscape of career education in their nations. Current international partners, typically national departments of education, welcome new partners from countries who wish to develop their own adaptations of these programs. The latest editions of these programs would be available at no cost to them. However, any new partnership must include the national department of education of the country in question, and it must agree to share innovations with other international Real Game Series partners.

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Youth and Career Development

- 33** The Effects of Context and Experience on the Scientific Career Choice of Canadian Adolescents
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The Effects of Context and Experience on the Scientific Career Choices of Canadian Adolescents

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Advances in theory and a growing body of empirical literature have characterized vocational-counseling psychology in recent years (Lent, 2001). Career process explanations have evolved through the development of new theoretical approaches (e.g., Gottfredson, 1996) and the refinement/expansion of foundational works (e.g., Dawis, 1996; Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996). Investigators have cited the utility of consolidating the various perspectives guiding career development research and practice (e.g., Walsh, 2001). Paralleling this trend has been an increase in cross-domain inquiry both within and beyond the field (Lent, 2001). Research has sought to understand commonalities across the many domains that affect career-related behaviour by incorporating constructs from other areas of social science (e.g., cognitive psychology, sociology). A particularly fruitful trend has been the application of Bandura's (1986) social-cognitive theory to career behaviour. An example is the social-cognitive career development framework proposed by Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994).

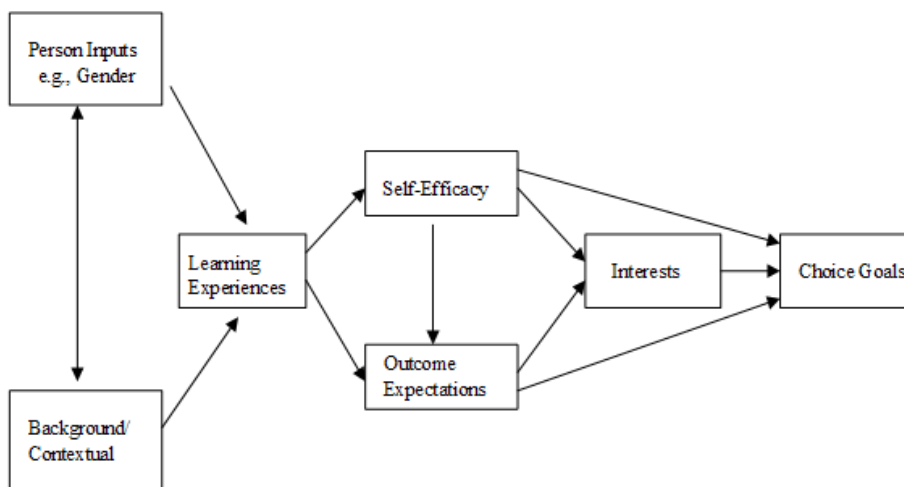
The Lent et al. (1994) framework is one of the most recent and comprehensive career development theories. This model integrates person, background / context and experiential factors as antecedent influences on career-related choice behaviour. It emphasizes one of the most influential periods in terms of career choice and commitment – adolescence and young adulthood – by highlighting mechanisms that may help shape career-related interests and selections. However, occupational choice is a life-long process that starts long before school-leaving age and continues long afterwards (Schoon, 2001). The socio-cognitive processes emphasized as important to career entry are hypothesized to influence subsequent career choices (Lent et al., 1994). Relationships may also be bidirectional at points. A basic version of the social-cognitive career choice model proposed by Lent et al. (1994) is presented in Figure 1.

The Lent et al. (1994) model seeks to explain central, dynamic mechanisms through which young people forge academic and career choices. Person-input variables and background/ context influence the learning experiences of an individual. Person-inputs are comprised of personal characteristics (e.g., gender). Parent and family influences are important contextual features in the model (Lent et al., 1994). The experiential learning sources, such as objective performance and role-modeling experiences, shape and inform career-related self-efficacy (e.g., perceived task competence) and outcome expectancies (e.g., anticipation of certain outcomes, such as self-satisfaction, financial reward). The self-cognition constructs – self-efficacy and outcome expectancies – figure prominently in the formation of interests. Self-cognitions and career-relevant interests, in turn, affect career choice. Choices and

performance accomplishments result in subsequent self-efficacy and outcome appraisals, and thus feed back into the model (not shown).

Figure 1

Partial version of the Lent et al. (1994) social-cognitive model of career development



This study applied multivariate logistic regression analyses to a partial version of the Lent et al. (1994) model (Figure 1). The differential utility of model constructs in accounting for career choice was analyzed. Examination of the relations between separate constructs and career choice is needed. Prior investigations on social-cognitive theory have tended to focus on self-efficacy beliefs in isolation from other constructs (Lopez, Lent, Brown, & Gore, 1997). There has been relatively less inquiry on the role of the other socio-cognitive mechanisms (e.g., outcome expectations) in the study of educational and career behaviours. Lent and colleagues (1994) have suggested that assessment of their model focus upon content-specific variables. Few studies have examined the theoretical constructs in their model from a domain-specific perspective (Ferry, Fouad, & Smith, 2000) and with samples other than college students. Research on the relations between science education factors and preadolescent/adolescent career aspirations has been limited (Fouad & Smith, 1996; Lopez et al., 1997; Plucker, 1998; Wang & Staver, 1999). The present study builds upon past research by exploring the science domain for a sample of Canadian adolescents.

The primary goal was to examine the added influence of context and experience in the prediction of scientific career choice (yes/no), beyond the personal characteristics of adolescents. Person-inputs in the present study included gender, grade-level, and primary language (English or French). Contextual factors included socio-economic status (SES – parent occupations), family cohesiveness, family social/scientific communication, family career encouragement, and parent scientific expectations/encouragement. Family cohesion has been found to play a role in the development of academic and career cognitions (e.g., academic self-concept) and choice (Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter, 1997; Juang & Vondracek,

2001; Wall, Covell, & MacIntyre, 1999). The remaining measures were domain-related. Students identify parents as the largest influence on career decisions (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004) especially when choosing careers in science and engineering (Dick & Rallis, 1991). Parent SES was also considered a relevant domain factor. Children's educational and career aspirations are found to be related to parental SES (as measured by parents' income, education, and occupation) (Schoon, 2001; Trice & Knapp, 1992; Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). Occupations requiring science and math skills also tend to be higher in status (Ferry et al., 2000).

Learning experiences included science/math grades, perceptions of science/math teachers, and friends interested in science. These factors reflect the documented influence of objective scientific performance and the school environment on academic and career processes (e.g., Burkham, Lee, & Smerdon, 1997; Plucker, 1998; Schoon, 2001; Wall et al., 1999). The academic competencies of adolescents play an important role in capability beliefs, which contribute to career decision-making (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Ferry et al., 2000; Hackett, 1995; Juang & Vondracek, 2001; Lapan, Shaughnessy, & Boggs, 1996; Lee, 1998; Lent, Lopez, & Bieschke, 1991; Lent, Lopez, & Bieschke, 1993; Nauta & Epperson, 2003). Perceptions of the school environment, peers, and teachers' beliefs may affect a child's self-efficacy and attitudes towards math and science (Burkham et al., 1997; Plucker, 1998; Schoon, 2001; Wang & Staver, 2001). Teachers act as role models by providing students with scientific learning opportunities and encouragement (Burkham et al., 1997). Likewise, it is possible that adolescents who have peers interested in the sciences may engage in scientific activities themselves, and have similar future aspirations. The remaining experiential constructs were self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests. Self-efficacy reflected adolescent perceptions of scientific ability. Outcome expectancies included whether one felt science would be useful to one's future career, and expectations for a scientific occupation. Interests were comprised of interest in scientific concepts, and engagement in extracurricular science activities.

Specific propositions based on the Lent et al. (1994) model were also examined in this study. These included: Self-efficacy beliefs will affect career choice goals both directly, and indirectly through interests (Lent et al.'s Propositions 3A and 3C); Outcome expectations will affect career choice directly and indirectly through interests (Propositions 4A and 4C); and there will be a direct effect of interests on choice goals (Proposition 5A). Research has indicated direct relationships between these experiential constructs with choice goals in the science/math domain (e.g., Ferry et al., 2000; Fouad & Smith, 1996). There is also evidence that the influences of self-efficacy and outcome expectations on choice goals are mediated by interests (Borget & Gilroy, 1994; Ferry et al., 2000; Fouad & Smith, 1996; Lent et al., 1991; Lent et al., 1993; Nauta & Epperson, 2003; Post, Stewart, & Smith, 1991). Investigations of social-cognitive theory have largely focused on the role of self-efficacy (Fouad & Smith, 1996). There has been relatively less examination of the role of scientific outcome expectancies. The current study explores the relations of these three experiential influences – self-efficacy, outcome expectancies, and interests – with scientific career goals.

Method

Sample

Participants were obtained from the National Youth and Science Fair Project Study (NYSPS). The original study sample consisted of 4,034 Canadian students (13-19 years). Eighteen percent (728) of participants were Canada-Wide Science Fair (CWSF) competitors (56% male, 44% female) and 82.0% (3,306), a comparable national sample of students (50% male, 50% female). The present study is based on the comparison subgroup of adolescents.

The science fair participants are a homogeneous sample of high-performing science students. The control sample may be a more typical group of students, or provide better representation in terms of generalizability. Eighty-four percent of these students were Caucasian, 7.0% Native American, 6.4% Asian, and 2.2% represented other racial/ethnic groups (2,430 valid cases). Thirty-two percent were junior-level students, 35.7% intermediate, and 33.2% were seniors (3,185 valid cases). Approximately 76% of the students had English as their first language, and 24%, French (3,079 valid cases).

Procedure

Data collection involved a two-phase, convenience sampling design. In the first phase, the CWSF competitors were invited to participate in the study by completing the National Youth and Science Fair Project (NYSP) survey while in attendance at the fair. The nature of the study was explained to the students by a member of the research team, and participation was voluntary. The second phase involved the administration of the NYSP to the comparison sample of students (attending the same schools as CWSF students) by their teachers during regular classroom sessions.

The NYSP is a self-report instrument comprised of items assessing general demographic information, achievement/schoolwork, perceptions of education and schooling, parental background, and family information. Items were adapted from the work of Krahn (1988) (Three City Study of the School to Work Transition), Breakwell, Fife-Shaw and Devereaux (1988) (Youth, Science, and Technology), and items developed as part of a study conducted on Canadian high school students in the context of science career choices (Hein & Lewko, 1994). Participants completed the survey based on language of instruction (English or French), with language appropriate forms distributed to all students. Instrument administration required an average of 50-60 minutes.

Measures

career choice/goals. Participants indicated the occupation they expected to attain. An overall structure for classifying occupation according to type of work performed was based on the Standard Occupational Codes Index (Statistics Canada, 1991). Scientific career choice in the present study was reflected in a dichotomous career goal score as: 1 (science career, e.g., natural sciences, mathematics, health sciences); and 0 (non-science). This measure was used as the dependent variable.

person input. *Gender; Language* – Language first learned to speak, and still spoken (English or French); and *Grade Level* – Junior (grade 8-9), Intermediate (grades 10-11), and Senior (grade 12+).

background/contextual. *Socio-economic Status (SES)* – Paternal and maternal occupation was coded using the SES index developed by Blishen, Carroll, and Moore (1987). A measure of parental occupational status was developed based on the higher index score of either parent; *Family Communication on Social / Scientific Issues* – Ten statements measured the extent to which family members discuss current social and scientific issues (e.g., politics, science). A sample item includes: “How often do you talk to your mother or father about issues involving science or technology?” Responses were rated on five-point scales (“Never” to “Often”) and averaged to obtain a single score. The internal consistency reliability (Cronbach alpha) for the scale was .89; *Family Cohesiveness* – Consisted of four items rated on five-point scales (“Very untrue to “Very true”) and assessed feelings of “togetherness” and support provided by family members. The reliability for the scale was .78.

Family Career Encouragement measured adolescent perceptions of family encouragement for first choice of career. Students responded to four statements, rated on five-point scales (“None” to “A lot”). Higher scores indicated higher levels of family career encouragement. The reliability was .78; and *Parent Science / Math Expectations and Encouragement* – Perceptions of parental encouragement for, and expectations to excel in science/math were assessed through responses to four, five-point scales (“Never” to “Always”). Items were completed separately for mother and father. Internal consistency coefficients were .91 and .92, respectively. Responses for both parents were averaged to obtain a single score.

learning experiences. *Science/Math Grades* – Students were asked to indicate on an eight-point scale (“Mostly below D” to “Mostly A”) their grades within the subject areas of: English, mathematics, science, and social studies. The average of math and science grades was used in all analyses; *Perceptions of Science/Math Teachers* – Students rated each of 11 items (three-point scales) according to perceived science/math teacher encouragement, and expectations for scientific performance and homework. An item includes: “My science teacher expects me to work hard on science.” Higher scores indicated higher levels of teacher encouragement/expectations. The items were completed separately for science and math teachers (alpha reliabilities of .74 and .80), and averaged to obtain a total score; and *Friends Interested in Science / Math* – Students were required to rate how many of their friends were interested in science and math. The scale contained five statements (five-point scales – “None” to “All”) and the reliability was .84.

self-efficacy. *Science/Math Self-Efficacy* – Consisted of a four-item scale assessing perceived general science and math ability. A sample item is: “I am good at math.” Responses were rated on five-point scales (“Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”). Reliability of the scale was .81; and *Science Knowledge Confidence* – Assessed confidence in completing a science knowledge test. The items were: “How well do you think you did on this test?” and “How difficult was this test for you?”

Five-point response scales indicated increasing confidence in one’s science knowledge. Reliability was .77.

outcome expectations. *Scientific Career Expectancies* – Nineteen statements on three-point scales measured students’ perceptions of a scientific career. Higher scores indicated increasingly positive expectations for having a science-related career. Reliability of the scale was .84; and *Science Course Expectations* – Students rated their science courses in terms of the extent to which they expected them to be useful to their future career. Higher scores on six-point scales indicated higher expected course usefulness. Science course ratings were averaged.

interest in science and math. *Scientific Interest* – Students rated three statements on five-point scales (“Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”) according to their level of scientific interest. A sample statement is: “I like to find out how machinery works.” Cronbach’s alpha was .86; and *Extracurricular Scientific Interest* – Responses to nine (five-point scale) statements (“Never” to “Always”) assessed the frequency with which students engaged in extracurricular scientific activities. Responses were averaged and the reliability for the scale was .83.

Results

Descriptive statistics for the measures comprising the five theoretically-based constructs (person input, background/context, learning experiences, self-efficacy, outcome expectations, interests) by science career choice (yes/no) are presented in Table 1. Preliminary analyses were undertaken to assess the univariate properties of the study measures, impact of missing data, and to verify constructs/scales. There were several significant relations among the predictor variables. However, the magnitude of the correlations (.001-.459) was not sufficiently high as to pose problems with multicollinearity in further analyses.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for person input factors, background factors, scientific learning experiences, science/math self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and scientific interests by science career (yes/no) (National Youth and Science Project (NYSP), N=3,306).

Science Career					
	Yes	n ¹	No	n	Total
Person Input	%		%		N
Gender					
Male	42.8	565	57.2	756	1,321
Female	37.1	428	62.9	726	1,154
Grade					
Senior (12+)	45.8	370	54.2	438	808
Intermediate (10-11)	39.0	339	61.0	530	869
Junior (8-9)	35.9	264	64.1	472	736
Language					

English	37.3	684	62.7	1,152	1,836
French	47.9	281	52.1	306	587
Background / Contextual	(Mean(sd))²		(Mean(sd))		
Parent Socio-economic Status (SES)	46.25(12.71)	913	44.42(12.74)	1,344	2,257
Family Cohesiveness	3.59(0.91)	918	3.47(0.92)	1,340	2,258
Communication – Social / Scientific Issues	2.43(0.99)	928	2.24(0.97)	1,360	2,288
Family Career Encouragement	3.02(1.09)	988	3.10(1.14)	1,477	2,465
Parent Science / Math Encourage / Expect's	4.18(0.86)	871	3.90(0.96)	1,256	2,127
Learning Experiences					
Science / Math Grades	6.56(1.64)	986	5.79(1.88)	1,452	2,438
Perceptions of Science / Math Teachers	2.21(0.22)	993	2.20(0.24)	1,478	2,471
Friends Interested in Science / Math	2.78(0.69)	910	2.61(0.73)	1,326	2,236
Self-Efficacy					
Science / Math Self-Efficacy	3.88(0.74)	999	3.54(0.78)	1,484	2,483
Science Knowledge Confidence	3.59(0.85)	963	3.43(0.93)	1,410	2,373
Outcome Expectations					
Science Course Expectations	5.30(1.30)	972	4.29(1.86)	1,408	2,380
Scientific Career Expectancies	2.03(0.26)	967	2.05(0.31)	1,411	2,378
Interests					
Scientific Interests	3.94(0.86)	955	3.68(0.95)	1,386	2,341
Extracurricular Scientific Interests	2.08(0.74)	891	1.87(0.71)	1,300	2,191

¹ All n based on valid cases for analyses.

² sd=standard deviation; figures for experiential factors are also means and standard deviations.

Logistic regression analysis was performed to explore the contribution of contextual and experiential factors to the prediction of career choice. Adolescent person-input variables were entered into the model first to determine the unique predictive variance of the separate sets of measures in subsequent models. Table 2 shows the multivariate odds ratios (OR) and 95% confidence intervals for the series of regression models.

Table 2

Multivariate odds ratios (OR) and 95% confidence intervals (CI's) for the logistic regression of science career choice on person input factors, background factors, scientific learning experiences, science / math self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and scientific interests (NYSP, N=3,306).^{1,2}

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Person Input						
Gender						
Male	1.23 (1.01-1.49)	1.26 (1.03-1.53)	1.24 (1.01-1.52)	1.38 (1.11-1.71)	1.36 (1.09-1.69)	1.45 (1.16-1.83)
Female	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Grade						
Senior (12+)	1.44 (1.12-1.84)	1.49 (1.14-1.93)	1.66 (1.28-2.17)	1.54 (1.17-2.02)	1.88 (1.42-2.50)	1.91 (1.43-2.54)
Intermediate (10-11)	1.11 (0.87-1.41)	1.09 (0.86-1.41)	1.19 (0.92-1.54)	1.14 (0.88-1.47)	1.11 (0.85-1.45)	1.16 (0.89-1.52)
Junior (8-9)	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Language						
English	1.48 (1.18-1.86)	1.21 (0.92-1.59)	1.11 (0.84-1.47)	1.13 (0.86-1.50)	1.25 (0.93-1.68)	1.27 (0.94-1.71)
French	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Background / Context						
Parent SES		1.00 (0.99-1.02)	1.00 (0.99-1.01)	1.00 (0.99-1.01)	1.00 (0.99-1.01)	1.00 (0.99-1.01)
Family Cohesiveness		0.96 (0.84-1.09)	0.94 (0.83-1.07)	0.94 (0.82-1.07)	0.94 (0.82-1.08)	0.94 (0.82-1.08)
Family Communication		1.16 (1.04-1.29)	1.12 (0.99-1.26)	1.09 (0.97-1.23)	1.06 (0.94-1.20)	1.00 (0.88-1.14)
Family Career Encouragement		0.92 (0.83-1.02)	0.93 (0.84-1.04)	0.93 (0.84-1.04)	0.94 (0.84-1.05)	0.92 (0.82-1.03)
Science Encourage/Expectations		1.39 (1.22-1.58)	1.26 (1.10-1.43)	1.22 (1.07-1.40)	1.15 (1.01-1.33)	1.14 (0.99-1.31)

Learning Experiences						
Science/Math Grades			1.20 (1.13-1.28)	1.12 (1.04-1.21)	1.12 (1.04-1.21)	1.13 (1.04-1.22)
Percept. Of Science/Math Teachers			0.96 (0.61-1.52)	0.92 (0.58-1.47)	1.00 (0.62-1.63)	0.97 (0.60-1.57)
Friends Interested in Science/Math			1.22 (1.04-1.43)	1.18 (1.01-1.39)	1.11 (0.94-1.31)	1.06 (0.89-1.25)
Self-Efficacy						
Science/Math Self-Efficacy				1.30 (1.09-1.55)	1.11 (0.92-1.34)	1.09 (0.90-1.31)
Science Knowledge Confidence				1.12 (0.99-1.27)	1.13 (0.99-1.28)	1.10 (0.97-1.25)

Multivariate odds ratios (OR's) and 95% CI's, continued.^{1,2}

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Outcome Expectations						
Science Course Expectations					1.56 (1.42-1.70)	1.52 (1.39-1.66)
Scientific Career Expectancies					0.72 (0.47-1.08)	0.75 (0.50-1.14)
Interests						
Scientific Interests						1.16 (1.02-1.32)
Extracurricular Scientific Interests						1.22 (1.03-1.45)
Constant	-0.67	-2.09	-3.00	-3.63	-4.49	-4.88
-2 Log Likelihood	2253.54	2209.96	2165.11	2151.55	2029.0	2018.12
Model Chi-Square [df]	25.61[4]*	69.19[9]*	114.04[12]**	127.59[14]*	250.15[16]**	261.03[18]*
Block Chi-Square [df]		43.58[5]*	44.85[3]**	13.55[2]*	122.56[2]*	10.88[2]*
McFadden's (Pseudo) R ²	0.01	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.11	0.12

¹ 95% confidence intervals (CI) in parentheses; significant terms are in bold.

² Variable significance was tested by Wald distributed chi-square statistics with 1 degree of freedom (the exception was grade-level, with 2df).

Note: *p < .01; **p < .001.

Results of the model comprised of person input variables (Model 1) indicated that gender, senior grade-level, and English as a first language were positively associated with the likelihood of a scientific career. Being male increased the

probability of a scientific career choice by 23% as compared to females. Senior-level, and English students had an approximate 50% increased likelihood of choosing a career in the sciences than junior and French students, respectively. Intermediate grade-level was not significantly different from the junior student reference. The overall model was significant ($p < .001$), with a McFadden's (pseudo) R^2 of 0.01 (Table 2).

The addition of the background / contextual set of measures (Model 2) uniquely contributed to the prediction of career choice (block $\chi^2=43.58$, $df=5$, $p < .001$, $R^2=0.03$) beyond that accounted for by the person-input factors. Students were more likely to want a scientific career with increasing family communication on social/scientific issues, and parental encouragement/expectations to do well in science. The independent effects of gender and grade on career choice held upon adjustment for the contextual influences. Parent SES, family cohesiveness, and family career encouragement had no significant effect on career choice.

A similar pattern for the person input and contextual factors emerged when scientific learning experiences were added to the model (Model 3). Results also showed that students with higher science/math grades and more friends interested in science, were more likely to have preference for a scientific career. Learning experiences significantly added to the prediction of career choice (block $\chi^2=44.85$, $df=3$, $p < .001$, $R^2=0.05$). The models with scientific self-efficacy (Model 4) (block $\chi^2=13.55$, $df=2$, $p < .01$, $R^2=0.06$), outcome expectations (Model 5) (block $\chi^2=122.56$, $df=2$, $p < .001$, $R^2=0.11$), and interest in science/math (Model 6) (block $\chi^2=10.88$, $df=2$, $p < .01$, $R^2=0.12$) indicated that these separate sets of measures differentially added to the prediction of career choice over prior models.

The individual effects of self-efficacy, outcome expectancy, and interest measures (Models 4-6) mainly supported the model propositions (Lent et al., 1994) with respect to their influences on career choice. Proposition 3 states that self-efficacy will have a direct, positive relation to choice goals (3A). Self-efficacy will also have an indirect positive effect on career choice, through interests (3C). Proposition 3C specifically suggests that the relation of self-efficacy to choice goals will be reduced, but not eliminated when the influence of interests is controlled. Proposition 4 makes the same predictions regarding the relation of outcome expectations to choice goals. Interests will also directly influence career choice (Proposition 5).

Results of Model 4 indicated that science/math self-efficacy had a significant, direct effect on career goals after controlling for person input, contextual factors, and scientific learning experiences. Scientific outcome expectancies also had a direct relation to scientific career choice upon addition to the model (Model 5). Students with scientific career goals were more likely to have confidence in their scientific ability, and to expect their courses to be useful to their future career as compared to those with non-science goals. The latter relationship was attenuated but held after adjusting for scientific interests in the final model.

The relation between scientific self-efficacy and career choice (Model 4) was no longer significant after controlling for outcome expectancies, and scientific interests in subsequent models (Models 5 and 6). The effect of the second self-efficacy measure – science knowledge confidence – was marginally significant across Models 4 and 5. Scientific career expectancies did not have a significant impact on career choice. The full model (Model 6) indicated a significant, direct effect of both scientific interest measures: Students who wanted a science career were more likely to be interested in scientific concepts and activities. Model 6 supported continued individual effects of

gender, grade-level, parent science encouragement/expectations (marginally significant), and objective scientific ability on career goals. The probability of choosing a science career was about 50% higher for males than females in the final model. Senior students were just about twice as likely to have scientific career aspirations than juniors.

Discussion

This study examined the impact of person input, family, and self-cognitions on the scientific career aspirations of Canadian adolescents. The primary goal was to explore the differential utility of the Lent et al. (1994) theoretical constructs in explaining career choice after adjustment for personal characteristics. Results indicated that family background, scientific learning experiences, self-efficacy measures, outcome expectancies, and scientific interests contributed unique variance to the prediction of scientific career choice. These findings are consistent with the career choice model (Lent et al., 1994) and other work in the area of scientific educational / vocational outcomes (e.g., Borget & Gilroy, 1994; Ferry et al., 2000; Fouad & Smith, 1996; Lee, 1998; Lent et al., 1993; Nauta & Epperson, 2003; Post et al., 1991; Wang & Staver, 2001;). A number of constructs (e.g., context, self-cognitions) were integrated and examined within one theoretical framework. Important, is the generality of the theoretical presuppositions to domain-related areas – namely the science domain in this study.

Findings from the addition of person-input factors to the logistic regression analyses demonstrated the impact of gender, grade-level, and students' primary language on career aspirations. Adolescents wanting a career in the sciences were more likely male, senior-level students, and those with English as their first language. The gender and grade effects held, even after the addition of contextual and experiential influences. These results accord with prior findings (e.g., Fouad & Smith, 1996; Ferry, et al., 2000; Schoon, 2001). Males have traditionally been socialized, or encouraged more than females to pursue science-related majors and occupations (Haines & Wallace, 2002; Gadalla, 2001). Lent et al. (1994) refer to this as one component of the “structure of opportunity” that may drive sex differences in career-related behaviour. The under-representation of females in high status math and science fields has consistently been identified, and is particularly evident in the physical sciences (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Gadalla, 2001; Jacobs, Finken, Griffin, & Wright, 1998). Multiple causes have been explored, including differences in science course enrollment, science efficacy-beliefs, abilities, and interests (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Nauta & Epperson, 2003). However, there is likely no single reason for the gender gap. A variety of psychological, sociological, institutional, and economic factors may deter females from education and careers within scientific areas (Gadalla, 2002).

The most influential period in terms of career commitment is during adolescence and young adulthood, when important decisions about the future need to be made (Schoon, 2001). Senior high-school students are closer proximally in time to actual career entry and may need to commit to their choice. Here, choice is more immediate for older than for younger adolescents, and can be driven by need (e.g., college, employment). Conventional wisdom suggests that older adolescents have more realistic views of career choices and options (Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). Despite this suggestion, the career aspirations of adolescents are assumed to be unstable, and to

change many times before adulthood (Schoon, 2001). There is also evidence that career development starts well before adolescence (Trice, Hughes, Odom, Woods, & McClellan, 1995). However, choice for the younger students might be more remote and best described as intentions.

Research needs to further explore the nature of the gender and grade-level effects. Examination may reveal additional theoretical mechanisms that could be generating the differences. The development of separate models for males/females, and younger/older students may provide further insight into the measures tested in the current study and elsewhere (e.g., encouragement, interests, science-task efficacy) (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Lopez et al., 1997; Nauta & Epperson, 2003). Fouad and Smith (1996), for example, found a significant negative relationship between age and math/science interests in their study of middle-school students. This indicated less interest in math and science for their sample of younger children. They suggested the increasing challenge of the math and science curriculum in the middle-school years, and a wider scope of academic content as possible reasons for the decline. These findings highlight the critical role individual difference variables assume within the Lent et al. (1994) model. Career mechanisms may be different for children at particular developmental junctures. Such processes are also likely to depend on gender and other demographic variables such as race-ethnicity (Fouad & Smith, 1996).

Examination of the independent effects of the context measures indicated that family social/scientific communication and parent science encouragement/expectations had significant effects on career choice. Students were more likely to want a scientific career with increasing family discussion and encouragement by parents to do well in science. The findings for these scientific-specific measures coincide with previous research that has documented the strong influence of family and parental “push” on a child’s choice of career (e.g., Wang & Staver, 2001). These contextual characteristics have been found to operate through self-capability beliefs, which in turn contribute to career choice (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Ferry et al., 2000; Hackett, 1995; Juang & Vondracek, 2001; Lopez et al., 1997; Wall et al., 1999). The relationship with choice for the family discussion measure was not significant upon addition of further theoretically derived sets of measures. However, the relation for parental encouragement held upon adjustment for personal factors, learning experiences, self-efficacy, and outcome expectations. It also attained marginal significance in the final model (Model 6). The results of this study seem to confirm both direct and indirect relations of encouragement with scientific career choice.

The remaining family context measures did not perform quite as expected. In particular, family cohesiveness and career encouragement were not predictive of scientific career choice at any stage of adjustment for other measures. These variables also had coefficients/likelihood estimates in a direction that was contraindicative of theoretical expectations. Parent SES was marginally significant across models, but the odds ratios were at baseline. This is somewhat surprising, as those families that are supportive and encouraging tend to promote adolescent decision-making with respect to career choice (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Dick & Rallis, 1991; Glasgow et al., 1997; Lopez et al., 1997; Juang & Vondracek, 2001; Wall et al., 1999). Likewise, children’s career aspirations are likely to correspond to their parents’ occupational attainment or social status (Trice & Knapp, 1992; Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). Social background has shown to be a good indicator of the types of learning experiences encountered and interests encouraged in the child, as well as educational achievement and future

occupational attainment (Schoon, 2001). Careers requiring expertise in science and math also tend to be higher in status and prestige (Ferry et al., 2000).

The findings for family cohesiveness, career encouragement, and parent SES could indicate more complex relationships between predictors, and/or the effects of these factors on scientific choice may be operating through alternative constructs. They could also be due to the non-scientific nature of the measures. In other words, these variables may influence adolescent career aspirations regardless of whether first choice of career is scientific or non-scientific. Scientific factors may have a stronger role in influencing choice of a career in the sciences. For example, even after adjustment for SES, parent scientific encouragement predicted choice of a career in the sciences. It would be interesting to include specific parent occupations in future studies of the effects of SES and scientific-related factors on adolescent career choice.

Results for the experiential variables showed that students aspiring to a career in the sciences were more likely than their peers to have higher grades in science, more confidence in their scientific ability, more friends interested in science, to expect their science courses to be useful in future, and a larger interest in science themselves. Average science/math grades, expected science course usefulness, and scientific interests remained significant in the final model (Model 6). These results are consistent with prior research (e.g., Ferry et al., 2000; Lapan et al., 1996; Lent et al., 1993; Nauta & Epperson, 2003; Schoon, 2001; Wang & Staver, 2001), and may offer a path-like explanation for the effects of the experiential factors on scientific career choice. It is possible that the grade effect (learning experiences) on career choice is mediated through self-efficacy. This is reflected in the reduced risk estimate for grades upon addition of efficacy beliefs. But the further addition of scientific outcome expectancies and interests did not appreciably affect the estimate. The final model results may thus suggest a significant direct effect of grades on career choice, and an indirect effect largely mediated through self-efficacy.

The relations between experiential constructs and choice outlined here generally coincide with evidence based on the Lent (1994) model (Borget & Gilroy, 1994; Ferry et al., 2000; Fouad & Smith, 1996; Lent et al., 1991; Lent et al., 1993; Nauta & Epperson, 2003; Post et al., 1991). Ferry and colleagues (2000) found that the effect of grades on science/math goals was mediated through both self-efficacy and outcome expectations. Self-efficacy and outcome beliefs were in turn directly associated with choice goals, with indirect effects on goals also mediated through interests. Results for the model propositions in the current study tended to correspond with the Ferry et al. (2000) results. Findings for Model 4 provided support for Proposition 3 – there was a significant direct relationship between efficacy and scientific career choice (3A). Scientific outcome expectancies also had a direct relation to scientific career choice upon addition to the model (Model 5) (4A). The latter relationship was reduced but not eliminated after adjusting for scientific interests in the final model – this offers support for an indirect effect of outcome expectancies on choice (4C). Evidence for an indirect effect of efficacy on choice through interests according to Proposition 3C was not found. This may suggest that efficacy effects are largely mediated through outcome expectancies. These findings are consistent with studies that have used younger children (Fouad & Smith, 1996).

Limitations

The present study has several limitations. The findings represent associations between each construct/measure and scientific career choice. The cross-sectional nature of the research did not permit for tests of causality. There was also the inability to track changes in scientific career development processes with time. Longitudinal work is necessary in order to confirm or clarify the attempts at effect explanation and test the predictive validity of the current results. Multiple assessments of the constructs in an order (e.g., temporal) that is strictly consonant with the Lent et al. (1994) model is needed in order to answer questions about the presumed causal sequence of the social-cognitive factors over time (Nauta & Epperson, 2003).

Data collection involved a convenience sampling design. This alone presents some question as to the representativeness of the sample and generality of the findings. These issues need to be kept in mind with respect to the self-report nature of the instrument upon which the data are based. There is the possibility of subjective bias in the information obtained – the self-report of data may be subject to inflation or underreport. The specificity of data to particular schools should also be considered. The results are specific to school-attending adolescents 13-19 years, and characteristics of the finite number of schools involved may act as ecological (group-level) confounders that cannot be addressed or adjusted for here. Therefore, caution is needed in generalizing the current findings to other groups of adolescents (e.g., home-schooled).

The findings, for the most part, followed the expected pattern and coincided with previous research concerning key theoretical relations (e.g., Ferry et al., 2000). However, future research should use alternative measures to more fully capture specific aspects of the constructs. A replication of our findings with established measures that are based on the social-cognitive career model (see Fouad & Smith, 1996) would be ideal. The degree of domain specificity of the measures and criterion should also be considered in further tests. This may involve using more homogeneous predictors (e.g., separate math and science scales) and various groupings of scientific career (Bleeker & Jacobs, 2004; Lopez et al., 1997).

Implications

This study has theoretical and practical implications for career development and practice. The social-cognitive framework is a comprehensive conceptualization of career and academic developmental processes. The usefulness of the model has been demonstrated for a sample of Canadian adolescents in the context of science career choice. The findings confirm and add empirical validity to several theoretical propositions (Lent et al., 1994). The results are also consistent with prior model testing within the science field (Ferry et al., 2000). This may point towards the robustness of the model in explaining career choice across domains of inquiry. Examining the model relations for selected measures and science career choice facilitates knowledge on the types of variables that may or may not be appropriate to use for the science domain. Further empirical comparisons may promote refinement of existing constructs by the addition of alternative measures. This is important by virtue of the multi-dimensional and complex nature of the career choice process.

The present findings highlight several key variables that could be targets for intervention. Science grades may be one such measure. Counselors and educators can design, implement, and evaluate interventions that promote successful scientific performance, and encourage students to participate in science activities (Burkham et al., 1997; Ferry et al., 2000). Such efforts would, in turn, enhance self-efficacy percepts. This may be particularly useful for those groups that have traditionally been under-represented in scientific fields (e.g., females) (Gadalla, 2001). The current research also demonstrates the important influence of parent science encouragement on adolescent career choice. Schools and communities should develop programs that emphasize the education of parents about the important role they may play in their child's choice of career (Whiston & Sexton, 1998; Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). Effective training may provide parents with the information they need to foster their children's success in science.

Social-cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986; Lent et al., 1994) suggests that performance accomplishments and family experiences serve as sources of self-efficacy. To the extent that outcome expectancies depend on self-efficacy, interventions that enhance self-efficacy may be appropriate for targeting outcome expectations (Lopez et al., 1997). Other interventions that target outcome beliefs can focus on providing students with scientific role models and information on the positive rewards of a career in the sciences. These methods could further have an impact on the development or maintenance of scientific interests. Early intervention and support of efforts to encourage children in the sciences may facilitate entry into scientific careers.

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A Longitudinal Study of the Effects of Context and Experience on the Scientific Career Choices of Canadian Adolescents

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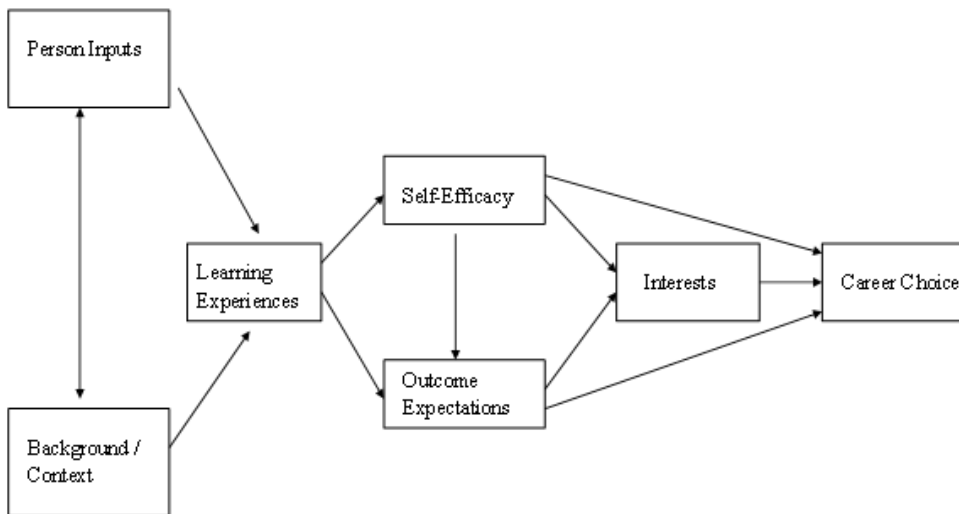
Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994) formulated a social cognitive model of career development derived from Bandura's (1986) general social cognitive theory that illustrates the interplay among personal, background/contextual, and experiential influences on career development. It focuses on dynamic mechanisms through which young people forge academic and vocational plans. The model includes personal input variables comprising personal characteristics such as gender, background/context variables comprising environmental characteristics such as parent and family influences, and learning experiences comprising variables such as objective performance, school experiences and role-modeling experiences. These variables shape and inform career-related self-efficacy (e.g., perceived task competence) and outcome expectations (e.g., anticipation of certain outcomes, such as self-satisfaction and financial reward). Self-efficacy and outcome expectations along with personal and contextual variables play an important role in the formation of interests and career goals. Figure 1 summarizes the social-cognitive career choice model proposed by Lent et al. (1994).

Relatively few studies have examined the theoretical constructs of the Lent et al. model from a domain-specific perspective (Ferry, Fouad, & Smith, 2000) and with samples other than college students (Fouad & Smith, 1996; Lopez et al., 1997; Plucker, 1998; Wang & Staver, 2001). Urajnik, Garg, Kauppi, and Lewko (2007) investigated the differential utility of contextual and experiential factors from Lent, Brown, and Hackett's (1994) social cognitive model of career choice in the prediction of scientific career aspirations prior to college entry. Data were obtained from a sample of Canadian adolescents (13 to 19 years) randomly selected from schools across Canada. The authors used the following variables in the study: person inputs included gender, grade-level, and primary language (English or French); background/context factors included socio-economic status, family cohesiveness, family social/scientific communication, family career encouragement, and parent scientific expectations/encouragement; learning experiences included science/math grades, perceptions of science/math teachers, and friends' interest in science; experiential constructs were self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests. Multivariate logistic regression analyses carried out in the Urajnik et al. (2007) study indicated that family background, scientific learning experiences, self-efficacy measures, outcome expectancies, and scientific interests contributed significant variance to the prediction of aspirations for pursuing a scientific career choice. Results of a final model revealed that students aspiring to a career in the sciences were more likely than their peers to be male, senior students, to

have higher grades in science, were more interested in science, and expected their science courses to be useful to their future career.

Figure 1

Partial version of the Lent et al. (1994) social-cognitive model of career development.



Although Urajnik et al. (2007) contributed significantly to career development research by demonstrating the usefulness of the Lent et al. (1994) model for a sample of Canadian adolescents in the context of science career choice, their study was cross-sectional in nature and the outcome variable was career aspirations rather than actual career choice. Longitudinal inquiry into career development is useful in that it can provide a theoretical understanding of the role that early aspirations play in determining career-related choices made later on (Rojewski & Yang, 1997; Ferreira et al., 2007). Vocational development is longitudinal in scope (Lent et al., 1994, 2000, 2001, 2002; Super et al., 1996; Schoon, 2001; Athanasou, 2002; Nauta & Epperson, 2003; Lent & Brown, February 2006). It is a process of nurturing interests, making choices, experimenting with and adjusting to those choices, and making more choices.

Thus, to gain deeper understanding of this process, tracking changes in career choice over time and investigating the reasons for those changes is essential. It is equally important to identify and understand how proper contextual factors predict future choices. Timely and effective interventions to help challenged individuals overcome barriers and move forward with their choices depend on this knowledge.

Relatively few studies have followed changes in science/math career choice development and examined the later effects of contextual and experiential factors for high school students as they progress into post secondary education or the work place. Nauta and Epperson (2003), exploring gender issues in career choice development, have applied the social cognitive model used by Lent et al. to high school girls' choice of science/math/engineering college majors 3 to 5 years later. They found that high

school math and science ability were central to making a choice to pursue a science career.

The present longitudinal study is built upon the earlier work of Urajnik et al. (2007) to track changes in science/math career choice development over a five-year span and to examine the medium-term impact of contextual and experiential variables on science career choices five years after the initial data collection. The current study also explores the stability of contextual and experiential factors in the interdiction of science career aspirations as well as science career choice.

Method

Sample

Participants in the study were obtained from the National Youth Science Project Study (NYSPS) conducted by a group of researchers from the Centre in Human Development a Laurentian University. The original study sample consisted of 3306 Canadian students (13 to 19 years). Five years after the original data collection, a random sample of 300 male and female participants who had participated in a school level science fair were selected to represent all provinces in Canada and all grade levels (grade 8 to senior high school). Given their involvement in a science fair, it was assumed that these participants were originally somewhat interested in science. Due to challenges associated with longitudinal research, the project team was only successful in contacting 116 of the 300 participants selected for the follow-up study. Telephone interviews were conducted to determine their field of study or nature of work (science or non-science). The demographic of the current study are as follows: 46% were males and 54% were females. At the time of the original data collection, 46% were in junior high school (grade 8 and 9), 40% were in intermediate high school level (grades 10 and 11); and 14% were in senior high school level. At the time of current data collection, nearly two-thirds were attending college or university on a full time (60%) or part-time (3%) basis; approximately a third were employed full time (30%) or part-time (5%) and a few (2%) were looking for employment.

Procedure

The original data collection involved a two-phase, convenience sampling design (Urajnik et al., 2007). In the first phase, competitors at the Canada Wide Science Fair (CWSF) were invited to participate in the study by completing the National Youth and Science Project Study (NYSPS) survey while in attendance at the fair. The nature of the study was explained to the students by a member of the research team, and participation was voluntary. The second phase involved the administration of the NYSPS to the comparison sample of students (attending the same schools as CWSF students) by their teachers during regular classroom sessions. The NYSPS is a self-report instrument comprised of items assessing general demographic information, achievement/schoolwork, perceptions of education and schooling, parental background, and family information. Items were adapted from the work of Krahn (1988) (Three City Study of the School to Work Transition), Breakwell, Fife-Shaw, and Devereaux (1988) (Youth, Science, and Technology), and items developed as part of a study conducted on Canadian high school students in the context of science career choices

(Hein & Lewko, 1994). Measures included career choice/goals, person input, background/context, learning experiences, self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interest in science and math. For a complete description of these measures, see the original study (Urajnik et al., 2007). Participants completed the survey based on language of instruction (English or French), with language appropriate forms distributed to all students. Instrument administration required an average of 50-60 minutes.

Five years after the original data collection, a random sample was selected from the participants of the NYSPS project who had participated in a science fair at the school, regional or national levels with the assumption that these participants were likely to have had some interest in science. A research assistant from the Centre in Human Development at Laurentian University contacted the participants individually by telephone, or spoke with their parents if the participant could not be reached. The purpose of the study was explained to the participants (or their parents) and permission to conduct the follow-up interview was obtained. The interview questions inquired as to what the participants were doing at the time with respect to school or work, and also what they had done over the five years since participating in the NYSPS project. For instance, participants were asked if they graduated from high school, continued on to college or university, and/or gained experience working part-time and/or full-time. If the participants indicated that they were in school, they were asked what type of post secondary program they were in, what their major field of study was, and what level of education they had attained thus far. If they said they had finished school, they were asked what their major field of study had been, and what type of work they were currently engaged in, if any. If the participants had changed from the field of study originally stated in the NYSPS project, they were asked about the reason for that change.

Results

Five years after the NYSPS project, 43 of the 116 participants were pursuing a science career. Of the 43 participants approximately 70% (30) were in school (university or college) full-time in a science program, 26% (11) were working in a science field, and 4% (2) were working part-time and going to school part-time in the science field. Seventy-three participants were pursuing a non-science career. Approximately 51% (37) of these participants were in school full-time (university or college), 37% (27) were working full-time, and 12% (9) were either working part-time and going to school part-time or unemployed. Descriptive statistics for the measures comprising the six theoretical-based constructs (person input, background/context, learning experiences, self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests) by science career choice (yes/no) are presented in Table 1. Preliminary analyses were carried out to assess the univariate significance between science career choice (yes/no) for the study measures, as well as correlations between measures. Significant differences as computed by t-tests or Chi-square (for categorical variables) were found for the following variables in favor of science career choice: gender, parental socio-economic status, family cohesiveness, science/ math grades, science/math self-efficacy, science course expectations, scientific interests, and extracurricular scientific interests (see Table 1). There were several significant relationships among the predictor variables.

However, the magnitude of the correlations (-.01 to .577) was not sufficiently high as to pose problems with multicollinearity.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for person input factors, background factors, scientific learning experiences, science/math self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and scientific interests by science career (yes/no) (Follow-up study n=116).

Science Career					
	Yes	n¹	No	n	Total
Person Input	%		%		N
Gender*					
Male	47.2	25	52.8	28	53
Female	28.6	18	71.4	45	63
Grade					
Senior (12+)	31.3	5	68.8	11	16
Intermediate (10-11)	41.3	19	58.7	27	46
Junior (8-9)	35.2	19	64.8	35	54
Language					
English	39.5	34	60.5	52	86
French	28.6	8	71.4	20	28
Background / Contextual	(Mean(sd))²		(Mean(sd))		
Parent Socio-economic Status (SES)**	55.65(18.55)	42	47.69(14.73)	69	111
Family Cohesiveness*	4.00(0.78)	41	3.68(0.85)	72	113
Communication – Social / Scientific Issues	2.72(1.00)	42	2.51(1.00)	72	114
Family Career Encouragement	3.31(0.98)	43	3.16(1.13)	71	114
Parent Science / Math Encourage / Expect's	4.48(0.76)	39	4.33(0.71)	70	109
Learning Experiences					
Science / Math Grades**	7.78(0.45)	43	6.84(1.60)	73	115
Perceptions of Science / Math Teachers	2.21(0.24)	42	2.26(0.19)	73	115
Friends Interested in Science / Math	3.02(0.61)	42	2.83(0.70)	72	114
Self-Efficacy					
Science / Math Self-Efficacy**	4.44(0.56)	43	3.98(0.72)	73	116
Science Knowledge Confidence	3.69(0.96)	43	3.35(0.94)	72	115
Outcome Expectations					

Science Course Expectations**	5.69(0.71)	41	4.80(1.75)	72	113
Scientific Career Expectancies	2.08(0.25)	42	2.02(0.38)	73	115
Interests					
Scientific Interests*	4.23(0.87)	43	3.88(0.82)	72	115
Extracurricular Scientific Interests**	2.53(0.87)	43	3.88(0.82)	72	115

¹ All n based on valid cases for analyses.

² sd = standard deviation; figures for experiential factors are also means and standard deviations.

* Difference between Science Career (Yes/No) significant at P<.05.

** Difference between Science Career (Yes/No) significant at P<.01.

Cross tabs for stability of career choice between the originally proposed field of study (science/non-science) and the actual field of study (science/non-science) at follow-up are presented in Table 2. There was a significant difference between males and females in stability of career choice. Approximately 64% (14) of males, while only 41% (13) of females, remained with their original science career choice. The most salient reasons cited by both males and females for moving away from a science career were “change in interest” and “influence of work placement”. Participants also noted “difficulty of science and math courses” as a reason for making this change. Statistically significant differences were found between those who remained with science field after five years and those who switched to a non-science field, on two factors reflecting outcome expectations ($t_{65} = 2.102, p < .05$) and interest in science and math. Additionally, regarding career choice changes from non-science to a science, 36% (8) of males and only 20% (3) of females changed from an original non-science career choice to a science career choice. Similar patterns of results were found for participants who were at the intermediate and junior high school level in the original study, but unfortunately there were not enough subjects to establish a pattern for participants who were originally at the senior high school level.

Table 2

Participants who remained with original science career choice and changed science career choice to non-science career choice between the original NYSP study and the Follow-up study by gender and grade level (senior, intermediate and junior high school).

Actual career choice in the follow-up study				
Gender Grade level Career Choice in NYSP	Total N	Remain with the original choice, % (n)	Change in the career choice, % (n)	Reasons for changing
Male	53			

Senior	10			
Science	3	33.3 (1)	67.7 (2)	-Change in interest
Non Science	7	57.1 (4)	42.9 (3)	
Intermediate	16			
Science	7	71.4 (5)	28.6 (2)	-Don't remember the original choice
Non Science	9	44.4 (4)	55.6 (5)	
Junior	27			
Science	12	66.67 (8)	33.33 (4)	-Too difficult; too much school; don't remember the original choice.
Non Science	15	80.00 (12)	20.00 (3)	
Female	6			
Senior				
Science	2	100.0 (2)	0.00 (0)	
Non Science	4	75.00 (3)	25.00 (1)	
Intermediate	30			
Science	18	38.89 (7)	61.11 (11)	-Change in interest; too difficult; co-op placement influenced the change; work experience influenced the change.
Non Science	12	83.33 (10)	16.67 (2)	
Junior	27			
Science	12	50.00 (6)	50.00 (6)	- Change in interest; teacher influenced the change; personal reason.
Non Science	15	86.70 (13)	13.30 (2)	
Overall Male	53			
Science	22	63.60 (14)	36.40 (8)	
Non Science	31	64.50 (20)	35.50 (11)	
Overall Females	63			
Science	32	40.60 (13)	59.40 (19)	
Non Science	31	83.90 (26)	16.10 (5)	

A sequential logistic regression analysis was carried out to explore the contribution of contextual and experiential factors as presented in figure 1 to the prediction of science career choice (yes/no), five years after the original data collection. Table 3 shows the multivariate odds ratio (OR) and 95% confidence intervals for the predictor variables within each pathway (model) shown in figure 1, and the significance

and percentage of variance explained by the series of regression models. An alpha level of .05 (one-tailed) was used to test the significance.

Table 3

Multivariate odds ratios (OR) and 95% confidence intervals (CI's) for the logistic regression of science career choice on person input factors, background factors, scientific learning experiences, science/math self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and scientific interests (Follow-up Study, N=116).^{1,2}

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Person Input						
Gender						
Male	2.31 (0.95-5.59) †	1.97 (0.77-5.05)	1.90 (0.67-5.42)	1.58 (.52-4.87)	1.75 (0.54-5.66)	1.69 (0.47-6.15)
Female	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Grade						
Senior (12+)	0.71 (0.18-2.80)	0.78 (0.18-3.39)	2.41 (.35-16.85)	2.24 (0.30-16.62)	3.42 (0.38-30.47)	4.90 (0.49-49.46)
Intermediate (10-11)	1.27 (0.49-3.29)	1.56 (0.54-4.49)	2.77 (0.79-9.70)	3.14 (0.85-11.61)	4.25 (0.98-18.47)	6.3 (1.17-32.13)
Junior (8-9)	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Language						
English	1.22 (0.42-3.55)	1.78 (0.47-6.81)	3.32 (0.68-16.12)	3.32 (0.66-16.66)	2.93 (0.54-15.86)	3.40 (0.57-20.27)
French	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Background/Context						
Parent SES		1.02 (0.99-1.05)†	1.02 (0.99-1.06)	1.02 (0.99-1.06)	1.03 (0.99-1.07)	1.04 (0.99-1.07)
Family Cohesiveness		1.53 (0.78-2.93)	2.01 (0.88-4.158)	2.14 (0.90-5.10)	2.06 (0.86-4.89)	2.00 (0.81-4.83)
Family Communication		0.96 (0.57-1.60)	0.78 (0.44-1.40)	0.74 (0.41-1.33)	0.65 (0.34-1.23)	0.51 (0.23-1.09)
Family Career Encouragement		0.80 (0.47-1.36)	0.68 (0.35-1.31)	0.66 (0.34-1.29)	0.76 (0.38-1.50)	0.68 (0.33-1.41)
Science Encourage/Expectations		0.97 (0.48-1.94)	0.80 (0.35-1.80)	0.60 (0.31-1.55)	0.68 (0.24-1.94)	0.74 (0.25-2.22)
Learning Experiences						
Science/Math Grades			4.37 (1.29-14.78)†	2.82 (0.88-9.08)	3.30 (0.77-14.17)	3.90 (0.81-18.78)

Percept. of Science/ Math Teachers			0.11 (0.01-1.48)	0.06 (0.00-0.95)	0.04 (0.00-0.82)	0.05 (0.01-1.34)
Friends Interested in Science/Math			2.14 (.89-5.15)	2.18 (0.88-11.94)	2.18 (0.81-5.74)	2.04 (0.75-5.60)
Self-Efficacy						
Science/Math Self-Efficacy				3.27 (0.90-11.94)²	3.38 (0.84-13.58)	3.04 (0.74-12.42)
Science Knowledge Confidence				0.86 (0.45-1.62)	0.88 (0.45--1.69)	0.85 (0.43-1.68-)
Outcome Expectations						
Science Course Expectations					2.87 (0.96-8.62)[†]	2.58 (0.90-7.39)
Scientific Career Expectancies					0.56 (0.14-2.18)	0.40 (0.09-1.74)
Interests						
Scientific Interests						1.34 (0.61-2.94)
Extracurricular Scientific Interests						2.13 (0.68-6.67) [†]
Constant	-1.19	-3.38	-11.98	-15.58	-15.58	-17.31
-2 Log Likelihood	119.18	114.39	90.911	87.43	82.44	79.61
Model Chi-Square [df]	3.85 (4)	8.63 (9)	32.12 (12) **	35.59 (14) **	40.59 (16) **	43.42 (18) **
Block Chi-Square [df]	3.85 (4)	4.79 (5)	23.48 (3) **	3.48 (2)	4.50 (2) ‡	2.83 (2) ‡
Negelkerke R Square	0.06	0.12	0.40	0.43	0.48	0.51

¹ 95% confidence intervals (CI) in parentheses; significant terms are in bold.

² Variable significance was tested by Wald distributed chi-square statistics with 1 degree of freedom (the exception was grade-level, with 2df).

Note: (1) *p < .01; **p < .001.

(2) When each category of variables tested individually † P < .05, ‡ P < .01.

P < .05 when a model category tested individually

Table 4

The reasons for changing science career choice to non-science career choice between the original NYSP study and the Follow-up study by gender.

Reasons for changing science career choice to non-science career	Male		Female	
	%	n	%	n
Change in interest	25	2	31.59	6
Find too difficult	12.5	1	5.26	1
Co-op placement			5.26	1
Work experience			21.05	4
Too much school	12.5	1	5.26	1
Do not remember the original choice	50	4	10.53	2
Missing			21.05	4
Total	100	8	100	19

Results of the pathway comprised of person input variables (Model 1, figure 1) indicated that gender was positively associated with the likelihood of a scientific career. The results showed that approximately 40% more males chose science careers than females. Intermediate grade level students had 27% higher probability of choosing a science career as compared to junior students, however this difference was not significant. Although the overall person input factor was not found significant, it contributed six percent of the variance in discriminating science (yes/no) career choice (Nagelkerke R square = .06).

The addition of the background/context set of measures (Model 2, figure 1) did not significantly contribute to the prediction of career choice beyond what was accounted for by person input, however, these measures explained six percent of the variance in discriminating science career choice (Nagelkerke R square = .12).

Learning experiences (Model 3, figure 1) contributed significantly (block $\chi^2 = 23.48$, DF = 3, Nagelkerke R square = .40) when added to the model. Results showed that students who pursued scientific careers tended to have higher science/math grades and more friends interested in science compared to students who opted for non-science careers. Learning experiences contributed 28% of the variance to the model over and above what was contributed by person input and background/context factors.

Results of science and math self-efficacy (model 4, figure 1) showed a direct positive effect on career goals after controlling for the factors reflecting person input, background/context, and learning experiences. It explained 3% of the variance. Intermediate grade level and family cohesiveness indirectly affected science/math self-efficacy via person input, background/context and learning experiences.

Outcome expectations, more specifically students' science course expectations, (Model 5, figure 5) directly added to the model. Students with scientific career goals were more likely to have confidence in their scientific ability and to expect their courses to be useful in their future career than students with non-science goals. It explained 5% of the variance.

The results indicated positive effect of both interest measures (model 6, figure 1), however they were not found to be significant after controlling for person

input, background/context, learning experiences, self-efficacy, and outcome expectations. Models 4, 5, and 6 together contributed 11% of the variance to the model of career choice. Learning experiences had the most influence on the career choice model. It explained 28% of the variance and directly and indirectly affected career choice through self-efficacy, outcome expectations and interests.

The correct classification rates, based on all the predictors, were 65.7% for participants who chose science careers, 86.7% for participants who chose non-science careers, and 78.7% overall.

Discussion

The present longitudinal study tracked changes in science/math career choice development for Canadian adolescents over a five-year span and examined the impact of contextual and experiential factors on their later career choices. It responded to the frequent and longstanding calls from researchers in the field of social cognitive career choice development for longitudinal studies. Relatively few studies have looked at social cognitive career development over time, and no studies were found that tracked changes in science/math career choice development from high school into post secondary education or the work force while also considering the impact of young people's environments and experiences on their career choices.

The findings of the current study provide evidence regarding the stability of science career choice five years after the original data collection, gender differences in stability of science career choice, and the congruence of the findings from the current longitudinal study with those from the cross sectional study conducted by Urajnik, et al. (2007).

Results regarding the stability of career choice five years after the original data collection showed that approximately 50% of students shifted from pursuing a science career to pursuing another field of study or work. A good deal of change in young people's actual career choices over time has also been found by previous researchers (e.g., Athanasou, 2002; Tracey & Robbins, 2005; Tracey et al., 2005). In their studies of college-bound high school students, Tracey and his colleagues (Tracey & Robbins, 2005; Tracey et al., 2005) found that while the students' interest levels remained stable over the four years of high school, there was a drop in clarity about their career choice and interest-career choice congruence in the senior year. Consequently, it was suggested that the senior year of high school may be an important time to explore career choice development. In an Australian study of stability versus instability of young people's early career pathways, Athanasou (2002) found that only 21% of participants remained in their original vocational category after seven years. He argued that, "it is remarkable that there is any stability in careers given the myriad of potential influences likely to destabilize any life" (p. 84). In fact, there is consensus among virtually all researchers in the field that career choice development takes place within a psychosocial context, influenced by many social networks (peer, family, school, community, etc.). Young people navigate input from many "significant others" in their lives as they go through their school to work transition; making career choices, developing occupational skills, and adjusting to work experiences. Thus, it may not be surprising that half of all students in this study were drawn away from their original career choice. Barriers, both intrapersonal (such as low self-esteem) and environmental (such as disapproval of family members) can hinder career progress (Lent & Hackett,

2000). In a qualitative study investigating college students' career choice supports and barriers, Lent et al. (2002) identified financial constraints, negative family/social influences, and role conflict as important contextual factors, and adjustment difficulties and ability limitations as key personal factors. Coping efficacy (confidence in being able to cope with career barriers and make clear decisions) has been studied as a significant factor in students' successfully overcoming barriers (Lent et al., 2000; Creed et al., 2006; Earl & Bright, 2007). Earl and Bright (2007) suggested that with today's "boundary-less careers", being too fixed about a career choice may be an impediment in itself. The students in the present study (both males and females) said they had moved away from a science career mostly because of a change in interest, difficulty of science and math courses, and/or influence of work placement. Further investigation to examine the underlying processes accounting for these reasons would be useful.

The present study showed similar patterns of change for junior and intermediate level high school students; unfortunately, the sample of senior level students was too small to establish a pattern of results for this subgroup. Thus it is not possible to ascertain whether the participation of more senior level students in the study might have increased the percentages of students actually staying with their science/math career choice.

Although a good deal of change may be inevitable, the question remains as to why this effect is more prominent for young women. Results of the study indicated a significant difference between males and females in stability of career choice, with approximately 64% of males, and only 41 % of females, staying with their original science career choice. Regression analysis in the study found that gender was significantly associated with the likelihood of a scientific career choice. Forty percent more males than females had science career goals. And, significantly more young women gave up their original science career choice. The phenomenon that females are underrepresented in the science/math field has been a concern for researchers in the past (Lapan et al., 1996; Gandalla, 2001; Haines & Wallace, 2002; Wai-Ling Packard, & Nguyen, 2003). In a study exploring whether gender socialization, roles, and stereotypes affect the relationship between gender and majoring in science, Haines and Wallace (2002) found that being female reduces the likelihood of pursuing a science career. They suggested that this is because being female is associated with less high school science and math preparation, which is necessary for pursuing science at university. Lapan et al. (1996) had previously found that young women take fewer math courses in high school, show less ability, believe less in their math/science ability, and consequently express less interest in math/science vocational interest than young men. Trusty and Ng (2000) found that perceived mathematics achievement had stronger effects on career choice for men than for women.

Wai-Ling Packard and Nguyen (2003) used a qualitative approach to gain understanding about how young women proceed with their career decisions over time. They found that young women tend to move through their career decision making process by utilizing mentoring relationships and job internships. These experiences allowed young women to imagine their future "possible selves" through role-playing and "trying-on" careers. The authors of the study stressed the importance of mentors and internship programs for young women to ensure that career goals are not discarded because of a lack of information or stereotypical perceptions. Also from a qualitative approach, Whitmarsh, Brown, Cooper, Hawkins-Rodgers, and Wentworth (2007) found that women who venture into non-traditional roles (such as math/science careers)

receive their support and mentoring from outside their families (from college classmates, professors, professional mentors, and bosses, for example), and often suspend making their final choice until later in their career development. Additionally, they found that women often change their career goals to enable them to deal better with marriage and family responsibilities. Accordingly, school and workplace mentoring relationships are important to help young women make their choice to pursue a math/science career and balance any real or perceived obstacles that can keep them from doing so. In the present study, work placement was given as a prominent reason for making a career goal change. It would be interesting to know whether mentoring relationships were available to them in their work placement experience.

In the present study, model three of the regression analysis revealed that measures of learning experiences (perceived science/math grades and friends' interest in science/math) contributed significantly to science career choice. Students with higher perceived science/math grades and more friends interested in science were more likely to choose math/science careers. In fact, learning experiences had the most influence on the career choice model, as it explained 28% of the variance in career choice, and directly and indirectly affected career choice through self-efficacy, outcome expectations and interests. Jackson, Potere, and Brobst (2006) also found a significant association between participants' success learning experience and their expressed occupational interests and a positive association between their career self-efficacy beliefs and inventoried occupational interests. Concurring that science/math ability is an important factor in girls' career choice development, in a longitudinal study of high school girls' choices to pursue science/math/engineering (SME) majors in college, Nauta and Epperson (2003) found that high school math/science ability was positively related to SME self-efficacy, which was in turn related to making a choice to pursue a science career. Over time, this was related to higher SME self-efficacy and more positive SME outcome expectations in college. Thus, doing well in high school math and science helped girls to make a choice to pursue science and to stay with it. Studying the school to work transition of teenagers, Pinguart et al. (2003) found that youth with high academic self-efficacy beliefs and better grades were less likely to become unemployed and more likely to be satisfied with their work at age 21. In the present study, students cited difficulty in science/math courses as a reason for changing their goals. Model four of the regression analysis showed that math/science self-efficacy had a direct positive effect on career goals. This essentially means that students with lower math/science confidence may move away from a math/science career choice they had made earlier. Additionally, model five of the regression analysis showed that science course expectations added directly to the model. Students who chose science/math careers were more likely to expect their science courses to be useful. Inversely, those who did not choose science courses were less likely to see the relevance of their science/math courses. Students who moved away from a science career goal, then, may have become unconvinced that their science/math courses were constructive. Thus, early interventions which, first, help students, and particularly girls, realize the importance and usefulness of taking math and science in high school and, second, help them through any difficulties they encounter may assist them to feel empowered to handle future challenges; such interventions therefore could be vital to supporting them as they endeavor to realize their goals.

In comparing the results of the cross-sectional study (Urajnik et al., 2007) and the present longitudinal study on the utility of the Lent et al. (1994) social cognitive

model of career choice, both studies tend to support the model. Results of both studies indicated that gender, scientific learning experiences, science self efficacy measures, outcome expectancies, and scientific interests contributed significant variance to the prediction of scientific choice. However, the effects of the constructs in the model (scientific learning experiences, science self-efficacy measures, outcome expectancies, and scientific interests) are much stronger in the longitudinal study than in a cross-sectional study. More specifically, 9% of the variance in scientific career aspirations in the cross-sectional study was accounted by the above four construct where as in the longitudinal study, 39% of the variance in scientific career was explained by the same construct. Learning experience explained the most variance (28%).

In conclusion, given the paucity of longitudinal studies investigating science career choice development, this study gives some intriguing indications of what a larger study might find and should therefore investigate. We would especially recommend the inclusion of a larger number of high school seniors. The results of the present study showed a great deal of change away from students' originally stated career choices. Taken together, 50% of students shifted from pursuing a science career to pursuing another field of study or work. Also, young women were significantly more likely to give up their original science choice (59% changed) than young men (36% changed). Major reasons given by both males and females for moving away from a science career were change in interest, difficulty of science and math courses, and influence of work placement. More can be learned about the underlying reasons. The regression analyses showed that learning experiences (perceived math/science ability and friends' interest in science) had the most influence on later career choice, as it explained 28% of the variance in career choice, and directly and indirectly affected it through self-efficacy, outcome expectations and interests. This result points to the importance of future consideration of learning experiences, such as achievement perceptions, and their effect on aspects of self-efficacy. Ultimately, more extensive and in depth inquiry into students' career choice process is important. Why are so many students, especially young women, abandoning their original science career choices? What is influencing them to do so? What can help them move confidently through the transition from school to work? The contributions of qualitative research (e.g., Wai-Ling Packard & Nguyen, 2003; Whitmarsh et al., 2007) seem particularly useful in gaining a deeper understanding about the subtleties of these issues. Future longitudinal inquiries, then, may benefit from a mixed-methods design, including participants' qualitative views and insights into the inevitable ebbs and flows of their career development process.

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Integrating Career Development into School-Based Curriculum: Preliminary Results of an Innovative Teacher Training Program

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This study clearly showed that students throughout junior high and high school are actively thinking about their career plans and are interested in exploring and investigating future possibilities. As the researchers noted, students as young as 11 indicated that they have strong career goals and perceive themselves as ready, willing, and able to seriously consider their future career plans. (Bardick, Bernes, Magnusson, & Witco, 2006). Sixty eight percent of junior high and 74% of senior high students said they either had a specific plan or were deciding between a couple of options. Only 9% of students indicated they had no plans. In addition, a majority of the students (55% for junior high and 67% for senior high) thought career planning was either “quite” or “very” important and only 7% and 6% of the respective samples thought it was “not at all important” (Magnusson & Bernes, 2002).

More importantly, this study also showed that although the vast majority of students in junior high and senior high see the value of engaging in career planning they do not perceive those working in the educational system as particularly helpful in assisting them in this endeavor. Students were asked to rank, (first, second, third), who they would most likely approach for career help. Eighty percent of junior high and 75% of senior high students listed parents in their top three. The next highest ranking for both groups were friends (53% and 43%, respectively). Only 12% of junior high students and 36% of senior high students reported counsellors in their top three (Magnusson & Bernes, 2002). Less than 25% of junior and senior high students view their teachers as helpful in providing assistance with their career planning (Magnusson & Bernes, 2001). Students indicated that they perceive their parents and their peers as more helpful than those working in the educational system (teachers, counsellors) in assisting them with their career development needs. Interestingly, despite the fact that students report that they perceive their parents as the most helpful in helping them with their career development, parents indicated that they were unsure of how to best help their children. The results of this research suggest that despite the fact that parents believe it is important to help their children with their career development they are unsure of how to help in an effective manner (Bardick, Bernes, Magnusson & Witko, 2004).

Magnusson & Bernes (2002) argue that the results of this study indicate a need for more effective career development support to be offered within the school system. They state that to improve the quality of career development services available to students through the educational system changes are required. Specifically, teachers need to be provided with specific training in career planning so that they are better able to meet the career development needs of their students (Witco, Bernes, Magnusson & Bardick, 2005).

As a follow up to the recommendations from the Career Needs Research Project, the pilot project discussed in this article (*Career Coaching Across the Curriculum: Integrating Career Development Strategies in Classroom Instruction*) was proposed, and accepted, for implementation in the Faculty of Education teacher training program at the University of Lethbridge. The goal of this pilot project is to train teachers to integrate aspects of career planning in their specialized curriculum. The pilot project involves two main components. First, students in the Faculty of Education will be given the opportunity to take a new elective course entitled Career Education. Following the successful completion of this course, students will then be given the opportunity to function as interns in various schools throughout Southern Alberta where they will be given the opportunity to transmit the knowledge, skills, attributes they acquired in the elective course to their students through specialized curriculum. The students are placed in rural and urban schools.

At the time of this article, the initial phases of this pilot project have been implemented. In December 2008/January 2009 a research team was assembled (i.e., Dr. Kerry Bernes, Dr. Thelma Gunn and Mark Slomp), evaluation tools and an evaluation plan were developed, and an ethics proposal was submitted (and approved). In May/June, 2009 the first offering of the Career Education elective course was implemented and the first round of data collection and analysis was conducted. The remainder of this article contains a description and discussion of the results derived from the first offering of the Career Education elective course.

Method

Evaluation Framework

An evaluation framework (based on key recommendations from the Canadian Research Working Group for Evidence-Based Practice) was developed to investigate the effectiveness of the Career Coaching Across the Curriculum pilot project (Baudouin, Bezanson, Borgen, Goyer, Hiebert, Lalonde, Magnusson, Michaud, Renald, & Turcotte, 2007; Lalonde, Hiebert, Magnusson, Bezanson, & Borgen, 2006). According to members of the CRWG, an effective evaluation makes explicit links between the nature of the program, the way in which the program is delivered, the ways in which participants engage with the program, the type of learning the participants experience, and the impact of the program on the lives of the participants (Smith, Schalk, & Redekopp, 2009; Hiebert & Magnusson, 2008). For this study, methods were selected in accordance with these guidelines to ensure that the data gathered could be used to inform and improve practice and demonstrate the value of the program on multiple dimensions.

Procedure

Data were collected in several ways. A pre- and post-test of knowledge and perceptions was administered at the outset and at the conclusion of the Career Education elective course. A formative evaluation of lectures and activities was administered at three separate junctures in the course. As well, a summative assessment was administered after the final class.

Pre- and post-test. The pre- and post-test was divided into three sections. They included demographical information, knowledge about career counselling, and perceptions about career counselling. Demographical questions provided information on the course participants (age and gender).

Participant knowledge of career counselling was also gathered before and after the Career Education course was offered. Participants were asked to describe their previous experiences with career counselling (have they taken previous courses in career counselling, or have they accessed career services in the past?). Participants were also asked to define career counselling, to describe the duties of a career counsellor and, to list and describe the main principles of a general counselling experience. Finally, participants were asked to name and describe the importance of career theorists and career counselling instruments/tests.

Participant perceptions were also measured before and after the Career Education elective course was offered. Participants were asked to rate their agreement/disagreement to a number of different statements by following a two-step process. First, participants had to decide on whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement provided, then, they were asked to decide on how strongly they agreed or disagreed. They were provided with the following options: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), slightly agree (3), agree (4), or strongly agree (5).

Formative evaluation. A formative evaluation was also conducted. The Career Education elective course was offered over four weekends (Friday evening and all day Saturday) in May and June 2009. After each weekend participants were asked to evaluate the lecture topics and activities. They were first asked to indicate their level of participation in the activities/topics by identifying whether they didn't participate (1), somewhat participated (2), or fully participated (3). Then they were asked to indicate how useful they found the activities and topics. In rating the usefulness of the activities, participants were asked to follow a two-step process. First, they were asked to decide whether they found the activity/topic useful, then, they were asked to assign an appropriate rating. They were provided with the following options: not useful (0), not really useful (1), minimally useful (2), somewhere between useful and extremely useful (3), or extremely useful (4).

Summative evaluation. At the culmination of the Career Education course participants were also asked to complete a summary evaluation. In the summary evaluation participants were prompted to consider a number of outcomes (for example did they develop, "a clear understanding of theories of career development", "a clear understanding of how the theories of career development influence practice", "a clear understanding of how to get students involved in, and excited about, the importance of career planning", "understanding of the importance of lifelong career self-management" and "confidence in my ability to integrate career development concepts into the curriculum"). Then they were prompted to ask themselves the following question as it applied to each item: knowing what you know now, how would you rate yourself before taking this course, and how would you rate yourself now? In rating themselves before and after taking this course they were asked to follow a two-step process. First, they were asked to decide whether they would rate themselves as unacceptable or acceptable (relative to each outcome statement) before and after taking the Career Education course. Then they were asked to indicate whether their knowledge/skill/attitude before and after taking the Career Education course was: unacceptable (1), not really

acceptable (2), minimally acceptable (3), somewhere between minimally acceptable and exceptional (4), and exceptional (5).

Data analysis

The data gathered through this evaluation were analyzed in several different ways. Qualitative data were analyzed through the use of content analysis methods. Quantitative data were analyzed through the use of frequency counts, percentages and mean scores. For the pre and post-test of knowledge and perceptions, overall scores (see Table 13) were tabulated through the use of a scoring rubric.

Sample

Participants in this study were self-selected. Advertisements were circulated throughout the Faculty of Education. All pre-service teachers enrolled in the Faculty of Education teacher-training program were eligible to register in the Career Education course. Tables 1 and 2 provide demographic data on the students who enrolled in the May and June 2009 offering of the Career Education course.

Table 1

Age of Participants (N=10)

Age	N	%
20-24	4	40%
25-29	5	50%
30-34	0	0%
35-39	1	10%
40+	0	0%

Table 2

Gender of Participants (N=10)

Gender	N	%
Male	2	20%
Female	8	80%

As Tables 1 and 2 show, the majority of participants were between the ages of 20-29 (90%) and were female (80%).

In the following section the results of the data collected from the May/June 2009 offering of the Career Education elective course will be presented.

Results

The results of the study will be presented according to the following sections: Pre and post-test of knowledge and perceptions, formative evaluation, and summative evaluation.

Pre and Post-test of Knowledge and Perceptions

Prior experiences with career counselling. Participants were asked to identify whether or not they had taken any previous courses in career counselling or whether they had accessed career services in the past. None of the students who took the May and June offering of the Career Education elective course had ever taken a course in career counselling prior to taking the Career Education elective course. All of the participants in our study had had previous personal experience with career services.

The types of personal experiences participants had with career services prior to participating in the Career Education elective course is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Types of Personal Experiences With Career Services

Types of experience	f	%
Job/career fairs	9	50%
Career counsellor	3	17%
Career tests in high school	2	11%
High school career counsellor	2	11%
Career cruising	1	6%
Career tests	1	6%

As Table 3 suggests, the most frequently cited type of career service experienced by the participants in our sample were job/career fairs (50%) and career counselling with a high school counsellor (17%).

Definitions. In both the pre-test and the post-test participants were asked to provide a definition of career counselling. Table 4 presents the themes that emerged from an analysis of the data from the pre-test.

Table 4

Definition of Career Counselling: Pre-test

Definition of career counselling: Pre-test	f	%
Guiding others towards suitable future career paths	8	50%
Providing career information/resources	3	19%
Helping others to determine their interests/abilities	2	13%
Preparing/coaching people for jobs	1	6%
Setting goals for the future	1	6%
Help people gain career skills	1	6%

As Table 4 shows, prior to taking the Career Education course participants tended to describe career counselling as a process of matching an individual's interests and abilities with career options and providing career information/resources. The following is a sample response that typifies the responses commonly provided: "[Career counselling is] taking individual strengths and interests to determine possible job possibilities for individuals". Table 5 presents the themes that emerged from an analysis of the data from the post-test.

Table 5

Definition of Career Counselling: Post-test

Definition of career counselling: Post-test	f	%
Guide and support people through career development process	6	35%
Help people gain better self awareness (passion, skills, etc.)	3	18%
Helping people achieve optimal career (lifestyle, etc)	3	18%
Help people make meaningful career choices	2	12%
Discover possibilities for the future	2	12%
Encouraging people to follow their passion	1	6%

As Table 5 suggests, after taking the Career Education course participants typically described career counselling as supporting individuals through a process of crafting a meaning-filled career/life. The following is a sample response to illustrate a typical response to this item in the post-test: "[Career counselling is] guiding people through the process of career development in order for them to make appropriate and meaningful [choices]".

In both the pre-test and the post-test participants were asked to describe the role of a career counsellor. Table 6 presents the data collected in the pre-test.

As is evident from Table 6, participants described the role of a career counsellor as helping individuals discover interests/strengths, select a career path that coincides with their interests/strengths and prepare and implement a path to achieve the career objective selected. The following is a sample response that reflects the types of comments provided by participants: "A career counsellor assists the individual in finding a career that suits their needs and in implementing a plan to achieve their career goals". Table 7 presents the data collected in the post-test.

Table 6

Role of a Career Counsellor: Pre-test

Role of a career counsellor: Pre-test	f	%
Help individuals discover interests/strengths	4	25%
Help individuals find a suitable career	3	19%
Help individuals prepare and implement plan to achieve career goals	2	13%

Provide career information	2	13%
Help individuals to seek career opportunities	2	13%
Help individuals to prepare for career opportunities	1	6%
Helps individuals gain career/life skills	1	6%
Administer career tests	1	6%

Table 7

Role of a Career Counsellor: Post-test

Role of a career counsellor: Post-test	f	%
Guides individuals through career development process	4	24%
Helps individuals gain self-awareness	3	18%
Guides individuals through career decision making process	2	12%
Helps individuals create career/life plan	2	12%
Helps individuals find suitable career	2	12%
Helps individuals develop career skills	2	12%
Helps individuals discover their passion/personal meaning	2	12%

As shown in Table 7, participants’ descriptions of the function of a career counsellor changed after taking the Career Education course. Descriptions contained references to guiding individuals through a process, helping individuals gain self-awareness and helping individuals determine passion/personal meaning as the foundation for building their life/career. One response that typifies the definitions provided by participants in the post-test was provided by one respondent who commented: “A career counsellor guides the client through the five stages to help the client make decisions which best suit their life, goals and dreams”.

In both the pre-test and the post-test participants were asked to describe the main principles of a general counselling experience. Table 8 presents the data collected in the pre-test.

Table 8

Main Principles of a General Counselling Experience: Pre-test

Main principles of general counselling experience: Pre-test	f	%
Set goals and make plans to achieve them	3	25%
Understanding the individual (skills, strengths, etc)	3	25%
Help individuals find solutions to problems	2	17%
Guiding/assisting client	2	17%
Assist others with lifestyle choices	1	8%
Gain client’s trust	1	8%

According to the themes presented in Table 8, participants described the main components of a general counselling experience as: understanding client strengths, setting goals, and guiding clients to find solutions to problems. For example, one participant defined the main principles of a general counselling experience as: “[Determining] what is wanted out of the counselling experience, setting goals, discussing how to achieve those goals”. Table 9 presents the data collected through the post-test.

As Table 9 demonstrates, although participants’ responses in the post-test contain some of the same element as the responses in the pre-test, the definitions provided contained a wider array of factors such as the importance of creating hope and building support. For example, one participant defined the main principles of general counselling experience as, “Establish trust, overcome barriers, discuss salient issues, create hope, generate possible ideas/possible solutions, create support groups”.

Career Theorists. In both the pre-test and the post-test, participants were asked to identify and describe the contribution of various career theorists. In the pre-test, none of the participants were able to identify any career theorists.

Table 9

Main Principles of a Counselling Experience: Post-test

Main principles of a general counselling experience: Post-test	f	%
Assist client in finding solutions to problems	6	23%
Support/guide client	4	15%
Explore client issues	4	15%
Build trust/supportive relationship	3	12%
Determine client strengths	2	8%
Provision of emotional/psychological support	2	8%
Set goals	1	4%
Understand client	1	4%
Enhance client wellbeing	1	4%
Create hope	1	4%
Assist client in building support	1	4%

In the post-test participants were able to identify a number of career theorists (and describe their main contributions). Table 10 presents the data associated with this item.

As Table 10 illustrates, participants’ knowledge of career theorists was enhanced significantly through taking the Career Education course. Whereas in the pre-test participants were unable to identify any theorist, they were able to identify many theorists in the post-test.

Career Tests. In both the pre-test and the post-test participants were asked to identify, and describe the function of, various career test/instruments. Table 11 presents the data associated with the pre-test.

Table 10

Career Theorists: Post-test

Career Theorists: Post-test	f	%
John Holland	9	27%
Donald Super	6	18%
Frank Parsons	5	15%
John Krumboltz	5	15%
David and Anna Miller-Tiedeman	5	15%
William Bridges	4	12%

Table 11

Career Tests/Instruments: Pre-test

Career Tests/Instruments: Post-test	f	%
Myers-Briggs Type Indicator	5	39%
Strong Interest Inventory	4	31%
General Aptitude Test Battery	1	8%
Differential Aptitude Test	1	8%
Holland Self Directed Search	1	8%
Kiersey Temperment Indicator	1	8%
Jackson Vocational Interest Survey	0	0%

As Table 11 indicates, prior to taking the Career Education elective participants had a limited knowledge of career tests/instruments. Their familiarity with career tests/instruments was mostly limited to the Strong Interest Inventory and the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator.

Table 12 provides a summary of the data collected in the post-test.

Table 12

Career Tests/Instruments: Post-test

Career Tests/Instruments: Post-test	f	%
Myers-Briggs Type Indicator	7	23%
General Aptitude Test Battery	7	23%
Strong Interest Inventory	6	19%
Holland Self Directed Search	6	19%
Jackson Vocational Interest Survey	2	7%
Kiersey Temperment Indicator	2	7%
Differential Aptitude Test	1	3%

As Table 12 demonstrates, participants had a much stronger awareness of career tests/instruments after taking the Career Education course.

Overall Scores on Pre and Post-test. Table 13 summarizes the total changes in knowledge experienced by participants from the pre-test to the post-test.

Table 13

Overall Knowledge Change on Pre and Post-test (N=10)

Participant	Pre-test score	Post-test score	Difference
001	9	37	28
002	17.5	35	19.5
003	5	16	11
004	11	27	16
005	7	19	12
006	8	22	14
007	11.5	22	10.5
008	8.5	19	10.5
009	14	26	12
010	11.5	46	35.5
Average	10.3	26.9	16.6

As Table 13 shows, participants' knowledge of career counselling increased greatly from the pre-test to the post-test. The average score change was 16.6 points. Out of a possible total of 58 points, participants had an average score of 10.3 points on the pre-test and 26.9 points on the post-test.

Perspectives. In both the pre-test and the post-test participant perspectives on career development were assessed. Participants were first asked to decide whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement provided. Then they were asked to further indicate whether they strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), slightly disagree (3), agree (4), or strongly agree (5) with the statement provided. Table 14 summarizes the data collected in both the pre-test and post-test.

Table 14

Perceptual Changes: Pre and Post-test

Perception	Mean Score (Pre-test)	Mean score (Post-test)
Choosing a career is a one-time activity that remains relevant throughout your life.	1.8 (Disagree)	1.1 (Strongly disagree)
The most effective way to select a career path is to complete a career interest inventory or a career aptitude test.	2.4 (Disagree)	1.5 (Disagree)
The main goal of occupational planning is to determine the perfect occupational match.	2.6 (Slightly agree)	2.6 (Slightly agree)

The most important goal of helping students with career planning is to get students to make a decision about the occupation they want to pursue.	3.2 (Slightly agree)	1.8 (Disagree)
When selecting a career path, the most important consideration is whether there is a high demand for workers in the occupation you are considering.	2.1 (Disagree)	1.6 (Disagree)
Today's world of work is predictable and stable.	1.4 (Strongly disagree)	1.3 (Strongly disagree)
Student should be certain about their career path when they complete Grade 12.	2.0 (Disagree)	1.7 (Disagree)
Your career begins after you complete your college or university education.	2.5 (Slightly agree)	1.6 (Disagree)
Career planning is an important activity.	4.3 (Agree)	5.0 (Strongly agree)
Career planning typically ends by the age of 30 (at the latest).	2.1 (Disagree)	1.4 (Strongly disagree)
Teachers can play a substantial role in assisting their students in their career planning.	4.8 (Strongly agree)	4.8 (Strongly agree)
Schools are currently doing a good job in assisting students in their career development.	2.2 (Disagree)	2.2 (Disagree)
Schools are currently doing an excellent job in helping students develop the skills necessary to manage their career paths in the 21 st century.	2.2 (Disagree)	2.2 (Disagree)

As shown in Table 14, participants' perspectives changed between the pre and the post-test. Participants came to believe that career planning is not a one-time activity (but a lifelong process). Therefore, they did not see the primary task of assisting students with their career planning as helping students select one occupation. As a result of taking the Career Education elective course, participants began to perceive their task as much larger in scope. Specifically, they began to view their role as helping students to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for effective lifelong career self-management. As a result of taking the course, participants also gained an enhanced appreciation for the importance of career planning.

Formative Evaluation

The Career Education course was offered on four weekends in May and June 2009. After each weekend participants were asked to complete an evaluation of the weekend's topics and activities. Participants were first asked to indicate their level of

participation in each of the topics and activities by indicating whether they didn't participate (1), somewhat participated (2) or fully participated (3). Then they were asked to indicate whether they found the topics and activities useful. Participants were first asked to indicate whether they found the topic or activity useful. Then they were further asked to identify whether they found the activity not useful (0), not really useful, but almost there (1), minimally useful (2), somewhere between minimally useful and extremely useful (3), or extremely useful (4). Table 15 provides a description of the data collected after the first weekend.

Table 15

Formative Evaluation of Topics and Activities Weekend #1

Topics	Participation			Not useful					Useful					Average
	Didn't	Somewhat	Fully	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	
Career theorists	0	2	8	0	0	0	4	6						3.6
Career counselling skills	0	0	10	0	0	0	3	7						3.0
General counselling process	0	0	10	0	0	0	2	8						3.8
Career counselling skills triad	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	10						4.0
World of work	0	2	8	0	0	3	1	6						3.3
Career counselling outcomes	0	1	9	0	0	0	5	5						3.5
Career counselling process	0	0	10	0	0	0	4	6						3.6
Overall participation mean			2.86	Overall usefulness mean					3.5					

As indicated by Table 15, participants were highly engaged in the topics and activities during the first weekend. Participants also rated all of the topics and activities highly. The vast majority of topics were rated either useful (3) or extremely useful (4). The highest rated topics/activities were the career counselling triads activity, the lectures/discussions on general counselling process, the lectures/discussions on career theorists and career counselling process. Table 16 presents the data collected after the second weekend.

Table 16

Formative Evaluation of Topics and Activities Weekend #2

Topics	Participation			Not useful					Useful					Average
	Didn't	Somewhat	Fully	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	
Initiation strategies	0	0	10	0	0	1	2	7						3.6

Guided imagery exercise	0	1	9	0	0	0	1	9	3.9	
99 year old question	0	0	10	0	0	0	3	7	3.7	
Pride story exercise	0	0	10	0	0	1	5	4	3.3	
Past experiences	0	1	9	0	1	0	1	8	3.6	
Formal career assessments	0	0	10	0	0	0	4	6	3.6	
Semi-formal career assessments	0	0	10	0	0	0	3	7	3.7	
Informal career assessments	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	9	3.9	
Overall participation mean			2.98	Overall usefulness mean				3.66		

As Table 16 suggests, participants were highly engaged in the topics and activities presented in the second weekend of the Career Education course. Participants also found the topics and activities very useful. The vast majority of topics were rated as either useful (3) or extremely useful (4). The highest rated topics/activities were the guided imagery exercise (3.9), the discussion of informal career assessments (3.9), the 99 year-old question activities (3.7) and the discussion of semi-formal career assessments (3.7). Table 17 presents the data collected after the third weekend.

Table 17

Formative Evaluation of Topics and Activities Weekend #3

Topics	Participation			Not useful		Useful			Average
	Didn't	Somewh	Fully	0	1	2	3	4	
Self-portraits exercise	1	0	9	0	0	0	1	8	3.9
Decision making process	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	9	3.9
Exploration strategies	0	1	9	0	0	0	5	5	3.5
Decision making strategies	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	9	3.9
Preparation strategies	0	0	10	0	0	1	3	6	3.5

Implementation strategies	0	1	9	0	0	1	3	6	3.5
mean	Overall participation		2.93	Overall usefulness		3.7			
				mean					

As is indicated by the data in Table 17, participants were highly engaged in the topics and activities presented in the third weekend. The vast majority of topics were rated as either useful (3) or extremely useful (4). The highest rated topics/activities were the self-portraits exercise (3.9), the discussion of decision-making processes (3.9) and the discussion of decision-making strategies (3.9).

Summative Evaluation

At the culmination of the Career Education elective course participants were asked to complete a summary evaluation. In completing the summary evaluation, participants were asked to rate themselves prior to taking the Career Education course and after taking the Career Education course. In doing so, they were asked to first rate whether their knowledge, skills or attitudes (on a number of important outcome items) were acceptable or unacceptable before and after taking the course. Then they were asked to identify whether their knowledge before and after taking the course was unacceptable (1), not really acceptable, but almost there (2), minimally acceptable (3), somewhere between minimally acceptable and exceptional (4), and exceptional (5). Table 18 summarizes the data collected through the summary evaluation.

Table 18

Summary Evaluation

Outcomes	Mean Averages		
	Before	After	Difference
A clear understanding of the theories of career development	1.4 (Unacceptable)	4.2 (Excellent)	2.8
A clear understanding of how the theories of career planning influence practice	1.4 (Unacceptable)	4.4 (Excellent)	3.0
A clear understanding of how to get students involved in, and excited about, the importance of career planning	2.1 (Not really acceptable, but almost there)	4.8 (Excellent)	2.7
Knowledge of resources available to students and teachers to assist students in their career planning	1.9 (Not really acceptable, but almost there)	4.4 (Between acceptable and excellent)	2.5
Confidence in my ability to integrate career development	1.8 (Not really acceptable, but	4.7 (Excellent)	2.9

principles into the curriculum	almost there)		
Knowledge of processes involved in effective career self-management	1.6 (Not really acceptable, but almost there)	4.8 (Excellent)	3.2
Understanding of the importance of lifelong career self-management	3.1 (Acceptable)	5.0 (Excellent)	1.9
Understanding of impact a teacher can have on career development of students	2.8 (Acceptable)	5.0 (Excellent)	2.2
Overall means	1.84 (Not really acceptable, but almost there)	4.66 (Excellent)	2.65

As Table 18 clearly shows, participants indicated that they achieved important outcomes. On nearly all of the outcome items, participants rated their knowledge, skills and attitudes as unacceptable before taking the Career Education. In the vast majority of cases participants rated their knowledge, skills and attitudes as either acceptable or exceptional after taking the Career Education course (as shown by mean score differences). The highest differences in mean score changes were found in the following items: “knowledge of processes involved in effective career self-management” (1.6 to 4.8), “a clear understanding of how the theories of career planning influence practice” (1.4 to 4.2), and “confidence in my ability to integrate career development principles into the curriculum” (1.8 to 4.7).

Participants were asked to identify the extent to which the changes reported in the summary evaluation were the result of taking the Career Education elective, or the extent to which the changes reported were a function of other factors in their lives. Specifically, participants were asked to identify whether the changes reported were a result of “mostly other factors”, “somewhat other factors”, “uncertain”, “somewhat this course”, and “mostly this course”. Table 19 presents the data collected in response to this item.

Table 19 clearly shows that participants attributed the changes they reported to their participation in the Career Education course.

Table 19

Attribution of Outcome Change

Mostly other factors	Somewhat other factors	Uncertain	Somewhat this course	Mostly this course
0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (100%)

As part of the summary evaluation, participants were also given the opportunity to provide comments. The following comments were contributed by participants:

- Great course! Great for personal reasons as well as for integrating into the curriculum. Would have liked a bigger focus on classroom uses rather than adult career counselling. Didn't find the text at all useful.
- I found this course to be an incredibly valuable experience that provides teachers with the knowledge, skills and resources to teach career/life planning effectively!
- This course gave me many skills to develop as a teacher and personally which I feel will greatly improve my effectiveness as a teacher.
- The course was beneficial not only to my own career development, but to the understanding of career planning and career coaching. I feel confident with bringing the aspects of career coaching to the classroom.
- This class was great! So very beneficial to career planning as well as life in general. I continue to find myself using strategies learned in class on a daily basis (all stages of career process). I have and will continue to recommend this class. Very beneficial to all teachers for all areas of the curriculum.
- I found this course especially rewarding and hope to bring my enthusiasm about this new knowledge to others during my internship and teaching years to follow.
- Great class that helped with my career planning as well.
- This was the most impactful, creative, and useful education course I have taken.
- The course material was presented in a way that made it easy to incorporate into curriculum.
- This has been one of the most helpful, interesting, and applicable courses that I have taken in the four years in my university career. Everything I learned in this class can be applied to the classroom environment and is very relevant to students.

As is clear from the comments provided, the pre-service teachers in this study were enthusiastic in their comments regarding the value and utility of the Career Education course. The following section will provide some preliminary conclusions based on an analysis of the data and will suggest future directions for research.

Discussion

The results of this preliminary study allow for some tentative conclusions regarding the *Career Coaching Across the Curriculum* pilot project. It is clear from the results gathered through the use of the pre and post-test of knowledge and perceptions questionnaire and the summative evaluation questionnaire that the pre-service teachers involved in this research study made strong gains in their understanding of career development and how to effectively integrate career development into curriculum. It is also clear from this study that participants found the course to be extremely valuable – they overwhelmingly indicated that, as a result of taking the course, they feel confident in their ability to effectively integrate career education strategies into curriculum and in their ability to provide effective career planning support to students. The data gathered through subjective measures (the formative and summative evaluations) and through objective measures (the pre and post-test of knowledge and perceptions) confirms these conclusions.

Taken together, the results of this study appear to suggest that the Career Education course is highly effective in training teachers to integrate career development into the curriculum and in training them to provide high quality career support to students. However, further investigation is required to confirm this conclusion. Future studies will need to be conducted to determine whether the career education training provided to pre-service teachers is in fact contributing to the attainment of important career development outcomes for students in the K-12 educational system. As part of the second component of the *Career Coaching Across the Curriculum* pilot project, pre-service teachers will complete a practicum in elementary or secondary schools throughout Southern Alberta. Future studies will need to be conducted to investigate the impacts of the career development interventions implemented by the pre-service teachers in their role as interns on the career planning knowledge, skills and attitudes of students.

Summary

This article described an innovative pilot project designed to train teachers to integrate career education into Kindergarten-Grade 12 curriculum. It also described the preliminary research results associated with an evaluation of effectiveness of this pilot project. It is hoped that through the implementation of this pilot project, students in the K-12 educational system will have better access to high quality career planning support. Preliminary results suggest that the training provided by this pilot project is effective in preparing pre-service teachers to positively influence the career planning skills, knowledge and attitudes of students. However, further studies will need to be conducted to confirm this conclusion. Fortunately, these future studies are now in progress.

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Youth with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder: Suggestions for Theory-Based Career Practice

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Yesterday Eric learned how to tabulate and record the number of items sold at the local craft store where he was employed. Yet today Eric clearly can not remember the steps involved in completing the task. When his employer gave him notice, Eric seemed unable to understand the consequences of not fulfilling his agreed upon duties.

The scenario offered above gives insight into the impact of alcohol use during pregnancy and its complex effect on behavioural and cognitive functioning of affected individuals. The continuum of disabilities that are experienced as a result of brain damage caused by prenatal exposure to alcohol is referred to by the umbrella term, Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD). FASD is a life-long disability that affects an estimated 9.1 per 1000 live births in the United States (Chudley et al., 2005). Currently no national statistics are available on the rates of FASD in Canada. The effects of alcohol exposure vary by individual depending on amount, timing, and frequency of exposure (Chudley et al., 2005). FASD is a largely invisible disability, characterized by cognitive, neurological, social, and/or emotional challenges (Streissguth, 1997). The effects of prenatal alcohol exposure carry heavy costs for the individual, their family, and society (Premji, Serret, Benzies & Hayden 2004). Youth with FASD and their caregivers require appropriate career counselling services and career interventions. However, there is a clear lack of attention to advancing career theory and practice to persons with disabilities (Cummings, Maddux, & Casey, 2000), particularly those with neurological impairments.

In this article we apply concepts from Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT; Lent & Brown, 1996; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000) to potential career counselling interventions for youth with FASD who are making the transition to adulthood. The recent literature that has sought to understand the connections between individuals with neurological disabilities and career options has tended to focus on the barriers that negatively influence their career development (Cummings et al., 2000; Ettinger, 1996; Levinson, 1998). For example, some challenges include low self-esteem, difficulties in establishing routines, challenges related to information processing, and a tendency toward passive learning styles. Other contributions have sought to expand our understanding by emphasizing strengths and resources (Malbin, 2002). Following the idea of building on the strengths of young people with FASD, we use SCCT (Lent & Brown, 1996; Lent et al., 2000) to provide a conceptual framework for understanding how personal attributes, the environment, and overt behaviours can be harnessed to awaken the potential and strengths that are within the reach of this population. As such, the goal of the present article is to encourage practitioners to use SCCT as a means to develop appropriate transition planning and career interventions for young people with FASD.

FASD: An Invisible Disability

The leading cause of developmental disability among Canadian children is Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2005). The umbrella term, Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD), is used to depict a range of disabilities as well as the diagnoses related to prenatal exposure to alcohol including Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS), partial FAS (pFAS), Alcohol-Related Neuro-developmental Disorder (ARND), and Alcohol-Related Birth Defects (ARBD).

The effect of prenatal alcohol exposure varies greatly among individuals, but the specific neurological impairments all impact abilities related to adapting to daily living as adolescents and adults (Streissguth, 1997). ... affected people exhibit a wide range of expression, from severe growth restriction, intellectual disability, birth defect and characteristic dysmorphic facial features to normal growth, facial features and intellectual abilities but with lifelong deficits in several domains of brain function (Chudley et al., 2005, S1).

Alcohol-related central nervous system dysfunction includes memory impairment, attention deficits, specific learning difficulties (e.g., mathematics or verbal reasoning), difficulty in abstracting, and difficulty with impulse control, all of which have implications for education and career planning. Difficulty in tasks that involve planning and following through with goal-directed action is a particularly common issue (Olson, Feldman, & Streissguth, 1992).

A considerable range of intellectual dysfunction is found among individuals with FASD. While organic brain damage does create particular cognitive and behavioural issues for individuals with FASD, individuals may have normal IQ scores (Streissguth, 1997). The effect of the brain damage is such that individuals' ability to access and utilize their intelligence is impaired. Unfortunately, standardized test scores in the normal range may mean that those individuals do not qualify for special educational and vocational services that use mental retardation as their qualifying criterion (Streissguth, 1997).

Impairments that develop or become evident over the course of the individuals' lifespan are referred to as secondary disabilities. These secondary disabilities associated with FASD may be more debilitating for the individual than the primary disability (Fast & Conry, 2004; Streissguth, 1997). Mental health issues, drug and alcohol addiction, trouble with the law, and difficulty with employment and life management are commonly cited (Famy, Streissguth, & Unis, 1998; Streissguth, Barr, Kogan, & Bookstein, 1997). Early diagnosis of FASD is in itself a protective factor, as this allows the individual to receive appropriate services and support from a young age (Streissguth et al., 1997). However, many young adults living with the disorder may have no formal diagnosis because they do not meet the out-dated criteria for a formal diagnosis or are unable to access limited diagnostic services (Premji et al., 2004). Those individuals with less severe symptoms are often at higher risk for secondary disabilities due to lack of understanding of the source of their behavioural problems (Streissguth, 1997). In addition, the most common secondary disability – mental health issues – may further complicate the presenting situation for these individuals. Comorbid conditions including depression, anxiety, and substance use highlight the need for practitioners to be sensitive to this combination of disability and mental health problems. These clients are neither solely organically brain-damaged nor solely emotionally disturbed (Streissguth & O'Malley, 1997).

Given the gaps and limitations of the current FASD career literature; there is a clear need for theory-based career development interventions that will address the unique needs of alcohol-affected individuals. In addition to the challenges that these young adults face, they also have strengths and abilities upon which to build. These strengths include good visual memory and verbal skills, persistence, commitment, success in low-stress, structured situations, a strong sense of fairness, and success in learning with hands-on tasks (Malbin, 2002). By recognizing and building on these strengths, suitable systemic transition planning can be engaged in for young people with FASD.

Transition to Adulthood

During the period from ages 18 to 25, referred to as emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2001), young people face a multitude of new opportunities and responsibilities that require the addition of new information, knowledge, and skills (Arnett, 2001; Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, Holmes, & Shanahan, 2002). Successful transitions to adulthood appear to rest on a number of “readiness” factors and include objective and psychological aspects (Phillips, Blustein, Jobin-Davis, & White, 2002; Solberg, Howard, Blustein, & Close, 2002). Readiness is acquired objectively by engaging in work-based learning and exploration and through the instrumental and emotional support of adults who can orient youth to the world of work. Additionally, readiness is acquired through internal psychological contexts, for example, facilitative attitudes of curiosity and sustained attention, confidence about one’s future plans, and flexibility in responding to challenges and obstacles (Blustein & Flum, 1999; Phillips et al., 2002).

FASD is a condition that children do not outgrow. Biological, adoptive, and foster parents have noted that raising children with FASD to adulthood is full of uncertainty for a number of reasons. Individuals with FASD lag behind developmentally when compared to other youth their age. Therefore, the readiness skills needed for successful transitions to adulthood may be delayed by several years and these youth will require more support between the ages of 18 and 25 years compared to their counterparts (Malbin, 2002). Additionally, adolescents with FASD are likely to display poor judgement, difficulty in perceiving social cues, and failure to understand the consequences of one’s actions (LaDue, Schacht, Tanner-Halverson, & McGowan, 1999). In the transition to adulthood, lack of social skills may affect the ability of those with FASD to gain positive work-based learning experiences. However, emotional and instrumental support may be provided by caregivers and professionals. Although the majority of children diagnosed with FASD are being cared for in foster or adoptive homes (Hess & Kenner, 1998), foster and adoptive caregivers tend to be highly committed to maintaining long-term, stable, and nurturing environments for their children (Streissguth et al., 1997).

Social Cognitive Career Theory and FASD

Traditional career models imply that individuals have the ability to choose a preferred career based on values, interests, and abilities, and to plan and implement their choice. For individuals with FASD, this is not the case. However, little is known about how these individuals can successfully navigate life-career pathways. In essence,

“the people who are in greatest need of assistance with career development are the ones about whom the least is known” (Harmon as cited in Chartrand & Rose, 1996).

Effective support of alcohol-affected youth requires that practitioners appreciate the impact of social environment, as well as the effects of the brain damage (Streissguth & O’Malley, 1997). The appropriate career development model must therefore take into account the individual’s abilities and disabilities as well as family, school, and other socio-cultural factors or contextual affordances that have influenced the individual’s development up to this point, and may continue to influence the success of any intervention. A life-span approach is also called for, as individuals with FASD will need strategies and support to manage their disability throughout their lives.

Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT), an evolving model of life-career development, provides a conceptual framework for understanding how individuals develop interests in educational and career areas, make choices, and implement these choices with varying levels of success. SCCT incorporates Bandura’s triadic reciprocal model of causality which assumes individual characteristics, environmental/contextual factors, and behaviour interact and influence each other throughout this process. Self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, and personal goals are highlighted within this model of reciprocity and can be conceptualized as a developmental-contextual model made up of environmental layers, where the individual (with her/his personal characteristics) is embedded within their immediate family system, and within consecutively larger layers of context (Lent et al., 2000). Developmental-contextualism emphasizes the dynamic interaction that occurs between individuals and their environments (for example: community, sociocultural context, educational environment, and family situation). In this model, neither contextual factors nor individual characteristics (e.g., ability) are sole determinants in the life-career development process. Rather, individuals are able to exercise agency within the dynamic relationships that exist (Patton & McMahon, 1999). An individual filters and interprets information from the environment, which in turn affects self-perception and perceptions of the environment.

Personal resilience factors identified in the literature on disabilities include attainment of clear goals, ability to reframe the disability to recognize strengths, and the development of strategies and techniques to enhance performance (Dolyniuk et al., 2002; Garber, 2001). Environmental factors which foster positive interactions include supportive social environments, mentors who teach and guide performance, and the goodness of fit between the individual and their job or career (Garber, 2001; Hurlbutt & Chalmers, 2004).

Status variables such as disability affect individuals, not through the meaning or fact of the disability itself, but through the intrinsic effect of responses from the sociocultural environment with regards to the disability (Fabian, 2000). Attitudes based on myths, stereotypes, or on a lack of knowledge are likely to create substantial barriers including physical barriers, policy and procedural barriers, and attitudinal barriers. If, on the other hand, an individual’s disability is not recognized, as is often the case, responses to behaviour cannot be interpreted through that lens of understanding. Individuals with alcohol-related effects as a result of maternal alcohol exposure are likely to experience frustration and low self-esteem, contributing to secondary disabilities. The relationship between an individual and his/her environment is seen as directly influencing life-career decision-making, which has important implications in planning career development programs.

The emphasis on the individual-contextual relationship is a departure from traditional models, which tend to place greater emphasis on values and aptitudes. In SCCT, values and aptitudes are seen as only one aspect of an individual. Individual characteristics influence career choices and behaviour through self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, and personal goals. Self-efficacy beliefs are a dynamic combination of beliefs about oneself, linked with performance experiences (Lent & Brown, 1996). Outcome expectations are beliefs about projected results of behaviours. A type of outcome expectation that is particularly relevant to this discussion are those in relation to one's view of the environment – specifically, barriers to employment (Lent et al., 2000). Contextual affordance, or how environments may promote or obstruct one's ability to translate personal strengths into life-career possibilities (Patton & McMahon, 1999), is an important area to address in career counselling, as unaddressed barriers will hamper any progress that is made on the individual level, negatively affecting self-efficacy beliefs.

For individuals with FASD, self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, and contextual barriers to employment may have an especially strong influence on personal goals. Self-efficacy beliefs are formed through “(a) personal performance accomplishments, (b) vicarious learning, (c) social persuasion, and (d) physiological states and reactions” (Lent & Brown, 1996, p. 311). Given that alcohol-affected individuals may be operating on experiences of failure, are easily influenced by others, and have difficulty in managing difficult emotions, self-efficacy beliefs may be particularly low for these individuals. Improving self-efficacy beliefs is a key step in career development, as negative self-beliefs may lead to avoidance behaviour (Lent, Hackett, & Brown, 1999). The importance of realistic self-appraisals must also be stressed as unduly negative or unrealistically optimistic self-appraisals will have detrimental effects on progress in forging life-career pathways.

In terms of occupational choice, SCCT proposes a linear progression in which self-efficacy and outcome beliefs influence life-career interests, which in turn are translated into career choice goals, and result in motivation and action towards the goals (Lent & Brown, 1996). While the first part of this process – the influence of self-efficacy and outcome beliefs on interests and goals – is likely to hold true for individuals with FASD, translating goals into action will likely require support and advocacy on the part of the counsellor. Novick and Streissguth (1996) found that although clients often spoke about their situation as though resolution of problems would be easy to accomplish, “in reality they are often unable to follow through in obtaining services on their own behalf” (p. 21) and “memory problems, attentional problems, and poor organizational skills make these patients dependent on a strong infrastructure” (p. 21). Premji and colleagues (2004) highlight the need for structure and consistency in all areas of life for individuals diagnosed with FASD, particularly in regards to transitions, which should be gradually structured so as to ease anxiety and behavioural problems.

Counselling Strategies and Implications

The following recommendations represent a combined understanding of the spectrum of FASD, drawing on existing practical applications for career counselling with individuals diagnosed with other neurobehavioural disorders (e.g., Cummings et al., 2000; Hutchinson, 1995; Reekie, 1993; Schmucker, 1997) and from the personal

experience of the first author in working with this population. Additionally an extensive review of peer-reviewed and grey literature databases by Premji and colleagues (2004) further inform the ideas presented in this paper. A broad understanding of career development is taken and includes psychological, social, educational, and physical factors that shape the career of an individual over their life-span (Herr & Cramer, 1996).). Suggestions include strategies for relationship building and assessment, identifying and building on individuals' strengths, and creating structure and support. It is essential that these suggestions be instituted in accordance with a prior multidisciplinary assessment of the individual's executive functioning, neuromotor or motor and sensory impairments, emotional functioning, medical treatment including diagnosis, and speech/language function usually undertaken by a team of health professionals.

relationship building and assessment. General strategies for working with youth with FASD involve observing patterns of behaviour which reflect developmental stages in different life arenas; eliciting clients' understanding of what it is like to live with FASD; reframing their behaviour as a neuro-developmental disorder; establishing concrete routines in the counselling sessions to avoid client frustration and to increase retention; preparing clients for transitions by posting activities to engage in during the session with time allotments; modeling positive interpersonal behaviours and providing feedback on body language and facial expressions; using visual aids; providing simple instructions using concrete examples from a multi-sensory approach; and making certain that the physical environment is organized, low in sensory stimuli, quiet and comfortable; and providing templates and examples of written components such as resumes (Malbin, 2002; Reekie, 1993; Stade, Clark, & D'Agostino, 2004).

An individualized approach is mandatory, as individuals with FASD will have varying abilities and disabilities (Burgess & Streissguth, 1992; Olson, 1994). Rather than expecting the client to fit the intervention, the intervention should be designed to be flexible and adaptable to meet the unique and changing needs of the affected youth (Burgess, 1994; Olson, 1994). If a client does not identify as having a diagnosis of FASD, and the counsellor suspects that this could be an issue, the possibility of diagnostic testing should be discussed (Premji et al., 2004). Although testing can be expensive and difficult to access, for individuals with more severe symptoms on the spectrum, obtaining an accurate diagnosis may help individuals to access available services. Particularly helpful would be an individual support worker who can help to co-ordinate the various supports that the individual may need, for example, ongoing therapy, housing, job coaching, transportation, and financial assistance (Novick & Streissguth, 1996). Although an individual's IQ may fall within the average range, other features associated with alcohol-related birth disorders may affect the individual's ability to function at that level (Burgess, 1994; Premji et al, 2004.). While superficially youth with FASD may present as more competent than they actually are, when expectations are too high, they may show signs of disintegration (Coe, Sidders, Riley, Waltermire, & Hagerman, 2001; Dyer, Alberts, & Niemann, 1997). Positive correlations were found between IQ and symptoms of moodiness, depression, aggression, inattentiveness, and hyperactivity of alcohol-affected individuals and high IQ (Coe et al., 2001), suggesting greater susceptibility among this group. In any case, a comprehensive evaluation "which identifies areas of strength and need, is critical to

develop realistic expectations, secure appropriate supports, and develop effective interventions” (Premji et al., 2004, p. xii).

Involving an individual’s family in the career counselling process is an asset as sustaining progress in behaviour change is heavily dependent on the individual’s receiving adequate understanding and support from their family (Novick & Streissguth, 1996; Premji et al., 2004). Most foster or adoptive parents of a youth with FASD want information in order to understand the physical, intellectual, and behavioural concomitants of their diagnosis (Brown & Bednar, 2004) and to use this information to develop reasonable expectations and to assist in the planning process. Biological parents, on the other hand, may first need support in working through possible feelings of guilt and shame before they will be able to provide support to their youth (Chudley et al., 2005). In family sessions, clients can receive comments on FASD traits that affect their performance, for example, how rigid and inflexible thinking gets in the way of learning new skills. Family members can be involved in counselling sessions, either as supportive observers, or actively, in eliciting strengths and resources, in teaching functional skills, and in interviewing or self-advocacy skills role-plays.

sources of self-efficacy and outcome expectations. From a strengths-based perspective it is important to include an appreciation of strengths in our work with these youth. Rather than an exclusive focus on the challenges faced by alcohol- affected youth in the transition to adulthood, solutions may be found in the unique experiences, strengths, resources and skills of the youth, their caregivers, the family, and even the community in which they live (Premji et al., 2004). Such strengths-based information provides indications of the solution that is likely to best fit the youth’s unique circumstances. This is particularly true in working with youth who have experienced a history of school failure and early drop-out, social isolation, and behavioural problems (Reekie, 1993). The shift from exploring the nature of problems and how they affect clients to exploring how clients have responded and coped with these problems in the past can be empowering in that it assumes an active coping response on the part of the client (Wade, 1997). Efforts to teach new skills must build on areas of strength, as memory impairments and other issues impact the ability of individuals with FASD to maintain new learning.

Many alcohol-affected youth are tactile and visual learners. They benefit from “hands-on” activities and enjoy moving while they are learning. Their visual learning style encourages the use of “to-do” lists and day planners that also provide them with the structure and routine that is so critical to their well-being. Amundson (2003) suggests the use of chart paper to map out activities in the counselling session, for example, in goal setting. Concrete representations might be particularly useful in helping to retain new knowledge by accessing visual memory. Audio/visual playback is another technique suggested by Amundson, where audio or video is used to record parts of sessions, which may then be reviewed as a memory aid. This might be useful for rehearsing behaviours, and also in tracking client progress to provide concrete proof of progress.

Structure and consistency provided by caregivers or professionals is known to positively impact the performance of youth with alcohol-related disabilities. Timler and Olswang (2001) suggest applying Vygotsky’s theory of the zone of proximal development to youth with FASD. According to this theory, the adult gradually moves the youth to more complex levels of performance while structured support is provided

and then faded out. Scaffolding, the term used to describe the manner in which an adult adjusts or modifies the support to the youth, could be used by career counsellors to best facilitate career-related behaviours, for example, conducting a follow-up call by telephone.

Novick and Streissguth (1996) indicate that cognitive-behavioural approaches are most effective for individuals with FASD, as these interventions may be designed so as to take into account the executive functioning challenges faced by many of these youth including storage and retrieval of information, interpretation of information, and utilization of information (Premji et al., 2004). As individuals may be unable to generalize skills learned in counselling sessions to other settings, it may be more effective to teach the consistent use of rules of behaviour that can guide and structure behaviour across multiple situations (Novik & Streissguth, 1996). Premji et al. (2004) also emphasize the need to focus on developing an individual's functional skills through concrete learning experiences and cognitive rehabilitation approaches. One successful cognitive career-related education program for individuals with learning disabilities (Hutchinson, 1995) focused on increasing participant's awareness of self and of career areas through the use of an interactive computer program. Employability skills that address the vocational, social, and emotional skills necessary to enter a training program included listening, problem exploration, goal setting, and decision making. Interpersonal skills including cognitive rehearsal, imagery, and stress testing experiences were also taught. Programs for individuals with FASD could build on such a model, modifying it to include more behavioural strategies, modelling, and practice in implementing basic life skills in real life situations, for example, filling out a job application, keeping a job, interacting socially, managing time, and decision-making.

promoting supportive and structured environments. The relationship between self-efficacy beliefs and success proposed by the SCCT model illustrates the need for training and work experience situations in order to provide individuals with opportunities to improve life-work skills and enhance feelings of self-efficacy through positive experiences. Volunteering, 'take your child to work' initiatives, job shadowing, and structured, supervised work situations where outcome measures are adjusted to a realistic and attainable success level, are some practical work experience suggestions (Mader, 2004). In order to assist alcohol-affected youth to make successful transitions to adult roles, community leaders can redesign jobs to accommodate the capabilities and limitations for persons with FASD. Youth with alcohol-related disabilities need job duties, responsibilities, expectations, and rules clearly described ahead of time (Stade et al., 2004). Receiving positive feedback during such experiences enhances feelings of self-efficacy, which will in turn influence success. Group counselling settings are recommended for youth with learning disabilities (Hutchinson, 1995). This may also be beneficial for youth with FASD. Job clubs, for example, may provide opportunities for positive social experiences and skill development which will enhance self-efficacy beliefs as alcohol-affected youth require learning in multiple settings to increase transferability (Premji et al., 2004).

As the disabilities are not going to change or go away, modifications to the environment to accommodate disabilities are essential (Schmucker, 1997). The provision of a personal tutor, mentor, or job coach may be necessary to help them learn skills and to maintain the job. Potential employers or mentors may need to be educated about FASD, and education, training, or work situations may need to be modified to

accommodate the individual's particular strengths and limitations. For example, neuromotor impairments may manifest as sensory sensitivities which may necessitate changes to workplace temperature, lighting, and noise levels (Premji et al., 2004) or modifications to productivity demands based on client's capacity for speed and efficiency may need to be made. Advocacy may form an important component of the counselling relationship. Counsellors may need to exert pressure on community agencies and to orchestrate a variety of people, resources, and services to meet the needs of their clients and caregivers.

Conclusion

Youth with FASD encounter specific obstacles in their career development that are often due to a lack of awareness and sensitivity on the part of educational institutions, employers, and the public. Providing effective career development interventions requires practitioners to possess the requisite knowledge, skills, and awareness for addressing the career needs of alcohol-affected youth. The overarching recommendation for career counsellors is to keep in mind that each client with FASD has a unique combination of strengths and disabilities, which must be understood within that individual's life context. A thorough neurobehavioural assessment can highlight assets and challenges in executive functioning, neuromotor and sensory areas, and speech/language. SCCT provides one possible framework for identifying barriers and building on strengths of youth with prenatal alcohol effects. However, there is an acute need for research and theory to inform career counselling practice that accounts for the individual's special needs as related to the specific experience of FASD, and the complex contextual factors which influence the life-work success of these individuals.

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The Role of Career Development in the Process of Psychosocial Adaptation to Cancer: Re-visiting the Task Model Approach

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The word cancer still evokes fear. For a large segment of the population, cancer is synonymous with suffering, grief, and death (Cunningham, 2002). These perceptions are comprehensible since cancer continues to be one of the leading causes of premature death in our society. In Canada, the overall prevalence of cancer is increasing, impacting a major segment of the population. Canadian cancer statistics indicate that an estimated 139,900 new cancer cases will occur in Canada in 2003 (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03).

In recent years, however, improved detection and screening have resulted in increased survival among individuals diagnosed with cancer. Moreover, improved medical practices have notably extended the length of survival for many patients and improved their quality of life. Statistical information from the Canadian Cancer Society for the year 2003 suggests that the prognosis for long-term cancer survivorship is good. The survival rate (i.e., proportion of people diagnosed with cancer who are still alive five years after the onset of the disease) for all ages and cancers combined is at present 51% (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03).

However, the survival rate for different categories of cancer can fluctuate significantly. According to the Canadian Cancer Society, the most frequently occurring cancers continue to be breast, colorectal, and lung for women, and lung, prostate, and colorectal for men. Data suggests that lung cancer remains the primary cause of cancer death for both men and women in 2003. Lung cancer accounts for approximately one-third of the cancer deaths in men, and an estimated one-quarter of the cancer deaths in women (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03).

Conversely, the prognosis for other types of cancer is excellent. This is particularly true of breast and prostate cancer. The Canadian Cancer Society reports that death rates amongst women diagnosed with breast cancer and men diagnosed with prostate cancer have dropped by nineteen and ten percent respectively. In summary, while some cancers are responsible for a higher proportion of deaths, other types of cancer are successfully treated (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03).

Medical advances and improved treatments have not only necessitated a rethinking of the traditional view of cancer as a life-threatening illness, but also represent inducements to individuals striving to adapt in order to prolong their life. While some cancer patients struggle with the disease, others manage to cope, adapt, survive, recover, and lead meaningful and productive lives (Hounshell, Tomori, Newlin, Knox, Rundhaugen, Tallman, M., et al., 2001; Muzzin, Anderson, Figueredo, & Gudelis, 1994; van der Wouden, Greaves-Otte, Greaves, Kruyt, & van Leeuwen, 2001).

Consequently, it has become crucial that researchers gain a better understanding of the process of adaptation to the experience of cancer, given that increased

survivorship has become a familiar consequence in the lives of patients. While much of the literature reviewed to date identifies some potentially useful coping strategies for those who have been diagnosed, there is little discussion on theoretical approaches that may be useful in gaining a better understanding of the overall process of adaptation to chronic illness. One theoretical approach that can help us to better understand the process of adaptation to chronic illness is the task model. (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979; Corr, 1991-92; Doka, 1995-96; Moos & Tsu, 1977).

The task model has been revised numerous times in the thirty years since its introduction. Moos and Tsu (1977) and Cohen and Lazarus (1979) posited models which comprise an array of tasks. Their representation of tasks, however, is too fragmented and ambiguously demarcated. It is Corr (1991-92) who presents the most systematic and comprehensive account of task adaptation. His model is divided into four distinct areas of coping; these are as follows: (a) Physical; (B) Psychological; (c) Social; (d) and Spiritual.

As previously noted, none of the previously mentioned authors include the role of work and career development in their models. Given the fact that cancer patients are living longer and leading relatively normal lives, a serious diagnosis is not inevitably predictive of major disruptions in the work life and career development of chronically ill persons. In other words, despite their illness, individuals may continue to be engaged in their careers and feel that they can keep working. Consequently, we believe that the vocational task should be considered within the domain of the task model. The final section will consider the limitations of the current research and suggest potential questions for further study in this subject (Brown & Tai-Seale, 1992; Samson & Zerter, 2003).

Task Model Approach: Phenomenological & Holistic Aspects

The task model posits a dynamic model which introduces a phenomenological perspective. The model recognizes individual differences, and underlines each person's unique capacity for adapting to the demands and pressures of the chronic illness. Central to this theme is the notion that individuals' subjective perceptions of their disease allow them to construct their own reality. Chronic illness, therefore, does not affect individuals in a uniform way because the experience of illness is a function of each individual's perceptions, interpretations, and understanding of what is happening to him/her (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979).

The task model also represents a holistic system that focuses on the process of reconstruction of a person's existence. The model does not prescribe a specific path towards reconstruction; rather it offers a framework that portrays the fundamental aspects of human existence, which are referred to as "tasks." The tasks central to this model are physical, psychological, social, spiritual, and vocational. The completion of the tasks is usually hindered by a diagnosis of cancer, but it is foundational in regard to the process of reconstruction. Through such a process, individuals may make lifestyle changes, seek out social support, or search for meaning and purpose in his/her experience and life.

The process of adaptation, therefore, means that a person rebuilds his/her life. It is an ongoing phenomenon, characterized by constant and sometimes difficult changes. Individuals may confront these changes in gradual increments or simultaneously.

Frequently, the completion of one task establishes a solid foundation from which other tasks are realized. As well, tasks are continuously prioritized and re-evaluated by individuals as a means of developing a manageable hierarchy. This process contributes to the chronically ill patient's ability to cope with the non-stop changes successfully (Corr 1991-92; Doka, 1995-96).

Trajectory of the Illness and Subjective Perception

As previously mentioned, the task model places emphasis on the individual's subjective perceptions of an event (i.e., phenomenology). In other words, the patient's subjective perceptions of an event not only determine the trajectory of the illness, but also provide the impetus for the adaptation process. In other words, the patient's experience is shaped by his/her unique insight. Implicit in this view is the notion that there are many ways to construe a situation, and each viewpoint is likely to produce consequences that may facilitate or impede the process of adaptation (Cherny, Coyle, & Foley, 1994; Cohen & Lazarus, 1979).

The process, as described in the preceding paragraph, results in different ways of conceptualizing and dealing with the impacts of the chronic illness. For example, those who are not overwhelmed by their fears may worry less about the effects of the disease on their lives. Paradoxically, for others, the experience of cancer is a great stressor that causes profound fear and distress. The intensity and variations of these emotional expressions is determined by the process of cognitive appraisal or subjective perceptions. These processes, can, generally speaking, elicit a crisis reaction in which the implications of a serious illness like cancer are seen as potentially dangerous and deadly. This phenomenon is fully articulated in what is commonly referred to as the *initial crisis* (Cherny et al., 1994; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Samson & Zerter, 2003).

the initial crisis. As stated above, the news of a serious diagnosis often provokes what is commonly referred to as the *initial crisis*. The essential idea that is conveyed by this concept is that under the impact of traumatic events, individuals understandably develop a crisis reaction because their circumstances are considered overwhelming or insurmountable. For example, persons may wonder whether or not they have adequate resources to deal with their new and painful reality. Consequently, numerous individuals feel very shocked by the diagnosis.

Thus, it is not uncommon, when the news of a diagnosis is first received, for individuals to feel sullen, vulnerable, and helpless. Other reactions could include fear of dying, anguish, despair, anger, and denial. In terms of career development, many who were looking forward to fulfilling some of their dreams, career ambitions or plans, instead view these as lost ambitions or opportunities. To some extent, one's hopes and ambitions are subject to the unpredictable nature of the outcome of the life-threatening illness, which can lead individuals to wonder and worry about the future (Muzzin et al., 1994; Samson & Zerter, 2003; Thomas, 1995).

Gradually, even if one is confronted with the possibility of death, the diagnosis usually loses its menacing countenance, and the confusion, uncertainty, and paralysis initially felt slowly lose their hold on the affected individual. As patients gain more insight into their illness, they begin to interpret its consequences as less imposing (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979).

In accordance with this awareness, a more differentiated view of the illness emerges. As pointed out earlier, the degree to which the patient is able to adapt or adjust to the various demands and processes surrounding his/her illness is determined by the patient's cognitive appraisal and subjective perceptions of his/her circumstances. Over a period of time, the individual's cognitive appraisal or subjective perceptions of what is happening to him/her slowly change, and the emotional reactions, natural after the initial disclosure of a life-threatening illness, appear somewhat less severe (Kangas, Henry, & Bryant, 2002; Turnquist, Harvey, & Andersen, 1988).

Therefore, the disease is progressively perceived as less menacing or dangerous, and its consequences alternatively re-conceptualized as challenging rather than as threatening. Accordingly, the illness is gradually assimilated into the life and identity of the chronically ill patient. In this situation, individuals slowly get over the crisis period and begin to see themselves as more able to cope with the anticipated hurdles. In short, this phenomenon represents not only a turning point in the way patients conceptualize their illness, but also a critical variable in aiding the process of adapting to the new situation.

With the passing of time, then, persons come to terms with the diagnosis. They begin to diminish its impact and seek constructive ways to deal with the difficulties, restrictions, and demands the illness imposes on their lives (Taylor, 1983). The emphasis in this process, therefore, is on carrying on with life and relinquishing the past. This provides perspective and gives individuals an opportunity to rebuild their lives, alter their self-image, strengthen old relationships, and establish new social networks (Schlossberg, Waters, & Goodman, 1995).

Description of Adaptive Tasks

A diagnosis of cancer is a life-changing experience, and its influence on the lives of individuals is often profound and lasting. Such an event represents a period during which individuals begin to question their dreams, aspirations, goals, relationships, and even their existence.

While nearly everyone exposed to a life-threatening illness will experience some sort of initial crisis, not all will continue to be negatively impacted by their situation. With time, the shock of the diagnosis is absorbed; its impact is gradually accepted and integrated into the life of the affected individual. Accordingly, individuals slowly begin to reconstruct their lives (Kurtz, Wyatt, & Kurtz, 1995).

The task model helps us to better understand how individuals reconstruct their lives in spite of their illness. The process of adaptation in Corr's task model is divided into four major tasks. These are as follows: (a) Physical; (B) Psychological; (c) Social; (d) Spiritual. The authors suggest the addition of the Vocational task to the current task model. Let us now consider each of these tasks.

the physical task: supervision of health. One of the first important steps in task adaptation is coping with the physical impacts of the illness. This process calls for individuals to take whatever means are necessary to increase their chances of survival. The manner in which this will progress will depend largely on the individuals and his/her circumstances (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979; Corr 1991-92; Moos & Tsu, 1977).

Cancer often results in the appearance of symptoms such as severe pain, lack of appetite, lack of energy, headaches, gastrointestinal distress, sleep disturbance,

dizziness, vomiting, weight loss, weight gain, and others (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03; Cherny et al., 1994).

The most common modalities of treatment for cancer include radiation, chemotherapy, surgery, and pharmacology. At times it is difficult to decide whether the benefits of the treatment are being obscured by its side effects. Some of the physiological symptoms that are common to many cancer patients receiving chemotherapy include loss of hair, nausea, and fatigue. As well, the use of drugs can have numerous unwelcome side-effects. Medications such as busserelin, which is used to treat cancer of the prostate gland, can cause a decrease in sexual desire, impotence, and sudden hot flashes as side effects (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03).

Understandably, the symptoms of the disease and the side-effects of available treatment interventions can cause enormous distress in patients. Exposure to this may evoke concerns about one's own efficacy in life. Individuals may feel, for example, that their ability to perform everyday tasks is severely diminished. This can influence the degree to which one feels in control over his/her destiny. As well, aggressive treatments such as surgery and chemotherapy may result in frequent side-effects which sometimes can make the patient feel sicker than before. These factors, taken together, may negatively influence the task adaptation process, making it difficult for the cancer patient to enhance the quality of his/her daily existence and move towards a healthier and happier life (Cunningham, 2002).

How can patients, then, adapt to the physical aspects of their illness and reconstruct their lives? According to research, the patient's pro-active supervision of his/her health becomes critical in generating an outcome that is more likely to be positive and progressive. Patients, in other words, have to become actively involved in the maintenance of their health. The way in which this process takes shape will depend on each individual's situation, and grouping and severity of symptoms.

This "taking charge" approach usually entails going to regular medical appointments, collaborating and co-operating with physicians, and complying with physicians' therapeutic interventions. It is also usually helpful for patients to deepen their knowledge base of their illness and possible treatments via information gathering. This awareness may allow patients to better assess their situation and to generate more realistic and effective coping strategies (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979; Doka, 1995-96; Moos & Tsu, 1977).

Most significantly is the fact that as patients become more actively involved in their medical treatment, they begin to develop a sense of control over their life and illness. In summary, the patient's efforts are combined with treatment recommendations from physicians, pharmacological, and other therapeutic interventions. Thus, both the patient and physician are involved in assessing what is going on and deciding what to do. This relational dimension not only provides a means by which the negative symptomatology may become less prevalent, but also plays a constructive role in aiding the recovery process.

Furthermore, recurrence of the disease remains a continuous possibility. Such a possibility can provoke feelings of uncertainty and helplessness. A readjustment of lifestyle, therefore, is preferable. A recognition and discontinuance of lifestyle risk factors or cancer-causing habits, for example, may become a preferred coping strategy. This may involve dietary modification, the addition of regular exercise, monitoring sleep habits, and the avoidance of stressors. Injurious behaviours, such as smoking and

taking illegal drugs that are not amenable to continued good health may eventually be discarded (Canadian Cancer Society, 2002-03).

These lifestyle changes are repeatedly tested, re-evaluated, and prioritized as a means of developing the necessary coping mechanisms for dealing with the day-to-day problems characteristically associated with chronic illness, and, as well, as a means of reducing the threat of recurrence. Most significantly, perhaps, is the fact that developing and adopting new behaviours gives patients a sense that they still have some measure of control over their lives (Samson & Zerter, 2003).

the psychological task: the maintenance of emotional equilibrium. The diagnosis of a chronic illness often affects the emotional equilibrium of the affected individual for many reasons. Firstly, an illness like cancer is characterized by pathologies that are potentially deadly and often difficult to treat. The diagnosed individual is confronted with the possibilities of a shortened life span and the eventual degradation of his/her health.

Secondly, the threat of recurrence remains a frightening prospect. With the passing of time, the patient may find himself/herself facing more malignant and virulent forms of the disease. Such a possibility threatens one's sense of safety and security. Patients may feel helpless and extremely distressed. Eventually, these emotions may grow stronger and shift the individual's attention to a repetitive anguish about the possibility of the disease rearing its ugly head once again. In short, then, the deterioration of a patient's condition after recovery is an ever-present possibility, which can generate much worry and stress-it almost always has a deep and lasting effect on the chronically ill individual (Kornblith, 1998; Samson & Zerter, 2003).

Thirdly, a disease like cancer can negatively influence or alter a person's self-image. It is difficult to come to terms with the realization that a once strong and vital person has been weakened and incapacitated by a serious illness. This reality is disconcerting and painful for the patient who perceives his/her physical disintegration as an attack against his/her self-image. The individual may begin to feel different, undesirable, or inferior. Perhaps more damaging to the individual's psychological health is the fact that he/she perceives that others feel the same way. This emotional turmoil takes its toll on the patient. The patient recognizes that he/she has changed, but not for the better. The effects of such a narcissistic wound on the individual are often exacerbated by others who view him/her in a negative manner (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979; Corr, 1991-92; Moos & Tsu, 1977; Taylor, 1983).

Individuals who perceive themselves as passive victims of their disease may feel powerless and despairing about the future. This sort of thinking may ultimately undermine the individual's capacity for action in the face of the challenge. Conversely, a proactive stance in which the individual perceives himself/herself as capable of exerting some control over his/her situation represents one of the most efficacious ways of sustaining emotional health (Cella, Mahon, & Donovan, 1990; Kornblith, 1998). For example, for those diagnosed with cancer, confronting the uncertainties of the disease and the possibility of recurrence can be more of an impending threat to psychological health than the initial diagnosis. In these instances, therefore, it is important to see oneself as having power and control over the situation. Taylor (1983) places a lot of emphasis on cognitive skills in this process. Indeed, she demonstrates that via causal attribution, a person is likely to comprehend and predict what will happen to him/her.

Additionally, the implementation of new lifestyle practices may be beneficial to maintaining psychological well-being. This may involve dietary modification and the addition of regular exercise, for example. Equally important is the fact that incorporating such strategies into daily routines can give an individual a sense that he/she still has some measure of control over his/her illness (Samson & Zerter, 2003).

the social task: the importance of adequate social support. Chronic illness often imposes a certain form of marginalization. This is because the affected individual is eventually cut off from his/her regular social support system. In effect, the experience of a life-threatening illness often results in the discontinuance of a life that is conducive to the development of social relationships. The individual may not be able to go to work or go out for a period of time. He/she may engage in fewer professional, cultural or leisure activities; often patients abandon these altogether. In short, the patient experiences a loss of social attachments as a result of his/her illness (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979; Corr, 1991-92; Moos & Tsu, 1977; Muzzin et al., 1994).

Generally speaking, the affected individual is treated by others as a sick person, and as such, is considered as an unfit member of society. This tendency highlights the stigma commonly associated with illnesses like cancer. The impact of stigma often makes it difficult for cancer patients to rely upon the usual avenues of support to work through the recovery process (Cohen & Lazarus, 1979; Corr, 1991-92; Moos & Tsu, 1977). Eventually, they may begin to feel like they are no longer part of society. Moreover, instead of feeling like contributing members of society, cancer patients often feel like they have become a burden to it.

Thus, persons with cancer can be affected by society's response to the disease. The particular type of cancer can carry with it a form of social stigmatism which further isolates the chronically ill individual (Shaw, Segal, Polatajko, & Harburn, 2002). Persons diagnosed with lung cancer, for example, are vulnerable to the negative reactions of society. There is a tendency in our society to characterize the lung cancer patient under the general stereotype of smoker. There are noticeable prejudices and negative judgments prevalent in our current society about people who smoke, which are difficult, if not impossible, to change. This negative conditioning can produce feelings of shame, unworthiness, and guilt in the affected individual. These feelings, in turn, can prompt him/her to withdraw from others, which eventually contribute to social isolation (Kunkel, Bakker, Myers, Oyesanmi, & Gomella, 2000).

Finally, serious illness creates profound fear in the minds of many people. The awareness of a life-threatening condition is sufficient enough to evoke fears of dying and suffering amongst those who are healthy. The mere presence of a seriously ill person and the acknowledgement that he/she may die can remind those who are well that they too may one day have to accept the same reality. While the person who is seriously ill may adapt to the reality that he/she may not survive, others may be unwilling to accept the fact of death. This potential confrontation with death and suffering may prove to be too strong for those who represent the closest supports to the sick individual. Accordingly, the person with cancer may feel isolated and open to fears of being rejected.

As we have just seen, the experience of a life-threatening illness can lead to social isolation. It is crucial for the patient to seek comfort and support from people who are willing to be with her/him and to listen intently and respectfully, and who are sensitive to the emotional and physical stresses associated with their condition. Whether

or not this is found amongst friends, family, or clergy, patients need people with whom they can openly discuss their experiences and express their feelings. Finding the needed support may be difficult, but it is essential. According to research, individuals with strong supportive social networks deal much more successfully with a serious diagnosis and its aftermath than those without support (Muzzin et al., 1994).

Similar to the physical task, the patient's proactive participation plays a crucial role in the process. It is incumbent on the patient, then, to find the required supports as necessary within his/her community. Research indicates that belonging to a support group comprising of peers constitutes an excellent social support system. Another way individuals can benefit from social support is through volunteerism. In short, the patient needs to take active steps in finding a social support system which can provide nurturance, acceptance, and kindness. The task of achieving this can be relatively effortless, but it can also be very difficult for some as it implies increased dependency on others (Muzzin et al., 1994).

the spiritual task: the vital breath. The diagnosis of life-threatening illness can promote in a person a desire to find new meaning and purpose in his/her experience and life. Finding meaning and purpose in life are tasks often associated with the domain of spirituality. Yalom (1980) has long emphasized the importance of spirituality in the lives of those affected by cancer. According to him, those who come face-to-face with their own mortality are more likely to ascribe a new meaning to the value of life. This in itself represents a major milestone for those who are affected. Priorities are re-organized. The quest for material wealth seems less attractive and interpersonal relationships, living for the moment and the simple things in life are placed at the pinnacle of the priorities' list.

But what does spirituality mean? It is necessary to start with looking at the etymology of the noun itself. The roots and meaning of the word are derived from the Greek word *pneuma*. For the ancient Greeks, *pneuma* represented the invisible but vital breath that nourished human existence by providing sense of meaning and purpose. In that manner, all persons are imbued with spirituality and capable of drawing from it as a means of influencing their destiny (Ingersoll, 1994). This mysterious and intangible reality has been ignored by many researchers who believe that things that cannot be measured do not exist. Conversely, other researchers have shown that spirituality is central to the existence of the individual (Pargament, 1997).

For cancer patients, spiritual involvement seems to play a vital role. In effect, spirituality can become an important element of a person's life context within which more adaptive strategies can be developed. It has often been associated with improved psychological functioning and an increased capacity for coping with one's stressful life circumstances. For example, spirituality can be particularly helpful in alleviating anguish and facilitating well-being and coping with pain (Georgeson & Duncan, 1996; Jenkins & Pargament, 1995).

As well, spirituality can provide sources of meaning and significance to life. By making sense of what has happened, individuals can reinterpret their situation in a more positive light. Those who are unable to find meaning in their experience may find themselves struggling with coming to terms with their reality (Corr 1991-92; Samson & Zerter, 2003).

Spirituality can also furnish patients with new sources of meaning and purpose in life through relationships beyond the self to others (e.g., a counsellor) and/or to a

supernatural power. These types of relationships can provide energy, motivation, and hope, and remind individuals that they are not alone and that they are capable of regenerating themselves and rebuilding their lives (Rohr, 2001; Yalom, 2003). Most significantly perhaps is the fact that only spirituality can make sense of what is essentially absurd, that is, suffering and death (Samson & Zerter, 2003).

vocational task: the development of the career. It is easy to justify the addition of work and career development to the current task model since work life in general and the concept of career represent a central focal point in human experience. Firstly, work plays an important part in the lives of individuals. Secondly, a career helps define individual aspects of identity or personality, ensures a certain measure of autonomy and financial independence, and provides a mechanism for social interaction (Hoffman, 1997).

According to Riverin-Simard (2002), individual identity was in the past fashioned by his/her culture; however, that is no longer the case. She maintains that it is the career which provides the individual with his *raison d'être*, his/her identity or personality, and an opportunity for social interaction. Of course, this process is interspersed with periods of preparation, re-integration, and constant adaptation.

Often, the diagnosis of a chronic illness has a major impact on a person's work life. For example, employers may question whether or not the individual is capable of maintaining his/her previous work performance level. Also, the individual may be considered to be less of an asset and more of a burden to the employer. In short, the medical consequences related to the chronic illness can prevent an individual from applying himself/herself fully and effectively to day-to-day work activities and tasks. Under these circumstances, individuals must often undergo a continuous process of career re-orientation and re-adaptation (Hoffman, 1997; Roessler & Rumrill, 1998).

A meta-analysis conducted by Brown and Ming Tai-Seale (1992) indicates that cancer survivors often confront numerous obstacles when they return to work. The dominant theme that surfaces from their research is certainly that of discrimination. The stigma often related to potentially deadly diseases like cancer can inhibit efforts to secure new employment, extinguish one's hopes of promotion or vocational training, or quite simply lead to lay-off. However, individuals with little education and from lower socioeconomic strata are often more affected by discrimination in the workplace than those who are highly educated and privileged.

Despite these obstacles, the career can help individuals to maintain their emotional equilibrium and important interpersonal relationships, to improve their self-image, and to rebuild their existence (Roessler & Rumrill, 1998). Often, chronic illness adds a new dimension to life by giving those afflicted a new set of values; the career can become the conduit for the expression of these values. Individuals tend to appreciate more important things in life as opposed to material wealth, financial success, and accomplishments. Accordingly, they demonstrate their concern for others in vulnerable circumstances as never before through volunteer work. In this setting, the career can become a way for individuals to re-charge their energy and come alive again.

The preceding comments point to the important role of the career in the process of rebuilding the lives of chronically-ill individuals. While much of the literature reviewed to date identifies some of the challenges commonly associated with chronic illness, there is often little or no discussion on the role of career development in the

adjustment process. Further research is needed in order to develop a better understanding of this.

Nevertheless, our review of the literature has allowed us to discover the importance of career development in leading chronically ill persons to move ahead in their lives. As pointed out earlier, the vocational task provides the individual with a means to express his/her *raison d'être*, his/her identity or personality, and an opportunity for social interaction.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have posited a theoretical model which helps us to better understand the process of psychosocial adaptation to chronic illness.

As noted earlier, the task model represents a holistic system that is derived from the major dimensions of life. The model recognizes the interaction of psychological, physical, psychosocial, spiritual, and vocational factors in the lives of individuals. As well, the task model acknowledges the centrality and primary importance of subjective perceptions in the adaptation process. Moreover, the addition of the vocational task to the current model allows us to consider and appreciate the relationship between the individual's career development and work environment and his/her ability to adapt more effectively.

As previously mentioned, the completion of one task establishes a solid foundation from which other tasks are accomplished. For example, our research indicates that an adequate social support system and the proactive maintenance of health can promote positive cognitive adaptation and emotional equilibrium. The task model, in other words, affirms the principle that viewing the situation as a whole instead of dividing each task into a separate compartment is an essential component of an individual's psychological performance.

Finally, the present research also underscores the need for researchers to further study the importance of the vocational task in the process of adaptation in individuals diagnosed with chronic illness. Greater knowledge in this area may lead to better interventions that will foster optimal adaptation in individuals.

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The Tentacles of Bullying: The Impact of Negative Childhood Peer Relationships on Adult Professional and Educational Choices

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Barbara Coloroso (2001) states that: “Bullying is a life-and-death issue that we ignore at our children’s peril” (p. 1). Many human beings bear the scars of being mistreated by a bully in childhood. Recent manifestations of violence in primary and secondary schools by students who were continuously mistreated by their peers indicate that this is an alarming occurrence that must be addressed. Moreover, the adverse impacts of being bullied in youth do not necessarily come to an end once children reach adulthood.

Research surrounding many aspects of bullying has been conducted through the years. At the outset, Lynch (2004) states that: “Being bullied at school can result in long-term and social effects” (Paragraph 6). From a socio-emotional standpoint, some of the innate developmental constructs of individuals can be altered as a result of having had negative peer relationships in childhood. Some research has also shown that childhood bullying can be linked to future aggression, criminal behavior, depression, and even suicide (Patterson, 2005; Thompson, Cohen, & O’Neill Grace, 2002; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, n.d.). In instances where reconciliatory justice measures are not undertaken to aid the aggressors and their victims, a stage is set for the adverse effects of childhood bullying to continue into later life. In turn, numerous studies have been conducted to examine the immediate impacts of bullying on children (Coloroso, 2002; Gottheil & Dubow, 2001; Swearer, Song, Cary, Eagle, & Mickelson, 2001; Voors, 2000). However, the research conducted in regards to the long-term impacts of bullying and their materialization once adults make their vocational choices is limited.

Consequently, this study first examined the childhood environmental conditions of ten adult participants whose ages ranged from 26 years to 42 years. Seven were female, and three were male participants. All were victims of bullying at some point in their youth. It was conducted in a small, northerly, Canadian community. An attempt was made to determine how these conditions, in combination with childhood victimization in the form of peer aggressions, impacted the selections made the participants in regards to their employment and post-secondary educational choices.

Methodology

Instrumentation

Two measurement instruments were utilized to gather data for this study. The first was a resiliency inventory called the *Resiliency Quiz*. The second is a series of interview questions pertaining to demographic information, family environment, childhood bullying, and adult resiliency traits. These sources are further explained below.

resiliency inventory. The Resiliency Quiz was developed by Nan Henderson, who is an international trainer and renowned author on building and fostering resiliency, and who has given permission for its use in this study (Henderson, 2002). It was created to assist individuals in measuring and identifying the conditions in their lives that would assist them in further developing their level of resiliency. The inventory consists of a series of eighteen statements that require an affirmative or negative response. By identifying the areas where there are more negative responses, the individual can then concentrate on these particular areas to build his or her resiliency levels. This ability, in turn, can have an impact on the extent to which the participants were and are still affected by being victims of childhood bullying. Individuals who demonstrate higher resiliency levels, for example, may have a greater chance of being impacted positively, or of not being impacted as negatively by being victimized by peers in childhood as individuals with lower levels of resiliency.

interviews. In turn, the interview questions were developed by the researcher, and were designed to gather additional data specifically in regards to certain areas of the participants' lives. The interview comprised four categories: Demographic Factors, Childhood Family Environment, Bullying, and Personality Dynamics.

The questions addressed demographical information about the participants, their level of parental and environmental support in regards to personal and professional choices, their motivations for their professional and academic choices, the quality of their relationships with their family, the nature and extent of bullying they endured as children, intervention measures undertaken on their behalf, as well as their adult defense and coping mechanisms. Accordingly, the specificity in their design permitted the collection of data that was geared towards areas that were thought to be the more common areas that would potentially impact the vocational choices made by the participants.

Summary and Discussion of Results

Resiliency Quiz Summary

Administration of the resiliency inventory was conducted verbally by the researcher. This permitted clarification of ambiguous items by allowing the researcher to explain certain statements to the participants that could have had dissimilar meanings in different contexts. Clarification was given on the meaning of the items if required, and probing, non-leading questions were used only if the participant was unsure on how to respond. This was also noted during the administration of the inventory. The Resiliency Quiz (Henderson, 2002) encompasses five categories: Caring and Support, High Expectations for Success, Opportunities for Meaningful Participation, Positive Bonds, and Clear and Consistent Boundaries. The following table demonstrates the number of affirmative responses in relation to the number of items for every category on the Resiliency Quiz.

caring and support. The first category on the Resiliency Quiz, *Caring and Support*, addresses conditions in regards to the support received by the participants, their consequential achievements, as well as their ability to take care of themselves physically. These also represent other significant environmental influences. The

results were elevated in this area. Two of the participants responded affirmatively to two of the items, and the remaining eight responded affirmatively to all three items. This suggests that the participants in this study have had many individuals in their lives who supported their endeavors.

Table 1

Resiliency Quiz Responses

Participant Number	Caring and Support	High Expectations for Success	Opportunities for Meaningful Participation	Positive Bonds	Clear and Consistent Boundaries	Overall Resiliency Level
1	3/3	3/3	1/3	1/3	5/6	14/18
2	3/3	2/3	2/3	2/3	6/6	15/18
3	3/3	3/3	2/3	2/3	6/6	16/18
4	2/3	3/3	0/3	3/3	3/6	11/18
5	3/3	3/3	2/3	2/3	5/6	15/18
6	3/3	2/3	3/3	2/3	3/6	13/18
7	3/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	6/6	17/18
8	3/3	3/3	2/3	0/3	5/6	12/18
9	3/3	2/3	3/3	2/3	5/6	15/18
10	2/3	2/3	1/3	2/3	4/6	11/18

high expectations for success. Successively, the second group, *High Expectations for Success*, can be related to adult conditions that are thought to foster resiliency in their workplace, with the people in their lives, and with their internal sense of self. In this section, all of the participants had at least two of the three conditions thought to develop resiliency. In actuality, four of the ten had two affirmative responses, while the remaining six responded affirmatively to all three items. This also represents generally elevated workplace, environmental, and familial conditions in these areas of the participants’ lives.

opportunities for meaningful participation. The third category on the Resiliency Quiz, *Opportunities for Meaningful Participation*, addresses whether the participants’ have the opportunity to participate in community groups or extra-curricular activities in which they feel that they are contributing positively. It also addresses whether they feel their opinions and choices are valued by their family, friends, and others in their professional or social connections. This section therefore describes some of the pertinent current environmental influences of the participants.

The resiliency levels in this area were varied. Of the ten participants, one did not respond positively to any items on this section of the resiliency inventory. Two of the participants responded affirmatively to one of the three items, and four of the participants possessed two conditions of the three. Finally, three of the participants responded affirmatively to all three items in this category. This signifies that less than half of the participants had all of the conditions in their lives that provided them with prospects to participate meaningfully in their environment.

positive bonds. The participants in this study were bullied for varied durations. The fourth grouping, *Positive Bonds*, addresses whether they possess meaningful bonds with individuals in their professional, social, and familial environments. This provides insight into the quality of their relationships with their peers in adulthood, which sequentially can be considered an effect of the duration of the childhood bullying.

In fact, for this area, one of the participants did not give an affirmative response to any of the items in this section. One of the participants had one affirmative response. Nonetheless, seven participants, had two of three affirmative responses for this section, and one responded affirmatively to all three items. This reflects a reduction in the presence of bonds with the social and familial environments for some of the participants in adulthood, in comparison to other sections on the inventory.

clear and consistent boundaries. It is evident that all of the participants in this study were bullied in different measures during their childhood. The impact that these negative childhood peer relationships have had on their resiliency levels in adulthood, in relation to their life choices, is difficult to ascribe to a specific component of the Resiliency Quiz. However, the fifth grouping, *Clear and Consistent Boundaries*, questions whether the participants are aware of their strengths and weaknesses, and can utilize this knowledge to achieve their goals. It also investigates their current behaviors in their professional or academic lives. This section therefore categorizes the presence of conditions in the participants' lives that could possibly exacerbate or alleviate the long-term consequences of childhood bullying on these particular aspects.

In this section, all participants scored a minimum of three out of six conditions that generally represent optimal circumstances for the development of resiliency. One of the participants responded affirmatively to four of the items on this section of the resiliency inventory. In turn, four of the ten participants had five affirmative responses, and three of the six participants responded affirmatively to all of the items in this section. This indicates that the majority of participants had high resiliency levels in this category. This could possibly minimize the long-term manifestations of the bullying they experienced at the hands of their peers in childhood on their adult vocational decisions.

emergence of themes from interview transcripts. Upon close scrutiny of the individual responses, the researcher collectively compared the responses for every question, and denoted observations of common reoccurring trends that were of interest. Certain themes were derived as a result. The narratives were scrutinized, and words of interest that arose more than once were noted for every individual response. Next, the researcher utilized the *Find* function in Microsoft Word to locate these common words in the transcripts as a whole. These transcripts were revisited collectively. The following table represents the common words or trends noted, the interview category in which they arose, the frequency of their reoccurrence in the transcripts, as well as whether or not they were included as a theme:

Table 2

Re-occurring Words and Trends in the Interview Transcripts

<i>Common Words Or Trends</i>	<i>Interview Category</i>	<i>Frequency of Re-occurrence</i>	<i>Inclusion as a Theme</i>
More than one previous occupation	Demographic Factors	Ten	Yes
More than one previous educational endeavor	Demographic Factors	Nine	Yes
Help people	Demographic Factors	Ten	Yes
More than one career change	Demographic Factors	Ten	Yes
Career or educational program change to pursue passion	Demographic Factors	Seven	Yes
Financial motives	Demographic Factors	Four	No
Passion for field of choice	Demographic Factors	Eight	Yes
Good relationship with mother	Childhood Family Environment	Ten	Yes
Strained relatins with father	Childhood Family Environment	Fu	No
Parental involvement in professional decisions	Demographic Factors, Childhood Family Environment	Seven	Yes
Parental involvement in personal/life decisions	Childhood Family Environment	Eight	Yes
Bullied for more than one year	Bullying	Ten	No
Too many to count/remember	Bullying	Two	No
Never reported the bullying	Bullying	Eleven	Yes
Told figure of authority of the bullying	Bullying	Nine	Yes
Bullied by more than one person	Bullying	Eight	No
Ignoring/avoiding bullies	Bullying	Six	Yes

Defending myself	Bullying	Four	Yes
Teachers or authority did not intervene	Bullying	Fifteen	Yes
Parent or authority figure successful in ending the bullying	Bullying	Three	No
Adult behaviors stemming from childhood bullying	Bullying, Personality Dynamics	Two	Yes
Recall names of bullies	Bullying	Two	No
Encounter bullies in later life	Bullying	Two	No
Resilient in adulthood	Personality Dynamics	Eight	Yes
Severely affected by trauma or major upsets	Personality Dynamics	Seven	Yes
I just do it	Personality Dynamics	Five	Yes
Depends what it is	Personality Dynamics	Three	No
Compliant to authority	Personality Dynamics	Eight	Yes
Sometimes question authority	Personality Dynamics	Six	Yes
Optimistic	Personality Dynamics	Nine	Yes

These common words or trends were then studied individually, and were analyzed to determine whether they arose sufficiently to be considered a theme. Four or less occurrences of a trend or word were generally excluded as a theme unless sufficient evidence supported their inclusion in the remainder of the dialogue.

However, in two cases, despite the elevated number of occurrences in the transcripts, trends were excluded as themes. In fact, while all ten participants were bullied for more than one year, insufficient evidence was found to determine the nature and extent of impact on their adult vocational choices. In addition, while eight of the participants noted that they had been bullied by more than one person, the researcher could not link this trend to a future manifestation on adult career and educational selections.

In contrast, only two participants specifically noted that they utilized similar strategies in childhood and adulthood to resolve conflicts. However, other instances

were linked to the future exhibition of behaviors to lead to their inclusion as a theme. Similarly, four participants utilized the words *defending myself* in some form, but this was still included as a theme because further analysis of data suggested that seven participants noted that they were more apt to defend themselves in adulthood than they were in childhood. The following table delineates the themes, and outlines the words or concepts that led to their inclusion

Table 3

Themes Ensuing From Interview Transcripts

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Re-Occurring Word or Trend</i>
Depressive Tendencies	Depression, depressed, anti-depressants, severely affected Severely affected by trauma or major upsets
Motivations for Post-Secondary Choices	More than one previous occupation More than one previous educational endeavor Help people More than one career change Career or educational program change to pursue passion Passion for field of choice
Adult Resiliency	Good relationship with mother More apt to defend themselves in adulthood than in childhood Resilient in adulthood Severely affected by trauma or major upsets
Future Exhibition of Behaviors	Defending myself Adult behaviors stemming from childhood bullying

More apt to defend themselves in adulthood than in childhood

I just do it

Optimistic

Table 3: Themes Ensuing From Interview Transcripts (Continued)

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Re-Occurring Word or Trend</i>
Perception of Authority	Teachers or authority did not intervene Compliant to authority Depends what it is Sometimes question authority
Familial Influences	Good relationship with mother Parental involvement in professional decisions Parental involvement in personal/life decisions

As such, one of the means used to analyze the interview data was to verify the frequency of re-occurrence of certain words or trends. The researcher attempted to explicate their frequent appearance in the interview responses. Where sufficient literature support was found that could potentially link childhood bullying to the trend or word, these were then categorized according to similarity, as can be observed in the above table. A title was then given to the category, which constituted the theme for that category.

Description of Themes

depressive tendencies. The inclusion of depressive tendencies as a theme was due to the fact that seven of the ten participants mentioned the word “depression” in reference to their emotional state at some point in their lives. This relates to the findings of Lynch (2004), who states that: “Students who are chronic victims of bullying experience more physical and psychosocial problems than their peers who are not harassed by other children” (Paragraph 6). In fact, she highlights the results of a survey administered to more than one thousand adults, which indicate that over 46 percent of

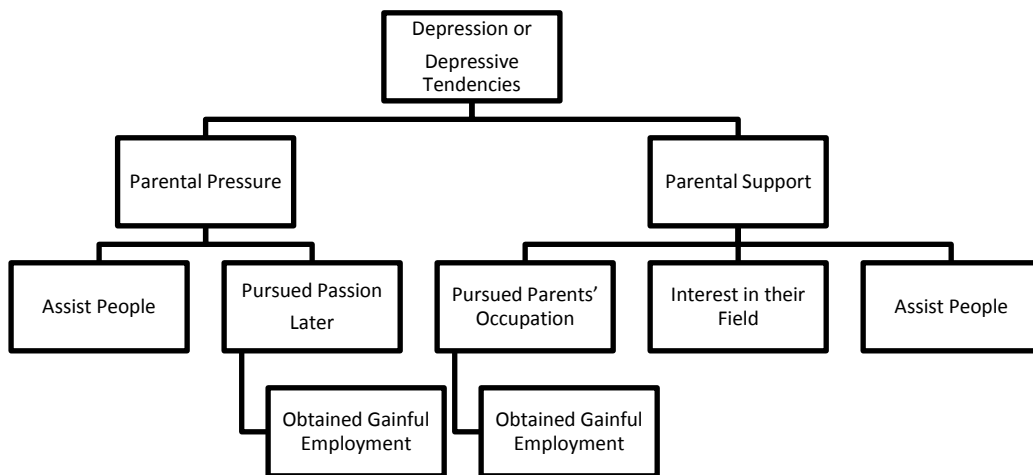
these adults contemplated suicide at one point, as opposed to only 7 percent of individuals who were not bullied (Paragraph 20).

The U.S. Department of Health (n.d.) supports the fact that adults who were victimized by their peers in childhood are more likely than their non-bullied peers to have low self-esteem and to suffer from depression (Paragraph 2). In turn, Lynch (2004) states that being bullied in childhood affects the adults' ability to make social connections, and to succeed in work and educational endeavors (Paragraph 20). Furthermore, Thompson et al. (2002) attribute high drop-out and drug use rates to childhood bullying (p. xvi).

One of the participants who suffered from a severe depression noted that she used to believe that she would be a homemaker like her mother, because she dropped out of high school. She stated that she also did not have faith in her abilities to pursue her studies. Nevertheless, she ultimately returned to post-secondary education, and is currently returning to college for a second degree. In contrast, none of the four participants who divulged no signs of depressive tendencies made any significant career changes in their lives. However, two of them had parents who always supported their educational and employment decisions. These two participants pursued one single career avenue to date in their lives. The other two participants noted that their parents did not always support their life, career, and educational choices. The two figures below illustrate these trends:

Figure 1

Depressive Tendencies and their Impact on Vocational Choices

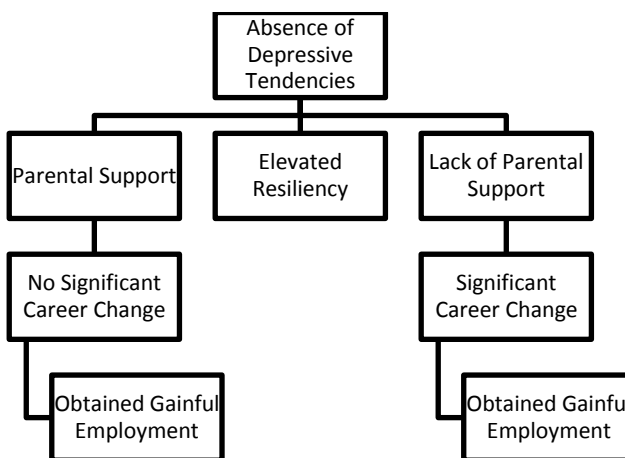


This could suggest that reduced self-esteem brought on by childhood bullying has potentially caused the individuals who participated in this study, who had depressive tendencies, to be more submissive in their post-secondary selections. They were, in some cases, more likely to yield to parental demands when making vocational choices. In contrast, where their non-depressive counterparts had parental support, the participants tended to only pursue one career option, while those whose parents were opposed to their choices made at least one significant career change. This could

potentially imply that when parental support was present, the participants pursued their general area of interest in early adulthood, and those whose parents were opposed pursued different avenues. Further research would be needed to draw conclusive findings in this regard.

Figure 2

Absence of Depressive Tendencies and their Impact on Vocational Choices



motivations for post-secondary choices. One of the more significant discoveries that ensued from analyzing the data collected was in regards to the motivations of bullying victims for their employment and educational choices. First, their current employment situations were noteworthy. All but one of the participants pursued post-secondary education, and eight even completed more than one degree or diploma in more than one area of study. In addition, all participants were currently employed, but two were on temporary leave from work to return to school. Willet (2004) highlights numerous factors that could influence post-secondary selections. Among these factors, he delineates the availability of post-secondary offerings in the geographical location of choice, the influence of family members, the availability of information in regards to post-secondary offerings, among other factors (Paragraph 1).

Additionally, the geographical location where this study took place comprises two colleges, one which offers French programming, and the other which offers similar English options. There is also a bilingual University and varied private institutions with post-secondary offerings. This suggests that there were numerous opportunities for the participants to continue their studies beyond high school.

However, Taylor, Harris, & Taylor (2004) make the following statement in regards to the roles of the parents in individuals' career selections: "Families, parents, and guardians in particular, play a significant role in the occupational aspirations and the career goal development of their children" (Paragraph 2). They further attribute academic settings, familial inspirations, money, and social circles as contributing factors in the selection of a career.

As was noted in an earlier section, two of the participants simply succumbed to authority in their educational and employment selections. These two participants, and two others, also failed to pursue certain areas in an earlier stage of life but later returned to school or changed their professional situation in some manner to pursue their passion. Using Erikson's theory of Psychosocial Stages as a point of reference, this could be explained by the incomplete transition between certain tasks or phases of life engendered by being victimized in childhood by peers (Bridges, 1980, p. 35). It could also signify that some of the participants limited their opportunities to identify themselves in one of their areas of expertise due to a reduced self-esteem caused by bullying. In turn, this would have caused them to pursue their true passion in later life, when the threat of their peers was reduced.

However, the main motivation behind employment and educational selections seemed to be geared towards pursuing an area of interest. In fact, five of these participants pursued an area of interest at a later time in their lives. Furthermore, six participants chose their current occupation at least in part because of a desire to assist people in some way. Four participants indicated that there were some financial considerations for their choices. The following table represents a profile of all of the participants in this study.

Table 4

Participant Motivations for Career and Educational Selections

<i>Participant Number</i>	<i>Continuous Parental Support</i>	<i>Depressive Tendencies</i>	<i>Financial</i>	<i>Same Occupation as Parent(s)</i>	<i>Helping People</i>	<i>Passion /Interest in Field</i>
1		X			X	X
2	X	X			X	X
3	X		X			
4		X	X			X
5	X	X	X		X	X
6	X			X	X	
7	X	X		X		X
8					X	X
9	X	X			X	X
10	X		X			X

This table also includes whether the participants had depressive tendencies, have always had parental support in their endeavors, as well as their motivations for their educational and career selections. These findings could suggest that these participants, who were bullied in childhood, possessed a desire to intervene among the populace, and to be of assistance to people in some way. The majority of the participants' career choices centered on the pursuit of a field of interest, but this sometimes occurred after the pursuit of other avenues. Other factors such as following in a parent's footsteps, or financial considerations, which are common factors of employment choices (Taylor et al., 2004), were not prominent factors for vocational choices among these participants. While the low number of participants in this study is insufficient to ascertain conclusively that people who are bullied in childhood develop a desire to help people once they reach adulthood, further research in this area would be noteworthy.

familial influences. It is important to include the influence of the familial environment on the vocational choices of the participants. Certain factors surfaced during the examination of the interview data and demographic profiles. One of these issues was that two participants indicated that they still utilize certain strategies that were suggested by their parents to deal with their bullies in their present social lives and in their workplace. To support this concept, Patterson (2005) suggests that "Guiding children to manage conflict in their relationships would be helpful in preventing relationship disruption" (Paragraph 3).

In addition, Thompson et al. (2002) further state that relationships and social skills are learned in the home. In this study, all ten of the participants had good relations with at least one parent. This is possibly one of the reasons that they are now all employed, and that most pursued post-secondary studies despite research findings that suggest that victims of childhood bullying are likely to encounter difficulties in their future employment and educational avenues (Lynch 2004; Knoester, 2003; Pattersen, 2005; U.S. Department of Health, n.d.).

As a final point, Voors (2000) considers assertiveness on the part of a bullying victim to be an effective strategy to reduce future incidents. The fact that seven of the participants noted that their parents are supportive of their life and of their career choices suggests that this could have built up their self-esteem, and could potentially account for their successes despite their negative childhood experiences. As such, it can be assumed that having life conditions that foster resiliency may have an impact on the extent of the effect that childhood bullying has on professional and educational selections made in adulthood.

adult resiliency. There were significant extrapolations of data that occurred in regards to the adult resiliency environments of the participants in this research. First, the resiliency inventory suggested that all ten participants had elevated resiliency levels. In fact, they seemed to grow more resilient in adulthood than they were in their childhood. However, six of the participants stated that they were accommodating, but nonetheless indicated that they have difficulty dealing with traumatic situations.

Conversely, Nan Henderson (2002) indicates in reference to her Resiliency Quiz that: "People bounce back from tragedy, trauma, risks, and stress by having the following conditions in their lives" (Paragraph 2). These conditions consist of having a caring and supportive familial and social circle, having elevated expectations for

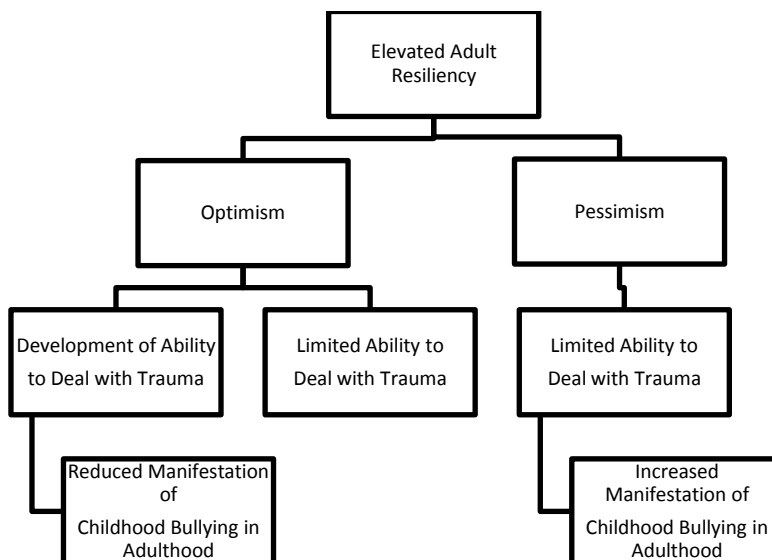
success, belonging to community groups with opportunities for meaningful contribution, having positive, constructive relationships, and finally, establishing clear and consistent limitations and realistic expectations. She continues by outlining the fact that higher numbers of affirmative responses suggests that there are greater chances of bouncing back from life problems.

This could explicate the fact that, in this research, the participants all obtained gainful employment, which contradicts some research findings that suggest that adults who are bullied in childhood are more likely to have difficulty in school and in the workplace (Knoester, 2003; Lynch 2004; Pattersen, 2005; U.S. Department of Health, n.d.).

The following figure represents how having elevated resiliency levels, optimism versus pessimism, and developing the ability to deal with trauma in adulthood impacts the extent of the manifestation of childhood bullying in later life, in accordance to the observed trends in this study:

Figure 3

The Impact of Elevated Resiliency and the Ability to Deal with Traumatic Situations in Adulthood and the Extent of Manifestation of Childhood Bullying



Copper, Estes, & Allen (2004) designate hopefulness as a characteristic that is thought to be more often present in resilient individuals (Paragraph 2). The fact that all of the participants had elevated resiliency levels could suggest that their environmental conditions have lessened the impact of being bullied in childhood in their later lives. In short, these indications suggest that positive environmental factors as well as certain internal characteristics found in resilient individuals can potentially affect the extent of the effect of childhood bullying on adult vocational choices.

future exhibition of behaviors. General trends in regards to adult exhibition of certain behaviors were also noted. At the outset, Knoester (2003) notes that being a victim of bullying in childhood can cause the adaptation of anti-social behaviors that can sometimes continue across the life-span (Paragraph 8). For this study, nine of the ten participants indicated that they could not stand up for themselves in the past, but that now they are much more apt to speak up when they feel someone is disrespecting them. In addition, seven of the participants even stated that they are sometimes firm and blunt in their defense. Finally, two participants noted that they still utilized the conflict resolution strategies provided by their parents in their youth to resolve present situations.

In regards to employment, five of the participants often questioned their employers when they were asked to complete a task. One even noted that he sometimes got into trouble at work for voicing his opinions too firmly. Another participant noted that her new, strong attitude at work definitely stemmed from being bullied in childhood.

Conversely, Bandura's theory of Social Cognition suggests that children learn certain behaviors in the home, in the media, or from their social connections (Isom, 1998, Paragraph 1). As such, in reference to this theory, being victimized by their peers in childhood could have reinforced the need for the participants to defend their rights assertively. Their victimization could have caused them to want to eliminate the possibility of this reoccurring in adulthood. Finally, this could suggest that maturity, in combination with optimal life-conditions, have provided the victims of childhood bullying with necessary tools once they reach adulthood to ensure that they are not victimized again. It is possible that assertiveness was developed as a defense mechanism to avoid the trauma they experienced in childhood.

perception of authority. Certain observations also led to the development of the participants' perception of figures of authority in adulthood as a theme. At the outset, Watkins (2000) indicates that certain children who are continuously victimized by their peers sometimes develop a pattern of compliance with authority (Paragraph 5). For this study, the areas of interest were specifically geared towards the participants' use of coping mechanisms in their perception of authority, and its' impact on their subsequent vocational and educational choices.

In fact, the research findings suggest that the participants were not always immediately acquiescent to authority. In truth, six of the participants actually questioned their employers when they were asked to complete a task. Three even indicated that they do not act in accordance with the request unless it is something that they felt was reasonable. Four participants, however, immediately conformed to the requirements of their employers or teachers. The following table represents a profile of the participants in regards to their level of resiliency, their depressive tendencies, whether they were pressured by their parents in their vocational selections, and whether they complied with their employer's or another figure of authority's requests:

Table 5

Relation between Resiliency Levels, Parental Support and Participant Perception of Authority

<i>Participant Number</i>	<i>Overall Resiliency Level</i>	<i>Depressive Tendencies</i>	<i>Continuous Parental Support</i>	<i>Immediate Compliance With Authority</i>
1	14/18	X		
2	15/18	X	X	
3	16/18		X	X
4	11/18	X		X
5	15/18	X	X	X
6	13/18		X	
7	17/18	X	X	X
8	12/18			
9	15/18	X	X	
10	11/18		X	

As such, the evidence is conflicting in this regard. There does not seem to be a relation between the adult overall resiliency level and the surfacing of depressive tendencies, and the resiliency level does not seem to be related to immediate compliance with authority. At the moment, based on the information gathered from the demographic profiles and from the interview responses, there is no reason to conclude that the level of compliance to authority had any consequence, positive or negative, on the participants when they made their choices. The only factor that was evident was that two participants yielded to the will of their parents in their choice of an educational program or employment field. Eight participants ultimately ended up pursuing what they considered to be their passion at a later point in their lives. One of these two participants had depressive tendencies and the other did not, therefore the evidence is inconclusive in this regard as well.

This could suggest that authoritarian influence did not continue to be a factor in the selection of post-secondary options, for these participants, despite being bullied in childhood. However, this could also suggest that maturity and life circumstances that foster resiliency can potentially assist individuals in making employment and educational decisions that are better suited to their area of interest rather than being based on environmental conformity.

Conclusions

The research findings of this study suggest that there might be manifestations of adult bullying that surface into adulthood when adults make choices for their vocations. In fact, many of the participants could recall clear facts about their childhood bullies, and could remember the feelings of anger and distress they experienced. Many of these participants chose their vocation due to a desire to help others. Coloroso (2001) makes the following statement in regards to bullying intervention: “Breaking the cycle of

violence involves more than merely identifying and stopping the bully. It requires that we examine why and how a child becomes a bully or a target of a bully as well as the role bystanders play in perpetuating the cycle” (p. xvi). This suggests that the areas of consideration when undertaking studies about bullying and career selections are multifaceted. In fact, Voors (2000) indicates in the following statement that society often portrays attitudes that lead to discriminatory tendencies: “Every child and adult deserves to be treated with respect. Yet every day our children absorb societal attitudes that not only minimize and deny but also sometimes embrace intolerance” (p. 13). It is important to recognize that the media, the home environment, pressure from peers, and other factors affect the perception of violence as an acceptable behavior.

Recommendations

Based on the data collected, it is evident that optimal environmental conditions that foster resiliency in individuals was possibly, for these participants, an important factor in reducing the long-term impact of childhood bullying. Consequently, bullying intervention and reconciliatory justice measures should comprise proficient conditions such as the ones found on the Resiliency Quiz in regards to providing students with opportunities to bond. They should also encompass teaching them positive life skills and conflict resolutions strategies, the provision of caring and support by teachers when they intervene in situations of bullying, the setting and communicating of high expectations from teachers and parents, as well as the creation of opportunities for meaningful participation. This could take the form of having the students participate in community charity events, fundraising, or helping the less fortunate through community service (Henderson, 2002). On the other hand, it is evident that, at times, it is difficult to remedy familial circumstances that hinder some individuals’ ability to heal from being victimized by peers.

However, schools can alleviate this occurrence by acclimatizing after-school programs or opportunities for their students to contribute positively in their environment. This could include the creation of peer support groups for victims of bullying, individual career counseling sessions with experts in the community integrated into schools, or even the creation of student and parent councils to provide input into effective bullying intervention strategies (Lynch, 2002, Paragraph 1). In addition, in light of the fact that victims of bullying are often reluctant to come forward (O’Moore & Minton, 2005) it could be beneficial to implement bullying reporting protocols where the students could feel more secure, for example, by having positive student leaders in charge of observing the schoolyards for incidents of bullying, and of reporting their observations to a designated figure of authority.

To continue, many of the participants in this study chose their occupations based on a desire to aid others. This suggests that schools can assist the perpetrators and victims of bullying by providing prospects for their student bodies to assist in the reduction of school violence. One example of this is the Safe Schools Ambassadors Program (Ontario Ministry of Education, n.d.), in which the students are trained by an outlying community organization to promote and utilize positive conflict resolution skills in their schools.

As a final point, the analysis of the data has shown that two of the participants utilized strategies provided by their parents or teachers to resolve conflicts in their future occupations. Some researchers have also indicated that children who are

provided with positive conflict resolution strategies are more likely to have positive peer relationships (Coloroso, 2001; Patterson, 2005). This outlines the importance of implementing educational programming that promotes character education and positive character traits in their students. Many of the adaptations of later behaviors seem to be rooted in childhood. In addition, in light of the fact that many of the participants chose their current field due to a desire to help others, it would be of primary importance to provide students with information in regards to their post-secondary educational and career options. As such, scholars, parents, educators, and administrators should be provided with the necessary knowledge and tools to ensure that the children are benefiting from the most proficient educational environment possible. This maximizes their chances for future academic and employment stability.

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Women Survivors' Experiences of the Intersection of Abuse and Work³¹

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Career counsellors working with women who have had a history of abuse realize that many individual and social realities affect women's ability to enter the paid work force. Several authors contend that relational issues are a dominant theme for women in the ways in which they approach work situations (Flum, 2001; Josselson, 1992; Schultheiss, 2003). If primary relationships have been disrupted by abuse experiences, it is likely that issues and problems within a work context will also emerge (Flum, 2001). Components of physical, emotional, intellectual, and psychological well-being influence a woman's ability to work (Elliot & Reitsma-Street, 2003) and work becomes very important for women who are trying to rebuild their lives after experiencing various forms of abuse (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003).

Immediate support for women as they leave abusive situations is very important. Yet the effects of abuse create barriers that persist long after initial supports have been exhausted. Women who have experienced abuse encounter a number of specific life situations that often interact, overlap, and connect to create barriers to work. Experiences of assault by an intimate male partner and historical abuse combined with poverty, and current health conditions contribute to potential barriers when women seek to find and hold employment (Wells, 1994).

How are women giving meaning to the intersection of their abuse experiences and their work histories in light of the fact that problems may persist for them when it comes to finding and maintaining employment? How would they go about telling these stories? The present paper explores these questions.

Survivors and Work

Career choice and career development unfolds in particular ways for women; options and opportunities are influenced by a social context that includes balancing work and family, dealing with career interruptions, and diverse career patterns (Schreiber, 1998). Lent, Brown and Hackett (2000) describe Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) as providing an important theoretical perspective from which to view women's situations in terms of work. An emphasis on variables such as self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and goals, as well as environmental variables that include family, friends, financial conditions, and the larger societal context allows this theory to be especially useful when examining how career unfolds for women.

Chronister and McWhirter (2003) have applied the SCCT model specifically to women who have been the target of domestic violence. Learning experiences were limited; opportunities to succeed in education and career related activities were low; and fear, anxiety, and depression influenced self-efficacy and future expectations. In the face of harassment in the workplace by abusers, absenteeism, impaired work

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performance, and lack of advancement, it was not hard to understand that women held negative outcome expectations.

Little attention has been paid to the long-term effects of domestic violence on employability (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003). Women who reported domestic violence were more likely to have had more jobs but a lower personal income with their socio-economic status dropping over time (Lloyd, 1997). Studies confirm that these women do seek employment but are unable to maintain it (Raphael & Tolman, 1997). Women who have experienced histories of abuse experience a complex set of circumstances and behaviours that may present multiple barriers to employment (Elliot & Reitsma-Street, 2003).

Psychological trauma contributes to hyper-arousal tendencies (Herman, 1997). Job interviews can create panic; women survivors may experience extreme levels of fear over appearing uneducated, being asked personal questions that are uncomfortable to answer, or having to explain problematic job histories (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003). Elevated levels of fear and anxiety can accompany job evaluation or testing situations (Gianakos, 1999). Stress related illnesses can result in time lost from work, education, or training and women often quit jobs or are fired due to their absences (Wells, 1994). Raphael and Tolman (1997) found rates as high as 56% of women reporting that they had missed school or training due to abuse. Abuse has robbed women of control over their lives and their bodies at a very deep level and this leads to feeling powerless (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003). Powerlessness can result in an inability to make choices about employment options, a lack of awareness that one can be assertive, the tendency to relinquish power, and difficulties with authority figures (Wells, 1994).

Gianakas (1999) writes that women who have unresolved issues resulting from abuse may behave inappropriately with male supervisors in work situations. Interpersonal conflicts with co-workers and supervisors can emerge in training and work settings (Prigoff, 2000) because of this inability to maintain healthy boundaries. Many studies indicate links between domestic violence, childhood abuse and substance misuse (Bala et al., 1998; Raphael & Tolman, 1997; Reitsma-Street, Schofield, Lund, & Kasting, 2001; Ullman & Brecklen, 2003; Wells, 1994). Women experience difficulty accessing treatment due to pressures related to obtaining childcare, lack of funds, and transportation problems (Schober & Annis, 1996).

Hall (2000) interviewed 20 urban, low-income women who had suffered multiple forms of childhood abuse and were in recovery treatment due to substance abuse. She analyzed the women's stories as they related to learning and work difficulties and found four domains of interest: a) problems with school because abuse in the home environment had compromised school as a source of learning and as an arena of peer socialization, b) a lack of adult skills related to relationship competency, money management, life planning, and parenting, c) problems around academic and health literacy, and d) problems related to alcohol and drug addiction. These four issues represented barriers to success in the job market for these women.

The above authors have raised questions about the ways in which women with abuse histories move past the initial supports offered to them to negotiate the world of work. The focus of the present study was to explore survivors' stories of the intersection of abuse and work experiences in a relational context.

Methodology

The research question, situated within an overarching framework of social constructionism, assumes an approach to career and work that is relational. Blustein, Schultheiss, and Flum (2004) argue that this point of view leads to a particular leverage in understanding how people comprehend, construct, and act in relation to the challenges and opportunities of their working experience. Relationship and relational frameworks, woven through the stories these women constructed about career and the work process, provide many important points of interest for career counsellors working with women who have a history of abuse, as well as with women who have experienced other relational difficulties.

Narrative methodology honours and allows the unique voice and story of each participant to emerge. Blustein, Kenna, Murphy, Devoy, and DeWine (2005) write that, “Narrative analyses are particularly informative to the psychology of work for individuals who have been outside of the mainstream of career development discourse” (p. 359). Career narratives in particular have the ability to identify aspects of the social realm that have enabled or constrained individuals (Cohen, Duberly, & Mallon, 2004).

Five women, recruited from a local employment program created for women with abuse histories participated in a 90 minute audio-taped one-on-one interview with the author. The women were asked to speak of how their past experiences of abuse had intersected with their abilities to find and maintain employment. As each woman sat down for the interview, she was asked, “When you heard me say that this research was about work and your experiences of abuse and I asked if you thought you might have a story to tell about that – what did you start to think about? What stories came to mind for you?” Work was defined in a broad sense as the carrier of meaning in their lives, not just paid work outside the home. During the interview, each woman was offered the opportunity to create a time line drawing in which she could illustrate the times in her life when abuse experiences intersected with her choice of work, her ability to obtain or retain work.

Frank (2000) writes of the ethical and intellectual responsibility to enter into relationship with the stories we elicit as researchers. The analysis of the women’s narratives became an entering into the relational space created between the participant and the interviewer. This entailed working amidst several layers of interpretation – field notes taken throughout the process, tape recorded interviews, verbatim transcripts, time line drawings, and concept maps created to illustrate major themes.

Results

Becky³²

Becky described verbal abuse from her father as a starting point that made her vulnerable to sexual abuse as a teen that then precipitated her slide into prostitution and criminality. Living within this belief system led to missed opportunities. Becky spoke of the people she had known and the type of work she had done as blinding her to any reality outside of criminality for a large portion of her life. “Most of my life has been spent in a different world and if it had been spent working at MacDonal’d’s and going to

³² Pseudonyms were chosen by participants

Burger King and having a paper route it would be a whole different reality . . . If I hadn't had to put so much time into surviving the mental abuse and I hadn't put so much time into abusing myself, I wonder how much differently my life would be and I would be . . . I bet I'd be walking out proud of my resume and being comfortable with getting a job."

The four themes identified in Becky's story include: a fragmented sense of self, loss of opportunities, a lack of "job getting skills", and a desire to work for change with other women. Becky described issues related to a lack of support to become the self she might have been and a distorted sense of self worth due to her experiences. She describes her experience of assault at the hands of an intimate male partner as being her lowest point, "When I first got out of the situation, my sense of self, there was no sense of self, and I remember just describing it as 'I fragmented'." Loss of opportunity connected to her belief that she was living a life script that she did not have a hand in writing. Becky spoke of how her life was on a certain path she had no control over.

Becky struggled with not being able to visualize herself in the world of work and her lack of experience with any of the "getting a job skills" that most people begin to experience at a much younger age. She shared that she had never had to go on an interview, or sit across from someone who was judging her as capable to do a certain job; ". . . you don't have to apply to be a prostitute and they don't ask you to fill out a job application to be a drug dealer." When speaking about the world of work, Becky's story was filled with expressions of unfamiliarity, lack of vision, and fear. What Becky lacked was the recognition that many of the job skills she had acquired in her life were in fact transferable and she could draw on them now as she moved into a different type of work world.

A prominent theme in Becky's story was her desire to work to educate and help other women. She believed that her experiences of domestic violence have made her sensitive to this issue. She shared her desire to work in the field of social work and how experiences with other women had shown her that she was able to do that type of work. "I do have the ability, I know that. I am able to give people hope and I think that is a gift."

Jeannie

When Jeannie first began to recover from the shock of a break-up with a long-term, abusive partner, she spoke of waking up in the morning and thinking, "What am I going to do for myself today. Not for my son, or for anybody else, but for me." She spoke of not really knowing how to think about herself. She had been looking after her partner and her son for so long, that had constituted her work. Jeannie was amazed by the notion of being by herself and learning how to do things for herself. "I had to keep reminding myself, you know, that there was no one to tell me what to do." The realization that she was on her own was scary. "I was scared thinking how I would have to go out and look after myself and make money."

Four significant themes identified in Jeannie's story included: doing things just for herself, being taken by surprise and not being heard, feeling silenced in the face of abuse, and questions related to being ready to move forward with her life. As Jeannie told her story, she repeated a theme related to the number of times she was caught off guard by what was happening to her. She entered into a relationship after leaving her abusive partner only to find herself in another abusive relationship and it was a shock.

“He started hitting me and doing things and saying things I never expected.” Jeannie also described speaking and not being heard. She told her abusive partner to leave and yet he remained, she broke off a subsequent abusive relationship only to find the man back in her apartment as if she had never spoken of ending their relationship. In not knowing and not being heard, Jeannie did not seem to be an active agent in her own life.

Jeannie spoke of being uncomfortable with talking about being a victim of the abuse. “I was so ashamed of what was happening to me and I didn’t want anybody else to know about it . . . I didn’t think it was a good feeling to have other people know these things.” She worried about being part of an employment program for women with abuse histories because she knew she would have to talk about things that had happened to her.

Parts of Jeannie’s story relate to her lack of readiness to move forward with her life. While doing the time-line drawing, Jeannie spoke about not remembering her childhood at all. These gaps in her memory and experience limit her ability to understand and move forward. When speaking of her long-term relationship with an abusive partner, Jeannie says, “I had a good life” and minimized how he had abused her. Jeannie did not seem ready to completely face these experiences and she shared a sense of limitation in her ability to be an active agent in her life and move forward.

Betty

Before the age of fourteen, when she ran away from home to live on the street, Betty had already undergone intense trauma. She became vulnerable to alcohol abuse. “I started drinking heavily when I was around that age. Cause I discovered that even through it tasted awful, it made everything okay.” She was vulnerable to men in the workplace and ultimately she was vulnerable to a relationship with an abusive husband. When Betty finally got away from this violent and abusive marriage, barely with her life, her emotional and physical health was severely compromised. She fell into a pattern of addiction and depression that made work impossible. Betty spoke of surviving two major breakdowns and a serious suicide attempt. It took her a long time to begin to find her way out of the darkness.

The three themes identified in Betty’s story: low self-esteem, ability to work, and lost opportunities, were not discrete units. These themes merged and overlapped. Long-range affects of abuse set Betty up to be vulnerable to other incidents of abuse, to addiction issues, and to the extreme distress she has lived with most of her life. The long-range affects of abuse overlap with the other themes and create intersections with her work experiences:

Betty’ physical weakness and her drinking compromised jobs she was able to obtain after getting away from her abusive husband. She was unable to cope with a job she had in a truck factory where men harassed her. “I was still quite afraid of men at that point . . . I was trying to be tough, to prove to myself I could be around men . . . I just started getting more and more stressed . . . I still had the physical problems from the abuse in my back and legs . . . I would be on Demerol for the pain and still trying to work. I was drinking pretty heavily then.” In subsequent attempts to obtain employment, Betty shared that her abuse affected her. “I don’t have the confidence to apply for a job and when I did work at a job I couldn’t handle the stress, physically or mentally, and I would need to go on sick leave.”

When Betty was homeless and living on the street after losing her job at the truck factory, she ran into a friend who was able to connect her with a woman who let Betty stay at her house until she could qualify for social assistance. Betty shared that she was amazed this woman would open her home to her. She saw herself as the “scum of the streets” and wondered why anyone would let her live in their home. The state of Betty’s self-esteem seriously impeded her ability to see herself as capable or able to work.

Melanie

For much of her life, Melanie had defined herself in terms of her past abuse experiences. She alluded to the many implications: her lifelong eating disorder, relationship issues, questionable choices with work, and a sense of fear. Speaking of her work experiences, “I think that one of the major ways my abuse has affected work is in how I feel about myself and then how that translates to the type of work I have chosen and how that reinforces those feelings.” She chose cleaning work, being around other people’s dirty things, seeing herself as an observer, standing on the outside of life looking in. “That explains a lot of my life and it comes from the sexual abuse and never feeling like I could really participate in my own life.”

The four themes that connected Melanie’s experiences of abuse and her work history included: being defined by her abuse experiences, her perceptions of being unsafe in the world of work, paths not taken and opportunities lost, and how healing became her work.

Melanie defined her work life as having been guided by her strong attraction to unsafe work experiences that served to reinforce what she already felt about herself: that her purpose in life was to be used by others. Many of her work experiences are seen through this lens: out delivering papers all by herself or working at a summer resort out in the middle of nowhere. “Now I see that I was choosing things that weren’t necessarily safe.”

Melanie named many opportunities she missed because of her abuse. She felt regrets about missed opportunities in her relationship with her husband because of the sexual abuse issues she was dealing with. “I wish I could have allowed him to be my ally.” Opportunities missed in the world of work figure largely in Melanie’s story. “If I hadn’t had this idea that work was where I would get used and feeling like that was all I was good for . . . maybe I could have chosen a different path with work.” She also reflected that dealing with sexual abuse meant she could not work full time and have access to the money necessary to pursue certain paths. “. . . maybe I could have just kept working somewhere and had the money to do some training – maybe then some of those other paths would have been possible.”

Very early in her interview Melanie made a telling statement, “When I think about the question of abuse and work, in some ways I have started to perceive that my healing from the abuse is a big part of my work.” For a number of years she had been in counselling and had been part of many healing programs and experiences. Melanie’s healing work became full-time work. “I couldn’t have got to where I am now without having gone through the blackness and the searching and the healing. It was worthwhile, all of it.”

Cinnamon

A dominant theme that emerged from Cinnamon's story was her struggle to understand and deal with an unhealthy relationship with her mother. Cinnamon spoke of always trying to please her mother and this had an impact on work and intimate relationships over her life span. She described the traditional mindset her mother held, "It's the whole religious thing, you know . . . my background and my mom's was very traditional . . . my mom wouldn't have even had a way to get what was happening to me." These early experiences and family values created vulnerability for Cinnamon that she connected with unhealthy choices in the work environment and an abusive marriage.

Cinnamon's story generated four themes that connected her experiences of abuse with her experiences of work: family of origin issues, how these issues influenced both work and relationships, loss of confidence and belief in herself, and current feelings about work. Living out a script of trying to please her mother was transferred to her work life. "I was always trying to please the owner . . . it all got overwhelming, I had a breakdown, everything fell apart." Cinnamon shared that when she met her husband she transferred all the control and people pleasing to him and, ". . . just went on doing the same thing . . ." She talked about the links between what she went through in her marriage and what she went through in her childhood with her mother, "I guess you could say I married my mom."

Cinnamon's experiences of abuse in her marriage reached out to influence what she could envision for herself in the future. She described a marriage in which she was isolated; her husband did not like her to have friends or speak to her family on the phone or to work outside of the home. "I'm still in isolation in some ways . . . years of living like that takes a toll on you . . ."

What Cinnamon had gone through was characterized by what she had lost. When she previously worked in management, she speaks of having confidence. She could attack problems and find solutions, now decision making is difficult. "I don't have confidence in my abilities anymore . . . confidence is a big challenge right now."

Cinnamon's relationship with the world of work is fraught with fear, reluctance, and distrust. She is afraid to go back to work, ". . . going back to work, I'm just not ready. That is why I'm choosing school right now. . ." The pressure to get out and find work made her feel as though she had moved from one controlling environment, her marriage, to another. "I still feel like I don't have a say. I have a bit more control but I'm still not calling the shots on my life and it's frustrating."

Discussion

The five women in this study experienced barriers in terms of being able to find and maintain employment, a prerequisite for forging a work identity that is capable of providing an ongoing sense of agency. Isaacson and Brown (2000) state that work is the means of relating to society and it can provide status, recognition, and affiliation. Though work may come to serve these functions for some of these women, they did not speak of work in this way when they told their stories. Work was going to be something to figure out (Becky), something never done before, but now necessary (Jeannie), something not likely to be done again (Betty), something to be envisioned as many different paths even though the way is blocked (Melanie), or something that is feared

(Cinnamon). Their experiences of abuse continue to effect their views of and participation in the world of work.

Women who have experienced violence and abuse are at risk for mental or physical health problems (Elliot & Reitsma-Street, 2003). This was clear in Betty's story: she had not had a paying job in twelve years; and it seemed unlikely, in view of her fragile state, that employment would be part of her future. Betty's struggle to deal with her pain, both physical and emotional, by self-medicating with alcohol relates to studies that have linked childhood abuse, domestic violence, and addiction issues (Bala et. al., 1998; Raphael & Tolman, 1997; Reitsma-Street et. al., 2001; Ullman & Brecklen, 2003; Wells, 1994) fit with

Melanie spoke of spending the past eight years working full-time on her own healing. Though she had many dreams of what she might do in terms of work in the future she also reported feeling very stuck and unable to move on. The emotional affects of her abuse experiences still had a powerful hold on her. Melanie continued to experience a number of stress reactions which create further barriers to employment (Gianakos, 1999).

Loss of valuable educational and work experiences played a large role in blocking potential work opportunities and options. Women who have abuse histories have often experienced limitations in learning experiences. Opportunities to succeed in education and career can be few; fear, anxiety, and depression influence future expectations (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003). Becky spoke of school as difficult for her due to abuse at home and the way in which her future expectations were skewed based on negative messages of verbal abuse she was taking in from her father. Betty ran away from home at a very early age, ending up homeless and on the street; her educational options seriously compromised. Melanie spoke of not being able to pursue educational opportunities because of her abuse. Cinnamon left home before graduating and had to finish Grade twelve through night school classes.

Three of the women spoke of lost opportunities related to work. Becky had many work experiences but she did not have work experiences she felt she could put on a resume. Chronister and McWhirter (2003) report that job interview situations can create panic for women who have experienced abuse, this may relate to having to answer personal questions that are uncomfortable or having to explain problematic job histories.

Jeannie had simply never needed to work outside the home. Her partner had always gone out and made the money; she just assumed her life would continue on that path. Women with abuse histories often come from backgrounds that are characterized by rigid gender stereotypes about work-role attitudes (Brown, Reedy, Fountain, Johnson, & Dischiser, 2000). Jeannie simply never envisioned a time when she would have to look after herself financially and this was a scary thought for her now.

Melanie lost significant opportunities to pursue work that might have better suited her because, in her opinion, she did not receive the support to look at other options. She also relates the ways in which abuse experiences blocked educational opportunities. Her sense of herself as "garbage" and her pattern of choosing only work that would reaffirm this belief blocked many other work experiences. She also speaks about the time involved in healing and how this has meant lost chances to sustain employment over time and save money that could have gone toward education.

Loss of self-esteem and self-efficacy was another common theme in the women's stories. Abuse and trauma experiences have an affect on self-esteem and one's

basic sense of self-worth (Rosenbloom & Williams, 1999). Brown et al. (2000) contend that low self-esteem is the most significant barrier to employability and the barrier that contributes the most to lower levels of self-efficacy. Employment success is related to high levels of self-efficacy (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003; Gianakos, 1999) and the literature indicates that abuse lowers these levels (Chronister & McWhirter, 2003; Brown, et al., 2000). Sustaining a healthy self-concept under the circumstances of abuse is almost impossible (Ibrahim & Herr, 1997). Becky shared her distorted sense of self-worth due to her experiences in the sex-trade. Betty spoke, quite poignantly, of how she had no self-worth; she thought she was the “scum of the streets.” Cinnamon compares her confidence levels now with how she saw herself in the past and feels she has lost so much. Melanie described the ways in which abuse destroyed her sense of herself as capable of following certain employment paths in her life. Jeannie’s reference to “doing things just for herself, for the first time” and the struggle that has been indicates a lack of a clear sense of self-efficacy in the world.

Abuse compromises interpersonal choices. Schultheiss (2003) writes about the need to take an in-depth look at the role of relationship in one’s life in order to determine how these influence one’s work experiences. Townsend and McWhirter (2005) suggest that connectedness is often seen as a central organizing principle and a critical theme for women. When connections have been disrupted because of relational violence, work relationships are also affected. Betty reflects that she would not have chosen her “crazy” husband if she had not experienced early childhood abuse. Cinnamon spoke of having ended up with her abusive husband because of a life long habit of people pleasing rooted in her childhood experiences. Becky believed she was targeted for sexual abuse in high school due to her earlier abuse experiences. The cumulative affects of these abuse experiences have direct impacts on work ability and choices.

Loss of voice and isolation was a further theme expressed across participants. Phillips and Daniluk (2004) write that women who have experienced childhood sexual abuse report feeling different, alone, and invisible. Jeannie spoke of feeling voiceless; Betty’s severely abusive husband separated her from all relationships, both work and social; and Cinnamon’s husband separated her from her friends, creating a long-term problem in terms of trusting people and making new contacts. Melanie’s struggle within the actual interview to find words to describe her experiences seemed an aspect of silencing; her sense of being different and isolated is clear in her depiction of various work experiences.

Abuse experiences resulted in a serious loss of a sense of safety. In Judith Herman’s (1992) recovery from trauma model, re-establishing a sense of being safe in the world is the first stage of recovery. A dominant theme in both Melanie and Cinnamon’s stories is their fear and the way in which they no longer feel safe in the world, including the world of work. Chronister and McWhirter (2003) describe what happens to a woman when abuse has robbed her of control of her life and her body; she becomes quite powerless to move about in the world with confidence. Powerlessness can lead to an inability to make employment choices, a lack of ability to be assertive, and a tendency to relinquish power (Wells, 1994).

A social constructivist approach to career that emphasizes the whole person in the ever changing context of their life (Peavy, 1995; Savickas, 1995) provides an appropriate theoretical framework for understanding the five women interviewed for this research. It is not hard to visualize the ways in which their life context had

influenced how they understood work. Their stories illustrate the interaction of the many factors involved in approaching, making, and maintaining work choices. Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Lent, et al., 2000) fits particularly well with the stories of the participants in this research. In each of their stories it was obvious that they brought many issues related to cognitive and personal variables (i.e. past performances, emotionality, vicarious learning, and verbal persuasions) from the past, most of which had affected their sense of self-efficacy, into their present reality of having to negotiate the world of work. SCCT also emphasizes contextual and environmental factors. An upbringing that emphasized traditional sex-role stereotypes (Cinnamon), an identity formed through adolescence by a verbally abusive father (Becky), and a sense that work was an arena in which you were used like a piece of garbage (Melanie), create very real and specific contexts for the women who are living with these past experiences. An emphasis on context also allows counsellors to focus on issues surrounding relationship.

Three of the women interviewed had gone through long waiting periods in order to obtain safe housing. Low income women experience major difficulties meeting basic housing needs and there is a serious lack of supportive housing for women who have been victims of various forms of abuse (Reitsma-Street et. al., 2001). Abused women consistently rate issues regarding housing, affordable childcare, and transportation as their priorities (Elliot & Reitsma-Street, 2003).

In all of the participant's stories, the issue of being ready for various experiences emerged. Becky spoke of many fears but ended on a note of hope and readiness to move forward. Jeannie was at a stage of envisioning possibilities for herself but her story seemed to indicate a need for more time and support before she would be able to move forward with a sense of self-efficacy. Betty's story indicated a readiness to enter the employment program; she was able to take advantage of counselling opportunities in relation to her abuse experiences. Melanie had accessed many support and healing programs but her story indicates that she was still not ready to move forward. Cinnamon admits that the employment program came too soon for her, she was not ready to re-enter the world of work.

Herman (1992) writes that the final stage of recovery from abuse and trauma is the desire to reconnect. This desire is in fact the core of recovery. Some women may adopt what Herman describes as a survivor mission. They feel called upon to engage in changing the wider world in some way. They focus their energy on helping others who have experienced similar abuse as a possible means of transcending their own experience and gaining personal power. All five of the participants spoke directly of their desire to work for change in the world, specifically with other women and children. For Becky this has to do with social work and helping other women get out of abusive situations. Jeannie had managed, through everything that happened to her, to maintain a volunteer position working with single moms and she experienced this to be a safe and beneficial place for her. Betty shared a very well-thought out plan to create a soup kitchen once a month for women and children. Experiences of feeling unsafe in such situations have created a desire to provide other women and children with a safe place to be together. Melanie spoke of her desire to carry on with her education and pursue a career in counselling. Cinnamon spoke quite passionately of the need for schools to begin teaching children conflict resolution skills and how to stand up for themselves in an effective manner. This was in direct response to her reflections on her own lifelong struggle to find her voice and stand up for herself.

Implications for Career Counselling Practice and Policy

Counselling women about career and work choices is counselling in the context of their whole lives, for work is rooted in life. Blustein et. al.'s (2005) contention that work is embedded in complex layers of social, cultural, and political factors points to a need for career counsellors to consider how these layers and contexts have affected all areas of a woman's life. The social constructivist career model makes it clear that life-context matters (Peavy, 1995). Women who have experienced abuse bring that specific context to the career counselling setting.

Aspects of trauma counselling highlight the importance of hearing women's stories, but also the ways in which these stories interact with everything else that is happening in women's lives. A constructivist framework for career counselling is well suited to helping counsellors recognize how experiences of abuse have influenced other important areas of a woman's life. Mahoney (2003) writes that a constructivist therapist experiences clients as intentional agents in their own lives; as active in their own meaning-making process. The constructivist counsellor works to collaborate and facilitate the client as an agent in her own life, holds affirmation and hope for the client at times when she may not be able to, and comes to understand and know the client from within her own belief system.

Constructivist counselling also conceptualizes human experience as complex, a lifelong experiment in which the client is neither a prisoner of the past nor totally free to choose any future path (Mahoney, 2003). Themes in the participant's stories link to some of the newest research on complex trauma (Briere & Scott, 2006). All five of the women interviewed described life situations that involved ongoing experiences of abuse. Briere and Scott (2006) describe complex trauma as severe, prolonged, and repeated trauma that takes on a chronic, developmental etiology: the result of a wide range of outcomes that vary from person to person as a function of their unique trauma exposure; for example, age of first trauma experience, issues related to disrupted attachment, and subsequent revictimization. Childhood abuse issues can lead to maladaptive adolescent behaviour (substance abuse, inappropriate sexual behaviour, ongoing emotional or mental health issues) which in turn result in vulnerability to additional victimization, which leads to further responses and behaviours leading in turn further risk.

When working with this population it is important that career counsellors have an understanding of the complex nature of trauma, especially as it may relate to early childhood exposure to traumatic experiences. Although Betty's story was severe in terms of the cumulative nature of her trauma experiences and the ways in which they made her vulnerable to further victimization, her story is in no way unusual. The types of cumulative abuse that many of the participants shared form a life context that influenced all areas of their lives, including their ability to work. By recognizing that career counselling is counselling for life, counsellors realize that to facilitate readiness for work many issues need to be addressed.

Women who have experienced abuse need opportunities to learn about themselves, the world of work, and the options they might have for their future (Gianakos, 1999). Simply learning skills is not enough for this population of women (Wells, 1994). Understanding the context of their abuse and how it has influenced their decision-making is also important (Belknap, 1999). Elliot and Reitsma-Street (2003) argue against programs that pressure vulnerable women to take any job that comes

along without addressing the significant stresses and barriers they face. Being ready to access specific support experiences is crucial for the success of these endeavours. As is seen in these women's stories, when recovering from abuse experiences, readiness is a complex process

The literature and the individual women's stories support the need for long-term targeted support for women who have experienced abuse and are now moving toward re-entering the world of work. Although the targeted employment program all five women took part in was a positive experience, fourteen weeks was not long enough. Programs also need to address the multiple issues these women face: the need for vocational training, education, employment coaching and support, housing, childcare, legal advice, assistance with welfare, and skills training for independent living (Moe & Bell, 2004).

Programs need to be holistic in the ways they view women. Models of empowerment, such as the one suggested by Chronister and McWhirter (2003) emphasize: (a) collaboration between facilitators and clients, (b) paying attention to context which includes educational levels, attitudes to work, affects of abuse, family demands, culture, economics, and access to community supports, (c) an active process of recognizing the skills and resources the woman already has, (d) helping women become critical thinkers about their own life situations and move toward exercising more personal agency, and (e) connecting women with the wider community.

There is a particular need to pay close attention to factors of *readiness* for change in a woman's life. If employment programs are offered before women are ready, they may not be able to take advantage of the opportunities for education and skill development being offered. This readiness is related to a process of recovery from abuse experiences that is hard to place on a specific timeline. Lock-step programs that focus on one particular model of career preparation or readiness may not work for this population of women. Appropriate assessment and programs designed to meet individual women's needs would seem to make the most sense. The stories of the five participants in this study indicate different profiles of readiness that is unrelated to the time away from abusive experiences. Some women would benefit from supportive employment internship programs, others are still in need of counselling to deal with the long-term affects of abuse, and yet others may need to enter into the world of employment and concentrate on the healing personal work involved in abuse recovery later.

Policy makers must also pay attention to the critical issue of access to safe and affordable housing for women who are attempting to rebuild their lives. Ensuring that women can find housing is an essential component of their safety and the safety of their dependent children (Moe & Bell, 2004). In extensive research directed at housing issues and policy options for women living in urban poverty in three Canadian cities, Reitsma-Street, et. al. (2001) found that there is a serious lack of supportive housing for women who have been the victims of domestic violence. This was echoed by participants in this study.

The five women who narrated the ways in which abuse intersected with their experiences of work spoke of many barriers in their lives. At the same time, their stories shone with light and hope. They were determined to move beyond abuse experiences and though they were at various points in the process of doing that, their individual courage and determination to not be defined solely by these experiences was clear. Many of them reflected on how far they had come on their individual journeys of

recovery and all had hopes and dreams for the future. Betty's words speak of this hope when she talks of why she is telling her story, ". . . maybe it will give some woman hope that you can still have quality of life even after being devastated, you know . . . you can still follow your dreams."

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Career Practitioners' Views of Social Justice and Barriers for Practice

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People's career development is strongly influenced by the social systems that surround them. Unfortunately, for many individuals in Canada and other nations, social and political forces limit educational and employment opportunities. There are also inequities in terms of who can access professional services and in the relevancy and benefits of programs designed for culturally diverse populations (Arthur & Collins, 2005b; Bezanson et al., 2007; Arthur & Lalande, 2008).

We need to consider what career development interventions have to offer individuals who are socially or economically disadvantaged, who are underrepresented in our educational systems, who may have limited access to meaningful employment, or who remain underemployed in the labour market. It has been suggested that the term, career, has been constructed around middle and upper class values, while ignoring the differential realities and experiences of people in relation to their work lives (Blustein, Kenna, Gill, & DeVoy, 2008). Repositioning career development practice to focus on work has been advocated (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Richardson, 1993, 2000) in order address the circumstances and needs of those who have significant barriers in their pursuit of meaningful employment.

As a guiding value, social justice is a strong foundation from which to consider the roles and responsibilities of career development practitioners. Trying to reduce career barriers through social justice is an old concept to be revisited with new emphasis (McMahon, Arthur, & Collins, 2008a). Social justice has been a fundamental value in helping people with their occupational choices since the work of Parsons in the early 1900s. Parsons (1909) advocated for youth, women, and people who were poor to help them to improve their lives through securing employment. Parsons' work was seminal in laying a foundation of theoretical and practical advances in the field of career development (Blustein, 2006; Fouad, Gerstein, & Toporek, 2006). However, it seems that we have drifted away from our roots in social justice to interventions that primarily focus on the individual without sufficiently considering the contextual and environmental forces that adversely impact people's career development (Arthur, 2005).

Although more literature on social justice in the field of career development has recently been published (e.g., Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Fassinger & Gallor, 2006; Irving & Malik, 2005), there are few examples to guide practitioners about ways to incorporate social justice into career development practices. To that end, we designed an exploratory study with career development practitioners to include their views about

social justice. We first provide background information on perspectives about social justice. Following this discussion, preliminary research results are presented about how career development practitioners in Canada define social justice, how they link the concept to their practices, and their perceived barriers for implementing career interventions related to social justice.

Perspectives on Social Justice

The philosophy and meaning of social justice has been debated across academic disciplines for centuries. Although social justice has resurfaced as a guiding value for career development practitioners, we have noted that in recent literature, the concept is often not defined, or the meaning of the concept is taken for granted as commonly understood. It is also problematic when multiple and contrasting meanings are suggested, as these imply quite different implications for career development practice. For the purpose of this paper, we review a selection of key perspectives about social justice that help to locate our current use of the term.

In a just society, opportunities, resources, and services are distributed equally and fairly. However, in most societies, some individuals or groups have greater access to educational, economic, and career success than others. This is because certain groups in society hold less power than others and may experience stereotyping, discrimination, or other forms of oppression. This is often the experience of non-dominant groups in Canadian society who are positioned on the basis of cultural factors such as ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, ability, age, language, religion, and socioeconomic status. Individuals from these groups may struggle with access to education and work or have limited opportunities due to power differences in our society and barriers, such as economic disparities, discrimination, or other forms of oppression (Arthur & Collins, 2005a).

The concept of social justice has a long history, dating back to Plato and Aristotle (Reisch, 2002) in the 4th century B.C. Aristotle was considered to have had a conservative view of social justice, one that was primarily concerned with political distribution amongst citizens of the state (Jackson, 2005). According to Aristotle, citizens of the state included Athenian men who owned property (Reisch). Women, foreigners, and slaves were not considered to be important and were ignored in Aristotle's discussions of social justice. From this perspective of social justice, individuals should be given what they deserve, not what they need.

Hobbes, writing in the 17th century A.D., began to acknowledge the presence of different groups in society. Believing most people were barbaric in nature, Hobbes felt it was important to give power to the state or nation to ensure peace within the society, which left the power of the state in the hands of the elite (Reisch, 2002). This provided the rationalization that certain groups needed to be *maintained* for slavery, which led to oppression of many different groups in society (Reisch). Historically then, the concept of social justice has been associated with terms such as getting what one deserves, maintenance of a social class system, and differentials in the distributions of resources and power.

In the 21st century, the concept of social justice has been used as a way to maintain the status quo, promote extreme social reforms, and justify revolutionary action. Conservatives, liberals, radical secularists, and religious fundamentalists have used the term; all claiming their agenda is one motivated by social justice (Reisch,

2002). From a liberalist viewpoint, Rawls (1971) acknowledged that individuals may want to better themselves, but he also acknowledged this must not be done at the expense of others. In other words, just as the individual has rights that must be acknowledged, the interests of the social good must also be considered. In this way, Rawls takes more of a Marxist approach to social justice, by acknowledging that society also has a duty to the individual, which is to allow all individuals to be fully active participants of society (Marx, 1964). Rawls acknowledged the bidirectional relationship between society and the individual in social justice.

Bell (1997) addresses several of the weaknesses that are inherent in the historical definitions of social justice. Bell argues that the overriding goal of social justice is: ...full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure. (p.3)

In this definition Bell attempts to address oppressive social class structures, arguing for the importance of social participation and empowerment. Social justice would then emphasize more inclusive decision-making about ways to meet all people's needs, including providing for their physical and psychological safety.

More recently, writers such as Young (1990) have gone further through proposing that social justice should not only include people's basic needs, but also the opportunity for self-fulfillment. Young also acknowledges the role institutions play in allowing or preventing individuals from reaching their full human potential. According to Young, Oppression consists in systematic institutional processes, which prevent some people from learning and using satisfying and expansive skills in socially recognized settings, or institutionalized social processes which inhibit people's ability to play and communicate with others or to express their feelings and perspective on social life in contexts where others can listen. (p. 38)

From Young's (1990) perspective, a just society would be one in which the constraints of oppression and domination are eliminated, allowing people from all groups to develop and reach their full human potential. This would include lifting restrictions on participation in institutions such as education and employment.

Current views of social justice place increased emphasis on the importance of moving beyond acknowledgment of inequities to active intervention to challenge systems, institutions, and cultural norms that result in the oppression and marginalization of certain groups in society (Horne & Matthews, 2006). "This includes actively working to change social institutions, political and economic systems, and governmental structures that perpetuate unfair practices, structures, and policies in terms of accessibility, resource distribution, and human rights" (Fouad et al., 2006, p.1). Based on these definitions, three core components of social justice emerge: (a) fair and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, (b) direct action to ameliorate oppression and marginalization within society, and (c) full inclusion and participation of all members of society in a way that enables them to reach their potential.

The focus on human development and potential is compatible with more recent views of career that emphasize helping people recognize and realize their potential through expression in vocational and other life roles (Young & Collin, 2000). Yet, as pointed out earlier in the discussion, there is debate about whether the concept of career represents the realities of many peoples' experience and relationships with work (Blustein, 2006).

Linking Social Justice and Career Development Practice

There is growing attention paid to the importance social justice as a guiding value for career development practice (Arthur, 2005; 2008). A key concern is that locating career problems within individuals does little to address social conditions that adversely impact people. Young (1990) builds on the emphasis placed on distribution of resources to examine the social structures that inhibit positive development. From this perspective, ...justice should refer not only to distribution, but also to the institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation. Under this conception of justice, injustice refers primarily to two forms of disabling constraints, oppression and domination. (p.39)

Conditions of oppression may be overt, such as public laws and institutional policies, or more covert in terms of well-intentioned help that does not take into consideration the differential distribution of resources and opportunities available to our clients or the reality of social barriers linked to education and employment. According to Young (1990), ...oppression refers to the vast and deep injustices some groups suffer as a consequence of often unconscious assumptions and reactions of well-meaning people in ordinary interactions, media and cultural stereotypes, and structural features of bureaucratic hierarchies and market mechanisms – in short, the normal processes of everyday life. (p. 41)

Working from this perspective challenges career development practitioners to consider how their personal and professional socialization influences their views of people's career development. This includes the nature of career issues, notions of *on track* and *off track*, indicators of success, and a multitude of possible external influences that may be relevant for viewing individuals and their circumstances. In other words, career practitioners need to consider how their worldviews may be similar or different to others and also how they may inadvertently perpetuate attitudes and actions that further disenfranchise some clients.

Young's perspective of social justice also challenges career development practitioners to not only take a broader view of people's career issues, but also to broaden the target of career interventions. Beyond facilitating personal empowerment of clients, professionals need to consider how their work inadvertently supports the status quo and be prepared to address social forces that pose as systemic barriers to people's growth and development (Arredondo & Perez, 2003; Arthur & Collins, 2005a).

It is of concern that the focus of career planning and decision-making is becoming increasingly restricted to remedial interventions (Arthur, 2005; 2008), due to funding mandates and limited resources. For example, the terms of agency funding may dictate that services be designed around short-term outcomes such as job placement of any sort, with insufficient attention given to helping individuals with plans and resources for career development to stabilize or enhance their future economic position. The unemployment and underemployment of Canadians, especially foreign trained workers, has been targeted for years in labour force planning (Dolan & Young, 2004). Yet, it will take concerted efforts to shift policies and practices that place responsibility for career planning on the individual, that emphasize *survival of the fittest* and *hiring those most like us*, to addressing multiple systemic barriers that continue to perpetuate educational and employment inequities for workers from diverse cultural backgrounds.

A key step to reaffirm the value of social justice is supporting practitioners to translate the concept into meaningful career development practices. While we can celebrate our historical roots and the contributions of social justice to the evolution of career development practice, we need to consider what our past has to offer contemporary career practices (McMahon, Arthur, & Collins, 2008a, 2008b). We believe that is important to move beyond conceptual discussions about the meaning of social justice to consider the implications for practitioner roles and responsibilities. As a point of departure, we felt that it was important to include the voices of career development practitioners in the dialogue about social justice. To that end, we conducted an exploratory study, in which career practitioners were invited to define social justice and to identify some of the barriers that they experience in implementing career development interventions related to social justice.

The Current Study

Participants were career practitioners in Canada who volunteered to participate in a larger study on the diversity and social justice competencies of career development practitioners (Arthur, Collins, Bisson, & McMahon, 2008), conducted through an on-line survey. Invitations to participate in the study were sent electronically to career development associations across Canada and confidentially distributed to members. Demographic information was collected to ascertain participants' age range, ethnicity, educational qualifications, years of experience, and setting of their career development practice. Qualitative data was collected through open-ended questions designed to help us better understand the nature of existing social justice challenges and strategies that career practitioners face in their day-to-day work. The following questions were used to determine participants' background training in social justice and their current views of the concept:

- How familiar are you with social justice issues as they relate to career practice?
- Have you ever attended a workshop on social justice?
- Have you ever attended a course on social justice?
- What does social justice in your career development practice mean to you?
- Question 1 was a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from no familiarity to high familiarity. Questions 2 and 3 were formatted as yes/no categories.

The inquiry also focused on career practitioners' views of barriers towards enacting social justice practices. This information was obtained in two ways. First, a check-list of barriers, conceptually driven from a review of the literature (e.g., Helms, 2003; Kiselica & Robinson, 2001) was itemized on the survey, and participants were asked to select all items that applied to their practice.

The second way of identifying barriers to implementing social justice was through critical incidents. The critical incident technique is associated with the case study method in which the specific behaviours of people are examined through open-ended inquiry about the qualitative and subjective descriptions of people, situations, interpretations of experiences (Pedersen, 1995). In essence, critical incidents are brief descriptions of vivid events that people remember as being meaningful in their experience (Brookfield, 1995). Critical incidents have been used extensively in cross-cultural research, including studies conducted pertaining to educational and

employment experiences (e.g., Amundson, Borgen, Jordan, & Erlebach, 2004; Arthur, 2001).

In the larger study, participants were asked to describe an actual session with a client whose career issues were influenced by social justice issues (e.g., lack of resources, inequity, discrimination, etc.). Prompts were provided to guide participants to reflect on the nature of the presenting issues, how those issues were related to social justice, the interventions selected, and outcomes of the intervention. A summary of the results from these critical incidents will be reported in a subsequent manuscript (Arthur, Collins, McMahon, & Marshall, 2008). An additional prompt asked participants to explain any barriers to implementing their choice of intervention. This enabled us to compare the barriers identified through the checklist with actual barriers that were experienced in the design and implementation of career-related interventions.

Responses obtained from the open-ended question and critical incidents were reviewed using a constant comparison method of content analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The survey data was reviewed initially by one member of the research team to begin creating a taxonomy of emerging categories. New survey data was compared to this taxonomy, adding new categories when required. In the second review of the data, categories were reviewed by two other members of the research team and synthesized to reduce duplication. The results of this analysis produced key categories that portray how career practitioners view social justice and their experience of barriers that detract from social justice practices.

Results

The selected results from this portion of the study are based on 151 career practitioners who wrote about the meaning of the social justice and the barriers they face in practice. Participants were predominantly women (77%), which is reflective of gender distribution in many helping professions. The age range showed the majority of participants in the 30-50 year old bracket, with less than 10% in younger or older age ranges. Approximately 41% of the participants had completed graduate degrees, 28% of participants were educated at the undergraduate level, 16% of participants were educated at college or diploma levels, 13% held a post graduate certificate or diploma, and approximately 3% of the participants listed high school as their highest level of education. The majority of participants (87%) identified their ethnic background as Caucasian Canadians.

The participants had a wide range of years of experience in career development practice. Approximately 27% of participants had practised for 5 years or less, 26% of participants had practised for 6-10 years, 32% had practised for 11-20 years, and approximately 15% of participants had been in the role of career development practitioner for more than 20 years. Table 1 shows the distribution of settings where participants were employed in the field of career development.

Familiarity With Social Justice

Sixty-seven percent of participants checked that they were familiar with social justice, 28% checked that they were unfamiliar with social justice, and the remaining percentage of participants checked the undecided response category. With respect to

prior training related to social justice, 38% of participants had attended a workshop on social justice and 27% of participants had attended a course on social justice.

Table 1

Location of Career Development Practice

Location	N
Career and Employment Centre	32
Not-for-Profit Organization	30
Public High School	19
Public University	18
Government Department	15
Private Practice	11
Public College	7
Youth Agency	5
For Profit Organization/ Business	5
Community Based Agency	3
Other	5

The Multiple Meanings of Social Justice In Career Development Practice

From our study, it became evident that social justice holds multiple meanings for career practitioners. The responses suggest that social justice might be viewed as a larger value comprised of several related constructs. Figure 1 provides list of the top 10 main categories reflected in their definitions of social justice. The percentages in parenthesis show the proportion of participants whose responses contained the category. Selected quotes are included to illustrate how the category connects with the value of social justice.

Figure 1

Categories identified in career practitioners' definitions of social justice.

Category	Excerpts from Definitions of Social Justice
Advocacy (31%)	“I think Social Justice relates to awareness of issues surrounding discrimination of various groups; helping to bring the issues to the attention of everyone; assisting in the removal of barriers; and advocating on behalf of those suffering under various forms of discrimination.”
Equality (29%)	“Social justice is equality for all job seekers. No bias for age, religion, sex, or culture. Opening doors for new immigrants into Canada. No barriers for education and training.”
Self Fulfillment (26%)	“Social justice, as I understand it to be, gives every individual a fair opportunity to pursue the goals one has established for

	himself or herself. The use of the 'fair' does not mean equal but as it relates to opportunities, should offer, depending on one's needs, the occasions to undertake steps necessary to achieve these goals.”
Equal Opportunities (23%)	“Social justice is newcomers' ability to have access to the same opportunities as people who were born in that country. Social injustice is the country's refusal to consider newcomers' educational and work related experiences as valid or at least partly valid.”
Inclusion (23%)	“Social justice is a way of perceiving our social milieu and a set of intelligent actions that provide a greater sense of inclusion and responsibility for each other. With in my practice social justice involves thoughtful actions that address inclusion of people who may be seen to be hindered by her/him self or by others, in contributing to their community and/or to their own well being by virtue of his or her differences...”
Equal Access (18%)	“Social justice refers to my clients’ ability to succeed in the labour market (eg. ability to find and keep a job) and to gain access to the community supports they need to thrive.”
Considering Contextual Influences (29%)	“A social justice perspective involves understanding the client's career concerns in the context of their life and being open to environmental factors that may be or have influenced the client's career expression. I personally have found that a dual focus on the client and the environment, once openly articulated, has been empowering for individuals. As well, I see here an overlap between career counselling and mental health counselling because often clients who are experiencing discrimination, harassment or career barriers initially present with anxiety and depression. I deliberately work in both areas so that I can integrate my interventions with what the client seems to need.”
Client-Centred Resources (10%)	“Client centered means that I provide services that are requested in a manner that fits the clients needs and do not force him or her to jump through hoops established by some funding entity or outdated belief that the service provider knows best.”
Education (8%)	“I think that social justice regarding career practice is two-fold it requires allowing opportunities and accommodations for those facing barriers to the Canadian workplace based on income, language, religion, lack of cultural experience and a myriad of other possible reasons. But also requires education to allow people to adapt themselves when possible and productive to a new work environment and the expectations that come with it.”
Improving Policy (8%)	“I work with Canadian residents as well as new immigrants. For me social justice somehow equals to political issues

	and legislations. “ “Bureaucratic assumptions made when evaluating client access to resources based on clients previous decisions, levels of education, level of motivation, etc... Fair is not always about everybody getting the same, fair is about everyone getting what they need.”
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Within the total number of responses, 96 of the practitioners mentioned specific groups of people and specific cultural influences they thought were related to social justice issues. Figure 2 provides a list of the top ten categories in participants’ responses, followed by excerpts from selected participant responses to illustrate the connections with social justice.

Figure 2

Groups included in career practitioners’ definitions of social justice.

Category	Excerpts from Definitions of Social Justice
All People (39%)	“Making sure that policy is in place, and that common practices are consistent with those policies, in order to give ALL people an equal opportunity to find meaningful employment and self-fulfillment.”
Socio-Economic Status (39%)	“Various societal groups have different advantages and disadvantages in achieving educational and career success. Socioeconomic status obviously plays a significant role but this issue is about more than just money. SE status typically depends upon the choices made by parents re: their own education and job choices, sometimes creating a vicious cycle of "under" opportunities that is difficult to break. Intentional choice plays a role but so does the labour market and the current need for post-secondary education as opposed to years past when second education was sufficient.”
Race (37%)	“Assisting clients who have experienced discrimination because of racial, social, psychological, economic status. It involves affirming the individuals worth and potential. Barriers may be realistic, but can be viewed as challenges rather than bars. Ultimately, each person is unique, has value and abilities to contribute to society.”
Gender (31%)	“The issue of social justice would be in reference to low income women trying to live independently, especially after a separation or divorce. Besides the obvious costs related to searching for work, it is difficult to identify what low income women have to offer to an employer. Also, the business community is either unaware or don't care that they hire people offering low wages, and little in the way of benefits or even hours of work to provide an individual with a living wage.”
Age (24%)	“People should have equal access to the jobs for which they are

	qualified. If for some reason, race, colour, age, size, etc. they are excluded without having an equal chance to prove themselves, this is not fair. If they are excluded from career assistance for any reason from our gov't funded centre, this is not acceptable. If in our minds as facilitators we have judged their ability to succeed based on these factors, we have not been appropriate..."
Disability (22%)	"People make career decisions based on availability of training, cost, percentage of those who become employed and the demographics involved. When looking at equity and diversity in the workplace, those are directly related to social justice. Persons with disabilities often are excluded from a lot of workplaces who do not have standards in place to accommodate needs. Those individuals would be limited in their career decision-making process. Issues of inequality greatly impact persons with disabilities for just one."
Immigrants (21%)	"I see social justice as a way of 'evening out' the playing field within the work domain. There are obviously many groups within Canada that experience discrimination, both in their attempts to enter the workforce, and within the workplace itself. One example is the supposed need for New Canadians to have 'Canadian experience' before they land a 'good' job; but of course, this is based on the belief that experience from other countries is somehow 'lesser' or inferior. Career practitioners need a means to help those people who face such types of discrimination."
Sexual Orientation (17%)	"Career practitioners have been the strongest advocates for their clients as they deal with career issues of underserved populations, including racial and ethnic minorities, those with developmental delays, those who live in poverty, new immigrants, gay, lesbian and transgendered clients."
Religion (15%)	"Social justice as it relates to career practice would be assisting and empowering those who may have been, or are, discriminated against, for example, based on religion, race, sexual orientation, gender etc, to be able the enter the workforce equipped to deal with and/or overcome the affects thereof. Also, advocating on behalf of clients to assist them in reaching their fullest potential and enhancing their socioeconomic status."
Criminal Activity (14%)	"As career practitioners we come in contact from many different ethnic respecting the diversity of our society. It requires, fundamentally, that we have compassion for others; even those who have made personal choices that we would not such as substance abuse or criminality."

These themes illustrate the diversity of concepts and meanings that career practitioners expressed related to social justice. Additionally, the examples from their

responses illustrate that for many individuals from identified groups, there continue to be disparities in the options and resources available for their career pathways.

Social Justice Barriers Faced By Clients

A total of 97 of the participants noted specific barriers that inhibit clients in their career development. Note that these are the barriers to social justice faced by clients, in other words, the factors that prevent them from equal access to resources and opportunities necessary for full participation in society and career fulfilment. Later in the paper, we will explore the barriers faced by practitioners in working with their clients to promote social justice. The responses in Figure 3 are organized around 10 categories of client barriers, with the percentages in brackets used to indicate the proportion of participants who responses reflected this category.

Figure 3

Practitioners' views of client barriers to social justice in career development.

Category	Excerpts of Client Barriers
Discrimination (36%)	“Important as careers and employment opportunities may be limited based on various discriminations.”
Poor Policy (24%)	“Client's living on institutionalized income supports/rules are often frustrated, feel powerless, live in substandard housing, eat from food banks and feel like second class citizens. They frequently proper physical and psychological/learning disability assessment, academic/computer upgrading and current professional/industry stands to compete in today's world. A national formal Social Justice group could provide objective standards and best practices to assist government bodies achieve more with their dollars and client satisfaction. Newcomers to Canada need to be included in all areas.”
Oppression (22%)	“Working with persons with Disabilities, I often call employers and inquire about potential jobs for clients, sometimes an employer will state, no I do not want to hire any one from your organization. I believe they have a pre-conceived description of disabled individuals and they are unemployable. They may have had someone working for them in the past and had a bad experience or they just refuse to even entertain the idea of hiring a person with a disability.”
Lack of Opportunity (15%)	“I work with very multi-barriered clients, and I believe strongly that many of my clients are denied access to potential employment because they are or have been homeless, in recovery from addictions, have a criminal record, a mental illness or a physical disability etc. I would like to see my clients given an equal opportunity to access

	<p>meaningful training and employment and to find financial security and job satisfaction in a career that suits and is appropriate for them. In [province named] we provide few options for those in greatest need, and I believe it is the responsibility of a "caring society" to make such options available to all. I believe that a society should be judged by how it treats its most vulnerable members"</p>
Lack of Education (12%)	<p>"Clients are generally referred via EI or Welfare or Disability Income. The levels of past access to education/professional credentials and the current needs of the client often are key indicators to the client's current functional abilities/limitations and standard of living...."</p>
Institutional Barriers (12%)	<p>"Aspects of inequality can become hidden within institutionalized discrimination. Work and hiring practices as well as lack of opportunities for certain communities can directly relate to social justice."</p>
Inequalities (10%)	<p>"A frustrating reality that separates clients, the haves and have nots. It frustrating to work with a client who is so incredibly brilliant, talented, passionate who for financial reasons will not be able to continue or hone their talent. They get lost in the idea that they will work for a few years and come back to pursue that grad program, while knowing that ultimately they will be lost in happenstance which could be a rewarding career but we could have lost the best future doctor, lawyer, etc. It is frustrating that those people who may be able to financially (pursue their program) but due to too few positions won't ever get into their programs."</p>
Lack of Finances (9%)	<p>"I think that there are barriers related to social justice in career practice. If someone hasn't had the opportunity for education in their life due to lack of financial resources, they don't have access to higher paying jobs. If someone is truly poor, they may not have the ability to present themselves (clothes, grooming) in a favourable light to an employer."</p>
Consciousness Raising (8%)	<p>"Social justice as it relates to career practice has to do with exploring careers as not being gender or age specific nor sexual orientation or religious specific (unless it's a religious job you're looking at). Attempting to free a student from stereotypes they may have about certain types of work, for example, the trades for a woman, is an important role for the counsellor. Students needs to become aware that they have interests, skills, and values that will be a fit for a job that can give them an income, success and momentum to do their best because they feel the "fit" and want to do their best and to continue learning. Social justice related to career practice has to do with making students aware of social "themes" that confine their thinking as it relates to themselves and work."</p>

Internalized Oppression (6%)	<p>“...People's choices of education and career may be are expanded or limited, based on their education, financial situation, socio-economic status, gender, age, sexual orientation, language(s), dis/ability, visibly ethnicity (and any other factors as mentioned in your own definition of social justice). There may be rules, or unspoken rules, about who can do what in society. People may also have more choices than they BELIEVE or FEEL they have, but limit themselves because they have internalized beliefs, or unspoken rules, about what a person like themselves will be able to accomplish, or the barriers they will experience. These "rules" often come from their experiences of being excluded, harassed, bullied, etc. In career practice, we help people see their strengths, challenge or see past beliefs, learn new skills/info/perspectives, and prepare to move towards achievable goals.”</p>
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These examples from the definitions of social justice illustrate that a number of external and internal barriers continue to limit the career development of individuals. Practitioners noted many connections between internal and external barriers. Events or conditions in the surrounding environment may be internalized negatively by clients. In turn, internal barriers such as low self-esteem or internalized racism can pose as barriers for action in trying to alleviate external barriers. These are important interconnections when considering the ways that social justice is relevant for career development.

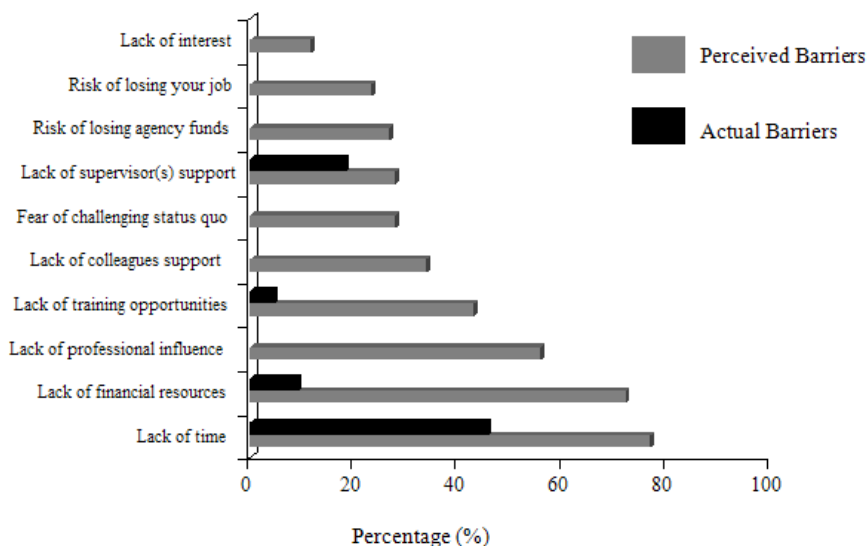
Barriers Experienced by Career Development Practitioners

Although social justice is an appealing concept in terms of supporting people to realize their career development potential, a number of barriers have also been identified to career practitioners implementing social justice interventions. In designing the study, we generated a list of barriers that are commonly reported in the literature (e.g., Helms, 2003; Kiselica & Robinson, 2001). Career practitioners were then asked to indicate if they perceived any of these items as barriers for their practice. As indicated in Figure 4, participants perceived a lack of training, time, funding, and power as the top barriers.

We then examined career practitioners’ responses in the critical incidents that detailed actual practice examples. From this material, four themes provided collaborating evidence of barriers for implementing social justice interventions. The four themes that emerged from their descriptions of their own efforts to implement social justice interventions included: lack of support from supervisors, lack of training, insufficient funding, and insufficient time to spend on social justice interventions. These themes are represented by the shaded bar graph in Figure 4. There is an overlap in the critical incident themes for four of the top six barriers.

Figure 4

Perceived and actual barriers for addressing social justice in career development practices.



Discussion and Implications

The results of this study indicate that, from the perspective of career practitioners, social justice is a multidimensional concept that reflects the definitional themes identified in the historical and current literature. Strong emphasis was placed on the fair and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities (Bell, 1997; Constantine, Hage, Kindiachi, & Bryant, 2007; Morris, 2002), e.g., categories of equality, equal opportunities, and equal access. For participants in this study, social justice was strongly tied to perceptions that particular client populations face structural barriers in their career development. These barriers were clearly linked to the social, economic, and political systems that perpetuate oppression and marginalization within society (Arredondo & Perez, 2003; Fouad et al., 2006; Young, 1990), e.g., public policy, lack of education, finances, and other resources. Participants identified advocacy as a core component of social justice to ameliorate oppression and marginalization within society (Horne & Mathews, 2006; Young, 1990).

The participants expanded on the notion full inclusion and participation of all members of society (Rawls, 1971; Young, 1990; Young & Collins, 2000) by identifying particular groups that face barriers to reaching their potential. From a career development perspective, it is important to note that socio-economic status was the most frequently noted cultural factor, followed closely by race and gender. These results provide support for the position that social views of culture continue to be strong influences on people's career development. In essence, culture and social justice are linked because culture provides access to resources for some people, while placing restrictions and limits on resources to people who are inside or outside of the dominant cultural group (Stead, 2004).

A report by Kerstetter (2002), based on Statistics Canada data from 1999, noted that 50% of family units in Canada held 94.4% of the wealth, leaving only 5.6% to the bottom 50% of the population. Visible minorities have reported the highest level of perceived discrimination (Statistics Canada, 2003). Single women or women parenting alone have the highest rates of poverty in Canada (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2005). The focus on poverty and on groups most likely to experience poverty is a reminder to us of the issues raised by Blustein (2006) and Richardson (1993; 2000) about positioning career development theory and practice in a way that is meaningful to clients who face barriers to the very basic human need for sufficient access to education and work to sustain their lives. Practitioners in this study identified ethical practice as closely tied to meeting actual client needs.

One theme that emerged from this study that was less clear in the definitions noted earlier in the paper is the idea of consciousness raising (awareness of barriers to social justice on the part of both the practitioner and the client). Social justice involves "...a fundamental valuing of fairness and equity" (Constantine et al., 2007, p. 24). The term *valuing* implies more than simply knowledge; it requires a shift in attitudes, beliefs and assumptions about justice and injustice. Practitioners in this study recognized this awareness in themselves; and also noted that, for some clients, the role of the social justice practitioner may be to support shifts in client attitudes and beliefs that are a result of internalizing oppressive messages from society.

From a social justice perspective, it is important to examine our career theories and our interventions models to ensure that they reflect the needs of the chronically underserved and neglected populations in Canadian society. The results of this study confirm that there are a number of internal and external barriers to practitioners enacting social justice interventions (Helms, 2003; Kiselica & Robinson, 2001). The emphasis on consciousness raising about social justice is important when we note that only about two thirds of participants rated themselves as familiar with the concept of social justice; whereas about one third noted their lack of familiarity. These disparities in training and background knowledge about social justice were evident in participants' responses.

The resurgence of literature on social justice in the career development field appears timely as we consider the relevance of professional training for career development practitioners. It is clear that more attention needs to be paid to the structural barriers that impede people's career development and to interventions that address contextual influences in people's lives (Arthur & McMahon, 2005). However, even though career practitioners may recognise the importance of environmental and systemic influences on the lives of their clients, they often lack training about how to implement related interventions. Curriculum aimed at career practitioners typically addresses theories and models directed at the career planning and decision-making of individuals, provides an overview of barriers to career development, minimal content on systems theories, and does not sufficiently prepare students for addressing systemic change (McMahon, Arthur, & Collins, 2008b). Additional curriculum content to broader social and structural issues was one of the key priorities identified at a think tank on the future of career counsellor education in Canada held in November, 2006 (Burwell & Kalbfleisch, 2007).

Although we are encouraged by the positive responses of career practitioners that included specific examples of their attempts to implement social justice interventions with their clients (Arthur, Collins, McMahon, & Marshall, 2008), their

responses also confirmed earlier literature about multiple barriers for engaging in social justice practices (Helms, 2003; Kiselica & Robinson, 2001). Several career practitioners in this study indicated that lack of administrative support and funding were serious obstacles to meeting the needs of clients. More alarming were accounts in which practitioners felt they would be criticized, punished, or lose their job if they were to use time at their job on interventions such as advocacy or attempting systems change. These results suggest that consciousness raising about the importance of social justice needs to extend well beyond the individual practitioner to the organizational, social-political, and professional levels where the time and money invested in career practices, which were noted as the most common barriers, are controlled. Career practitioners might also benefit from training about how to influence the systems in which they work to garner legitimate support for roles and interventions related to social justice.

Conclusion

Our exploratory study is one of the first inquiries to take into account the perspectives of career development practitioners regarding social justice. It should be noted that this study was based on a volunteer sample and, as such, cannot be considered representative of the views of all career development practitioners in Canada. However, these preliminary results highlight the multiple meanings of social justice and point to some exciting ways that practitioners attempt to integrate social justice into their views of client issues and their ways of working with clients. In turn, it is evident that many practitioners feel restricted in the roles and responsibilities that they believe would make a difference in the lives of their clients. As we consider the meaning of social justice for people's career development, we might also consider what it will take to translate that concept into practice roles and levels of interventions, along with supportive administrative and funding structures. We hope that the orientation to social justice and selected results provided in this discussion will encourage further dialogue about the connections between social justice and career development practice.

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An Examination of Rural Secondary Students' Post-Secondary Education Decisions

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Increasingly, the success of the Canadian economy and its citizens is predicated on a high-skills/high-wage economic strategy – a strategy which presumes the availability of a large pool of post-secondary educated workers. Figures cited by the Government of Canada and the Canadian Council on Learning confirm that the number of jobs requiring post-secondary education and training are increasing on an annual basis and that upwards of two-thirds of all job openings over the next ten years will be in occupations requiring some form of post-secondary education (Canada, 2007; Canadian Council on Learning, 2007). With the demographic reality of the baby boom generation moving toward their retirement years and high school graduate populations in decline in a number of provinces, a larger proportion of Canada's young adults will need to complete post-secondary education and training if the country's future workforce requirements are to be met.

Although the degree to which educational attainment can facilitate upward social mobility is to some extent limited, post-secondary education remains the primary mechanism by which low-income and disadvantaged groups can rise above the socio-economic position of their families and more fully participate in the public sphere. The existing research literature provides relatively few details about how Canadian secondary school students consider and choose their post-graduation destination, be it the workforce or further study. As is the case with many topics in post-secondary education research, considerable study has been given to students' college choices in the United States (Lapan, Tucker, & Kim, 2003). This body of research has been directed toward gaining a better understanding of how students make decisions about their post-secondary education opportunities. Important influencing factors include student academic ability; encouragement, expectations and educational attainment of parents; parental income and socio-economic status; teachers and guidance counsellors; race and ethnicity; and gender (Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999; Liu et al., 2004; McMahan & Patton, 1997; McDonough, 1997; Sandefur, Meier, & Campbell 2006).

Student choices about post-secondary education are strongly correlated with parental educational attainment (Barr-Telford, Cartwright, Prasil, & Shimmons, 2003; Butlin, 1999; Choy, 1999, 2001; Hango & de Broucker, 2007; Lowe & Krahn, 2000) and the family income levels (Bell & Anisef, 2005; Butlin, 1999; Corak, Lipps, & Zhao, 2003; University of Alberta, 2001). Lower parental educational attainment levels and household incomes tend reduce the probability of post-secondary participation. In her study of the relationship between participation in post-secondary education and family background, Drolet (2005) concluded that, "when taking account of both parental education and parental income, university participation rates are more strongly associated with parents' level of education than with their income" (p. 4).

As Deschenes (2007) points out, there is a "strong correlation between the educational attainment of parents and children, which may contribute to the

transmission of socio-economic status and inequality across generations (p. 271).” Research has shown that the higher the socio-economic status of parents, the “higher” their children’s educational plans extend. Students from more affluent backgrounds are more likely than lower-status youth to pursue post-secondary studies, and when they do go on to participate in post-secondary study higher-status youths are more likely to attend university rather than other types of post-secondary education such as community colleges or private training institutes (Butlin, 1999; Christofides, Cirello, & Hoy, 2001; Corak et al., 2003; Hossler et al., 1999; Looker & Lowe, 2001; McDonough, 1997).

Rural Youth

It is generally understood that urban youth in Canada are more likely to attend university than rural youth. This finding has been substantiated by numerous studies of youth transition from high school (Butlin, 1999; Finnie, Lascelles, & Sweetman, 2005; Frenette, 2004, 2006, 2007b; Hango & de Broucker, 2007; Looker, 1993; Looker & Dwyer, 1998; Shaienks & Gluszynski, 2007; University of Alberta, 2001). Various explanations for this rural/urban participation disparity have been put forward including the effect that proximity to a post-secondary institution has on secondary students’ decisions to enrol in further studies. One possible reason for this is that rural students necessarily incur additional living expenses associated with living away from home. Students who move away from home to complete a 4-year degree often pay an estimated \$20,000 more than those who can continue to live with their parents while studying (Barr-Telford et al.; 2004; Finnie, 2002).

A number of studies have demonstrated that rural students have “lower” educational and occupational aspirations than those of urban students (Bajema, Miller, & Williams, 2002; Conrad, 1997; Haller & Virkler, 1993; Jeffery, Lehr, Hache, & Campbell, 1992). There is also evidence to suggest that rural youths who do choose to continue their education at the post-secondary level are more likely to attend a community college (or other non-university type of institution) rather than a university (Newfoundland and Labrador, 1998; Shaienk & Gluszynski, 2007). These differences have been attributed to the socio-economic conditions in rural communities (Conrad, 1997; Dupuy, Mayer, & Morissette, 2000; Haller & Virker, 1993), the relatively smaller numbers of higher status role models in rural areas compared to that of urban communities (Cahill, 1992; Jeffery, Lehr, Hache, & Campbell, 1992), and differences in the career development and aspirations of rural and urban individuals (Bajema, et al, 2002; Conrad, 1997; Haller & Virkler, 1993; Marshall, 2002). While few specifics are known about the types of information sources that rural students in Canada utilize during the post-secondary choice process, previous research has shown that Canadian youth tend to rely on parents, friends, teachers and guidance counsellors for career advice and help with post-secondary educational plans (Bell & Bezanson, 2006; Looker & Lowe, 2001; Sharpe & Spain, 1991; Sharpe & White, 1993).

Conceptual Approaches

social reproduction Theory. Differences in the post-secondary participation behaviours between youths of differing socio-economic backgrounds have been accounted for using the theories of cultural and social capital. Bills (as cited in

Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, & Terenzini, 2004) frames cultural capital as the “degree of ease and familiarity that one has with the 'dominant' culture of a society” (p. 252). Cultural capital, conveyed from parents to children, is the sum total of all of the intangible goods, such as the milieu and leisure time that fosters intellectual and cultural reflection, that sustain and predict the academic success and ambition of those in the middle- and upper-income strata. Bourdieu (1977, 1986) argues that the cultural capital inherited by those in the middle- and upper-class produces a confidence and disposition that is a very strong indicator of academic and social success.

Social capital is a form of capital that facilitates the transaction and the transmission of different resources among individuals through their relationships for mutual benefit (Coleman, 1988; McDonough, 1997). Those individuals who have access to information about post-secondary education through their social networks have greater access to cultural capital and are more likely to be at an advantage in accessing and understanding information and attitudes relevant to making decisions about their post-secondary options. In the case of rural student post-secondary education participation rates, theories of cultural and social capital are a critical tool in examining why we observe lower rates of participation amongst rural populations even where their income is comparable to or greater than their urban counterparts. Indeed, Bourdieu (1984) makes the argument that access to the cultural and educational opportunities offered by urban communities is, in and of itself, a form of cultural capital that, like all capital, defines social difference and disparity.

student choice model. McDonough (1997) outlines the three basic approaches that have been taken in the study of college choice decision-making. These include:

1. social psychological studies, which examine the impact of academic program, campus social climate, cost, location, and influence of others on students' choices; students' assessment of their fit with their chosen college; and the cognitive stage of college choice;
2. economic studies, which view college choice as an investment decision and assumes that students maximize perceived cost-benefits in their college choices; have perfect information; and are engaged in a process of rational choice; and
3. sociological status attainment studies, which analyze the impact of the individual's social status on the development of aspirations for educational attainment and measure inequalities in college access. (p. 3)

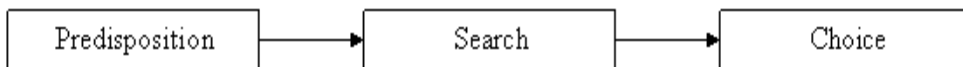
Researchers have developed a number of models that attempt to explain the stages in students' post-secondary decision-making (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000). The current study takes into account the conceptual model developed by Hossler and Gallagher (1987, as cited in Hossler et al., 1999) which identifies three key stages of post-secondary choice decisions: predisposition, search and choice. This model is illustrated in Figure 1.

In the predisposition phase, secondary school students begin to see post-secondary education as an important step in achieving their personal and occupational goals. During the search stage, which is heavily influenced by parents, students refine their options, develop preferences and consider their qualifications for admission and options for financing their decision. In the final phase, the choice phase, students are

influenced by factors that are both economic and sociological in nature. This model is particularly useful in considering the sequencing of factors that impact the decision-making process for students and parents and the role of guidance officials and other external influences.

Figure 1

Hossler and Gallagher Model of College Choice. Adapted from Hossler, D., Schmit, J. L., & Vesper, N. (1999). Going to college: How social, economic, and educational factors influence the decisions students make. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.



While a small number of research studies have examined student transitions from secondary school to post-secondary education and the workforce in Newfoundland and Labrador (McGrath, 1993; Sharpe & Spain, 1991; Sharpe & White, 1993), none have specifically examined the post-secondary participation and non-participation decisions of rural high school students. The focus of our research for this study was to examine a number of the characteristics and behaviours that influence the post-secondary education decisions of rural secondary school students. Hossler and Gallagher's student choice model and the findings of previous studies of Canadian youth transition were the basis used to select factors that were expected to impact rural students' post-secondary plans and, in the event that they did choose to participate in post-secondary education, whether they would choose university or a non-university institution.

Methodology

Participants

Proportionally speaking, Newfoundland and Labrador has a significantly larger rural population than Canada as a whole. Approximately 40% of the population of the province lives outside centres with a population of 1,000 and outside areas with 400 persons per square kilometre. Most (65%) of the province's 285 schools are considered to be rural schools (Newfoundland & Labrador, 2006).

For this study, we conducted a survey of graduating students at 72 rural schools. These schools had a combined population of 2,113 students in their final year of secondary school. In May and June of 2007, teachers at participating schools administered the questionnaires which were completed by students during classroom time. All completed surveys were then returned to the researchers in the postage pre-paid envelopes. A total of 1,169 students completed and returned surveys out of the 2,113 eligible survey participants. The overall response rate of approximately 60% was considered satisfactory for the purposes of this research.

Outcome Variables

Two outcomes related to rural students' post-secondary education decisions were selected for examination. First, we examined whether or not students planned to pursue studies at the post-secondary level after completing secondary school (0 = no, 1 = yes). Next, of those students who indicated that they planned to continue on with further studies after high school, we examined if students chose a university program (coded 1) or a non-university program (coded 0).

Predictor Variables

Drawing on previous studies of youth transition to post-secondary education that have been carried out in Canada (Anisef, Frempong, & Sweet, 2005; Davies, 2005; Finnie et al., 2005; Frenette, 2004, 2006, 2007b; Hango & de Broucker, 2007; Looker, 1993; Looker & Dwyer, 1998; Sharpe & White, 1993), we designed a survey questionnaire to collect information from rural secondary students about various demographic characteristic and academic performance variables that are known to influence post-secondary education decisions. The questionnaire also included questions about students' after school activities, a series of forced choice items organized on a Likert-type scale regarding secondary students' sources of information about further studies, and a number of questions about potential sources of funding for post-secondary education. Table 1 provides descriptions of the operational definitions used for each of the predictor variables.

Table 1

Description of Independent Variables in the Model

Variable	Description
<i>Demographic characteristics</i>	
Gender	0 = male, 1 = female
Number of siblings	Number of brothers/sisters
Family Structure	0 = one parent, 1 = two parent, 2 = other, dummy coded with one parent as reference category
Generation	0 = first generation (parents did not complete post-secondary education), 1 = legacy generation (at least one parent completed post-secondary education)
<i>After School Activities</i>	Survey question: "How have you spent your time after school and on weekends this school year?"
Works part-time	
Volunteers	
Homework	
Extracurricular (e.g., sports, clubs)	0 = no, 1 = yes
<i>Academic Performance</i>	
Level III math	0 = none, 1 = practical/basic, 2 = academic, 3 =

completed Overall achievement	advanced, dummy coded with none as reference category Self-reported overall average mark in school
<i>Sources of Information</i> Friends Parents Brothers or sisters College or university students High school teachers Guidance counsellor A College or university campus tour Promotional materials/ brochures Television or print advertising Recruitment officer from a post-secondary institution	Survey question: “Listed below are people and sources of information that students often rely on when deciding what to do after high school.” Rating on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being ‘not important at all’ and 5 being ‘very important’,
<i>Sources of Funding</i> Unsure of funding Summer job Work during academic year Scholarship/bursary Student loan Private bank loan Personal savings Tuition voucher	Survey question: “Besides your family, which of the following can you rely on to help pay for post-secondary education”? 0 = no, 1 = yes

Three “demographic characteristic” variables were included in the model for this analysis: gender, the number of siblings they had, their family structure and whether they were “first-generation” students or “legacy generation” students. The family structure variable was operationalized in accordance with the number of parents or guardians that children lived with – one parent, two parents or other for students who reported alternative living arrangements. The “first-generation” student group comprised students whose parents did not complete post-secondary studies while the “legacy generation” group consisted of students who have one or more parents who completed a post-secondary program at college or university.

Academic performance was measured by two variables. The type of mathematics course completed in Level III (none, basic, academic or advanced) was used as a proxy for the academic rigor of the high school curriculum completed by

students. Students' self-reported overall academic average at school was used to assess their level of overall academic achievement.

Students' participation in after school activities was assessed by a question in which survey respondents were asked: "How have you spent your time after school and on weekends this school year?" Possible responses to this question included: working part-time, volunteering, homework, and extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, clubs).

The sources of information that students accessed in making their career plans were appraised by student responses to the following survey item: "Listed below are people and sources of information that students often rely on when deciding what to do after high school." Each of the following 10 potential information sources were rated by respondents on a Likert-type scale (5 = very important, to 1 = not important at all): friends; parents; brothers or sisters; college or university students; high school teachers; guidance counsellor; college or university campus tour; promotional materials/brochures; television or print advertising; and recruitment officer from a post-secondary institution.

The final set of predictor variables were derived from a survey question that asked students the following: "Besides your family, which of the following can you rely on to help pay for post-secondary education?" Responses included: unsure; summer job; part-time job during the year; full-time job during the year; scholarship; bursary; student loan; private bank loan; personal savings and tuition voucher. In two instances, two items in this set of variables were combined to produce a single item. Part-time job during the year and full-time job during the year became work during academic year; and scholarship and bursary were combined into one variable (scholarship/bursary).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Of the 1,169 completed surveys, useable data were available for 1,161. Descriptive statistics for the outcome variables and selected demographic characteristic and academic performance and predictor variables are provided in Table 2. Only 12.1% of the rural students indicated that they were not planning to participate in some form of post-secondary education. Of the students who indicated their post-secondary preference, most (58.2%) did not plan to attend university. Most of the students in the study were legacy generation students (57.1%), and 50.8% had completed an advanced-level math course in Level III.

With regard to their after school activities, 83.6% of rural students indicated that they spent some of their time after school completing homework assignments (see Table 3). The second most common type of after school activity selected was extracurricular activity such as sports or clubs (64.9%).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Selected Demographic Characteristic and Academic Performance Variables

Variable		Model 1			Model 2*		
		% Going to PSE (87.9%)	% Not Going to PSE (12.1%)	% Total	% University (41.8%)	% Non-University (58.2%)	% Total
Gender	Male	45.9	58.6	47.5	30.5	56.3	45.5
	Female	54.1	41.4	52.5	69.5	43.8	54.5
Generation	First	40.1	63.6	42.9	32.2	45.8	40.0
	Legacy	59.9	36.4	57.1	67.8	54.2	60.0
Family Structure	1 parent	16.5	25.5	17.3	12.4	19.2	16.4
	2 parent	81.4	73.6	80.7	86.1	78.2	81.5
	other	2.1	0.9	2.0	1.5	2.6	2.1
Level III math	None	3.6	11.5	4.6	0.2	5.7	3.4
	Basic	18.3	46.8	21.7	1.0	29.4	17.5
	Academic	23.4	18.7	22.9	18.6	26.8	23.4
	Advanced	54.6	23.0	50.8	80.1	38.1	55.7

* A number of students did not provide an indication of their choice (i.e., university/non-university).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Students' After School Activities

Variable		Model 1			Model 2		
		% Going to PSE	% Not Going to PSE	% Total	% University	% Non-University	% Total
<i>After School Activities</i>							
Part-time work	Yes	32.1	22.2	30.9	35.8	29.3	31.9
	No	67.9	77.8	69.1	64.2	70.7	68.1
Volunteering	Yes	40.2	25.4	38.4	55.0	29.8	40.3
	No	59.8	74.6	61.6	45.0	70.2	59.7

Homework	Yes	85.5	69.3	83.6	98.5	77.0	86.0
	No	14.5	30.7	16.4	1.5	23.0	14.0
Extracurricular	Yes	67.6	45.3	64.9	79.5	59.5	67.8
	No	32.4	54.7	35.1	20.5	40.5	32.2

The 3 sources of information that students relied on most when making their plans for after high school were 1) parents, 2) friends and 3) teachers (see Table 4).

Table 4

Mean Values for Students' Sources of Information

Variable	Model 1		Model 2			
	% Going to PSE	% Not Going to PSE	% Total	% University	% Non-University	% Total
Friends	3.13	3.35	3.16	3.01	3.22	3.13
Parents	3.77	3.65	3.76	3.80	3.75	3.77
Siblings	2.75	3.17	2.80	2.72	2.75	2.74
College or university students	2.82	2.40	2.77	2.98	2.72	2.83
Teachers	3.07	2.90	3.05	3.29	3.08	2.93
Guidance counsellors	2.77	2.60	2.75	2.89	2.70	2.78
Campus tour	2.44	2.01	2.39	2.51	2.40	2.45
Promotional materials	2.58	1.95	2.51	2.67	2.53	2.59
Advertising (TV, print)	1.94	2.16	1.96	1.86	1.99	1.94
Recruitment officer	2.48	2.14	2.44	2.77	2.28	2.49

As reported in Table 5, the students' anticipated primary sources of funding, aside from their family, were income from a summer job (67.9%), a student loan (61.3%) or employment income earned during the school year (51.3%). Only 7.1% of students indicated that they did not know of any source of funding that they could rely on other than their family.

Logistic Regression Analyses

In recent years, logistic regression analysis has increasingly been employed in post-secondary education and higher education research (Anisef et al., 2005; Arbona & Nora, 2007; Madgett & Bélanger, 2007; Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2002; Wright, Scott,

Woloschuk, & Brenneis, 2002; Perna, 2000). As with previous studies, we selected logistic regression because it can be used to predict which one of two categories a person will belong to given a number of independent predictor variables. Logistic regression was used to examine the significance of the variables in two hypothesized models (described below) which reflect the research questions. These statistical analyses were conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15.0 for Windows.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Sources of Funding for Post-Secondary Education

Variable		Model 1		Model 2			
		% Going to PSE	% Not Going to PSE	% Total	% University	% Non- University	% Total
Unsure of funding	Yes	4.9	23.4	7.1	2.7	5.5	4.3
	No	95.1	76.6	92.9	97.3	94.5	95.7
Summer job	Yes	71.1	45.4	67.9	80.4	66.6	72.4
	No	28.9	54.6	32.1	19.6	33.4	27.6
Work during year	Yes	52.1	46.1	51.3	45.9	56.4	52.0
	No	47.9	53.9	48.7	54.1	43.6	48.0
Scholarship/ bursary	Yes	36.6	12.1	33.6	56.6	23.4	37.3
	No	63.4	87.9	66.4	43.4	76.6	62.7
Student loan	Yes	64.6	37.6	61.3	66.8	64.9	65.7
	No	35.4	62.4	38.7	33.2	35.1	34.3
Private bank loan	Yes	8.6	11.3	8.9	6.8	10.5	9.0
	No	91.4	88.7	91.1	93.2	89.5	91.0
Personal savings	Yes	33.1	21.3	31.6	38.8	29.5	33.4
	No	66.9	78.7	68.4	61.2	70.5	66.6
Tuition voucher	Yes	18.3	3.5	16.5	32.4	9.0	18.8
	No	81.7	96.5	83.5	67.6	91.0	81.2

Model One: Choosing Post-Secondary Education

The first logistic regression was performed to assess the impact of selected factors on the likelihood that students would report that they planned to continue on to post-secondary education after finishing their final year of high school (coded 1) versus not continuing on to post-secondary education (coded 0). The 28 predictor variables entered into the logistic regression equation included 3 demographic characteristic variables, 4 student after school activity variables, 2 academic performance variables, 10 post-secondary information source variables and 8 post-secondary funding source variables.

The full model with all predictors included was statistically significant, $\chi^2(29) = 319.50, p < .001$, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between students who reported and did not report an intention to pursue post-secondary studies. The model as a whole explained between 27.1% (Cox and Snell R square) and 59.7% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in student choices, and correctly classified 93.4% of cases. As shown in Table 6, 12 of the predictor variables made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model. These were: 1 demographic characteristic variable (generation), 3 academic performance variables (math taken in high school and overall achievement), 6 post-secondary information source variables (parents, siblings, post-secondary students, teachers, promotional materials and advertising) and 2 post-secondary funding source variables (unsure and student loan). None of the student after school activity variables was found to be significant.

Table 6

Logistic Regression Predicting Rural High School Students' Likelihood of Choosing Post-Secondary Studies

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald's χ^2	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% C.I. for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Constant	-8.681							
<i>Demographic characteristics</i>								
Gender	.556	.354	2.464	1	.116	1.744	.871	3.494
Number of siblings	-.013	.111	.014	1	.906	.987	.794	1.227
Generation	.918**	.338	7.383	1	.007	2.504	1.292	4.856
Two vs. one parent family	-.035	.401	.008	1	.931	.966	.440	2.120
Other structure vs. one parent	.806	1.317	.374	1	.541	2.239	.169	29.569
<i>After School Activities</i>								
Works part-time	.489	.389	1.579	1	.209	1.631	.760	3.498

Volunteers	.649	.388	2.796	1	.095	1.914	.894	4.097
Homework	-.091	.357	.065	1	.799	.913	.453	1.839
Extracurricular	-.044	.335	.017	1	.895	.957	.496	1.844
<i>Academic Performance</i>								
Level III math completed								
Basic vs. none	.132	.481	.075	1	.784	1.141	.444	2.929
Academic vs. none	1.532**	.571	7.195	1	.007	4.627	1.511	14.172
Advanced vs. none	2.204**	.582	14.355	1	.000	9.064	2.898	28.347
Overall achievement	.114***	.021	29.805	1	.000	1.121	1.076	1.167
<i>Sources of Information</i>								
Friends	.021	.154	.019	1	.891	1.021	.755	1.382
Parents	.630***	.164	14.764	1	.000	1.878	1.362	2.591
Siblings	-.896***	.164	29.708	1	.000	.408	.296	.563
College or university students	.832***	.185	20.162	1	.000	2.297	1.598	3.302
Teachers	-.374*	.172	4.714	1	.030	.688	.491	.964
Guidance counsellors	-.256	.152	2.843	1	.092	.774	.575	1.043
Campus tour	.014	.186	.006	1	.939	1.014	.705	1.460
Promotional materials	.998***	.218	20.923	1	.000	2.714	1.769	4.162
Advertising (TV, print)	-.490**	.182	7.240	1	.007	.612	.428	.875
Recruitment officer	-.205	.164	1.573	1	.210	.814	.591	1.122
<i>Sources of PSE Funding</i>								
Unsure of funding	-1.107*	.470	5.560	1	.018	.330	.132	.830
Summer job	.336	.360	.876	1	.349	1.400	.692	2.832
Work during academic year	.243	.362	.452	1	.501	1.275	.627	2.593
Scholarship/bursary	-.547	.560	.955	1	.328	.579	.193	1.733
Student loan	1.157**	.364	10.124	1	.001	3.182	1.560	6.491
Private bank loan	-.977	.568	2.958	1	.085	.376	.124	1.146
Personal savings	.791	.482	2.696	1	.101	2.205	.858	5.666

Tuition voucher	.352	.961	.135	1	.714	1.423	.216	9.355
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Note: $R^2 = .523$ (Hosmer & Lemeshow), $.271$ (Cox & Snell), $.597$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(29) = 319.60$, $p < .001$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

With all other factors held constant, legacy generation students were more likely to indicate that they planned to continue on to post-secondary education than first-generation students. In fact, the odds that legacy generation students planned to continue to the post-secondary level was 2.5 times greater than the odds for a first-generation student.

Compared to students who completed no Level III math, the odds that students who completed an academic math course planned to pursue post-secondary education was 4.627 times greater. However, the strongest predictor that students would choose post-secondary studies was the completion of advanced-level Level III (Grade 12) mathematics, recording an odds ratio of 9.06. This indicated that students who planned to continue on to post-secondary education after high school were over 9 times more likely to have completed a Level III advanced math course as compared to students who did not complete any math in Level III, controlling for other factors in the model. Further, the odds ratio of 1.121 for student's self-reported overall academic performance indicated that for every 1% increase in student overall average grades, students were 1.121 times more likely to intend to participate in post-secondary education.

Results of the logistic regression indicated that, among rural students, the likelihood of post-secondary educational plans was influenced by a number of information sources in the post-secondary choice process. Students who relied on their parents, post-secondary students and promotional materials from post-secondary institutions as sources of information in deciding what to do after high school were more likely to have plans to partake in post-secondary education. In contrast, students were less likely to have post-secondary plans if their key sources of information were their siblings, their high school teachers or newspaper, magazine, or television advertising.

Rural students' post-secondary plans were uniquely influenced by the sources of education financing on which they felt they could rely. Students who were uncertain that they could rely on any other source aside from their parents were 33% less likely to have plans to continue on to post-secondary education. However, those students who felt they could rely on student loans as a source of funds were 3.182 times more likely to have post-secondary plans.

Model Two: Choosing University

Table 7 presents the results of the second logistic regression model which was carried out to assess the impact of selected factors on whether students planned to attend university after high school (coded 1) versus a non-university post-secondary program (coded 0). As before, 28 predictor variables were entered into the logistic regression equation.

Table 7

Logistic Regression Predicting Rural High School Students' Likelihood of Choosing University-Level Studies

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald's χ^2	df	p	Odds Ratio	95% C.I. for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Constant	-22.198							
<i>Demographic characteristics</i>								
Gender	-.979***	.241	16.540	1	.000	.376	.234	.602
Number of siblings	.091	.093	.972	1	.324	1.096	.914	1.314
Generation	.313	.239	1.712	1	.191	1.367	.856	2.183
Two vs. one parent family	.006	.321	.000	1	.984	1.006	.536	1.889
Other structure vs. one parent	1.490	1.110	1.803	1	.179	4.438	.504	39.064
<i>After School Activities</i>								
Works part-time	.891**	.256	12.071	1	.001	2.438	1.475	4.030
Volunteers	.635**	.243	6.815	1	.009	1.887	1.171	3.039
Homework	2.133**	.701	9.247	1	.002	8.437	2.134	33.352
Extracurricular	.548*	.260	4.425	1	.035	1.729	1.038	2.881
<i>Academic Performance</i>								
Level III math completed								
Basic vs. none	-2.026	1.569	1.668	1	.197	.132	.006	2.854
Academic vs. none	1.781	1.180	2.276	1	.131	5.933	.587	59.975
Advanced vs. none	2.754*	1.175	5.492	1	.019	15.700	1.569	157.070
Overall achievement	.200***	.021	86.777	1	.000	1.221	1.171	1.274
<i>Sources of Information</i>								
Friends	-.334**	.122	7.534	1	.006	.716	.564	.909
Parents	-.160	.106	2.292	1	.130	.852	.693	1.048
Siblings	.090	.097	.860	1	.354	1.094	.905	1.324
College or university	.012	.112	.012	1	.912	1.012	.813	1.261

students								
Teachers	.475***	.129	13.617	1	.000	1.608	1.250	2.070
Guidance counsellors	.062	.102	.368	1	.544	1.064	.871	1.298
Campus tour	-.140	.111	1.574	1	.210	.870	.699	1.082
Promotional materials	-.260*	.125	4.351	1	.037	.771	.604	.984
Advertising (TV, print)	-.244	.140	3.035	1	.081	.783	.595	1.031
Recruitment official	.477***	.111	18.535	1	.000	1.611	1.296	2.001
<i>Sources of PSE</i>								
<i>Funding</i>								
Unsure of funding	.121	.558	.047	1	.829	1.128	.378	3.371
Summer job	.504	.276	3.343	1	.067	1.655	.964	2.840
Work during academic year	-.224	.238	.883	1	.347	.800	.501	1.275
Scholarship/bursary	.430	.249	2.991	1	.084	1.538	.944	2.504
Student loan	-.125	.254	.242	1	.623	.882	.536	1.453
Private bank loan	-1.649***	.449	13.494	1	.000	.192	.080	.463
Personal savings	.097	.245	.155	1	.693	1.101	.681	1.780
Tuition voucher	.760*	.309	6.069	1	.014	2.139	1.168	3.918

Note: $R^2 = .551$ (Hosmer & Lemeshow), $.527$ (Cox & Snell), $.709$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2 (29) = 645.78$, $p < .001$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The statistically significant model was able to differentiate between students who intended to pursue university and non-university education, $\chi^2 (29) = 645.78$, $p < .001$. The model explained between 52.7% (Cox and Snell R square) and 70.9% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in student choices, and correctly classified 94.7% of cases. Thirteen of the predictor variables made a statistically significant contribution to the second model. These variables were: 1 demographic characteristic variable (gender), all 4 of the after school activity variables, 2 academic performance variables (math taken in high school and overall achievement), 4 post-secondary information source variables (friends, promotional materials and recruitment official) and 2 post-secondary funding source variables (other bank loan and tuition voucher).

The analysis showed that, amongst the students who planned to continue on to post-secondary education after completing high school, male students were about 38% less likely than female students to indicate that they planned to attend university. The strongest predictor that students would choose university-level studies was the completion of advanced-level mathematics in Level III. In comparison to students who completed no math in Level III, the odds that students who completed advanced-level math planned to enrol in a university program were 15.7 times greater. Students' self-reported overall academic performance also played a significant role in plans to attend university. The odds ratio of 1.221 for this variable suggests that for every 1% increase

in their overall grades the students were 1.221 times more likely to intend choose university.

Participation in all four after school activities included in the student survey increased the probability that students planned to attend university. Of these four, completion of homework had the greatest impact on students' chosen post-secondary destination. Students who indicated that they completed homework after school and on weekends were 8.437 times more likely to plan to attend university. For rural students planning to attend university, working part-time for a wage, volunteering and participating in extracurricular activities increased their probability of choosing university by 2.438 times, 1.887 times and 1.729 times respectively.

The results indicated that Level III students who demonstrated that they relied more heavily on their friends and institutions' promotional materials were more likely to plan to attend a non-university post-secondary program. Those rural students who were more likely to rely on their high school teachers or recruitment officials from post-secondary institutions were more likely to have plans to continue on to university after high school. In terms of the funding that students felt they could rely on, aside from their family, rural students who had earned a tuition fee voucher were 2.139 times more likely to intend to pursue university. Students who believed that they could use a private bank loan to cover their educational costs were 19.2% less likely to select a university program.

Discussion

This study analyzed data from a survey of graduating secondary school students at 72 rural schools to better understand how the decision of students to continue their education at the post-secondary level is impacted by a number of factors. The vast majority of the students in the study indicated that they planned to participate in post-secondary education and, consistent with other studies of rural students' transition plans (Looker & Dwyer, 1998; Newfoundland and Labrador, 1998; Shaienk & Gluszynski, 2007) most of the rural students surveyed in this study opted for a non-university form of post-secondary schooling.

Our analyses involved two separate comparisons. Students who indicated that they had chosen to take part in a post-secondary program were compared with those who had not chosen post-secondary education. Also, students who indicated that they had elected to attend university were compared to those who had selected a non-university post-secondary institution. The findings suggest that rural students' post-secondary education decisions are influenced, albeit somewhat differently, by their demographic characteristics, secondary school academic performance, participation in after school activities, sources of information about further studies and sources of funding for post-secondary education.

In this study, family structure and their number of siblings had no significant impact on the outcome of students' post-secondary decisions. As observed in other research findings (Barr-Telford et al., 2003; Butlin, 1999; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Choy, 2001; Frenette, 2007b; Pascarella et al., 2004), the rural students whose parents had not completed post-secondary education, so called first-generation students, were less likely than their peers to have made a choice to participate in post-secondary education after high school. This finding may have been income-related since income and educational attainment tend to be positively correlated. It also may be the case that

"legacy generation" rural students have access to a reservoir of information about post-secondary education that their peers are unable to access.

While gender had no significance influence on whether or not students planned to pursue studies at the post-secondary level, it did play an important role in whether students with post-secondary plans chose a university or non-university program. The observed female preference for university education is consistent with the trends observed at both the provincial (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2005) and national (Canadian Council on Learning, 2007) levels.

There were no significant differences in the model regarding the after school activities of students who did not plan to go on to post-secondary education and those who did. However, when those who were planning to attend were considered alone, we observed significant differences between their participation in part-time employment, volunteering, homework, and extracurricular activities. If we conceptualize these four after school activities as proxies for rural students' industry (working part-time), school engagement (homework), civic engagement (volunteering) and social and cultural capital (extracurricular activities), our findings suggest that compared to rural students who chose non-university post-secondary education, the university-bound rural students exhibit significantly higher levels of industry, school and civic engagement and social and cultural capital. This interpretation would appear to be consistent the results of similar research on the post-secondary participation of Canadian youth (Davies, 2005; Finnie et al., 2005; Shaienks & Gluszynski, 2007)

Also consistent with previous research (Butlin, 1999; Barr-Telford et al., 2003; Finnie et al., 2005; Shaienks & Gluszynski, 2007), our findings suggest that compared to other students, rural students who demonstrate higher levels academic achievement, as evidenced by overall grades, are more likely to plan to pursue post-secondary education. Likewise, university-bound rural students are more likely to have academically out-performed students whose post-secondary plans are for community college or other non-university programs. This was not surprising considering that entrance requirements for post-secondary institutions are tied to high school marks and that universities tend to require higher average grades for admission. Similarly, students who completed a more rigorous high school curriculum, as demonstrated by the level of math completed, were both more likely to plan post-secondary education and more likely at the university level.

There have been few investigations of the specific sources of career and post-secondary education information that rural students tap into as they engage in decisions about their opportunities. Previous examinations of the key career influencers of youth have tended to indicate that young people rely on a combination of sources including on parents, peers, teachers and counsellors (Bell & Bezanson, 2006; Hossler et al., 1999; Looker & Lowe, 2001; Sharpe & Spain, 1991; Sharpe & White, 1993). Our results indicate that rural students who choose to pursue opportunities at the post-secondary level rely a great deal more than their peers on parents, post-secondary students and promotional materials from post-secondary institutions. Compared to students who chose a non-university option, students who chose university relied significantly more on information provided by teachers and recruitment officials. It is possible that these results might be, in part, explainable by influences that remain unspecified in our model. However, our findings are quite consistent with our understanding that the decision to participate in post-secondary education is a complicated process whereby students' decisions are informed and influenced by a diverse set of information sources.

Our results show that rural students are less likely to plan to go to post-secondary education if they are uncertain about how they can cover the associated costs. This observation is not surprising considering that financial barriers are one of the most commonly cited impediments to post-secondary participation cited by Canadian youth (Barr-Telford et al., 2003; Looker & Lowe, 2001; Shaienks & Gluszynski, 2007). We also observed that students with post-secondary plans are far more likely to indicate that student loans will be a source of their financial support. This is consistent with past research which shows that rural students tend to rely heavily on student loans and accumulate debt as they pursue postsecondary education (Kirby, 2003; Kirby & Conlon, 2006). With respect to the second model's comparison of students who were planning university with those planning for other types of post-secondary education, the single most interesting observation is the lack of difference in these two groups' planned sources of funding. This would suggest that, for rural students who decide to pursue post-secondary education, the specific type of post-secondary education selected is not significantly influenced by their expected sources of funding.

In Summary

Increasing post-secondary participation among rural students continues to be an important policy concern for governments across Canada (Alberta, 2006; Newfoundland & Labrador, 2005; Ontario, 2005; Saskatchewan, 2007). Though not unequivocal, the following three generalizations about the influences on rural students' post-secondary decision-making processes are warranted as they have important implications for policy formulation: 1) rural students' decisions to continue education at the post-secondary level are strongly influenced by academic factors; however, first-generation students and students who do not consider student loans to be a funding option for them are at a particular disadvantage; 2) rural students' post-secondary choice are influenced by a variety of sources of guidance and support that may not necessarily be well-informed sources; and 3) rural students' selection of university and non-university studies are strongly connected to academic factors, gender, and after school activities, but less depended on students' sources of funding.

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The Role of Career Services in Facilitating Local Economic Growth – Opening Doors to Students’ Understanding of Local Opportunities

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Employment opportunities and preferences for university graduates in the post-industrial North American economy differ significantly from the 1960s and 1970s. As the manufacturing sector has declined, the ‘creative’ or ‘knowledge’ (Florida 2002) sector has expanded. According to Florida’s (2010) thesis, new graduates in the early twenty-first century are likely to be recruited for their ‘creative capacity’, in sectors including advertising, research, information technology, real estate, data processing, and insurance.

The change in employment patterns from manufacturing to creativity materialized during the 1980s when significant shifts in global capitalism emerged. The deregulation of the financial markets stimulated an escalation in the availability of international credit and the mobility of investment capital. Capital and finance were no longer locationally-bound; they were free to move across the globe and identify the most profitable locations in which to invest.

The post-Fordist ideologies, inherent in the process of contemporary globalisation, and the impact of time-space compression (Harvey 1989) collapsed ‘certain kinds of spatial barriers [undermining] older and seemingly secure material and territorial definitions of place’ (Harvey 1996, p. 126). Indeed, in 1994, Jessop predicted the ‘end of geography’, arguing that that the redefinition and reorganisation of employment practices, the decline in place-based, blue-collar employment, and the rise in international knowledge economies, would erode the importance of ‘place’ that was characteristic of the 1960s and 1970s.

However, the spatial irony resulting from the contemporary globalization of economic activity, is the simultaneous decrease and increase in the importance of ‘place’. This phenomenon, referred to as ‘glocalisation’ (Robertson 1995), involves the enormous geographical dispersal and mobility of capital, and also pronounced territorial concentrations of resources necessary for the management and servicing of that dispersal and mobility (Sassen 2001). In other words, while industry and finance is now transported across the globe at an unprecedented speed (presumably undermining the importance of ‘place’), the coordination of this dispersal is concentrated within financial hubs (thus enhancing the importance of ‘place’).

The rise in the business, technological and knowledge economy has been clustered in ‘global cities’ (Sassen 2001), which has intensified the uneven distribution of employment and wealth, at both the national and international scales. It has redefined place, making it highly adaptable and vulnerable to global economic changes. With fewer constraints, capital, industry and labour are now liberated from the ties that once

bound them to particular places, leaving them more impermanent, mobile and flexible than ever before.

These processes have encouraged fierce competition between cities (Bennett and Savani 2003) as they strive to become financial hubs, by luring businesses, attracting tourists, and enticing visitors (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Kanter 1995; Warnaby 1998). In the mid-1980s, cities across North America began to develop policies designed to attract capital investment, competing with each other to market their locality as the most favourable place to do business profitably.

Attracting and retaining creative and knowledge workers is increasingly recognised as vital for economic development and competitive success. Therefore, since the 1980s, city officials have increasingly implemented policies designed to 'package' and market the city to the new creative class, in an effort to boost local economic development. The creative class, according to Florida (2004), is an important component of urban economic development because they attract innovation, business and capital investments. More specifically, Florida states that companies cluster in urban areas in order to draw from the concentrations of talented, creative workers who are identified as key to enhancing the ability of business to compete in global economic markets.

Creative workers tend to be highly mobile, and make decisions about where to live and work, based upon a perception of the quality of life that a place offers, rather than a sense of loyalty to a particular company (Florida 2009). Florida's creative city model suggests the 'success' of urban economic development is dependent upon how attractive a place is to the creative class. Therefore, urban areas need to work hard to attract and retain a creative labour market, if they are to enhance their regional competitiveness. In this understanding, the new knowledge-based urban economy has heightened the value of developing regional agglomerations of businesses or creative workers. This, in turn, has led to policies and initiatives that seek to foster a unique concrete and imagined 'sense of place' (Florida 2009). The idea is, that if municipal planners create an urban space with high cultural content that is appealing to the creative classes, they will be able to maintain a competitive advantage. Therefore, a city's competitive success depends, in part, on its originality, distinctiveness, and its ability to foster creativity.

Many North American cities have adopted and adapted this model to stimulate and support economic development. Cities continually seek to re-envision and re-invent themselves as 'idealized' places in which to live and work. Place rebranding strategies, physically and discursively, reinvent cities as places that offer a unique and exciting quality of life. These initiatives are designed to beat the competition, and market the city as the most viable location for investment. As such, cities have evolved from places that simply provide businesses with the land, property, work force and industrial infrastructures that they require (Stewart 1996). They have become more than places that offer residents accommodation, retail, leisure and other services (Barke and Harrop 1994). Cities have increasingly become consumable products, in and of themselves (Arguiar et al, 2005), as planners seek to develop a sense of place that is appealing to the new creative class workforce (Florida 2009).

While 'global cities' (Sassen 2001), like Toronto and Vancouver, have been successful in engaging in this strategy to attract and retain creative workers and capital investment, mid-sized regional localities, like Kingston, Ontario (see Fig. 1), have found the process more challenging. This paper explores the role that Student Affairs, more specifically

Career Services, might play in supporting local economic development in mid-sized regional localities.

Figure 1

Kingston Location Map



In universities across North America, the mission of Career Services is typically to provide programs, resources and support that prepare students to manage their career transitions to work and further education. The work in support of this mission typically takes two forms, career education and employer development. The career education mandate is delivered through web pages, workshops, one-on-one career counselling, on-campus career events, and extensive print holdings. The employer development mandate involves, among other things, bringing employers to the campus, either literally or virtually, to recruit students for new graduate positions, summer jobs, and internships. Employers who recruit on campus are usually headquartered in large metropolitan cities in Canada, the United States, or further afield. Most North American recruiters offer students opportunities to live and work in larger urban centres such as Toronto, Montreal or New York, or, in the case of the resource industries, in remote locations close to the extraction sites in northern Alberta or northern Ontario. Increasingly, the work done in support of the employment elements of university career services departments/functions focuses on responding to the career interests of the students who use the service, and meeting the needs of the employers who come to the campus. In both instances, the vast majority of activity is also focused on the urban metropolis, with little attention given to mid-sized regional localities, even when the university is located within such a city.

This study discusses opportunities for municipal governments and university administration to work together to support local economic development in mid-sized university cities. It identifies the largely-neglected, but valuable, labour market that

literally surrounds the campus in these cities, as places of opportunity. The paper suggests that the university campus provides a place in which efforts to retain creative workers can emerge in cities that typically struggle to attract this workforce. It highlights an important role for Career Services in supporting local economic development by opening doors to students' understanding of local opportunities. The empirical data presented in this paper was collected from students of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario (see Fig. 1). However, the findings of this study have implications for career educators, student affairs professionals, economic developers and planners across North America.

University Graduates: Burgeoning Members of the Creative Class

Florida (2002) suggests that human creativity has become the principal driving force of growth and development in cities, regions, and nations around the world. He asserts that one third of the workers in advanced industrial nations are now employed in the 'creative' sector, working in the fields of science and engineering, research and development, technology-based industries, in arts, music, culture, and aesthetic and design work, or in the knowledge-based professions of health care, finance, and law (Florida 2005, p. 3). Employees of these occupational groups constitute what Florida (2002) terms the 'creative class'. These highly-educated individuals are hired for their creative and innovative ideas in the new knowledge-intensive economy.

In many respects, Kingston is a locality that is in an advantageous position for attracting and retaining creative workers, not least because it is home to Queen's University, a highly-selective institution with a local, national and international reputation for excellence in scholarship, research and community spirit. The average entering grade of the 17,500 students, of which approximately 2,700 are graduate students, is 87%. The university has 17 faculties and schools, and offers a variety of degree programs including degrees in Arts and Science (8,600 students), Engineering (2,500 students), Business (1,300 students), Education (700 students), and Medicine (450 students).

Graduates from Queen's are highly employable, with 97% of graduates securing employment within three months of graduation. Thus, each year, Queen's University graduates a potential talent pool of bright, motivated, young professionals who have the knowledge and the skills to offer significant, intellectual capital to Kingston and the surrounding region. Given the captive student audience, the greater Kingston area is well placed to market itself as an attractive place to Queen's students as emerging members of the creative class. Queen's students typically live in the city for four years; therefore, the municipality has an opportunity to showcase the city and try to retain a portion of this creative and professional talent pool. Indeed, both the 2007 (Brainstorm 2007) and 2008 (Brainstorm 2008) *From Learning to Work* surveys identified that Queen's students most frequently cite Toronto (with 44%) as their preferred place to reside after graduation, followed by Kingston (with between 8% -9%). The annual graduating class at Queen's is approximately 4,000 students. Thus, every year around 340 motivated and highly-educated university graduates identify Kingston as a choice place in which to live and work. Given that approximately 5% of Queen's students come from Kingston, this represents a sizable proportion of the University's graduating class, and a near doubling of the available talent pool.

In recent years, university-community relations have been strained, primarily as a consequence of the annual (and unsanctioned) Aberdeen Street party that has become associated with the University's Fall Homecoming celebrations. The street party grew from approximately 5,000 people in attendance in 2005, to about 8,000 people in 2008. The emergency services were overwhelmed with the number of people in attendance, which included both members and non-members of the Queen's community. Many students were injured during the parties, and the police issued numerous fines, made arrests and laid charges.

Initially, the Queen's, the Alma Mater Society, the City of Kingston, Kingston Police, and volunteer groups worked together to try to manage the Aberdeen party. Strategies included raising awareness on campus about the dangers and negative consequences associated with the party and efforts to protect the safety of participants on the night. However, each year the crowd grew in number and following the events in 2008, the University cancelled Fall Homecoming for two years.

Kingston is home not only to Queen's University, but also to the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC), St. Lawrence College and other large, public-sector entities, including Kingston General Hospital, and the Limestone District School Board. The city's employment sector is stable, and career opportunities diverse, with employment in education, biotechnology, health sciences, fuel cells, information technology, transportation and logistics, and business outsourcing.

Despite Kingston's stable and diverse employment opportunities, the city's population growth has been slow, as it struggles to attract and retain young professionals. Between 2001 and 2006, the city's population growth rate was only 2.6% - lower than other local areas, including nearby Belleville (population growth rate = 4.7%) and Peterborough (population growth rate = 5.1%), and lower than the provincial average (Ontario population growth rate = 6.6%). The slow population growth rate, coupled with the aging population (in 2006, 15% of Kingston's total population was over 65, and this is expected to increase in 2011, when the first wave of Baby Boomers turn 65), suggests that, despite the articulated interest, graduates from Queen's University are not remaining in the city.

This raises questions about why students are not remaining in Kingston after they graduate. What factors are encouraging them to leave? What could the city do to encourage them to stay? In its Strategic Plan for 2010-2015, the Kingston Economic Development Corporation (KEDCO) ushered the city towards a creative economy model (KEDCO 2010). It undertook to 'develop labour market strategies to support and assist local employers to connect with potential employees, retain graduates from our institutions (Queen's University, Royal Military College of Canada, St. Lawrence College), grow and retain skilled trades, and attract qualified employees to our city' (KEDCO, 2010). Given the specific goal of retaining Queen's graduates in the locality, what role might the University play in supporting local economic development? How can Career Services link students who want to stay and work in Kingston after they graduate with local employment opportunities?

Understanding what Students Consider when They Decide Where to Live After Graduation

City officials were interested in gathering more information about how to make the City of Kingston more attractive to Queen's students, as newly-emerging, creative workers. They were interested in knowing more about the types of employment sectors that graduates were seeking, the jobs they would like to obtain, and the factors that they

took into account when conducting a job search and considering offers of employment. Thus, in fall 2008, KEDCO commissioned a study that sought to determine factors that affect the attraction and retention of Queen's graduates as creative workers in the 'new economy'. The study investigated students' attitudes about Kingston, and the factors that students consider to be important when making decisions about where to launch their career (see The Monieson Centre 2008).

The collaborative research project was conducted as a partnership between The Monieson Centre, Queen's School of Business Career Centre, Queen's University Career Services and Student Affairs Research and Assessment. Each partner brought an area of expertise that was crucial to the development of the project, including the establishment of the conceptual and theoretical framework, the methodological design, analysis and interpretation of the data, and knowledge about students. The research team met regularly to discuss and steer the development of the project, which was cleared through the Queen's University General Research Ethics Board.

Theoretical Framework

Based on the work of Florida (2009), a theoretical framework was developed to guide the empirical analysis of the factors that are likely to influence student's construction of place and therefore the retention of university graduates. While there are no clear guidelines for measuring how individuals construct a sense of place, we argue that individual's sense of satisfaction with a community, and sense of belonging to a community, are central to this construction. Coinciding with the arguments of Florida (see for example 2004; 2007; 2009), we, first, posit that an individual's satisfaction with a particular place reflects his or her evaluation of the amenities offered by that place. These amenities may include, for example, the physical, cultural, economic and social characteristics of a community. Second, we argue that an individual's sense of belonging is important to the constructed sense of community because it reflects a perceived engagement with the community and its amenities. Third, we posit that these two constructs are related and reciprocal (i.e., each is at least partially endogenously determined by the other) and that these constructs are influenced by an individual's experiences and preferences. Diagrammatically, this framework is illustrated in Figure 2.

Empirical analysis that follows examines the viability of this framework as well as examines the factors that are likely to influence an individual's community satisfaction, sense of belonging, and creative student retention by the City of Kingston.

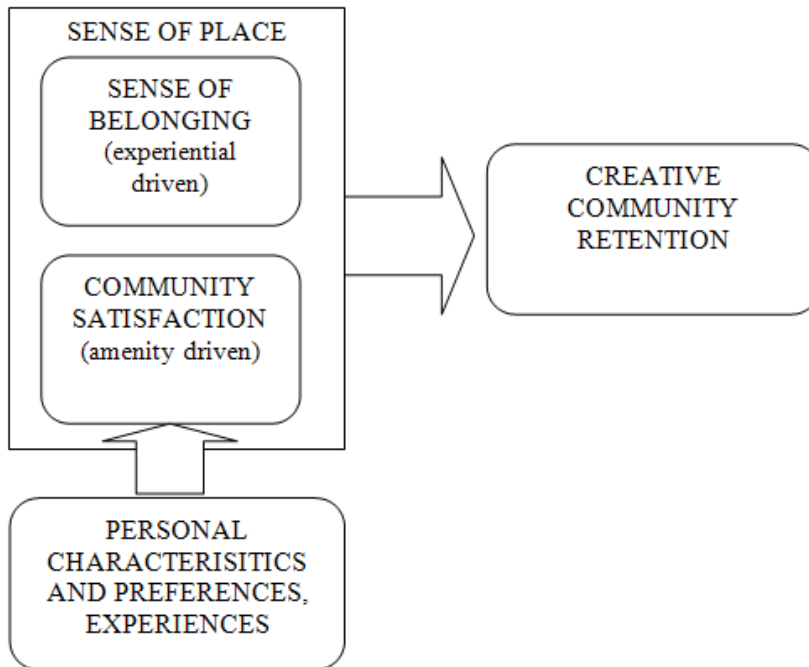
Methodology and Methods

A mixed-methods approach was adopted for this study, because the research questions were broad and complex, and could not be answered sufficiently by utilizing an exclusively quantitative or qualitative research design. Rich and detailed information about students' attitudes towards Kingston, and the factors that they consider when making decisions about where to live and work post-graduation, was needed to understand the dynamic processes that shape and influence students' opinions and decisions. Such an understanding is best obtained through qualitative methods (Creswell 2006). Equally important was the ability to generalize the findings, and consult with larger numbers of students, which required the incorporation of a

quantitative survey phase of data collection. Thus it was felt that a mixed-methods approach would provide a stronger evidence base for conclusions drawn through convergence and corroboration of findings, adding insights and understandings that might have been missed if only a single method had been used (Creswell 2008).

Figure 2

Creative Community Retention Theoretical Framework



Primary data collection began with a series of focus groups in which 28 upper-year undergraduate and graduate students participated. Focus groups were selected because they allow for a broader understanding of perceptions, opinions and understandings about particular issues, problems or opportunities than individual interviews (McMillan & Schumacher 2006). By having a purposefully-selected group interviewed collectively, researchers can increase the quality and richness of data by utilizing and building on the group process and dynamics. The focus group format provided a broad view of students' attitudes towards Kingston, and the factors that they consider when making decisions about where to live and work, post-graduation.

The decision to focus on upper-year undergraduate and graduate students was taken for reasons based in practice and in theory. In the practice of on-campus recruiting, employers focus most of their efforts on senior students, because they will soon graduate and become available for work. This is a population, therefore, whose career-related opinions are interesting to employers. From the perspective of Student Development Theory, Chickering and Reisser (1993) posit that students are not prepared to focus on vocational considerations until they are in third and fourth year and they move into the

Developing Purpose Vector³³.

A random sample of 20 third-year students, 20 fourth-year students and 20 graduate students was drawn from the student record system. International students were excluded from the sample because it was felt that considerations regarding visas, immigration and sponsorship, while extremely important, were outside the parameters of this study, and therefore would potentially complicate analysis. All sixty potential participants received an invitation to participate in a 90-minute focus group. A follow-up email was sent to the same group four days after the original request went out, and a total of 28 students responded to the request for participants.

Three focus groups were held, one for third-year students, one for fourth-year students and one for graduate students. The decision to conduct separate focus groups, based upon year of study, was taken to enable an exploration of participants' shared attitudes and experiences through the lens of their year of study; this assumed that students in different years are at different stages in their career development, and have different needs, experiences and observations. Graduate students, and students in fourth year, are closest to the career stepping-off point, when they leave the classroom and enter the labour market. This can have a significant impact upon their motivation for action (Jacobs and Newstead 2000), sometimes described as *exit velocity*, referring to a return to motivated work and superior performance. For students in third year, that time of egress may remain somewhat distant.

The focus groups were audio-taped and then transcribed. Thematic analysis of the data was conducted to develop items and categories for the broader quantitative and qualitative, web-based questionnaire.

Following analysis of the information generated by focus groups, one hundred and thirty-eight questionnaire items were created. The questionnaire was administered to a random sample of 2,500 third-year, fourth-year and graduate students via a web-based tool³⁴. Survey items included Likert-scale questions and open-ended, qualitative questions. Nine hundred and fourteen students participated in the survey, representing a 37% response rate. Overall, the survey drew on a diverse group of students, although this diversity was not evenly distributed (see for example Table 1).

Table 2

Survey Participant Characteristics

<u>Gender</u>		<u>Citizenship</u>	
Men	206	Canadian Citizen	736
Women	523	Permanent Resident	21
<u>Disability</u>		Other	0
Yes	841	<u>Race</u>	
No	57	Black	3
<u>Household Status</u>		Chinese	68

³³ *Developing Purpose* is Chickering's sixth of seven vectors of student development. In this stage of student development Chickering proposes that students are learning to develop their career goals, personal aspirations and commitments.

³⁴³⁴ The survey tool used in this study was StudentVoice (see ca.studentvoice.com).

No Children Living with Me	681	Filipino	2
1 Child at Home	11	Japanese	0
2 Children at Home	6	Korean	6
3 or more Children at Home	4	South Asian or East Indian	29
Other	17	South East Asian	1
<u>Relationship Status</u>		Native Canadian	6
		Arab, West Asian or North	
Single	330	African	11
Dating	319	Latin American	1
Married/Common Law	57	Mixed Origin	15
Separated	1	White	533
Divorced	1	Other	24
Widowed	1	<u>College</u>	
<u>Sexual Orientation</u>		Applied Science	101
Heterosexual	652	Arts & Science	451
Homosexual	19	Business	29
Bisexual	17	Law	24
Other	3	Medicine & Health	86
		Theology	2
		Education	82

Theme	Sub-Theme	Category	Sample Codes
Quality of Life	Social Conditions	Diversity	Discrimination Diversity Othering
		Safety	Crime Halfway houses Prisons
		Poverty and Inequality	Homelessness Poverty
	Economic Conditions	Employment/ Career	Employment opportunities Quality of job Opportunities for growth
	Recreational	Cultural Amenities	Restaurants Entertainment
		Athletics	Athletic opportunities Recreational activities
	Service Availability	Infrastructure	Snow removal Garbage pick-up Parking
		Sustainability	Composting system Recycling program Bike lanes
		Shelter and Services	Types of housing Housing conditions Transportation services
	Place Attachment	Social Attachment	Personal Relationships

		Sense of Community	Welcoming Feels like home Socialize with community members
		Town-Gown Relations	Community integration Community attitudes towards students Municipal officials' attitudes towards students Media representation of students
	Physical Spaces	Home Attachment	Characteristics of home city Hometown location Hometown attachment
		University Attachment	Love Queen's Campus environment
	Place Disattachment	Desire to Leave	Want to leave Plan to leave
		No Sense of Community	Isolated on campus Outsiders Lack of community involvement
Sense of Place	Urban Design	Physical Features	Appeal of downtown Proximity (Walkability) Housing conditions
		Urban Ambiance	Urban atmosphere Quaint
	Urban Aesthetics	Natural Environment	Waterfront Nature trails
		Heritage	Historical elements Architecture
	Local Amenities	Culture	Arts scene Cultural events Farmer's market

A web-based questionnaire was chosen for this study because it provided an effective tool to collect data confidentially from a large number of participants, and because it would facilitate an investigation of the relationship between the variables in the survey items (McMillan & Schumacher 2006). One of the weaknesses of quantitative survey research is the possibility that the researcher's categories might not capture participants' experiences, attitudes or opinions. Using the qualitative data to generate questionnaire items and categories was taken to limit this weakness, and enhance the quality of the data collected (Creswell 2008).

Quantitative data was entered into SPSS and was analyzed using Stata. In addition to generating some investigative descriptive statistics, two probit regression models were developed for estimating the factors that influence participants' sense of belonging and satisfaction with the Kingston community. After testing several model specifications, a bivariate probit regression model was also developed for the purpose of running two regression equations simultaneously while capturing any commonalities in the residuals of these models. The advantage of using bivariate probit regression is that it has the ability to detect correlations amongst the residuals of the two models (see for example Greene 2008). The importance of this is that if the relationship between

these residuals is statistically significant it suggests that influential covariates not captured by these equations are likely similar, implying that the dependent variables may be structurally related.

Two sets of parsimonious covariates were included in the model: first, demographic covariates (such as personal characteristics, faculty of study, etc.) that may be influential were included to control for their effect; second, covariates associated with participants' satisfaction and engagement with various amenities and aspects of the Kingston community were included to estimate their impact on the dependent variables. All covariates were assumed to be independent and not endogenously determined by the dependent variables. Variance inflation factor (VIF) scores were generated for all covariates included in the model to detect and estimate the influence of multicollinearity, which can skew the models results (see for example Tabachnick and Fidell 2007; Greene 2008). While several acceptable VIF limits have been proposed by previous authors (see for example O'Brien 2007), a limit of four was adopted for the purposes of this paper, suggesting that at the limit the standard error associated with a particular covariate would be double what it would otherwise be if it were completely orthogonal (O'Brien 2007; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007; Greene 2008). No VIF scores were found to exceed this limit and almost all were found to be below two. Two VIF scores, however, were situated between two and three, indicating that the standard errors for these covariates were 40% to 60% higher than they would have been if the covariates were completely orthogonal.

Analysis of qualitative survey data was influenced largely by the work of Foucault, who argued that discourse is a transparent vehicle of expression, laden with valuable meanings that reflect the reality of the social and material world (Waitt 2005). Of the 138 questions to which survey participants were asked to respond, 11 provided an opportunity for students to elaborate on the social, economic, cultural, community, and other aspects of Kingston with which they were particularly satisfied or dissatisfied. It is from these individual descriptions that a process of content analysis was conducted to examine the discourses embedded with student responses to questions concerning their lifestyle preferences and their perceptions of Kingston.

Reflecting the questions driving the research, qualitative responses were sorted into two 'content areas' (Baxter 1991): (1) attitudes about Kingston, and (2) factors that influence participants' post-graduation employment search. The data contained in each of the units of analysis was then divided into 'meaning units' (Baxter 1991) that were 'condensed' (Coffey and Atkinson 1996) and 'coded'. A meaning unit consists of words, sentences or paragraphs that are related to each other through the content of their context. According to Waitt (2005), this is especially important, given that in the context of discourse analysis, meanings cannot be confined to a single word or sentence, but are dependent on their 'intertextuality' (p. 171) or relationships with other words or texts. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the written responses provided by each participant served as the meaning units, which were examined individually, and in relation to one other. In order to analyse large quantities of data, it is necessary to condense these pieces of text by shortening the length, while preserving the key words and core meaning. Once condensed, each meaning unit is coded, allowing a researcher to easily identify the key themes and elements of the qualitative response. The whole context was considered when condensing and labelling meaning units with codes, and the various codes were compared based on differences and similarities and sorted into 10 categories, 21 subcategories, and finally, three overarching themes (see Table 2).

Results

Analysis of the collected data revealed that a variety of factors influence students' decisions about where to live and work post-graduation. Each of these factors can be classified into one of three major categories. First, urban socio-economic conditions (including the degree of cultural diversity, poverty and inequality, and the quality and availability of employment), recreational opportunities (both cultural and athletic), and service availability (including snow-clearing, garbage pick-up and the maintenance of public roadways, bike lanes and paths) are factors which define the urban 'quality of life' and attract and/or repel Queen's students to a particular locality. Secondly, 'place attachments', the emotional connections students have with the social and physical qualities of a city, play a considerable role in the decision-making process. Students who feel no sense of community in Kingston express a strong desire to leave the city and to relocate to areas with existing emotional attachments. Finally, participants identified the importance of the cultural features and urban ambiance of a particular environment, for example, the types of restaurants, shopping, and waterfront access available within it. These features characterize the 'sense of place' that Queen's students find appealing.

Florida's (2002) creative class thesis states that talented and creative people will migrate to city-regions that have the right career opportunities, attractive amenity characteristics and social diversity. In keeping with Florida's thesis, student participants reported that factors that constitute a *sense of place* - including urban design, urban aesthetics, and local amenities - along with *quality of life issues* - such as social conditions, recreational facilities, services availability and economic conditions and more specifically, employment and career opportunities (see Table 2) - were important variables in influencing students' decisions about where to live and work after graduation.

Student participants also highlighted variables that are marginalized in Florida's thesis. Participants indicated that factors relating to *place attachment* (see Table 2) are important factors that impact their decisions about where to look for employment after they graduate. Understanding the ways in which place attachment, and indeed, place disattachment, to university towns and communities impact local economic development is of interest to Student Affairs professions, not least because these factors are associated with town-gown relations. Within the context of Queen's and Kingston, the unsanctioned street party on Aberdeen Street that has coincided with the University's fall Homecoming, has exasperated town-gown tensions. In turn, the tense town-gown atmosphere has impacted students' place attachment to Kingston and their perceptions of Kingston as a location in which to seek employment and pursue their careers. (For a more detailed exploration of the relationship between town-gown relations and local economic development, see Massey 2009). The purpose of this paper is to explore how Career Services might support local economic development, therefore, analysis and discussion will focus upon students' post-graduation employment preferences, and their opinions about and attitudes towards Kingston's employment and career opportunities. Discussion will, however, include reference to the interrelationship between students' understanding of and attitudes towards the local employment market, and town-gown relations, to provide a deeper understanding of the context within which students' knowledge about local opportunities are developed.

Findings: Post-Graduation Life and Work: What is Important to Students and is Kingston a Choice Location?

To date, the City of Kingston has focused much of its efforts on improving the sense of place and quality of life that the locality offers. This approach is consistent with many city regions across North America. In Kingston, the local authority recently focused its attention on improving the appeal of the waterfront, upgrading existing and constructing new entertainment venues, and encouraging the establishment of diverse restaurants. It has, arguably, been fairly successful in establishing a positive image for the city in this regard; for example, 94% of respondents stated that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with the restaurants in Kingston, 70% with the shopping, and 67% with the entertainment in Kingston. While these issues were important, the study found that they were not the most influential in determining whether Queen's students would consider remaining in the locality after graduation. Rather, qualitative analysis and descriptive statistics suggested that employment prospects and feeling part of the local community were the most influential factors that impacted their decisions about Kingston as a locality in which to live and work. This finding is problematic for Kingston, because 60% of respondents were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with Kingston's employment prospects. One interview participant noted,

As a Queen's student, I do not feel as though Kingston offers much for me in regard to employment prospects which is frustrating since I cannot work in a place related to my field alongside studying to gain more skills and become more employable after I finish my degree (Female, Third Year, Arts and Science).

In regard to job prospects, another participant similarly noted, I am looking for a either a government job in natural resources or an environmental consulting job. There are next to no opportunities in Kingston in these sectors (Female, Master's, Arts and Science).

While another asserted, I feel that most of us do not see Kingston as an area where we can truly grow and thrive as we develop our careers - having been here for several years, it would seem to many of us that there are only blue-collar service jobs available or a few, highly competitive research positions (Female, Fourth Year, Arts and Science).

Other participants echoed these sentiments. Another participant said, for example, Employment opportunities seemed to be limited to the sales and service industry from what I have seen of Kingston (Male, Third Year, Arts and Science).

Alongside dissatisfaction with employment opportunities, qualitative data from the survey suggested that feelings of disattachment from the local community were also prevalent amongst participants. One participant noted, for example, I believe Kingston residents dislike the Queen's student community. I believe this mostly stems from the disrespect many students show towards their properties and the city in general (Male, Third Year, Applied Science).

Some participants, however, expressed feelings contrary to those common to most participants. One student noted, for instance, although I live in the [student] ghetto and spend most of my time at home or on campus, ever since I started to play in the Kingston Women's Soccer League I feel like this is my home...I feel like I am contributing to Kingston...and am therefore part of the community (Female, Fourth Year, Applied Science).

This suggests that developing opportunities for students to interact with local residents in positive settings may help to foster stronger place attachments and prompt more Queen's students to remain in Kingston post-graduation. Similarly, an analysis of the survey responses reveals that students who have found summer employment in Kingston are more likely to have developed a favourable view of the city. This may be explained in part by the fact that Kingston is a particularly enjoyable place in the summer with a plethora of town centre festivals, warm weather and bustling tourist industry. Some survey participants noted, for example, Having spent the summer in Kingston has made me feel more like a member of the Kingston community (Male, Third Year, Business). Respondents who have not stayed in Kingston over the summer, by contrast, also consider this experience to be integral to the development of stronger place attachments:

The biggest way I think that Kingston can hope to retain students after graduation would be a) to make them feel more welcomed by the city and b) to employee [sic] more students over the summer. The people that I know who are happier to be in Kingston have often spent a summer here where then can enjoy the waterfront and the various festivals (Female, Fourth Year, Arts and Science).

Quantitative results from the student survey support the findings from the focus groups and written survey responses. Participants identified an array of factors that characterize the 'quality of life', 'sense of place' and degree of 'place attachment' that cities have to offer; but when asked to indicate the relative importance of a selection of urban features which may influence their decisions of where to live post-graduation, a hierarchy of living preferences was revealed (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 indicates that 93% of respondents identified employment prospects as either very important or extremely important to their level of satisfaction with Kingston community, whereas only 23% identified access to a place of worship as being very or extremely important. By comparison, 39% indicated restaurants, 38% indicated shopping facilities, and 52% indicated entertainment amenities were either very or extremely important to their sense of satisfaction with the Kingston community.

In regard to employment, participants were asked to rank their top sectoral choices for summer employment. Listed in Table 3, employment in the education, government and social services sectors was most commonly ranked first, followed by employment in research and the health care sector. Employment in the manufacturing, trades and transport sectors, by contrast, were the least commonly cited sectors selected by students as their preferred area for summer employment.

Interestingly, while employment in education, government and social services was highly ranked by students, nearly half knew little about the employment opportunities in these sectors. Nearly half of participants also claimed to know little about employment opportunities in the arts and culture, health care, and business sectors despite also being popular choices amongst students, suggesting that there may be an incongruence between participant interest, information seeking with the intent of employment, and the availability of information. This is particularly interesting, given that many of the preferred employment sectors identified by participants (namely, research, education, and health) are thriving in Kingston³⁵, suggesting that a breakdown in information sharing about local opportunities for students may exist.

³⁵ For example, in 2009 *Corrections Canada* had 330 vacant positions in Kingston, 230 of which were seeking to attract knowledge workers.

Figure 3

Hierarchy of Amenity Preferences among Queen’s University Students

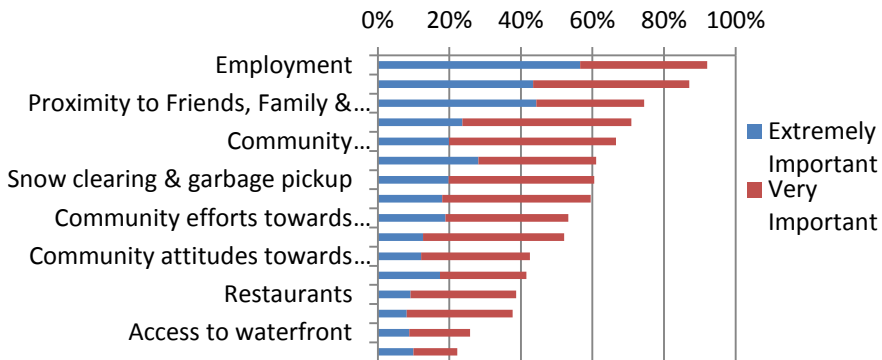


Table 3

Perceived Summer Employment Preferences and Opportunities

Preferred Sector for Summer Employment	Job Availability								
	Unknown		Not Available		Somewhat		Very Available		Total
1 Education, Government, Social & Community Services	211	44%	54	11%	188	39%	23	5%	476
2 Research	129	26%	27	5%	216	44%	123	25%	495
3 Health	108	38%	36	13%	114	40%	26	9%	284
4 Arts, Culture, and Recreation	155	42%	35	9%	147	40%	34	9%	371
5 Business, Finance, Administration	107	41%	46	17%	105	40%	5	2%	263
6 Applied and Natural Science	86	39%	25	11%	97	44%	13	6%	221
7 Sales and Service	44	24%	3	2%	71	39%	65	36%	183
8 Primary Industry	16	42%	8	21%	11	29%	3	8%	38
9 Manufacturing and Processing	14	26%	8	15%	29	55%	2	4%	53
10 Trades and Transport	3	27%	6	55%	2	18%	0	0%	11

This discrepancy between the students’ preferred employment sectors and their perception of the local employment opportunities is problematic for Kingston. Forty-

two percent of participants, for example, indicated that they have not held summer employment in Kingston nor are they interested in looking for employment in the city.

To estimate the impact of employment and other factors on the participant's level of satisfaction and belonging to the Kingston community, which is assumed to impact their likelihood of retention, several key indicators were included in the bivariate probit model. The results of the model yield important insights into the factors that influence students' perceived sense of place as well as insights into the theoretical framework. The results, shown in Table 4, indicate that having summer employment in Kingston, living in close proximity to work, and living in close proximity to friends all have a positive and statistically significant effect on the likelihood that participants felt a sense of belonging to the community.

In regard to community satisfaction, the results of the model indicate that those who identified themselves as Canadian citizens (Queen's is in Canada), and who lived in close proximity to work, recreation and school were more likely to be satisfied with the community than other participants (e.g. recent immigrants). Similarly, the results also indicate that satisfaction with the city's entertainment amenities, steps toward sustainability, socio-economic conditions, snow and garbage removal, and the city's road and path maintenance equated to overall satisfaction with the community.

Finally, the results also indicate that the residuals of the two regression equations (which were constructed to estimate the factors that influence participants' sense of belonging and satisfaction with the Kingston community) are significantly correlated, suggesting that the equations are related. This is further supported by some similarities in the significance levels and the signs (positive or negative) of the covariates included in the two equations (see Table 4), as well as a post-regression correlation test that indicated that a statistically significant relationship exists between the two dependent variables at the one percent level. Overall, these results suggest that there is convergence between feeling a sense belonging to the community and community satisfaction toward the latent concept we define as sense of place. Overall, the model is statistically significant.

Table 4

Bivariate Probit Regression Results for Creative City Retention

Bivariate Probit Regression	Belonging to Kingston Community				Satisfaction with Kingston Community			
	Coeff.	Std. Error	z	P>z	Coeff.	Std. Error	z	P>z
Applied Science	-0.386	0.218	-1.770	0.076*	-0.060	0.235	-0.260	0.798
Arts & Science	-0.022	0.178	-0.120	0.903	-0.409	0.188	-2.180	0.029**
Business	0.024	0.295	0.080	0.935	-0.380	0.307	-1.240	0.215
Law	0.164	0.326	0.500	0.616	0.165	0.418	0.390	0.693
Medicine & Health	0.092	0.218	0.420	0.674	0.123	0.231	0.530	0.594
Theology	5.359	0.413	12.960	0.000***	-1.359	0.863	-1.570	0.115

Gender (Men = 1)	-0.118	0.133	-0.890	0.374	-0.353	0.135	-2.630	0.009**
Canadian Citizen	-0.272	0.359	-0.760	0.449	1.060	0.360	2.950	0.003** *
Sexual Orientation (Hetero. = 1)	-0.371	0.258	-1.440	0.150	-0.113	0.257	-0.440	0.660
Relationship (Non-single = 1)	-0.154	0.117	-1.310	0.189	0.056	0.118	0.470	0.636
Children (1 or more Child. = 1)	0.392	0.278	1.410	0.158	-0.476	0.286	-1.660	0.096*
Disability	0.058	0.204	0.290	0.775	-0.072	0.202	-0.350	0.723
Year Born	-0.037	0.018	-2.040	0.041 **	-0.031	0.017	-1.840	0.065*
Race (White = 1)	0.216	0.145	1.490	0.136	-0.340	0.160	-2.120	0.034**
Kingston Good for Ethnic Minorities	0.115	0.172	0.670	0.504	-0.188	0.188	-1.000	0.317
Kingston Good for Religious Minorities	0.181	0.183	0.990	0.322	0.187	0.186	1.010	0.313
Kingston Good for Gay People	-0.012	0.132	-0.090	0.929	-0.134	0.132	-1.010	0.311
Kingston Good for Immigrants	0.000	0.154	0.000	1.000	0.219	0.170	1.290	0.197
Kingston Good for Entrepreneurs	0.182	0.118	1.540	0.123	0.099	0.120	0.830	0.408
Summer Employed Part time	0.495	0.193	2.570	0.010 ***	0.156	0.198	0.790	0.431
Summer Employed Full time	0.644	0.150	4.280	0.000 ***	0.026	0.142	0.180	0.853
Restaurant Satisfaction	-0.034	0.088	-0.380	0.703	0.063	0.089	0.710	0.480
Shopping Satisfaction	0.093	0.078	1.200	0.231	0.078	0.086	0.900	0.366
Entertainment Satisfaction	0.078	0.082	0.950	0.343	0.225	0.085	2.660	0.008** *
Sustainability Satisfaction	0.069	0.050	1.370	0.171	0.269	0.050	5.340	0.000** *
Proximity between	0.247	0.072	3.400	0.001 ***	0.128	0.076	1.680	0.093*

Home and Work								
Daycare, public schools	0.044	0.052	0.840	0.403	0.051	0.053	0.950	0.341
Comm. Employment Prosp. Satisfaction	0.043	0.049	0.890	0.373	-0.028	0.050	-0.570	0.572
Opportunity to pursue Academics	0.042	0.055	0.760	0.446	-0.100	0.055	-1.810	0.071*
Proximity to Family, Friends etc.	0.124	0.048	2.570	0.010***	0.006	0.048	0.120	0.906
Comm. Socioeconomic Satisfaction	0.052	0.056	0.940	0.345	0.179	0.057	3.140	0.002** *
Mntc. Road, Lanes, Path Satisfaction	-0.104	0.066	-1.580	0.115	0.164	0.069	2.360	0.018**
Comm. Snow and Garbage Removal	0.065	0.057	1.130	0.257	0.126	0.059	2.150	0.032**
Access to Place of Worship	0.045	0.036	1.270	0.205	0.036	0.035	1.000	0.316
_cons	0.241	1.053	0.230	0.819	-0.751	1.011	-0.740	0.457
Number of Obs.	626			Rho	0.266			0.069
Wald Chi2	1611.560 (68)			Wald Test of Rho=0:	chi2(1)	13.379		
Prob > Chi2	0.000			Prob>Chi2	0.000			
Log Pseudolikelihood	-704.033							

* indicates statistical significance at 10%, ** at 5% and *** at 1%.

Interpretation and Discussion: Career, Community, Connection

The findings of the bivariate probit model have several implications for creative city retention. In regard to the covariates, summer employment, and proximity to work, school, friends and family appear to have an important impact on participants' sense of belonging. Only proximity to work and school, however, was found to have a likely impact on community satisfaction. Similarly, several covariates were found to have a likely impact on participants' community satisfaction but only year of birth was common across the two equations, while other covariates were statistically insignificant or lay just outside of the 10% significance level. These results have two important implications: first, these results support the assertion that these dependent variables

measure different but related measures of an individual's sense of place; second, they suggest that amenities alone (such as good bike paths and entertainment as asserted by Florida (2002) may only partially determine a city's ability to retain new graduates. For example, while sustainability, infrastructure, and entertainment were found to have a positive influence on an individual's likelihood to be satisfied with the Kingston community, they were found to play an insignificant role in the individual's sense of belonging.

The results support Florida's (2004) assertion that a precondition for attracting and retaining creative talent is thick labour markets³⁶. The results from the model indicate that summer work experience plays an important role in influencing the individual's perceived sense of community belonging while perceived positive socioeconomic conditions play an important role in the individual's perceived sense of satisfaction. This suggests that if the university and community wish to retain graduates they will likely have to focus their efforts not only creating meaningful summer employment but also enhancing student perceptions of city's overall socioeconomic vibrancy.

In regard to demographic and other characteristics, the results are not only suggestive of weaknesses in Kingston's employment market and cultural atmosphere, but they also suggest that efforts to retain graduates may be targeted toward certain groups. For example, participants from applied science were less likely to report a sense of belonging to the Kingston community than participants from other colleges, while arts and science students were less likely to be satisfied with the community as a whole. While further research is needed to understand the root of these results, they may be associated with students' perceptions of socioeconomic or other conditions which may be sectorally related (i.e., a lack of arts and culture vibrancy, or a lack of applied science research or firms in the community).

The large number of Queen's students who are interested in finding summer employment in the area presents an opportunity for the City of Kingston to showcase local job opportunities. If students are provided with employment opportunities over the summer, they are more likely to stay during the summer months and develop a stronger sense of belonging to the Kingston community. This, in turn, will increase the likelihood of them considering it a place to live and work post-graduation. If those job opportunities are meaningful and career-related, then this will help to eliminate some of the negative and stigmatising images that students hold about job opportunities in the city. For example, if students are able to secure a placement or internship in the greater Kingston area, then they will have first-hand experience of Kingston's diverse and stable employment base that extends well beyond the retail industry. Such an opportunity will provide them with first-hand experience of the high quality of life that Kingston has to offer, which is in line with Florida's Creative Class theory.

The theoretical contribution of this paper is that these results also suggest that there is a convergence between individuals' sense of community belonging and satisfaction on the latent construct we define as sense of place. While much of the literature on creative economies by Florida (2004; 2007; 2009) and others focuses on amenities as driving force behind labour movement, our results suggest that amenities may only be one aspect of what attracts and retains creative talent. Although amenities are no doubt important, we argue that building a sense of community is equally

³⁶ Although he is not the first to posit that labour markets are, as one might expect, important

important. Besides summer employment experience, the results from the bivariate analysis suggest that proximity to work, school, friends, and family also plays an important role in building individual's sense of belonging. These results support Jacobs' (1992) assertion, which Florida (2004) borrows, that proximity and space matter, and, in particular, that spatial proximity and urban design are important for cultivating and fostering a sense of community which Jacobs (1992) further argues goes hand-in-hand with economic vibrancy.

The data collected as part of this investigation raises important considerations for career educators, student affairs professionals, economic developers and planners across North America. It has shown that the largely-neglected, but valuable labour pool market, that literally surrounds university campuses in these cities, are places of opportunity, where municipal governments and university administration can work together to support local economic development.

The final section of this paper provides practical examples of how a university campus provides a place in which to make efforts to retain creative workers in cities that typically struggle to attract this workforce. It highlights an important role for career services in supporting local economic development by opening doors to students' understanding of local opportunities.

Practical Applications: Kingston and Queen's: Working Together Smarter

At Queen's University, the data collected during this investigation has already been used in the development of new partnership initiatives between Career Services and the City of Kingston. Initiatives in support of local economic development have primarily addressed the employer development mission, but substantial opportunity for learning is also being manifest through experiential learning programs, such as internships and community service learning.

Building closer relationships with organizations in Kingston is now a strategic imperative for Queen's Career Services, and is demonstrated in small daily activities, as well as specific program development. Examples include becoming an active partner of industry groups, such as the Eastern Lake Ontario Innovation Network (ELORIN)³⁷, the Kingston Technology Council (KTC)³⁸, whose Innovation Expo includes efforts to recruit Queen's technology graduates, the Kingston Chamber of Commerce and KEDCO. Stronger relationships have also been built with the local, not-for-profit organisations, including Kingston Employment and Youth Services (KEYS)³⁹, whose initiatives are promoted by the staff at Queen's Career Services. Also, the City of Kingston now advertises its summer employment opportunities on the Queen's Career Services website.

Given the evidence of employer demand for new graduates and a supply of willing students, Career Services committed to a program that would build bridges

³⁷ ELORIN is a network regional bio-business activity, which aims to influence the success of regional bio-based firms and acts as a catalyst in accelerating the commercialization of research discoveries within the Eastern Lake Ontario region. See <http://www.elorin.ca/>

³⁸ KTC works closely with large organizations active in the technology community to improve the economic development of the technology-based economy of the Kingston region. See <http://www.kingstontechnology.net/>

³⁹ KEYS is a community-based career, employment, and language training centre offering a variety of programs and services. KEYS has programs and services for youth, adults, persons with disabilities, immigrants, and students. See <http://www.keys.ca/>

between Queen's students and Kingston employers. Since January 2009, a number of initiatives have been introduced that connect the two groups. For example, 'Careers in Kingston Day' is a career fair attended by employers located in Kingston, and students interested in working in the area. The inaugural event was held in January 2009 with 17 employers and 374 students taking part. As a direct result of this event, prominent local employers interviewed Queen's students on campus for the first time in more than five years. It was held again in January 2010, with 18 employers presenting their opportunities to 542 students.

Similarly, 'Careers in Public Service Day' is a career event that brings public sector employers and students together. This event is considered to contribute to building the relationship between Queen's and Kingston, because the public sector is the largest employer in Kingston, and many of the participating government departments have large operations based in Kingston (e.g., Corrections Canada, Canadian Forces Recruiting Group, and Service Canada). In January 2009, the event enabled 327 students to visit with nine government departments, and in 2010, it drew a smaller, but still substantial turnout, with 263 students from eight departments.

'Breaking In: Starting A Career in Film and Media' is another example of a program designed specifically to open doors to students' understanding of local opportunities. This workshop, which was delivered at Career Services as part of the Kingston Film Festival, successfully attracted filmmakers and film students, who came together at Career Services, to discuss how one can start a career in this competitive field, that is firmly positioned within the creative economy.

Opening Doors to Students' Understanding of Local Opportunities

Municipal officials and policy planners in many North American cities are employing Florida's theoretical ideas in their urban revitalization and rebranding efforts. In Kingston, despite municipal attempts to redefine the 'quality of place' that the City of Kingston has to offer, students at Queen's University expressed strong dissatisfaction with local employment opportunities. Although a blend of private sector employment, business services and research and development activities have laid the foundations for local economic growth, many students at Queen's University have a negative perception of the quantity and quality of job opportunities currently available in Kingston. Participants indicated that they did not feel there was quality employment in their fields offered by local employers in the city, deterring many from considering the prospect of becoming permanent residents, post-graduation, and encouraging most to relocate to the larger urban centres located nearby (e.g., Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal in Canada; and in the United States, Syracuse). Although the City of Kingston will not be able to compete with the scale of employment in surrounding areas, students' commitment to remaining in the city could be extended if they were more aware of the local opportunities available. Ensuring that students develop an accurate perception of the quality and availability of employment in Kingston during their time at Queen's will be essential in rebranding Kingston as a place for young, innovative and creative workers.

In addition to reassessing the ways in which the City of Kingston could be marketed to Queen's students as members of the 'creative class', significant improvements to the quality of urban social and material conditions must occur in order to meet their lifestyle needs and preferences. While the perception that there are few

jobs is evident in the comments received, of equal concern, also shown by comments, is that students feel alienated and marginalized from the community. In fact, based on their social encounters in the city, many students consider the residents of Kingston to be intolerant and resistant to change, thereby contributing to their supposition that the urban social environment is unfriendly and unwelcoming. Given that the presence of a strong and supportive community is perceived as a 'very important' factor to consider when choosing where to live and work, improvements must be made to local town-gown relations in order to foster a sense of stronger place attachment to Kingston. These findings both support and contradict Florida's description of the kind of urban social environment which attracts creative workers to a particular city. Although Queen's students are looking to live and work in a community which is tolerant, open, and inclusive, many describe their desire to relocate to a city with stronger social ties than Florida envisions. It is possible that the tensions associated with homecoming have impacted students' perceptions of Kingston and their opinion that it is not a tolerant, open and inclusive community, which in turn has affected their lack of attachment to the city and their desire to live.

Given that the students who indicated feeling part of the Kingston community were more likely to express their willingness to seek employment in the city, increasing the number of students who consider themselves part of the community would likely increase the number willing to consider Kingston as a place to live and work after they graduate. Importantly, this study revealed that many of those who worked in the city over the summer months developed a stronger place attachments to Kingston and, in line with Florida's work, identified the city as offering a better quality of life than those who had not spent the summer in Kingston. The opportunity to interact with local residents off-campus and experience community living was a significant factor in shaping positive opinions about the city. Ensuring that students are encouraged to participate in the community during the year would likely help in strengthening local social relationships and forging stronger social ties.

Kingston has the opportunity to benefit from the fact that it consists of an array of young, talented and creative individuals who, over time, develop an understanding of the sense of place, quality of life, and degree of place attachment the city has to offer. Queen's University has attracted these students to Kingston, now Kingston must find ways to convince them to stay. To some extent, this can be accomplished by promoting the employment opportunities available for students after they graduate, making students feel more welcome, improving municipal service quality, and promoting the progressive environmental improvement projects that are currently underway. Although not all of these features of the urban living environment are emphasized in Florida's conceptualization of the creative city, they are important factors influencing students' decisions of where to live and work. Before this can be accomplished, however, the City of Kingston must recognize and embrace Queen's students' assets and contributions, including their capacity to participate in economic renewal. Although the City has tried to define itself as a unique place, Queen's students have been a neglected labour pool in plans for urban redevelopment. In order to retain them, Kingston must identify and invite them to be part of its creative class by modifying the 'creative city' model to fit their specific needs and urban living preferences. It is only by explicitly acknowledging students value and the complexities of their lifestyle needs and preferences that the City will be able to experience the economic benefits associated with their presence.

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Report on the Canadian Career Counsellor Education Survey

Sharon Kalbfleisch & Rebecca Burwell

This article provides a summary of the results of a nationwide, web-based survey of career practitioners carried out in April/May of 2006. The survey was conducted as Phase II of the research project “The Advancement of Career Counsellor Education in Canada”, whose overarching purpose is to begin a process to develop a collective vision of Canadian career counselling/career development education for the future. This research project is funded by the Canadian Education and Research Institute for Counselling (CERIC).

The survey was conducted specifically to:

- identify career paths leading to, and progression within, the field of career development, including the educational backgrounds of career practitioners;
- understand with what field career practitioners identify professionally (for example, career development, social work, adult education), and what job titles they utilize (for example, career counsellor, career navigator, employment specialist);
- determine how career practitioners perceive the importance of specific skill and knowledge areas relevant to the practice of career counselling/career development, and their perceived ability within these same skill and knowledge areas;
- learn to what extent employers within the field support career development specific education; and,
- provide data to support discussions at a think tank session of career practitioner educators being held in October, 2006, as Phase III of the aforementioned research project.

The survey was administered online by the University of Waterloo Survey Research Centre in April and May 2006 using a questionnaire available in French and English. In order to solicit career practitioners to complete the survey, provincial and national associations within the field of career development were contacted with a request to help disseminate the survey. Those that agreed to inform their members of the survey are listed in Appendix A. Career practitioners were also informed of the survey through the web sites and bulletins of Contact Point and OrientAction.

The survey was completed by 1,180 individuals, 91% of whom were working in the field of career development. Key statistics and demographics of the sample appear in Appendix B. The regional distribution of the sample is relatively representative of the nation (refer to Table B3 in Appendix B), though the Territories were insufficiently represented to be included in the regional analysis. There was also low representation in some employment sectors, and therefore, in order to conduct the analysis, the corporate and private sectors were combined, as were the two non-profit sectors.

The survey findings have been organized thematically into four areas:

1. Practitioners’ Backgrounds
2. Professional Identity

3. Practitioners' Skills and Knowledge
4. Employers' Perspective of Career Practitioner Education

The presentation of survey findings is followed by a discussion of implications for the career development community.

Results

Practitioners' Backgrounds

gender. The ratio of women to men in the sample was 4:1 (refer to Table B-1 in Appendix B). This ratio remained consistent by region, city size, and employment sector. Women and men in the sample also did not differ significantly in terms of educational aspirations, primary job functions, or skills self-assessment.

entry into field. Respondents were asked, "How did you come to enter the field of career development?" Responses to this question were varied and, while they were not quantifiable, the majority of respondents indicated that they had entered the field by one of two paths. Either they had entered the field by accident (for example, "I am employed by a municipal office which won HRSDC contracts to provide employment support services"), or had entered it through a related profession (for example, "I started out teaching life skills, then moved into employment counselling"). Very few indicated an intentional decision to enter the field.

Following up on this line of inquiry, respondents were asked: "Did you make a career change into the field of career development? In other words, have you worked previously in another field?" Seventy percent of the sample stated that they had made a career change into the field (refer to Table I-1 below.) It appears that career development work tends not to be an identifiable career option early in life. This is not unexpected given that there are so few early academic entry points into the profession, with the exception of Quebec.

Table I-1

Worked Previously in Another Field by Region

Worked previously in another field?	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
Yes	88	77	78	41	82	70
No	12	23	22	59	18	30
Total N	(127)	(106)	(355)	(308)	(200)	(1096)

$X^2 = 168.1$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .39$ ⁴⁰

⁴⁰ A note about the cited statistics for cross tabular tables: all significant relationships have the Chi-square statistic reported, as well as the significance level (p), and a measure of the strength of the relationship (Phi). The significance level (p) can be interpreted as the probability of a difference at least as large as the one observed, from what would be expected under independence (no relationship). A small value of p is evidence that the observed difference is not due to chance, but instead, a result of a relationship between the row and column classifications.

Those respondents who had made a change into the field of career development were asked to indicate from which field they had entered (refer to Table I-2 below). Forty-seven percent of these respondents stated that they came from a closely related field (counselling, social work, human resources, or teaching), while 53% indicated they had come from a less related field (for example, business, health care, or journalism).

Table I-2

Previous Fields of Work

	Count	%
Teaching	168	22
Business	89	12
Counselling	68	9
Social work	64	8
Human resources	63	8
Clerical	47	6
Clergy work	3	0
Other	267	35
Total	(769)	100

Respondents from Quebec answered these questions quite differently. When asked how they came to enter the field of career development, the majority indicated that it was their desire to help others that led them to the field. Respondents from Quebec were far less likely to have made a career change into the field of career development than respondents from any other region (refer to Table I-1 above). This is likely due to the availability of undergraduate programs within the field, allowing students to make an earlier decision to enter the profession.

age. The average age of respondents was 43 (refer to Table I-3 below). This is significantly higher than the average age of workers in Canada, which is 39 ($t=14.1$, $p<.001$). Only 12% of those in the field are under age 30, 30% are aged 31 to 40, and 58%, a clear majority, are over 40 (refer to Table B-2 in Appendix B).

The average age is lower for respondents from Quebec (refer to Table I-3 below), with a significantly higher percentage of respondents in the age 35 and under category, and a smaller percentage in the over 55 category. Again, this is likely attributable to the existence of undergraduate programs in Quebec that make it possible for students to enter the field at a younger age.

The Phi measure can be interpreted as follows: a low Phi (less than .25) indicates a weaker relationship; higher values, between .3 and .6, indicate a moderate relationship.

Table I-3

Age by Region

Age	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
35 and under	16	17	25	41	27	28
36 to 45	31	28	28	25	29	28
46 to 55	35	37	32	26	32	31
Over 55	18	18	15	8	12	13
Average	46	46	44	40	43	43
Total N	(129)	(112)	(380)	(320)	(206)	(1147)

$X^2 = 50.4$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .21$

educational background. Overall, the education level of career practitioners is high. Forty-six percent had completed a certificate or diploma, 83% had completed an undergraduate degree, and 45% had completed a graduate degree (refer to Tables I-4 to I-6 below). Only 3% of respondents had no formal post-secondary education (refer to Table I-7 below). Sixty-three percent of respondents had completed two or more of a certificate/diploma, undergraduate degree, or graduate degree (refer to Table I-7 below). This indicates a highly educated group of individuals.

Table I-4

Education (Certificate or Diploma) by Region

Certificate or Diploma	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
Yes	61	35	55	36	44	46
No	39	65	45	64	56	54
Total N	(126)	(108)	(358)	(309)	(197)	(1098)

$X^2 = 39.2$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .19$

Table I-5

Education (Undergraduate Degree) by Region

Undergraduate Degree	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
Yes	65	89	74	97	87	83
No	35	11	26	3	13	17
Total N	(126)	(108)	(358)	(309)	(197)	(1098)

$X^2 = 98.5$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .30$

Table I-6

*Education (Graduate Degree) by Region**

Graduate Degree	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
Yes	30	42	25	83	35	45
No	70	58	75	17	65	55
Total N	(125)	(103)	(354)	(307)	(198)	(1087)

$X^2 = 261.0$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .50$

* 96% of these are master's degrees; 4% are doctoral degrees

Table I-7

Education Completed

Education	Count	%
No formal education	37	3
Certificate or diploma only	144	13
Undergraduate degree only	233	21
Certificate/diploma & undergraduate degree	192	17
Undergraduate & graduate degrees	332	30
Certificate & undergraduate & master's degrees	165	15
All levels of education achieved	7	1
Total	1110	100

The survey asked respondents to provide the name of the programs they had completed. Some respondents did not provide full details of their programs, indicating simply "B.A.", for example, without identifying their major. Judging by those who were precise, one third of the certificates/diplomas completed were studies directly in the field of career development. The undergraduate degrees most often brought to the field, outside of Quebec, were in Education (152), Psychology (150), Sociology (76), English (46), and Social Work (31). The master's degrees reported outside of Quebec were most often in Counselling Psychology (82), Education (58), Guidance/School Counselling (15), Educational Counselling (14), and Social Work (13).

Quebec respondents, once again, differed significantly from those in other regions (refer to Tables I-4 to I-6 above). While respondents were less likely to have a certificate or diploma, they were more likely to have an undergraduate degree, and far more likely to have a graduate degree. Further, when asked to provide details of their programs of study, the majority reported undergraduate and graduate degrees directly in the field of career development. Consequently, they were least likely to be considering further formal education in the field of career development (refer to Table I-8 below).

years experience in field. A median for years of experience worked within the field of career development was calculated using a linear interpolation. In the sample, the median length of time respondents had been working in the field was eight years. Only 37% of respondents had been in the field over ten years (refer to Table I-9 below).

Age and years of experience are strongly related, as in other professions. In other words, younger workers generally have fewer years of experience than older workers. However, because so many respondents reported making a career change into the field, age and experience do not correspond as closely as one would expect (refer to Table I-9 below). For example, 32% of respondents over the age of 55 possess ten or fewer year's experience.

There is no significant difference in years of experience reported by respondents of each region.

Table I-8

Considering (Further) Career Development Education by Region

Are you considering (further) education in the field of career development?	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
Yes	51	47	44	29	50	42
No	49	53	56	71	50	58
Total N	(133)	(116)	(386)	(324)	(210)	(1169)

$X^2 = 34.0$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .17$

Table I-9

Years Experience in Field of Career Development by Age

Years of experience in field of career development	35 and under %	36 to 45 %	46 to 55 %	Over 55 %	Total %
Less than 3	38	12	6	6	17
Between 3 and 5	34	20	14	8	20
Between 6 and 10	25	31	26	18	26
Over ten years	3	37	54	68	37
Total N	(300)	(308)	(331)	(147)	(1086)

$X^2 = 331.4$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .55$

Professional Identity

work titles. The survey asked respondents to provide their current or most recent job title. A choice of 13 common position titles within the field of career development was offered. Sixty-three percent of respondents selected one of these titles (refer to Table II-1 below.)

Significantly, 37% of respondents did not fit into one of these 13 titles. The words 'career' and 'employment' get attached to a variety of labels including: coach, specialist, navigator, support worker, educator, worker, and coordinator.

It should be noted that in Quebec there is less confusion with respect to job titles. Sixty-nine percent of respondents to the French version of the survey (94% of

whom were from Quebec) use just one term: ‘conseiller d’orientation’ (refer to Table II-2 below).

Table II-1

Current Job Title (English)

	Count	%
Guidance counsellor	113	14
Employment counsellor	103	13
Career counsellor	68	8
Program coordinator	57	7
Facilitator	30	4
Career development practitioner	23	3
Employment consultant	21	3
Career consultant	21	3
Career advisor	19	2
Career information specialist	19	2
Case manager	16	2
Job developer	9	1
Vocational rehabilitation counsellor	8	1
Other	317	37
Total	(824)	100

Table II-2

Current Job Title (French)

	Count	%
Conseiller d’orientation	210	69
Conseiller en emploi	15	5
Conseiller en information scolaire et professionnelle	10	3
Conseiller en ressources humaines	9	3
Conseiller en carrière	7	2
Coordonnateur de programmes	6	2
Gestionnaire de projets	3	1
Conseiller en recrutement du personnel	1	0
Animateur ou formateur	1	0
Conseiller en réadaptation	1	0
Prospecteur d’emplois	0	0
Autre	41	15
Total	(304)	100

professional alliances. The survey asked respondents to indicate the fields with which they identify professionally. When given the option to indicate more than one field, 76% of respondents indicated that they identify, at least to some degree, with

the field of career development (refer to Table II-3 below). However, when respondents were asked to indicate with which field they identify primarily, only 47% indicated that they identified primarily with the field of career development (refer to Table II-4 below). This can likely be explained by the fact that career development work is encompassed in so many disciplines, including Human Resources, Psychology, Social Work, and Counselling.

Table II-3

Fields Identified With Professionally

	Count	%
Career development	897	76
Counselling	705	60
Adult education	340	29
Teaching (elementary and secondary)	242	21
Human resources	234	20
Teaching (post-secondary)	140	12
Vocational rehabilitation	131	11
Social work	130	11
Psychology	114	10
Other	221	19
Total	(on 1180)	

Table II-4

Primary Field of Identification

	Count	%
Career development	448	47
Counselling	209	23
Teaching (elementary and secondary)	60	6
Adult education	52	5
Human resources	42	4
Vocational rehabilitation	30	3
Social work	18	2
Teaching post-secondary	17	2
Psychology	8	1
Other	64	7
Total	(948)	100

Practitioners' Skills and Knowledge

perceived importance and level of ability. Respondents were asked to rate on a scale of one to three the perceived importance and their perceived level of ability within 21 skill and knowledge areas related to career development. Calculating Z scores for the average ratings of skill/knowledge areas allows a ranking in order of importance

and self-assessed competency. Table III-1 presents the list of skills and knowledge in order of ranking, from most perceived importance to least perceived importance, while Table III-2 presents the list in order of ranking from most perceived ability to least perceived ability. Larger Z scores, whether they are positive or negative, indicate a mean farther from the average overall (more of an outlier item).

Table III-1 indicates that respondents rate macro career development skills (such as new program development, program promotion, project management, program administration, addressing social justice issues, and lobbying government) as having less importance than skills and knowledge related to direct client work (such as one-to-one interviewing skills, group facilitation, and career counselling techniques). Table III-2 indicates that respondents also rate their level of ability within each of these macro areas as lower than those related to direct client work.

Table III-1

Importance Ratings in Order of Rank

	Average Rating	Z Score
Ethics	2.9	1.44
One-to-one interviewing	2.9	1.44
Career/labour market information	2.8	1.08
Career counselling techniques	2.8	1.08
General counselling theory	2.7	0.72
Work search strategies	2.7	0.72
Career assessment	2.7	0.72
Career development theory	2.6	0.36
Local & global work trends	2.6	0.36
Group facilitation	2.6	0.36
Working with diverse populations	2.6	0.36
Working collaboratively with community partners	2.6	0.36
Advocating on behalf of clients	2.5	0
Developing new programs	2.4	-0.36
Job development	2.3	-0.72
Proposal/report writing	2.2	-1.08
Program promotion	2.2	-1.08
Project management	2.1	-1.44
Program administration	2.1	-1.44
Addressing social justice issues	2.1	-1.44
Lobbying government	2.1	-1.44

Table III-2

Ability Ratings in Order of Rank

	Average rating	Z Score
One-to-one interviewing	2.7	1.51
Ethics	2.6	1.15

Work search strategies	2.6	1.15
Group facilitation	2.6	1.15
Career/labour market information	2.5	0.78
Career counselling techniques	2.5	0.78
General counselling theory	2.4	0.42
Working with diverse populations	2.4	0.42
Working collaboratively with community partners	2.4	0.42
Career development theory	2.3	0.05
Local & global work trends	2.3	0.05
Career assessment	2.3	0.05
Proposal/report writing	2.3	0.05
Advocating on behalf of clients	2.3	0.05
Developing new programs	2.1	-0.31
Project management	2.1	-0.68
Job development	2.0	-1.04
Program administration	2.0	-1.04
Program promotion	2.0	-1.04
Addressing social justice issues	1.9	-1.41
Lobbying government	1.6	-2.5

Quebec respondents repeatedly differ from other regions in both their ratings of the perceived importance and their level of ability within each of these skill and knowledge areas (refer to Tables III-3 and III-4 below). Table III-3 indicates practitioners in Quebec rate 13 scales as less important than other provinces, and two scales as more important.

Table III-4 indicates that practitioners in Quebec rate their competence in 14 scales as lower than those in other provinces, and one scale as higher. Practitioners in Quebec are, on average, younger than in the rest of Canada, and young people (age 35 or under) in the sample did tend to have significantly lower self-assessments of skill and knowledge than older age groups, thus potentially explaining why they generally rated their competence as lower. Another possible explanation for these lower ratings of ability is that in Quebec practitioners are more highly educated, and have more career development specific education. It is then possible that the respondents rate their skills lower on the Socratic grounds that “the more you know, the more you realize what you do not know”.

Table III-3

Average Importance Ratings by Region

Knowledge or Skill	BC	Prairies	Ontario	Quebec	Maritimes	F sig p value
General counselling theory	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.8*	2.7	.001
Ethics	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8*	2.9	<.001
Career development	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	.02

theory						
Career/labour market information	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.6*	2.8	<.001
Local & global work trends	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.5*	2.7	<.001
Work search strategies	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.4*	2.7	<.001
One-to-one interviewing	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	Not sig
Group facilitation	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.5*	2.6	.001
Career counselling techniques	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	Not sig
Career assessment	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	Not sig
Proposal/report writing	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.3*	2.2	<.001
Job development	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.4	Not sig
Project management	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.1	Not sig
Program administration	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.7*	2.2	<.001
Program promotion	2.3	2.4	2.3	1.8*	2.2	<.001
Working with diverse populations	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.3*	2.7	<.001
Advocating on behalf of clients	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.2*	2.7	<.001
Addressing social justice issues	2.1	2.3	2.2	1.8*	2.3	<.001
Working collaboratively with community partners	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.2*	2.7	<.001
Developing new programs	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.1*	2.5	<.001
Lobbying government	2.2	2.3	2.1	1.8*	2.2	<.001

*Significant Post Hoc Scheffe comparison tests – region differs from most or all other regions.

Table III-4

Average Ability Ratings by Region

Knowledge or Skill	BC	Prairies	Ontario	Quebec	Maritimes	F Sig p value
General counselling theory	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.5	Not sig
Ethics	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.5*	2.7	<.001
Career development theory	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	.04

Career/labour market information	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.4*	2.5	<.001
Local & global work trends	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.2*	2.2	<.001
Work search strategies	2.7	2.5*	2.7	2.5*	2.6	<.001
One-to-one interviewing	2.7	2.6*	2.7	2.8	2.8	.01
Group facilitation	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.4*	2.6	<.001
Career counselling techniques	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	Not sig
Career assessment	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3	Not sig
Proposal/report writing	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.4*	2.3	.006
Job development	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0	Not sig
Project management	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.9*	2.1	<.001
Program administration	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.6*	2.1	<.001
Program promotion	2.3	2.2	2.2	1.7*	2.0	<.001
Working with diverse populations	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.2*	2.4	<.001
Advocating on behalf of clients	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.1*	2.6	<.001
Addressing social justice issues	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.7*	2.1	<.001
Working collaboratively with community partners	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.1*	2.5	<.001
Developing new programs	2.2	2.3	2.3	1.8*	2.2	<.001
Lobbying government	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.3*	1.7	<.001

*Significant Post Hoc Scheffe comparison tests – region differs from most or all other regions.

Employers' Perspective of Career Counsellor Education

hiring. Respondents were asked whether their organization, where relevant, sought to hire individuals with education specifically within the field of career development. Seventy-three percent of respondents stated that their organization sought to hire those with education specifically in the field of career development (refer to Table IV-1 below).

In terms of education and accreditation, Quebec stands out with 93% of the respondents identifying that their organizations seek specific career development education. Quebec's regulation of the field no doubt accounts for this figure.

Table IV-2 below shows that many employers are seeking undergraduate or graduate level education over certificate or diploma level programs.

Table IV-1

Employer Seeks Career Development Specific Education by Region

Does organization hire individuals with career development specific education?	BC %	Prairies %	Ontario %	Quebec %	Maritimes %	Total %
Yes	78	55	63	93	61	73
No	22	45	37	7	39	27
Total N	(110)	(86)	(303)	(276)	(164)	(939)

$X^2 = 97.4$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .32$

Table IV-2

Education Levels Sought

	Count	%
Certificate	148	16
Diploma	216	23
Undergraduate degree	362	38
Master's degree	385	41
Doctorate	29	3
Total	(on 948)	*

* Respondents could select more than one level.

encouragement. Next, respondents were asked to indicate if their organization encouraged further career development specific education (refer to Table IV-3 below). Sixty-nine percent indicated that their organization encouraged career development specific education to some extent or a great deal. Differences in results were significant by sector, not region. Those respondents in the post-secondary education sector, for instance, indicated that 81% of their organizations encouraged continuing education in the field to some extent or a great deal.

Table IV-3

Employer Encourages (Further) Career Development Education by Employment Sector

To what extent does organization encourage (further) education in field?	Govern-ment %	Educati-on %	Post-Sec. Educati-on %	Corporate or Private %	Non-Profit %	Total %
A great deal	27	18	41	40	34	31
To some extent	39	43	40	28	36	38
A little	27	28	15	24	22	23
No at all	7	11	4	8	8	8

Total N	(162)	(206)	(165)	(83)	(342)	(958)
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$X^2 = 40.5$ $p = .001$, $\Phi = .21$

funding. The subsequent questions addressed the number of organizations that provide funding for further education for their employees and the amount allocated for funding (refer to Tables IV-4 and IV-5 below). While 88% of all respondents indicated that their organizations funded further education, 73% of that number indicated that they received \$1,000 or less annually to pursue this education or training. Viewed by sector, the corporate/private and post-secondary sectors give the most support. The primary and secondary education sector is the least likely to receive more than \$1,000.

Table IV-4

Provision of Funding for Further Education by Employment Sector

Does employer provide funding to you for further education?	Government	Education	Post-Sec. Education	Corporate or Private	Non-Profit	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	86	85	98	84	88	88
No	14	15	2	16	12	12
Total N	(166)	(213)	(168)	(81)	(345)	(973)

$X^2 = 18.9$ $p = .001$, $\Phi = .14$

Table IV-5

Amount of Funding Provided by Employment Sector

How much funding is provided?	Government	Education	Post-Sec. Education	Corporate or Private	Non-Profit	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under \$500	33	61	27	34	45	42
\$500 and \$1,000	32	27	35	26	31	31
Over \$1,000	35	12	38	40	24	27
Total N	(114)	(169)	(146)	(61)	(254)	(744)

$X^2 = 55.7$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .27$

Respondents who are currently enrolled in an education program report higher levels of encouragement from the organizations where they work than those not currently in school (refer to Table IV-6 below). As well, respondents who report plans to further their education in the field, also report higher levels of encouragement than those not planning to continue their education (refer to Table IV-7 below). There is no difference in the reported presence of funding, nor in the amount of funding provided

for education, by either those currently enrolled, or those considering future enrolment. It appears that encouragement, and not funding, is the key factor influencing whether employees are enrolled or plan to enroll in a program.

Table IV-6

Encouragement from Employer by Current Enrolment

Currently Enrolled in Education Program	A great deal %	To some extent %	A little %	Not at all %	Total N
Yes	48	25	24	3	119
No	29	41	21	9	857

$X^2 = 24.4$ $p < .001$, $\Phi = .16$

Table IV-7

Encouragement from Employer by Future Enrolment

Considering Future Enrolment in Education Program	A great deal %	To some extent %	A little %	Not at all %	Total N
Yes	38	35	22	5	373
No	26	41	23	10	614

$X^2 = 20.5$ $p < .011$, $\Phi = .15$

Discussion

Practitioners' Backgrounds

Survey results related to career practitioners' backgrounds revealed several points of interest. First, the data revealed that most practitioners outside of Quebec did not enter the field through an intentional decision making process. Many enter the field as a second career and possess a variety of educational backgrounds, including education in Social Work, Psychology, Education, and Sociology. While this diversity in backgrounds does lend a certain richness to the field, it also raises the possibility that many may be practicing without the requisite skills and knowledge to be effective career practitioners. They may lack, for example, knowledge of the labour market, career counselling techniques, or career development theory.

Second, the data showed that the average age of respondents was higher than the average age of workers in Canada. This raises two important concerns. There is first the issue of whether we will be able to meet consumer demand for career practitioners in the coming years. When this age factor is considered alongside the fact that most entered the profession as a second career, there is also the issue of whether some

practitioners simply do not have the years of experience required to gain the expert status in the field that they might have achieved had they entered the profession earlier.

Third, the data also revealed that on average career practitioners have spent fewer years working in the field than have those in other occupations. With a median of only eight years experience in the field, practitioners perhaps do not possess the level of expertise that is common to other fields. For example, within the teaching profession, the median for years of experience within the field in Ontario is approximately 15 years (Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan, June 2006). Again, the authors wonder if facilitating earlier entry into the field would allow for greater levels of expertise to be developed within the field.

Professional Identity

Survey results related to professional identity also reveal some interesting points of discussion. The vast number of different job titles, and the fact that relatively few respondents identified primarily with the field of career development, are suggestive of a weak professional identity. The authors suggest the field strive to establish a limited set of meaningful titles to describe the work we do. In other professions, such as nursing, job titles often reflect the education level, level of responsibility, and duties that are performed by the individual. For example, the term 'nurse practitioner' implies post-graduate diploma or degree training, the term 'registered nurse' implies undergraduate level training, and the term 'registered practical nurse' implies diploma level training. This would help the general public and the field to better understand what different practitioners offer. As well, this could lead to an enhanced professional identity.

Further, while the issue of whether the career counselling/development field should become regulated across the nation is beyond the scope of this paper, we do live in a time of 'creeping credentialism.' It seems prudent to position the profession to deal with potential self, public, and government interest in regulating the profession. If this field were to become more organized or regulated in some fashion, a necessary first step would be to agree upon a consistent and descriptive set of job titles. It would be difficult or impossible to organize any credential or license with the current array of titles.

This professional identity issue is further complicated by the fact that most career practitioners graduate from other disciplines such as Psychology, Sociology, or English. Our challenge then is to develop a process through which career development can evolve to be the primary work identity of more practitioners and through which career development can become known as a clearly defined professional specialty. We might look at the evolution of other disciplines to help address this challenge. For example, statistics was initially viewed as a branch of mathematics, but as it evolved and the usefulness of statistical ideas and concepts became more apparent, it was able to define itself clearly as a discipline in its own right. University departments of statistics are now typically separate from mathematics; they develop statistical theory and play a key role in defining the discipline, and are often involved with the teaching of statistics to other disciplines like Economics, Psychology, Sociology, and Engineering.

Practitioners' Skills and Knowledge

The next part of the survey examined practitioners' perceptions of the importance of specific skill and knowledge areas relevant to the field of career development, as well as their perceived ability within these same skill and knowledge areas. An interesting finding is that macro skills appeared to be less important to practitioners. The authors believe this can lead to an interesting discussion on the appropriate curriculum for career practitioners.

In Phase I of this research project, a review of the areas of curriculum covered in career counselling/career development programs revealed that macro issues received significantly less attention than skills and knowledge related directly to client work. The lack of a macro viewpoint is detrimental, even when one's job involves mostly one-on-one interactions. Without a sense of these issues (the big picture, as it were), career practitioners can become too focused on the idea of pathologies or problems as residing in the individual; they may ignore broader cultural factors. For example, knowledge of macro issues is crucial when writing proposals for funding. Without an appreciation for the political environment and how to approach government, it is difficult to get and maintain funding. We wonder, then, if it would be prudent to include more macro area skills and knowledge into career counselling/career development programs so that students at minimum have a beginning awareness of 'big picture' issues. While client-based knowledge and skills may be what students are initially seeking, helping students gain a macro perspective will aid them in their work with individuals by broadening their lens as well as helping them as they advance in their careers.

It is interesting how high so many of the respondents rated their skills and knowledge. The authors wonder if this is because so many career practitioners enter the field without career development specific education, making it possible that they do not realize the extent of the theory base behind the profession, and as a result feel they hold all or most of the required skills to work in the field. Many practitioners do come into the field with related human service and counselling experience, and indeed, these skills go a long way in enriching their work. However, we believe that without a comprehensive knowledge of career development theory and career counselling techniques, for example, a career practitioner cannot practice in the field to full advantage. The vast number of certificate and diploma programs that have been developed in the past fifteen years does speak at least in part to some employers' and practitioners' recognition of the need for career development specific skills and knowledge.

Employers' Perspective of Career Practitioner Education

The survey results on the employers' perspective of career counsellor education were particularly interesting in terms of hiring practices. Respondents were asked whether their organization, where relevant, sought to hire individuals with education specifically within the field of career development. Seventy-three percent of respondents stated that their organization sought to hire those with education specifically in the field of career development. On the one hand this seemed encouraging. In other professions; however, we suspect that this number would be closer to 100%. For example, within the field of social work, it is currently uncommon for someone to obtain a position without the requisite education. In some professions, it

is impossible to obtain a position without the professional education and accreditation. For example, a person could not obtain a position as a nurse unless they had received the required education to become a registered nurse, practical nurse, or nurse practitioner.

Given the relative youthfulness and complexity of the field of career development we were encouraged by many of the survey findings. The field has a clear strength in that the educational level of practitioners is high and in that many are considering further career development specific education. The more traditionally organized career development programs in Quebec are a particular strong point in that they provide a Canadian educational model that can help shape an educational model for all of Canada. As well, the large number of career practitioners (1,180) who completed the survey is indicative of the commitment and enthusiasm of those working in the field and of their interest in the field's advancement.

The authors are pleased with the richness of the data that the survey has produced. We would like to acknowledge the effort made by the many career practitioners who took the time to complete this survey, as well as to thank the University of Waterloo Survey Research Centre for their assistance in developing the survey and in analyzing the data.

Appendix A

Table of Participant Associations

Table A-1: Participant Associations

Association of Career Professionals International
Canadian Association of Career Educators and Employers
Canadian Career Information Association
Canadian Counselling Association
Career Development Association of Alberta
Career Education Society
Career Management Association of BC
Guidance Council of the Alberta Teachers Association
Manitoba School Counsellors' Association
New Brunswick Career Development Action Group
New Brunswick Teachers' Association
Newfoundland and Labrador Counsellors' and Psychologists' Association
Nova Scotia Career Development Association
Ontario Association of Youth Employment Centres
Ontario School Counsellors Association
L'Ordre des conseillers et conseillères d'orientation et des psychoéducateurs et psychoéducatrices du Québec
Prince Edward Island Teachers' Federation
Saskatchewan Career Work Education Association

Appendix B: Respondent Demographics

Table B-1: Gender

	Count	%
Male	237	20
Female	943	80
Total	(1180)	100

Table B-2: Age Groups in 5-Year Intervals

	Count	%
16 to 20	5	0
21 to 25	24	2
26 to 30	112	10
31 to 35	182	16
36 to 40	159	14
41 to 45	163	14
46 to 50	177	15
51 to 55	184	16
56 to 60	114	10
Over 60	38	3
Total	(1158)	100

Table B-3: Province or Territory of Residence

	Count	Count as % of Survey Sample	Population as % of National Population*
Alberta	72	6	10.1
British Columbia	133	11	13.2
Manitoba	29	3	3.6
New Brunswick	57	5	2.3
Newfoundland and Labrador	52	4	1.6
Northwest Territories	2	0.2	0.1
Nova Scotia	85	7	2.9
Nunavut	1	0.1	0.1
Ontario	386	33	38.9
Prince Edward Island	16	1	0.4
Quebec	324	28	23.5
Saskatchewan	15	1	3.1
Outside Canada	7	1	N/A
Total	(1179)	100	100

* Source: Statistics Canada

Table B-4

Population of Town/City Where Employed

	Count	%
10,000 or less	198	17
Between 10,000 and 50,000	206	18
50,001 to 100,000	152	13
Above 100,000	594	51
Not currently working	16	1
Total	(1166)	100

Table B-5: *Employment Sector*

	Count	%
Not in field	42	4
Government	180	16
Secondary education	235	21
Post-secondary education	186	16
Corporate	23	2
Private or independent	92	8
Not for profit (charities)	79	7
Not for profit (other than charities)	298	26
Total	(1135)	100

Table B-6

Primary Functions of Work

	Count	%
Providing direct service to clients, one-to-one or in a group	861	76
Managing or supervising a program or department	334	30
Writing and developing career related tools or resources	366	33
Designing new programs and services	351	31
Developing/analyzing public policy related to career development	74	7
Teaching and/or conducting research in career development	206	18
Other function	63	6
Total	(on 1128)	*

*Does not sum to 100 as respondents could select more than one function.

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Robert Shea and Rhonda Joy – *Editors/Rédacteurs*

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