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Robert Shea, Founding Editor/fondateur et rédacteur en chef

Diana Boyd, Associate Editor/rédactrice en chef adjointe

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Canadian Journal of Career Development Revue canadienne de développement de carrière

Robert Shea, Founding Editor/fondateur et rédacteur en chef
Associate Vice President (Academic & Student Affairs)
Fisheries and Marine Institute
Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, NL
A1C 5R3
Phone/tél: 709.778.0356
Fax/télé: 709.778.0394
Email/courriel: rshea@mi.mun.ca

Diana Boyd, Associate Editor/rédactrice en chef adjointe
Office Associate Vice President (Academic & Student Affairs)
Fisheries and Marine Institute
Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, NL
A1C 5R3
Phone/tél: 709.778.0578
Fax/télé: 709.778.0394
Email/courriel: diana.boyd@mi.mun.ca

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Editor Dr. Robert Shea

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Dr. Robert Shea, Founding Editor

Welcome to the opening issue of 2019. This year will bring many new changes for the Journal. A new website is in the works, along with new publishing options for university faculty and students, and community practitioners. We have heard from our readership that there is a publication gap for community practitioners to write about their career programs and results, share their best practices and current trends, as well as other topics. We are excited to announce the creation of a new non-peer reviewed section within the Journal. In addition to our peer-reviewed research, this new section will be devoted to non-peer reviewed work such as book reviews, and practitioner & community best practices. The practitioner and community best practices will allow individuals to submit work that is not university-or ethics-level research. In the back of this issue, are details on the new publication categories and criteria.

Writing an article is a skill unto itself. Associate Editor Diana Boyd has provided publishing guidance and advice over the years to authors and students. This year, she will write articles about frequently asked questions, how to do's, tips for crafting an article, top 10 mistakes by authors, and other topics. These will be available for reading and download on our website and social media accounts. We hope these will assist potential authors in navigating the publication world and make it less intimidating.

Our social media accounts will continue to engage with old and new topics. This year we are starting an 'Ask the Editor' series. For this, all you need to do is tag us in your questions and we will answer them. These questions can be about publishing in general, publishing advice, or specific questions about our Journal. Continuing this year are the Throwback Thursday posts, Quotes of Wisdom, and Upcoming Article Abstracts.

In 2019–2020, we will be undertaking a reader and author survey to gather key information that will assist in the development of a five-year strategic plan for the Journal. Keep an eye out for this on our social media accounts, as well in your email. Your feedback is crucial to the future design of the *Canadian Journal of Career Development*.

Onto the current issue, within are five articles that range from ADHD and learning disorders, to employment behaviours of individuals, to a new theoretical framework. Each is interesting and eye opening. We recommend you peruse each for information that would be beneficial to yourself and your work.

In closing, we extend our deepest thanks to our readers, authors, reviewers, and supporters. Without you, this Journal could not continue to bring new and insightful research to the field of Career Development.

Founding Editor,
Rob Shea

Associate Editor
Diana Boyd

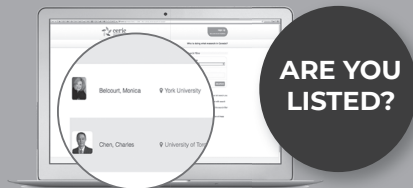


Doing research in career development? Here are two great resources to help!

1 CANADIAN CAREER DEVELOPMENT RESEARCHER DATABASE

ceric.ca/researchers

Find out who is doing what research in Canada with this easy-to-use, searchable online database.



- Search by 40 areas of interest or simply browse the list of 160 researchers and growing
- Use the database to identify potential academic and community partners for research
- Learn about the latest research in any area of career development

Researchers are invited to contact admin@ceric.ca to have their names added or to update their profiles.

2 LITERATURE SEARCHES

ceric.ca/literature-searches

Use these 50 bibliographies to stay up to date on the latest research in key areas of career development.



Also a valuable reference if you are considering a submission to CERIC for project partnership funding.

Etta St John Wileman Award Prix Etta-St.-John-Wileman

This award is designed to recognize and celebrate individuals who have devoted their lives to enhancing the field of career development. It honours Etta St John Wileman, a champion and crusader of career, work and workplace development in Canada in the early 20th century.

For full information on the nomination and selection process, as well as profiles of past winners, visit ceric.ca/wileman_award.

NOMINATION DEADLINE: JUNE 30, 2019

Ce prix vise à souligner et à célébrer l'apport des personnes qui ont consacré toute leur vie à améliorer le domaine du développement de carrière. Ce prix honore la mémoire d'Etta St. John Wileman, pionnière et fervente militante du développement de carrière et de l'amélioration des conditions de travail au Canada au début du XXe siècle.

Pour plus d'information sur les nominations et la sélection, ainsi qu'une liste des récipiendaires du prix, visitez ceric.ca/prix_wileman.

DATE LIMITE : 30 JUIN 2019

Employment-Seeking Behaviours Among Newly Certified Ontario Teachers

Nancy Maynes, Blaine E. Hatt, & Anna-Lisa Mottonen
Nipissing University

Abstract

In Ontario, Canada, the legislation commonly known as Regulation 274, outlines how newly certified teachers in the province are offered employment in the province's schools, and limits their options for immediate full-time employment in teaching. The new 2-year certification teacher preparation program in Ontario, which started in the fall of 2015, produced its first cohort of teachers in spring 2017. The cohort is arguably the best prepared group of teachers ever produced in the province, since they have twice the professional training (both course hours and practicum time) of any previous cohort of teachers in the jurisdiction. However, Regulation 274 continues to limit their access to immediate full-time employment in the profession. The researchers sought to identify the job-seeking behaviours and plans of this new group of teachers and to examine correlations between the group's job seeking behaviours and plans, in the current employment climate of the province, and their level of student debt as they exit the two-year preparation program, as well as other factors that may affect their employment in the profession. Debt and other social factors were found to influence employment decisions of these new teachers.

Keywords: teacher preparation programs, employment of newly certified teachers, Regulation 274, student debt

Policy changes and student demographic changes in recent years in Ontario, Canada have tended to balance and moderate effects on the overall volume of teaching jobs available across the province. Former teachers returning to active service in the province replace some of the workforce losses each year from teachers who leave the profession before taking actual retirement, but the main source of annual demand for new teachers is the volume of teacher retirements (Transition to Teaching, 2015). According to the report, Transition to Teaching, which is produced annually by the Ontario College of Teachers, the trend in supply and demand will favour employment opportunities for Ontario teachers during the next few years, starting in 2016.

Between 2003 and 2007, average annual retirement volumes of teachers in Ontario dropped substantially, and again in 2008 to 2011, while the average annual numbers of newly licensed teachers in Ontario rose substantially over the same periods, with the net result being a provincial teacher surplus. Between 1998 and 2002, the province was certifying approximately 2,000 additional new teachers than were needed in the jurisdiction's schools. Surplus numbers increased to about 6,500 between 1998 and 2002, and further increased between 2008 and 2011, to create an annual surplus of approximately 7,800 new teachers. The supply and demand difference led to two major actions by the Ontario government. First, Bill 274 was

passed in December 2013 and became a provincial regulation. Details of Regulation 274 will be outlined later in this document. Second, the province introduced plans to change the one-year teacher preparation program to a 2-year program.

In the teaching employment context created by these two government actions and the increases in the rate of teacher retirements in the same time period, the picture of employment prospects for newly certified teachers began to change sharply. Perhaps deterred by bleak employment prospects that had been the trend between 1998 and 2011, fewer prospective teachers chose the profession. Ontario graduates from Faculties of Education across the province declined almost 10 percent from 2012 to 2014 when compared to the numbers of graduates in the preceding 4 years (Transition to Teaching, 2015). In this same time period, border colleges, which were certifying Ontario teachers, were graduating 60 percent fewer teachers than in the previous 4-year period.

Further complicating the employment situation for new teacher graduates, Regulation 274 occurred within the context of a set of complex factors: an oversupply of teachers seeking K-12 teaching positions in the province; increases in numbers of entrants into teacher education programs across the province; demographic imbalance of student enrollment (declining enrollments in small urban, rural, and depressed settings in large metropolitan areas contrasted with increasing enrollment

in metropolitan areas); geographical inequalities particularly in respect of teacher-student ratios and students requiring special assistance; increased tension between and among government, teacher and non-teacher unions, and boards; and, increased regulations regarding teachers, teacher education, and classroom teaching (Hatt, Maynes & Kmiec, 2015). Additionally, the Premier of Ontario, Kathleen Wynne, was quoted in a Toronto Star newspaper article in September 2013 saying that, “I recognize that there may have been an over-correction in terms of some of the issues that had been brought forward,” during the provincial legislature’s daily question period about Regulation 274. This response was related to the specific questions brought forward by MPP Tim Hudak to represent concerns of Ontario’s Catholic teachers after they complained about nepotism in their boards and the controversial hiring practices that are governed by Regulation 274. However, this regulation is still in place in 2018 and still has a profound impact on new teacher hiring practices in the province.

Changes in enrollment trends to institutions that certified Ontario teachers, and increases in retirement rates of currently employed teachers, brought about a dramatic change in supply and demand trends between 2012 and 2015. During this time, the province saw an average of approximately 450 additional retirements among teachers per year. Supply and demand for newly certified teachers was positively impacted by the increased rate of retirements and the decreased rates of graduates. This impact was further influenced by the introduction, in 2015, of the two-year certification program, resulting in an anticipated high demand for newly certified teach-

ers in 2017 when the first cohort of two-year teacher candidates in the province graduated. Forecasts for teacher retirements of approximately 4,500 annually between 2016 and 2020, are anticipated to cause a further shift in the supply and demand trends in favour of newly certified graduates and may even result in a small shortage of teachers in some areas of expertise between 2016 and 2018 (Transition to Teaching, 2015).

However, this first 2-year program cohort, and future graduates from Ontario teacher education programs are restricted by the policies and standards of Regulation 274 from immediate entry into the workforce. A newly graduated teacher, certified by the Ontario College of Teachers, first needs to apply and be interviewed for inclusion on a board’s roster of occasional teachers. They then need to have “taught as an occasional teacher in one or more schools of the board (i.e., within the jurisdiction of a single board of education) for at least 20 full days during a 10-month period that is within the five years immediately preceding the day the application is submitted” (Reg. 274/12, n. p.) to qualify for inclusion on the board’s long-term occasional list. They need to have “completed a long-term assignment in a school of the board that was at least four months long and in respect of which the teacher has not received an unsatisfactory evaluation;” (Reg. 274/12, n. p.) and, be among the five applicants with the most seniority with the board to be interviewed and possibly be offered a permanent teaching position. Under the provisions of Regulation 274, from the time of graduation, a new teacher is likely to need 2 years to complete all the requirements to be offered a permanent contract if other candidates do not have higher seniority than the

applicant. If the teacher is lacking in seniority with the board, it could be an additional 3 or more years before a permanent contract is proffered. The impact of hiring “new” teachers who are 3 to 5 years removed from their preparation program introduces a whole new construct into teacher hiring practices that has yet to be sorted out and raises the question of pedagogical currency (Hatt, Maynes & Kmiec, 2015).

Literature Review

In this employment context, there is very little current literature available about employment plans of teachers across the province of Ontario. In 1998, H. L. Press completed a doctoral study at the University of Toronto (OISE) titled “Changing Teacher Demand Conditions in Canada and the Utilization of Teacher Labour Market Information by Educational Organizations and Teacher Education Students.” While this study did consider the employment sectors where graduating teachers across Canada would plan to examine employment possibilities after graduation (p. 131), the contexts of this study were very different from the context for the current study in 2 key ways. First, the Press study considered teacher candidates from across Canada. Since education employment is a provincially regulated matter in Canada, national studies have limited applicability in the local context, particularly in relation to the provisions in Regulation 274, as this regulation applies only in Ontario. Second, the Press study made no distinction between teacher candidates’ preparation program length (e.g., 1-year vs. 2-year) and employment plans of those candidates.

Additionally, the Press (1998) study was undertaken at

a time when the total number of teachers leaving the profession for a number of reasons was considerably lower than the total number of teachers being newly certified for the profession in Ontario contexts (Transition to Teaching, 2015, p. 3) so there was a surplus of approximately 1,700 newly certified teachers in the province. Between 1998 and 2015, that trend toward the accumulation of surplus certified teachers in Ontario continued with the surplus of recently certified teachers exceeding 7,500 in the period between 2008 and 2011 and again in the period between 2015 and 2016. However, as stated, current projections by the Ontario College of Teachers anticipate a sharp decline in these surpluses from 2016 until 2018, with some projections of teacher shortages in high demand areas of qualification such as French teachers and Intermediate/Senior qualified teachers who can teach subjects such as Science, Technology, Computer Sciences, and Mathematics. The nature of new teacher employment in Ontario has effectively been changed and further complicated since the implementation of Regulation 274 to include a period of contingent labour work in the profession (Pollock, 2015) that can extend for many years.

However, since the Ontario College of Teachers forecasts a substantial increase in retirements of existing contract teachers in the province for the remainder of this decade, projecting an average of 4,500 experienced teacher retirements annually, prospects may be changing rapidly for this new group of professionals. Teacher retirements are the single most influential change in employment demographics (Transition to Teaching 2015, p. 1) that is anticipated to change the employment possibilities for newly

certified teachers across the province, with only 2,800 newly certified graduates expected in 2016, down substantially from the over 12,000 graduates certified annually between 2008 and 2011 (Transition to Teaching, 2015, p. 4).

It may be, however, that the type of work these new teachers acquire initially is substantively different from the demands of the full-time contract employment for which they have been prepared through a 2-year teacher education program. Many newly certified teachers work in contingent arrangements in Ontario's schools. For example, in Ontario in 2011, 11,650 teachers entered the English-speaking teacher workforce (Ontario College of Teachers, 2013). While some of these teachers were able to secure full-time contract teaching positions, many more teachers were unsuccessful, leaving one in every three of the 2012 teacher graduates unemployed or underemployed in the profession for which they were trained (OCT, 2013).

In the Ontario context, the contingent work of new Ontario teacher graduates can involve short-term employment arrangements, "in which the minimum hours worked can vary in a non-systematic manner" (Polivka & Nardone, 1989, p. 11). Additionally, school boards have developed practices to work around some provisions in Regulation 274. For example, a Board can have a need for a long term occasional appointment, but avoid having to actually offer this appointment by assigning an occasional teacher to a position, withdrawing that position one day before it is required to be converted into a long term position, and bringing in another occasional teacher for one day, then reassigning the original occasional teacher on the follow-

ing day (personal communication; December 2016). While this practice is admittedly not intended in the provisions of Regulation 274, it is not an unusual practice to address short-term needs of schools.

Even with the current limitations imposed by Regulation 274 in play, the employment opportunities are more positive than they have been for some time, due to increases in retirements of teachers and decreases in graduation and certification rates. This is a very optimistic picture for newly certified teachers from the new Ontario 2-year certification program. However, it may be that newly certified teachers are either unaware of these newly emerging trends, or not qualified in the areas of teaching shortages that appear to be emerging in the province. It may also be that newly graduated teachers in the province are hampered in their options by their level and sources of student debt. With these possibilities in mind, we have structured this study to examine the trends for seeking employment that are typical of our Faculty of Education's first 2-year program cohort.

Context and Related Research

The current study was designed to examine the job seeking behaviours of newly certified teachers in the jurisdiction and to identify, if possible, any variables that might correlate to the behaviours. We know of no other studies that have taken place in Canada to examine the employment-seeking behaviours and factors such as student loan debt, which may influence job-seeking behaviours of newly certified teachers. However, in recent years, there is a growing body of research that relates to the hiring, supports, and retention practices for new teachers in various Canadian juris-

dictions. These studies have provided some context for the current study.

For example, in Alberta, recent research has explored the complexities of serving remote communities to ensure that excellent teachers are hired for these schools (Brandon, 2015). In Manitoba, research has been ongoing to examine principals' practices and beliefs as they seek to hire new teachers to the profession (Cranston, 2015). Several studies have considered hiring issues and the reliability of addressing these issues with current levels of principals' awareness of their implicit beliefs about teacher effectiveness that may influence their hiring decisions. From this body of research, Cranston (2012) has developed a model that identifies the determinants of teaching effectiveness. The model also explains how a framework of the knowledge, skills, and dispositions can be used in tandem with existing hiring practices to yield better outcomes from the screening and selection process. This research echoes earlier work by the same researcher, and the work of other researchers (Maynes & Hatt, 2017), who have tried to encourage the explicit identification of desirable teacher characteristics to support teacher hiring (Cranston, 2012a, 2012b; Maynes & Hatt, 2013).

Other Canadian researchers have investigated the use of simulations as a means of assessing teacher skills to buttress hiring practices in the British Columbia context. For example, Kaufman and Ireland (2015) have acknowledged that teachers' classroom skills, attitudes, and behaviours are fundamental to excellent teaching but concurrently acknowledge the complexity of determining these qualities in potential employees, recognizing that this is a "logistically difficult, costly, and at

times, controversial task for teacher educators and school administrators" (p. 113).

In the Ontario context, Pollard (2015) used snowball sampling and interview methodology to examine hiring of 13 new teachers who were partially employed as substitute or supply teachers. Pollard concluded that the contingent nature of the substitute teacher role was substantively different from the work of permanent teachers in five critical areas, including: 1) daily preparation; 2) rapport with students; 3) classroom management; 4) lesson content; and (5) teaching strategy implementation. She concluded that the contingent nature of substitute/supply teaching has implications for how we might develop and deliver professional learning for newly hired teachers, and, as we have already addressed, for how these teachers become permanent teachers under Ontario's Regulation 274. Additionally in Ontario, Cantalini-Williams (2015) summarized three studies that were undertaken to examine the role and impacts of alternative practicum placements in preparing teachers for the wide range of demands in the modern workplace, as is typical for teachers. As yet, it is unclear whether new teacher graduates highlight these alternative experiences as professional assets when they start their search for teaching jobs.

Another researcher (Hamm, 2015) examined teacher hiring as an aspect of professional experiences in Alberta and New Brunswick, and examined trends that consistently show the predominance of white, middle-class teacher candidates in teacher preparation programs across Canada and North America (Battiste, 2013; Lund, Bragg, Kaipainen, & Lee, 2014). He concluded that lack of exposure to other cultures

may limit opportunities for teacher candidates to explore their taken-for-granted assumptions and may give them less skill "to serve new immigrant children and understand their family backgrounds, cultures and world views" (Hamm, 2015, p. 41). Such limited exposure may, in turn, make these same new teachers less likely to seek opportunities for recruitment and hiring in diverse communities.

These previous studies have some influence on the focus of the current study. This study took place in a small northern Ontario university that has, since its inception, been well regarded for the quality of its teacher preparation program. In response to new legislation provincially, and fiscal and management constraints within the university, the current program focus is on the development of graduates with teaching certification through the new 2-year program. Earlier foci on various routes to certification through concurrent education options are being phased out by this university and the institution will graduate the last cohort of concurrent education teachers from its campuses in the spring of 2019. The university hosted its first graduation for the initial 2-year program cohort of teachers under Regulation 274 in the spring of 2017. On this campus, there were 184 2-year teacher graduates in this initial cohort, which represents a reduction of nine teacher candidates from the initial registrations at the outset of the program (personal communication, Registrar's Office, February 3, 2017).

Methods

It is anticipated that the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) will continue its practice, started in 1998, of examining actual employ-

Table 1

Employment Seeking and Enrichment Strategies

I will apply to teach on a(n):	Number of respondents who indicated that they will use the strategy before January 2017, or immediately following the completion of their B.Ed. degree, to find employment
occasional basis for the public school board in my home community.	43
occasional basis for the catholic school board in my home community.	7
occasional basis for any school boards close to my home community.	30
contract basis in a public school/board in my home community because I am qualified in areas that are in demand.	21
contract basis in a catholic school/board in my home community because I am qualified in areas that are in demand.	3
occasional basis to Ontario private/independent school(s).	7
occasional basis to private/independent school(s) in Canada but outside of Ontario.	4
full-time contract basis to Ontario private/independent school(s).	6
full-time contract basis to private/independent school(s) in Canada but outside of Ontario.	2
full-time contract basis on a First Nations' reserve in Northern Ontario.	5
First Nations' reserve in Canada but outside of Ontario.	4
I will use the above strategies selected AND the strategies selected below.	39
I will use the above strategies selected OR the strategies selected below.	7
In order to find employment, I will apply for/to be a(n):	Number of respondents who indicated that they will use the strategy in addition to OR instead of the above strategies
tutor.	27
hospitality services or retail roles.	8
teaching in another role or setting not requiring OCT designation.	18
recreation, coaching, or personal training.	15
after school programs.	11
administration, financial services, or clerical roles.	5
ECE and/or childcare.	6
child and youth or special needs worker.	8
management or non-teaching professions.	5
educational assistant.	6
trades, manufacturing, or construction.	3
creative or performing arts.	7
adult education or corporate training.	3
an occasional part-time teaching position outside Canada.	8
a full-time contract teaching position outside Canada.	19
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If I take a teaching position outside Canada, I will likely stay in that country for the remainder of my career. 	1
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If I take a teaching position outside Canada, I plan to return to Canada when teaching jobs become available and remain in Canada for the remainder of my career. 	32
Professional Growth Plan – I will:	Number of respondents who indicated that they will use the following professional growth strategy
continue my education by pursuing an advanced degree full-time immediately after completing my B.Ed. degree.	5
look for full-time employment immediately after finishing my B.Ed. degree.	53
take employment in a context where I am unlikely to make immediate or regular use of the learning from my B.Ed. degree.	18
will pursue AQs to enrich my B.Ed. degree immediately after completing my B.Ed. degree.	54
will pursue a part-time MEd degree to enrich my B.Ed. degree immediately after completing my B.Ed. degree.	4
Student Debt – I have:	Number of respondents who indicated that the corresponding student financial/debt issue applies to them.
had all educational costs for my B.Ed. degree paid for by another party.	8
paid for my own educational costs for the B.Ed. degree using part-time and/or summer employment funds.	23
accumulated students loans for all educational costs.	33

ment trends of teachers annually. However, the OCT study uses a provincial focus and all data are reported with three key differences from our current study. In the annual OCT study of provincial employment trends, certifying institutions are not identified in the aggregated data; the response rate for the OCT survey is relatively low (19%); and the responses look at actual employment outcomes as compared to employment seeking behaviours which was the focus of our study.

The current research study used survey methodology. Survey methodology was considered to be an appropriate method for our research purposes because this methodology has a number of advantages (Creswell, 2005; Glasow, 2005; Kraemer, 1991; Pinsonneault & Kraemer, 1993; Salient & Dillman, 1994). By using a survey approach for this study, we could take advantage of software design support for the collection of mixed-methods data. The quantitative data can determine the perception and applicability of the participants' responses, while providing opportunities to seek co-relational trends in the data. The qualitative data can be used to help develop theories and explanations of the impact of the identified issues and opportunities found from the quantitative data. Campbell and Profetto-McGrath (2013) used this approach to determine the skills and attributes required for clinical nurse specialists to promote evidence-based practices. Gibbert et al. (2013) used a similar method to determine the usefulness and potential barriers of a course on evidence-based practices for the public health workforce.

Surveys have both strengths and limitations as research tools. Demographic data are readily collected using surveys (McIntyre,

1999). Additionally, surveys allow researchers to explore several variables in the collected data, support generalizations to comparable populations, and are economical in both time and money, especially when administered through online methods (Bell, 1996). As well, survey methodology can enable insights into attitudes and opinions that may be unavailable through other methodologies (McIntyre, 1999). It is, however, important to recognize the limitations of survey approaches and survey tools to mitigate over-generalization of survey research findings. Among the limitations of survey methodology are the recognitions that: 1) survey data provide estimates, rather than precise measurements related to the target population (Salant & Dillman, 1994) and this may be particularly characteristic when response scales are part of the survey design; 2) biases may be inherent in data if the respondent numbers are low and therefore not representative of the entire target population (Bell, 1996); 3) the accuracy of the responses may be suspect if misreporting is widespread (Glasow, 2005); 4) respondents may be unreliable assessors of their own behaviour as surveys are, by their nature, subjective (Glasow, 2005); or, 5) errors can result from careless administration or analysis of survey data (Creswell, 1994).

Survey Design

To apply effective design methods to avoid or mitigate some of the limitations of survey methodology, survey design includes sample planning and designing procedures for obtaining population estimates, including establishing the desired response rate and criteria for determining accuracy in responses (Glasow, 2005; Levy & Lemeshow,

1999; Salant & Dillman, 1994). Precision in the collected data is a consideration when survey methodology is used, to ensure accuracy in interpreting the data and the level of confidence in the interpretation of the data (i.e., the confidence interval). Both mean and variance can be calculated from the survey data, providing confidence intervals related to each major conclusion that is supported by the survey data (Glasow, 2005). Additionally, survey data allow for a calculation of effect size to guide researchers in their determination of the importance of the results of the research (i.e., the statistical power) (Aron & Aron, 1997).

The survey medium (i.e., the online use of Survey Monkey) was selected in response to the resources, time, and the distribution location of potential respondents (Salant & Dillman, 1994) and to allow respondents personal latitude for when to engage in the survey. In this medium, automated data collection tools were available to ease tabulation and data manipulation (Isaac & Michael, 1997). Questions for the survey were designed to provide “answers that are reliable and valid measures” (Fowler & Floyd, 1995, p. 2) of the employment-seeking behaviours of the group of new teacher candidates who were invited to participate. In addition, questions were worded to use terms that could be expected to be familiar and clear to the intended respondents because they related to their program outcomes (Browne & Keeley, 1998; Fowler & Floyd, 1995; McIntyre, 1999; Salant & Dillman, 1994) and to provide a survey of reasonable length (McIntyre, 1999), using neutral, unbiased wording (Salant & Dillman, 1994; Tourangeau, 1999).

The online survey for this study (see Appendix 2) was devel-

oped to provide the qualitative/demographic data and quantitative data that we deemed appropriate for the focal research question of this study. This survey was designed to look at trends in employment-seeking behaviour of newly certified teachers and to examine factors that may influence those trends (Spain, Priest, & Murphy, 2012). In addition, the survey needed to be sustainable and have the capability to continue its use for a significant period across years as we also plan to examine longitudinal trends; and provide quality indicators to improve practices (Hudson, Skamp, & Brooks, 2005; Narayan, Whicker, Staples, Bookman, Bartlett, & McGann, 2014). This survey tool incorporated questions related to the likely range of employment seeking behaviours of the current participant group and the potentially related limitations of their choices (Ennis & Hooper, 1988; Gibbert, et al., 2013; Hudson, Skamp, & Brooks, 2005; Owen, 2007; Tepper, Shaffer, & Tepper, 1996).

The survey for this study was posted to existing in-house emails for all second year consecutive education students immediately after they left the campus to complete the practicum aspect that concluded their program (e.g., on February 17, 2017). These emails were unavailable to the researchers but the support of the Registrar’s Office and Student Services was enlisted to make the initial contact with potential participants. A scripted email communication (see Appendix 1) was sent to invite participation in the study. This email was sent to all second-year teacher candidates (N=184 students in Year 2 courses). Five study reminders were emailed to all potential participants bi-weekly between March 2017 and the end of May 2017 to correspond to vari-

ations in timing of hiring practices within local school boards across the province, and in hiring cycles for non-Canadian agencies.

Data and Results

Sixty-three pre-service teacher candidates from this group responded to the invitation to be involved in this study. This represents a response rate of 34.2%, which is an acceptable response rate and slightly stronger than the minimal response rate of 30% that most researchers require for analysis (Dillman, 2000; Malaney, 2002). Data were analyzed using two approaches: first, discrete questions were analyzed for trends in responses; second, data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics 22 to allow us to examine relationships between variables and group differences across the set of data.

Discrete Question Trends

Through analysis of the discrete questions, the following trends were found among this group of newly accredited teachers in regard to their employment-seeking behaviours.

High demand qualifications. Of this group of participants, 21 (33%) feel that they are qualified to apply now for contract positions because their qualifications are in high needs grades/subjects (perceived as being French and Math). There are provisions in Regulation 274 to allow school boards to adapt hiring practices to fill vacancies in high demand teaching areas without the usual requirement for these teachers to first engage in occasional teaching, and acquire long-term occasional positions before being eligible to apply for full

time contract positions. Interestingly, public school teacher applicants seem to be more confident and/or strategic about applying for contract positions immediately than their separate school cohort members (21 or 33% vs. 3 or 4.76 %) but this trend is not out of proportion to the number of respondents applying only to one board affiliation. All responses are displayed in Table 1.

Location of applications. It is notable that nine of these accredited teachers planned to apply for teaching positions only in their own home community. This represents 14% of the respondents and is a finding that is worthy of further investigation to determine factors that may be influencing this trend. It may be that these new teachers have some circumstances related to family commitments, personal relationships, or contingent employment in local contexts that provide social and economic security during the time between certification and full time employment. This group of participants may see the location of future employment as a non-negotiable condition as they enter the profession.

Applications in Indigenous communities. A recent focus of the university where this professional preparation program was offered is on the preparation of teachers to engage in teaching on reserves for Indigenous populations in various parts of the province. In fact, the university has many opportunities during each academic year to partner with principals in Indigenous education environments to seek new teachers for their schools and frequently posts advertisements to qualified or soon-to-be-qualified teachers to entice them to consider employment on reserves, often in

northern parts of Ontario or in the northern territories of the country. Six of the participants who responded to this survey planned to apply for teaching positions on reserves that serve Indigenous students, with four of those teachers planning to apply outside of Ontario. This trend may highlight the need to focus further attention on preparing Indigenous teachers to teach in Indigenous reserve contexts as a full compliment of teachers could not be acquired for these schools with the level of uptake indicated by these data.

Applications to independent schools. Similarly, the number of participants in this sample who planned to pursue employment by applying to teach in Ontario’s independent schools was relatively small. Only eight (12.7%) of the participants showed intentions to apply to any of Ontario’s independent schools and only two (3%) intended to apply to an independent school outside of Ontario. It may be that the university would benefit from making more formal overtures to these schools to have them advertise teaching positions within the university’s usual communication platforms to make their needs known more broadly to potential applicants.

Contingent employment plans. It was very evident from these data that this group of teachers understood the contingent nature of early career employment in teaching in Ontario under Regulation 274. Fully 62% (N=39) of the respondents planned to back up school employment applications by also applying to other venues. Only seven (11%) respondents planned to apply to non-educational employment if plans for educational employment

with school boards did not materialize. Tutoring, teaching in a non-accredited context, or coaching were the most frequently sought non-accredited forms of employment. This should be a cause for broad concern in the teaching profession. Effectively, provincial legislation has become discriminatory in impact with these newly certified teachers. In the provincial context, these new teachers are the most highly trained group of teachers ever produced through our professional programs (as indicated by additional courses and additional practicum experiences) yet they have little choice but to enter into a holding pattern after graduation that is unlike any other professional limitation that we are aware of; the provisions of Regulation 274 force these new graduates to wait for full employment even though they are fully qualified for available positions. This trend is particularly concerning since these teachers are provincially subsidized during their training program. At this university, pre-service teachers paid a 2-year tuition fee of \$13,868.80, which was supplemented by a total 2-year grant revenue of \$11,320.00. Therefore, the provincial subsidy of total teacher preparation costs was 45%. It may be of concern from a taxpayer perspective when such heavily subsidized human capital is underemployed, or is forced by legislation and loan debt to seek employment in other jurisdictions outside of the province.

Plans to upgrade basic teaching qualifications. While the divisional qualifications of respondents was relatively similar across the three groups (Primary/Junior = 18; Junior/Intermediate = 17 and Intermediate/Senior = 21), a large number of respondents (54 out of 63 or 84%) indicated that they intended

to become qualified in more than one division, before they acquired full-time employment. In the provincial context, newly certified and fully employed teachers have equal access to courses that allow them to extend their initial qualifications in one division by taking an additional qualification course (AQ) that provides government approval to apply for jobs in an additional contiguous division. These AQ courses are normally only open to teachers after they are certified. It is common wisdom in the professional context that extending one's qualifications into an additional division provides a new teacher an employment advantage. Schools may see broadly qualified teachers as being of more value to their schools than those with limits to their qualifications to the usual two divisions that are available during initial certification (P/J, J/I, or I/S). It is also interesting to note that the Ontario College of Teachers' report, *Transition to Teaching, 2015*, cites projections of teacher shortages in some areas across the province, and initial indications from these data show that this cohort of new teachers was responsive to these projections based on decisions they made about ways to enrich their initial qualifications. However, it may be that the costs of these courses are prohibitive for some of these newly certified teachers. Additionally some new graduates may still be unaware of how prospective employers view these additional qualifications during the application and interview process. They may also be unaware of the value of these additional qualifications in the context of supply teaching calls from school boards.

As well, a surprisingly high proportion of these respondents indicated an interest in pursuing an advanced degree. Nine (14%) respondents indicated that they intended

to pursue an advanced degree either full time (5 or 8%) or part time (4 or 6%) immediately after accreditation. It would be of value to consider further research into the longer-term career goals of this group within the larger study population to ascertain possible connections between the pursuit of an advanced degree and career projection plans.

Pursuing teaching outside of Canada. Of particular concern with this cohort of respondents, was the finding that 21 respondents (33%) planned to teach immediately outside of Canada with either full-time contract positions (19 or 30%) or with only part-time work (8 or 12.7%) in this international context. The preferred countries for seeking international employment included: China, England, Hong Kong, United Arab Emirates, the USA, and Australia. Clearly, international employment is serving as another form of holding pattern for newly qualified Ontario teachers, in anticipation of more favourable employment opportunities in Ontario. Most of those who planned to teach outside of Canada indicated that they would plan to return to teach in Canada within one to five years, while only one respondent in this group felt likely to stay in the chosen country for the remainder of his/her career. The connection between this trend and levels of student debt will be examined further in the correlational analyses. While it can be argued that global teaching experience is enriching for any teacher candidate, it would seem that many of this cohort selected global teaching experiences as a direct result of not being able to find immediate full time employment because of provincial legislation.

Pursuing full time employment. A fairly high number of these respondents felt that they must work full-time (53 or 84%), even though many expected they would not be able to acquire work in their chosen profession immediately upon being certified. In this group, 18 (28.6%) participants expected that they would need to accept immediate employment after accreditation that would not allow them to make use of the professional qualification that they had just acquired. This trend causes concern in a context where provincial teacher certification programs are subsidized, as underemployment is not an ideal method of maximizing the provincial investment in these human resources. This trend is also concerning in light of the strong confidence and expressions of being ready to teach that were evident in this survey (Table 2).

Readiness to teach. Readiness to teach was a focus in a series of questions. These questions were responded to on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). In this group, 46 respondents (73%) felt that they had built a strong theoretical background about teaching through their professional preparation, as indicated by their endorsement of either the Agree or Strongly Agree response options, while 55 participants (87%) felt that they had built a strong practical background about teaching in their program. These strong feelings about the value of their program may indicate that these teachers are very confident as they face the challenges and opportunities of their new profession. However, participants were almost equally divided about their feelings that their preparation program pace and workload were comparable to

the pace and workload they could expect in the profession, with 30 (47.6%) selecting Disagree/Strongly Disagree, and 19 (30%) selecting Agree/Strongly Agree. As well, the majority of participants (40 or 63.5%) felt they had opportunities in the preparation programs to enrich their qualifications by acquiring additional skills and certificates (e.g., Tattered Teddies, Suicide Prevention, Bullying Prevention, technology and software enrichment).

Typically, acquiring a new teaching position, either through occasional teaching or through a full-time position in other contexts or in highly sought after Ontario positions (e.g., French, Math) involves an interview. Of these participants, 45 (71.4%) felt that they had help to prepare documents to support their applications for teaching jobs and 51 participants (81%) felt that they had support to prepare for teaching job interviews. It may be that scheduled times for some of these critical components of preparation to acquire a job for which the respondents are qualified are inconvenient for some respondents (i.e., in conflict with work schedules or classes). It would be advantageous for these workshops to be repeated and broadly available for every pre-service teacher, or to be embedded in an appropriate course.

Enriching qualifications with community leadership experience. One aspect of the teacher preparation program at this university was that the second year pre-service teachers arranged a three-week placement with a range of community services in order to gain knowledge or skills. They sought placements and useful but not required (e.g., museums, science shows, labs, police community liaisons, special needs children's

organizations). A major purpose of these placements was to allow the pre-service teachers to consider any work related to their field of interest but not within an established school system. This exposure may provide other employment options for these new teachers during a transition into full time teaching employment. However, it is also unlikely that this population of new teachers would be content with such alternate employment in the longer term as such placements may not incentivize them for the additional degree they have.

Choosing not to teach.

Another interesting anomaly in the data from this study was that two participants reported recognizing that they were unlikely to be content with teaching in a regular classroom context at some point during their program but also decided to continue and complete their program. This decision may reflect the relatively heavy time and financial investments these participants had in their decisions to seek accreditation in a two-year program.

Student debt impacts on employment seeking. In a related finding, student debt was examined through this survey, as we felt that it may be a consideration that could influence ways of seeking employment immediately after accreditation. This possibility was considered because each researcher had experienced several informal conversations with Year 2 candidates over their final term about financial shortages and concerns. Forty-eight participants (76%) indicated that they had at least some student debt to address after their accreditation, with the range of debt being between 25 and 100% of total money spent on educational costs. The av-

erage student debt still owed by this group was \$33,809.74, based on the 53 participants who replied to this question. One third of participants (33.3%) personally paid for the educational costs for their teacher accreditation educational program with 23 (36.5%) participants stating that they had paid for some of their accreditation costs through part-time or summer work. In addition, 33 (52.4%) participants reported that they had accumulated student loans for all related educational costs to acquire a B.Ed. degree, with 84.1% of participants saying they had some or all debt accumulated as student loans. The level of imminently repayable debt is a serious consideration for new teacher graduates who may elect to seek alternate employment while at least some debt is retired rather than engaging in the relatively precarious income of occasional teaching employment. With this hypothesis in mind, we considered some correlations between trends in job seeking behaviours and student debt.

Correlational and Group Difference Analysis Across Variables

Using statistical analysis, we examined correlations between variables that we hypothesized may have some impact on the decisions about immediate employment made by this group of new teachers. Three correlational questions were considered. These included:

- Is there any connection between student debt (both presence of and amount) and a tendency in plans to leave Canada to get immediate employment?
- Is there any connection between student debt (both presence and amount) and plans to seek em-

Table 2

Readiness to Teach and Preparation for Employment Acquisition

Readiness to Teach	
The 2-year B.Ed. program has given me a solid theoretical background to assume employment as a teacher.	
Strongly Disagree	0
Disagree	6
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	11
Agree	36
Strongly Agree	10
The 2-year B.Ed. program has given me a solid practical background to assume employment as a teacher.	
Strongly Disagree	0
Disagree	2
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	6
Agree	26
Strongly Agree	29
It was useful to have each practicum experience focused on different sets of professional skills that were gradually developed through each term of the program.	
Strongly Disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	17
Agree	24
Strongly Agree	19
Preparation for Employment Acquisition	
I think the pace and workload of the 2-year B.Ed. program is comparable to the pace and workload I can expect in a full-time teaching job.	
Strongly Disagree	6
Disagree	24
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	14
Agree	16
Strongly Agree	3
I had opportunities during the last 2 years to enrich my teaching qualifications by acquiring additional skills and certificates.	
Strongly Disagree	2
Disagree	7
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	14
Agree	34
Strongly Agree	6
I had guidance during the last 2 years to help me prepare documents for teaching job applications.	
Strongly Disagree	5
Disagree	9
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	4
Agree	30
Strongly Agree	15
I had guidance during the last 2 years to help me prepare for a teaching job interview.	
Strongly Disagree	1
Disagree	7
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	4
Agree	36
Strongly Agree	15
I had an opportunity during my Year 2 Community Leadership placement to consider applying my B.Ed. qualifications to employment outside of traditional school classrooms.	
Strongly Disagree	0
Disagree	3
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	15
Agree	34
Strongly Agree	11
I realized at some point during the 2-year program that classroom teaching was not for me but I decided to complete the degree before focusing on another career.	
Strongly Disagree	39
Disagree	16
Neither Disagree Nor Agree	6
Agree	1
Strongly Agree	1

ployment for which these new teachers may be overqualified?

- Is there any connection between plans to stay close to home for employment and debt load?

Interestingly, despite our hypotheses, which were prompted by our ongoing observations of the stress that debt causes for these students, no significant differences were found on any of these variables. That is, there was no significant relationship between the intentions to find part time or full time employment in teaching outside of Canada and whether loans had been accumulated for all, or for a percentage of, educational costs. Similarly, there were no significant differences between those who intended to apply for part-time or full-time teaching positions outside of Canada and those who did not, in terms of either the amount of student and personal loan debt accumulated by the end of the 2-year B.Ed. degree or the amount personally paid in educational costs for the B.Ed. degree. This might indicate that these newly certified teachers are motivated by a professional or personal need to seek a way to use their new qualifications immediately rather than by debt levels.

In relation to connections between student debt and possible plans to take employment for which these new teachers may be overqualified, there were no significant differences between new teachers who intended to seek employment opportunities for which they might be overqualified and those who did not in terms of either the amount or source of student and personal loan debt by the end of the 2-year B.Ed. degree. Nor was there any connection between the amount personally paid in educational costs for the B.Ed. degree and the choice to seek

alternative employment options (e.g., tutoring). These alternative employment options may represent positions new teachers are overqualified for, or simply not specifically trained to do. There were no significant differences between those who intended to look for full-time employment immediately after completing the B.Ed. degree and those who did not in terms of the amount they personally paid in educational costs for the B.Ed. degree or the amount of their student and personal loan debt accumulated by the end of their 2-year B.Ed. degree. This finding was somewhat surprising, as one might expect that those with more debt would be more eager to acquire full time employment immediately following graduation. However, as suggested previously, employment motivations may be related to professional and personal needs rather than to debt that needs to be paid.

Further to this trend, there were no significant differences between participants who reported that they would take employment in a context where they are unlikely to make immediate or regular use of the learning from their B.Ed. degree and those who did not in terms of the amount they personally paid in educational costs for this degree or the amount of student and personal loan debt accumulated by the end of their 2-year B.Ed. degree. This is contrary to what we as researchers might anticipate, as respondents with larger debt could be expected to feel additional pressure to accept any available employment, even that which may not fully utilize their B.Ed. degree training. However, there was no significant relationship between whether respondents indicated that they had accumulated loans for all of their educational costs and whether they intended to

pursue any alternative employment options.

Related to total student debt or sources of debt there were no significant differences between those who expressed an intent to apply to a school board in/close to their home community compared to those who did not. It seems that the choice to return to teach in the student's home community was influenced by social factors rather than by economic ones. This finding remained true, even when all costs were accumulated as student loan debt.

These findings imply that these new teachers were relatively optimistic about getting a teaching position in Ontario, in their chosen areas, within a reasonable amount of time. However, these new graduates also seemed to be aware that this may take some time to achieve within the confines of Regulation 274 so the majority of them intend to buttress teaching employment with other forms of short-term employment.

Conclusions and Discussion

Our results indicated some interesting trends in the employment seeking behaviours of newly graduated teachers from Ontario's new two-year teacher accreditation program. It appears that there are factors that are mitigating these new teachers' decisions to move to other employment situations rather than seek employment in their home school board context. However, a large majority of these new teachers intended to seek teaching positions within the province, despite the extended process of finding full time employment in their profession under the legislation of Regulation 274. While we can trace a tendency for some new graduates to seek employment that will get them

optimal income as soon as they can, this group was a relatively small proportion of this population and the employment being sought seems to be compatible with being available for part time teaching jobs.

While we did not find this to be a dominant trend, some new teachers who are accredited in Ontario leave the province, and sometimes leave the country to seek employment. This may speak to the relative confidence that these young teachers see the world as a potential opportunity. In an article in the professional journal Marginson, (2017), made several observations about the relative mobility of highly educated workers, claiming that “higher education serves national objectives” and “mobility is a human right” (p. 26). In his work with international mobility, Marginson has found that mobility is “economically driven and it furthers the economic advantages of those already advantaged” (p. 25).

Interestingly, among Marginson’s (2017) other conclusions are the following observations about mobility and employment trends:

At a given level of income, those with degrees are much more mobile than those without degrees. In other words, higher education helps to democratize mobility, providing you can get higher education in the first place. Second, for those with degrees, above a modest threshold of income there is little change in potential mobility. This suggests that because higher education helps graduates to achieve greater personal agency, it reduces the limits set by economic determination and class, constituting greater personal freedom in its own right. Conversely,

those who lack higher education have less freedom... (p. 25)

However, Marginson’s hypothesis does not seem to hold true for this group of new teachers. This trend may indicate that these new graduates received enough details about job opportunities within the province to make them optimistic about biding their time and positioning themselves within their chosen region of the province and working within the systematic process that is legislated for teachers in this jurisdiction to acquire full time contract teaching positions. It may be that the current practice of placing these teachers in practicum situations over their two-year program in the same school board serves as a support network that builds confidence for these new graduates. They may feel that the benefits of maintaining an active profile in their chosen board were preferable to the relative risk of short term full employment in other jurisdictions. If these new teachers remain in local boards they may maintain contacts with people employed in their target board(s), and therefore may be able to acquire references and information about opportunities for them. These contacts may be broken by distance or lack of daily contact if these new teachers accept other non-school employment.

In a public announcement in 2013, Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne described Regulation 274 as an “overcorrection” implemented by the government in response to a large teacher surplus caused by the convergence of a number of complex factors. This regulation requires new teacher graduates to engage in an extended process of employment seeking prior to being offered full time employment in provincial schools that are governed by the

Ontario College of Teachers. Our study demonstrates that new teacher graduates, who are leaving a two-year certification program with considerable debt, are, in large numbers, nonetheless willing to engage in the extended process of seeking full time employment in teaching within Ontario. However, times change and the circumstances that converged and brought about the enactment of Regulation 274 no longer exist. The first cohort of two-year graduates in the province was ready for teaching and felt both confident and knowledgeable about their profession. Therefore, it may be time to retract Regulation 274 to allow new teacher graduates in the province to compete freely for new full time contract teaching positions. Current practices of hiring occasional teachers within boards in patterns that are creatively compliant with the regulation and of using emergency supply teachers, which are not governed by any provisions in Regulation 274, seem to indicate that school boards have already created paths around some provisions of this restrictive legislation. It would seem that these boards are likely to concur that the regulation has outlived its original purpose.

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Appendix 1 – Email Invitation sent to Year 2 Consecutive Education Students

The email that was sent to students is as follows:

Dear Year 2 Consecutive Education students:

Drs. XX and YY are beginning a research project to examine the job seeking behaviours of newly graduated teacher candidates in the first cohort of Institution's Faculty of Education teacher candidates. This study will also look at factors that may correlate to some of the job seeking behaviours.

This email is to invite you to participate in this study. The study is brief and is being conducted through an online survey. The survey is preceded by a Letter of Informed Consent, which explains the study in further detail and which outlines your rights as a potential participant, including your right to decline participation and to withdraw from the study at any time. The link to this study is XXXXXX. This study has no relationship to any of your courses and you are being contacted by the Registrar's Office who had emails we have used to communicate with you. When/if you respond to the link below to participate in the survey, there is no way for the researchers to connect your responses to any courses you have taken.

Access to this online survey opens today (February 17, 2017). It will remain open until May 30, 2017.

Thank you for considering this request to participate.

Appendix 2 - Employment Seeking and Enrichment Strategies of New Teacher Education

Graduates From a 2-Year Ontario Certification Program

Section A - Please check the descriptor(s) that most readily apply to you.

What strategies will you use before January 2017, or, immediately following the completion of your B.Ed. degree, to find employment?

I will apply to teach on an occasional basis for the public school board in my home community.

I will apply to teach on an occasional basis for the Catholic school board in my home community.

I will apply to teach on an occasional basis for any school boards close to my home community.

I will apply to teach on a contract basis in a public school /public board in my home community because I am qualified in areas that are in high demand (e.g., French, Intermediate/Senior Sciences, Intermediate/Senior Math, Computer Studies, technological education, etc.).

My in-demand qualification (e.g., French, Intermediate/Senior Sciences, Intermediate/Senior Math, Computer Studies, technological education) is in _____.

I will apply to teach on a contract basis in a Catholic school/ Catholic board in my home community because I am qualified in areas that are in demand. My in-demand qualification (e.g., French, French, Intermediate/Senior Sciences, Intermediate/Senior Math, Computer Studies, technological education) is in _____.

I will apply to Ontario private/independent school(s) to teach on an occasional basis.

I will apply to private/independent school(s) in Canada outside of Ontario to teach on an occasional basis.

I will apply to Ontario private/independent school(s) to teach on a full time contract basis.

I will apply to private/independent school(s) in Canada but outside of Ontario to teach on a full time contract basis.

I am applying to teach on a First Nations' Reserve in Northern Ontario on a full time contract basis.

I am applying to teach on a First Nations' Reserve in Canada but outside of Ontario.

OR

- I plan to apply for employment in:
 - Tutoring
 - Hospitality, service or retail roles
 - Teaching in another role or setting not requiring OCT designation
 - Recreation, coaching, or personal training
 - After school programming
 - Administrative, financial services, or clerical
 - ECE, childcare
 - Child and youth or special needs work
 - Managerial or non-teacher professional
 - Education assistant
 - Trades, manufacturing or construction
 - Creative or performing arts
 - Adult education or corporate training

- When I apply to teach in the fall of 2017, I will be qualified to teach in the following division(s):
 Please tick all that apply.
 - Primary/Junior
 - Junior/ Intermediate
 - Intermediate/Senior

Section B – Teaching Opportunities Outside of Canada

Please check the descriptor(s) that most readily apply to you.

- I will apply for an occasional/part-time teaching position outside of Canada.
Country/countries _____
- I will apply for a full time/contract teaching position outside of Canada.
Country/countries _____

Which of the following is true for you? (please check)

- If I take a teaching position outside of Canada, I will likely stay in that country for the remainder of my career.
- Or
- If I take a teaching position outside of Canada, I plan to return to Canada when there are more teaching jobs available and stay in Canada for the remainder of my teaching career.

Please indicate the number of years on the line provided following this prompt:

- If you take a teaching position outside of Canada in your first year of teaching, how long do you plan to continue teaching outside of Canada? _____ years

Section C - Professional Growth Plan

Please check the statement(s) that apply(ies) to you:

- I will continue my education by pursuing an advanced degree (e.g., M.Ed., MBA, M.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., etc.) full time, immediately after completing my B.Ed. degree.
- I will look for full time employment immediately after finishing my B.Ed. degree.
- I will take employment in a context where I am unlikely to make immediate or regular use of the learning from my B.Ed. degree.
- I will pursue Additional Qualifications to enrich my B.Ed. degree immediately after completing the B.Ed. degree.
- I will pursue a part-time M.Ed. degree to enrich my B.Ed. degree immediately after completing the B.Ed. degree.

Section D – Readiness to Teach

On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 equals “weak impact” and 5 equals “strong impact”, indicate your feelings about each of the following prompts:

1. The 2-year B.Ed. program has given me a solid theoretical background to assume employment as a teacher.

1 2 3 4 5
2. The 2-year B.Ed. program has given me a solid practical background to assume employment as a teacher.

1 2 3 4 5
3. It was useful to have each practicum experience focused on different sets of professional skills that were gradually developed through each term of the program.

1 2 3 4 5

Section E – Preparation for Employment Acquisition

On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 equals “strongly disagree” and 5 equals “strongly agree”, indicate your feelings about each of the following prompts:

1. I think the pace and workload of the 2-year B.Ed. program is comparable to the pace and workload I can expect in a full-time teaching job.

1 2 3 4 5
2. I had opportunities during the last 2 years to enrich my teaching qualifications by acquiring additional skills and certificates.

1 2 3 4 5
3. I had guidance during the last 2 years to help me prepare documents for teaching job applications.

1 2 3 4 5
4. I had guidance during the last 2 years to help me prepare for a teaching job interview.

1 2 3 4 5
5. I had an opportunity during my Year 2 Community Leadership placement to consider applying my B.Ed. qualifications to employment outside of traditional school classrooms.

1 2 3 4 5
6. I realized at some point during the 2-year program that classroom teaching was not for me but I decided to complete the degree before focusing on another career.

1 2 3 4 5

Section F – Student Debt

Please check each of the following that apply to you:

- I have had all educational costs for my B.Ed. paid for by another party (e.g., parents or others).
- This other party(ies) paid approximately _____ % of my B.Ed. degree costs.
- I have paid for my own educational costs for the B.Ed. degree using part-time and/or summer employment funds.
- I have personally paid approximately _____ % of my B.Ed. degree costs.
- I have accumulated student loans for all educational costs.
- I have accumulated student loans for _____ % of my educational costs.

1. My total student loan and personal loan debt estimate by the end of this degree (2-year B.Ed.) is approximately \$ _____.
2. I have personally paid approximately \$ _____ in educational costs for the B.Ed. degree.

Thank you for participating in this survey!

A Theoretical Framework for Understanding Social Anxiety in the Context of Career Development

Christine M. Yu
University of British Columbia

Abstract

Anxiety disorders are highly prevalent across the lifespan and, if left untreated, are associated with negative outcomes in many domains of functioning. Nine subtypes have been identified, with social anxiety disorder (SAD) being one of the most common. Not only does SAD impact social functioning, there are also negative implications for functioning in the work and school domains. Despite this impact, little research has explored how to promote positive career outcomes for young adults with SAD. In order to identify ways to promote career development for youth with SAD, a theoretical framework to help conceptualize SAD in the context of career development is imperative. This paper presents, in detail, how the social cognitive career theory can provide such a framework. Implications for practice will also be discussed.

Anxiety disorders (AD) are the most common mental health concern across the lifespan (Kessler et al., 2005; Merikangas et al., 2010). Untreated AD in childhood and adolescence is associated with a host of deleterious effects, including increased substance use; lower academic performance and vocational achievement; adult psychopathology; decreased family cohesion; and interpersonal problems (Öst & Treffers, 2001). Costs of AD also impact society, including costs related to sick leave, unemployment, and remedial education services (Dupont,

Rice, Miller, Shiraki, Rowland, & Harwood, 1996; Greenberg et al., 1999). In the most recent version of the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V; American Psychiatric Association; APA 2013), nine anxiety subtypes are identified.

Social anxiety disorder (SAD) is one of the most common subtypes of anxiety disorder (Kessler et al., 2005). The impact of SAD, in a career context, is great. For example, there is evidence of a significant association between SAD and protracted unemployment (Himle et al., 2014). There is also evidence demonstrating that individuals with SAD are more likely to fail a grade or drop out of school (Dryman, Gardner, Weeks, & Heimberg, 2016). Despite the potentially severe ramifications of SAD on functioning in the career domain, little research has investigated how to help promote positive career outcomes for adolescents and emerging adults with anxiety (Miles, Szewedo, & Allen, 2018).

Adolescence is a time of significant change and transition in the biological (e.g., puberty) and interpersonal arenas. School transitions often involve disruptions to developed peer groups, the introduction of new authority figures (e.g., teachers), and typically a move to a different, potentially larger, school (LaGreca & Ranta, 2015). Such transitions provide opportunities for individuals to develop and mature socially and emotionally and to learn skills to cope with and adapt to change. Learning how to navigate transitions during adolescence can set the stage

for navigating other transitions in life, such as the transitions that occur throughout an individual's career development. In addition to these changes and the self-exploration taking place during this developmental stage, children and early adolescents are also exploring aspects of career. Career development occurs across the lifespan, although career development in late childhood and early adolescence is an area that is under-researched (Hirschi, Niles, & Akos, 2011).

Career development has been conceptualized in many ways, including person-environment models and developmental theoretical approaches. The social cognitive career theory (SCCT; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994; Lent & Brown, 2013) was formulated as a complementary framework to such approaches. SCCT is based upon Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory, which highlights the reciprocal interactions between people, their behaviours, and their environments. An individual's agency in career development results, in part, from the person's self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, and personal goals. In addition to these three key cognitive-person variables, the SCCT involves four models: development of interests, making of choices, the role of performance, and satisfaction and wellbeing in the occupational domain. These models are conceptually distinct but overlap in their foci. Context plays a central role in these four models. This paper uses the SCCT to provide a theoretical framework from which to

understand how SAD impacts career development, particularly during adolescence. Applying this theoretical conceptualization in practice will also be addressed.

Social Anxiety Disorder

SAD is characterized by intense distress to social or performance situations in which evaluation or rejection from others may occur (APA, 2013). It is a persistent disorder that affects both children and adults, with the age of onset estimated at 11 years (Stein & Stein, 2008). Individuals with SAD report higher functional impairment in the work/academic and social domains of life compared to functional impairment in family life (Aderka et al., 2012). In addition to decreased functioning, there is also research suggesting that fear of evaluation is associated with lower quality of life in the domains of personal growth, achievement and social functioning (Dryman et al., 2016). Of great concern is the finding that most people experiencing SAD do not seek treatment until 15-20 years after the onset of symptoms (Stein & Stein, 2008). This finding indicates that although the onset of SAD is in late childhood to early adolescence, the effects, including the impact on career development, last long into adulthood.

Lifetime prevalence rates in the USA are estimated at 12% for adults (Kessler et al., 2005) and 9% for adolescents (Merikangas et al., 2010). In a world-wide mental health survey involving 26 countries, lifetime prevalence rates were estimated at 4% in adults (Stein et al., 2017). This difference in cross-cultural prevalence rates may provide credence to the view that SAD is a somewhat culturally bound concept. Despite the differences in

prevalence rates around the world, there are consistent patterns, including associations with the following socio-demographic characteristics: younger age, female gender, unmarried status, lower education, and lower income (Stein et al., 2017). Family studies and twin studies provide evidence suggesting that SAD is moderately heritable (see Stein & Stein, 2008 and Wong & Rapee, 2015). Taken together, it is clear that there are both hereditary factors and environmental factors influencing the development of SAD.

Several common factors have been identified in the extant literature as risk factors for developing SAD. These include genetic predisposition, temperament, cognitive biases, negative life experiences, parent-child relationships and peer relationships (Wong & Rapee, 2016). In addition to these etiological factors, models exploring how SAD is maintained have been proposed. Such models include cognitive processes such as maladaptive anticipatory and post-event processing, attributional biases, attentional biases (self-focus and external threat-focus), and negative self-processing. Avoidance and escape behaviours, safety behaviours, and performance or skills deficits have been suggested as behavioural factors maintaining SAD (Wong & Rapee, 2016). Contextual factors that can maintain SAD include parenting style, traumatic life events and negative peer experiences (Wong & Rapee, 2015).

Typically, the transition from childhood to adolescence brings with it an increased demand in social realms and exposure to new social settings, including educational, vocational and recreational (Wong & Rapee, 2015). The significant changes and transitions inherent in adolescence make this devel-

opmental stage one fraught with opportunities for evaluation and rejection. In fact, it is not unusual to experience heightened sensitivity to negative peer evaluation during this stage (Blöte, Miers, Heyne, & Westenberg, 2015). Thus, the school environment can be particularly challenging for socially anxious students, who experience this sensitivity to a greater degree.

SAD and Academic Functioning

Students with SAD often contend with lower peer acceptance, increased peer victimization, and fewer friendships (Blöte et al., 2015). They may fear or avoid asking questions, contributing to class discussions, giving presentations, taking tests, and participating in extracurricular activities, and generally lose out on many confidence-building opportunities and experiences of successful learning, both of curriculum and of life skills (Blöte et al., 2015). Many fall into a vicious cycle of perpetuating anxiety, a cycle that involves the way they think about themselves and others, how they feel emotionally and physically, and how they behave.

A qualitative study by Clarke and Fox (2017) of college students with SAD revealed that perceptions of self and others influenced participation in daily life activities as well as interactions with the environment. Students with SAD felt inferior to their peers and judged their abilities more harshly. They were also preoccupied with their performance in lectures and with how they would be perceived by their peers. Participation in activities was also evidenced by the avoidance of course work requiring oral presentations or small group work. Students with SAD also tended to favour studying in physical loca-

tions that allowed for anonymity, potentially impacting their ability to form meaningful relationships with their peers. The presence of close friends or parents in social settings decreased levels of distress, further highlighting how the interactions with the environment were negatively impacted.

SAD can also impact academic functioning through school refusal. While complicated, a relationship between social anxiety and school refusal has been established, with one study finding an eightfold increase in school refusal for those meeting criteria for SAD (see Blöte et al., 2015). An age effect has been suggested in the literature, with youth with SAD being more likely to report avoidance of socially aversive or evaluative situations as the function of school refusal compared to younger peers (Kearny & Albano, 2004). These findings demonstrate the far-reaching impairment of SAD on academic functioning.

SAD and Occupational Functioning

Occupational functioning is also impacted by SAD in several ways. The extant literature suggests absenteeism, lower academic achievement, turning down opportunities and promotions, indecision regarding career choice, and lower levels of career choice satisfaction as outcomes of SAD in the career domain (Himle et al, 2014; Miles et al., 2018). Taken together, these findings suggest a particular need to engage and support adolescents with SAD in their career development. Having a theoretical framework to understand these findings is valuable because it enhances our understanding of how SAD impacts the career domain and provides a basis from which to contemplate ways of

intervening. SCCT can provide such a framework and will be discussed in the following section.

Social Cognitive Career Theory

A basic tenet of SCCT is that career development is influenced by the interplay between person, behavioural, and environmental variables (Lent, 2013). Interests, values and abilities are considered, as are self-perceptions, expectations, and behaviours. Furthermore, socio-cultural context, such as social support and how the environment responds to an individual's gender and ethnicity, is also weighed. This theory assumes that people have some agentic capacity in their career development (Lent & Brown, 2013). It is important to note that although some personal agency is assumed, SCCT posits that individuals do not have complete control over their career development process and that environment and contextual factors must be investigated. The SCCT theory emphasizes the role of the key cognitive-person variables (self-efficacy, outcome expectations and personal goals) in allowing people to exercise agency in career development (see Figure 1).

Self-efficacy refers to self-beliefs people have about their capability to plan and execute actions in a particular performance domain or activity. These beliefs are shaped by past and future experiences and environmental conditions – in essence, their learning experiences (Lent, 2013). As success is experienced in a given performance domain, self-efficacy beliefs are strengthened. Similarly, repeated or significant failures can weaken a person's self-efficacy beliefs. Outcome expectations involve beliefs about the consequences of a particular action or performance behaviour.

Physical, social and self-evaluative outcomes are three types of outcome expectations described by Bandura (1986). Many aspects of human behaviour are determined by self-efficacy and outcome expectations.

SCCT outlines two distinct personal goals: choice-content goals, which refers to the type of activity a person wants to pursue, and performance goals, which refers to the level or quality of performance an individual wants to achieve in a particular activity or domain (Lent, 2013). Setting personal goals facilitates the organization and execution of sustained behavior. At times, this behavior can be sustained even in the absence of external rewards. Self-efficacy and outcome expectations influence personal goals, and progress towards personal goals can impact self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and feelings of satisfaction (Lent, 2013).

The Four Models of SCCT

Within SCCT, academic and career development is formed from the cognitive-person variables functioning together with aspects of the person (e.g., gender, ethnicity), the environment, and learning experiences (Lent 2013). Four models are used to further understand the development of career. They include the interest, choice, performance and satisfaction models. Because of the overlapping foci, these models interact with and influence one another.

Interests model. Interests in career-related activities are cultivated when people believe they are self-efficacious and expect positive outcomes. These beliefs, in turn, can foster goals for continuing or increasing participation in the activities. These goals can reinforce practice and are more likely to lead

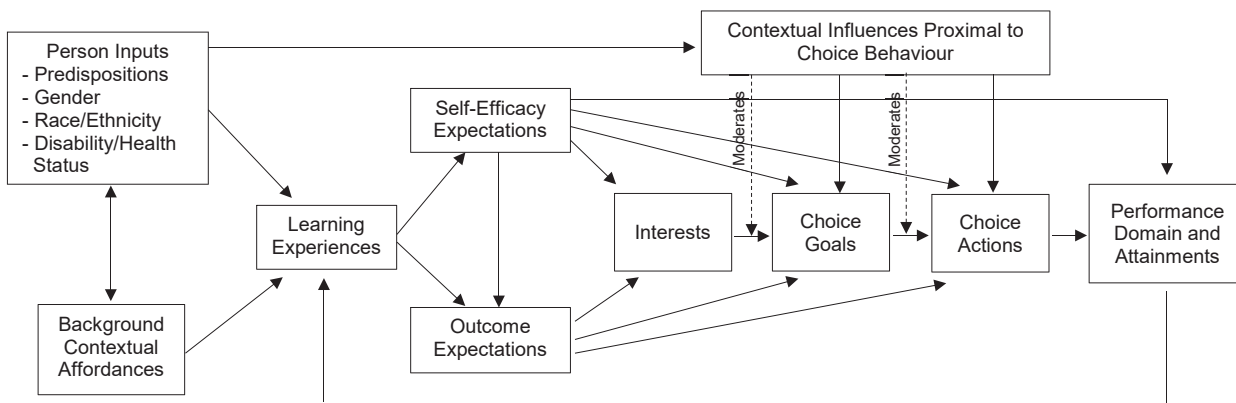


Figure 1. Social Cognitive Career Theory. Reprinted from *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 45, R. W. Lent, S. D. Brown, & G. Hackett, "Toward a Unifying Social Cognitive Theory of Career and Academic Interest, Choice, and Performance," 79–122, Copyright (1994), with permission from Elsevier.

to the achievement of goals, forming a feedback loop. Similarly, disinterest or aversion to activities can be fostered by doubts of self-efficacy and the expectation of negative outcomes. Interests are able to shift as people gain exposure to learning experiences that may expand or restrict their self-efficacy beliefs or expected outcomes. SCCT accounts for contextual factors, such as genetics; socio-economic variables; health and disability status; gender; and ethnicity, that may influence the development of self-efficacy beliefs and expected outcomes.

Choice model. SCCT postulates that career choice is a dynamic process that requires the development of self-efficacy, outcome expectations, interests, and skills in different performance domains (Lent, 2013). As individuals and environments change, so too may their career choices change. Initial career choice is conceptualized as having three components: the expression of choice to enter a career or field (goal), the actions taken to help career choice come to fruition, and the resulting performance experiences. The interactions between goals, actions and performance form a

feedback loop, which shapes future career-related choice options. As illustrated in Figure 1, career development is not necessarily linear in progression. Rather, it is a process with multiple influences and points of choice.

Environmental factors play a potent role in shaping career choice. In the SCCT, there is explicit recognition that environment may not support people’s interests. Distal background influences, such as gender socialization and culture, are those that shape the cognitive-person variables. Proximal environmental factors impact the components of career choice more directly (e.g., expressing career goals or taking action to implement goals). For example, lack of financial support may restrict an individual’s ability to pursue interests. Therefore, interests, alone, do not determine career choice and socio-cultural factors may be another driving force in career choice.

Performance model. Performance can be described in terms of the level of attainment achieved in activities and tasks related to work and education, as well as persistence in the face of challenges.

A primary assumption in the performance model is that people who perform competently will persist and be allowed to persist (e.g., through continued employment) longer. As such, persistence is viewed as an indicator of performance success. Persistence may also shift as a result of a change in interests, and not just a result of performance.

The cognitive-person variables and objective ability are factors within the performance model. Again, a feedback loop is formed between performance attainment and subsequent behaviours. As the performance goals are successfully met, self-efficacy beliefs are reinforced, and subsequent outcome expectations are influenced. The opposite can also be true, where failure to achieve a performance goal may require a revision to self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations and/or behaviours. Context also influences this feedback loop. For example, the quality of education, role models present, and socialization of gender roles can all impact learning experiences, performance and the approach an individual takes to dealing with adversity.

Satisfaction model. Satisfaction in the career and educational domains is experienced to the degree that people are involved in activities they value, see themselves as making progress in their expressed goals, have strong self-efficacy to achieve their goals, and have access to resources in their environments for achieving their goals and promoting their self-efficacy. Contextual factors such as personality and work conditions (e.g., perceived organizational support, and fit between individuals' needs and what their work environment provides) can influence the level of satisfaction a person experiences, both directly, and indirectly. Furthermore, this model views work satisfaction and life satisfaction as bidirectional influences on one another (Lent & Brown, 2008). Using SCCT (Lent & Brown, 2013; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994) as a framework to understand SAD in the context of career allows a comprehensive view of career development by considering person, behavioural, environmental, and socio-cultural factors.

Understanding SAD in a Career Context Through an SCCT Framework

Using the SCCT framework, SAD can be understood in terms of how cognitive-person variables impress upon other determinants in career development and interact with the individual and the individual's environment. Recall the vicious cycle of SAD where negative beliefs about the self and the expectation of feared outcomes increase the likelihood of avoidance behaviours, which then reinforces dysfunctional beliefs about the self and others. These cognitive-person variables interact with etiological and maintenance factors an individual may

be exposed to (e.g., over-protective parenting style, gender, maladaptive causal attributions), which can influence the degree to which an individual experiences SAD. These interactions may also impede career development in individuals with SAD via the four models.

It is important to reiterate that people's self-efficacy and outcome expectations may not align with their objective ability. This discordance can impact performance attainment levels. A characteristic of anxious thinking is underestimating one's ability to cope with feared situations and overestimating threat (Wong & Rapee, 2015). For example, it is unclear if individuals with SAD have social skills deficits, with research supporting both sides of the debate (Knappe, Sasagawa, & Creswell, 2015). Yet, many individuals with SAD have maladaptive beliefs about their ability to perform in the social domain. Although their social skills level may not match their self-efficacy (e.g., I am not good at talking to others), their expected outcomes are influenced (e.g., nobody will talk to me and I will be alone all lunch), despite the desire to be evaluated positively (e.g., I want people to like me). When the feared situation arises, people with SAD may engage in behaviours that facilitate the expected outcome, such as by using strategies to avoid interactions with others (e.g., wearing earphones, avoiding eye contact, speaking quietly). Such a situation then impacts their performance attainment and provides a learning experience to reinforce anxious behaviours, negative expected outcomes, and poor self-efficacy.

SAD and the Interest Model

To illustrate the interest model, an example of SAD can be

used. As previously discussed, a feature of SAD is negative self-processing in the social domain, or in SCCT terminology, low self-efficacy. Youth with SAD may hold the belief that they are not competent and, therefore, engage in practices that foster disinterest and/or aversion to activities involving various social aspects. For example, youth with SAD may believe themselves to be unskilled at speaking in large groups and expect a negative outcome in class, such as saying something embarrassing during a class discussion. As a result of this type of low self-efficacy and negative expected outcome, youth with SAD may view class discussions as a threat rather than a challenge that can be mastered. To cope with the distress of the expected negative outcome, youth with SAD may develop goals to reduce participation in class and engage in avoidance behaviours, such as not participating or skipping class. The relief from avoiding speaking during class discussion may then positively reinforce the avoidance behaviour, as well as strengthen their beliefs of low self-efficacy. Thus, disinterest in participating in class discussions is fostered. When faced with future class discussion situations, youth may then engage in avoidance behaviours. Additionally, they lose the opportunity to be exposed to learning experiences that may challenge the beliefs of low self-efficacy, as well as lose out on the academic learning. According to the SCCT framework, peoples' interests may be shaped through the interaction of cognitive-person variables and learning experiences.

As posited by SCCT, context must also be considered. Mentors, parents and other influential people in the youth's life can impact the degree to which interests can be shaped by SAD. Research

suggests that broad parent factors, such as parenting style, particularly over-protective and over-controlling parenting, play a maintenance role in SAD (see Wong & Rapee, 2015). It is possible that these parenting styles may limit opportunities for youth to build self-efficacy. Parental behaviour may also provide direct and indirect learning about the potential threat of certain activities (Wong & Rapee, 2016). Using the example of youth feeling distress about participating in a class discussion, direct learning can come from explicit verbalization of a negative outcome that can be expected (e.g., don't say anything dumb, or the class will laugh at you). Indirect learning can take place in the form of encouragement or modeling of avoidance behaviours (e.g., it's safer to not raise your hand and not give them a reason to judge). These types of learning experiences can impact the youth's expectations of negative outcomes and impede interest development.

Cultural factors may also influence the degree to which an individual's interests are shaped. For example, how assertiveness or extraversion is valued in a particular culture, may influence motivation to engage in social activities. More indirectly, how stigmatized mental health issues are within a particular culture may influence an individual's willingness to access effective treatment for SAD, thus reducing the negative impact on the person's functioning. For example, research exploring service utilization for SAD in an ethnically diverse sample of adolescents found that Asian American students were more likely to report higher levels of distress associated with SAD and scored in the clinical range of SAD measures more often compared to other ethnic groups, but were no more likely to

access treatment (Brice et al., 2015). How closely a person adheres to cultural values will also moderate the effects of various cultural factors on the development of interests. Clearly, cultural factors can interact with personal factors to varying degrees in individuals with SAD to intricately influence the development of their interests.

Finances are another example of a contextual factor that may influence the quality of support or opportunities an individual receives. For example, an individual with SAD who struggles to partake in activities in large groups may still be able to hone their skills and interests through private or individual lessons. In Canada, the ability to engage in treatment in a timely manner often depends on the financial freedom to access such resources, whether through fee-for-service treatment or through the use of extended health benefits provided by employers. These contextual factors are examples of how the development of interests may be impacted at any stage in the feedback loop.

SAD and the Choice Model

From the SCCT framework, SAD may serve as a distal background influence in the choice model. SAD can influence career choice based on beliefs of self-efficacy. In a study involving university students, career indecision was found to be associated with negative self-perceptions and negatively correlated with occupational self-efficacy (Jaensch, Hirschi, & Freund, 2015). Performance goals of those with SAD may also influence the choice model. Individuals with SAD may be limited, occupationally, by lower academic achievement (Himle et al., 2014b). Research also suggests that the types of jobs and professions

that people with SAD seek out are influenced by the amount of socializing required. Himle and colleagues (2014b) found that people with SAD are significantly more likely to aspire to the jobs that require less social interaction (e.g., manufacturing and janitorial) and less likely to seek out professions that are social in nature (e.g., hospitality and health care) compared to peers without SAD. The avoidance of social interactions reinforces performance experiences and further solidifies beliefs of self-efficacy in the social domain and career interests. Thus, when individuals with SAD do express career choice, they may limit their choices based on beliefs of low self-efficacy, performance goals, learning experiences and subsequent behaviour.

People with SAD may have more difficulty expressing their career goals. Indeed, research indicates that people with SAD have more indecision with career choice compared to peers without psychiatric disorders (Miles et al., 2018). Without a clear expression of goals, developing a plan of action becomes challenging and can hinder the career development process. SAD may also impact career choice through proximal environmental factors. For example, SAD can negatively impact the development of social relationships and the networking possibilities that may come with social relationships (Himle et al., 2014a). Supportive relationships with peers can also facilitate career development by fostering engagement. Adolescents who experience higher levels of attachment with peers are more likely to explore their environment and commit to career choices (Hirschi et al., 2011). The nature of SAD interferes with an individual's ability to form close relationships with peers. SAD then

serves to limit the types of actions that can be taken and the support received to implement career goals.

Contextual factors to consider in career choice include the socio-demographics such as income level and geographic region. Prevalence rates of SAD are highest in high-income countries and those located in the Americas and Western Pacific regions of the world, and lowest in low-income countries and those located in Africa and Eastern Mediterranean regions (Stein et al., 2017). Future research is needed to explore career indecision and satisfaction in cultural groups and geographic regions with lower SAD prevalence rates.

Gender differences in prevalence rates have been observed, with females being at higher risk of developing SAD compared to males (Stein & Stein, 2008; Merikangas et al., 2010). In community samples, females are twice as likely to develop SAD compared to males across all age groups (Wong & Rapee, 2015). Scant research has investigated the prevalence of SAD in individuals who identify as a non-binary gender. Gender may, therefore, play a role in the career choice model, not only by how an individual is socialized, but also through prevalence of SAD; with the implications of SAD on the cognitive-person variables being more prevalent in females.

SAD and the Performance Model

The level of attainment achieved in career development tasks are lower for people with SAD, as demonstrated by impaired functioning in academic, occupational, and social domains. Therefore, the performance model is influenced by SAD. Findings from research indicate that people with

SAD are 2.25 times more likely to be unemployed despite expecting to work (Moitra, Beard, Weisberg, & Keller, 2011). The discrepancy between employment rates and desire to be employed for those with SAD indicate how the difference between expected outcomes and objective outcome may reinforce low self-efficacy. In terms of financial performance, people with SAD have lower hourly wages compared to peers with no psychiatric disorders (Moitra et al., 2011). The behavioural response of avoidance or escape also fits within the performance model as it illustrates a deficit of the necessary skills to demonstrate resilience or persistence in the face of adversity. The negative impact of SAD on the performance model is supported by findings in research of an association between SAD and protracted unemployment (Moitra et al., 2011).

An example of how context can shape the feedback loop in the performance model is gender inequality. Statistics Canada (2017) demonstrated pay-inequity based on gender, with females earning less, per dollar, compared to males. The wage gap can provide external reinforcement for beliefs of low self-efficacy for women in the workplace, which may then impact their perception of reaching their performance goals. Their work may be of the same quality as their male counterparts, but they may perceive less pay as an evaluation of impaired quality of work or decreased value as an employee by their employer. The interpretations people make about the pay-inequity can lead to a perception of not attaining the desired level of performance and result in subsequent avoidance behaviours, such as absenteeism or further reduction in interaction with others.

SAD and the Satisfaction Model

Because people with SAD are typically lacking self-efficacy, not progressing at personally relevant goals, and may have limited access to resources in their environment, the SCCT posits that they would have less satisfaction in the career domain. As previously mentioned, SAD is associated with lower quality of life (Dryman et al., 2016). Moreover, SAD has been found to be a risk factor for low satisfaction with career choice (Miles et al., 2018). Career indecision, which was discussed previously in this paper, has been found to be significantly associated with a decrease in overall life satisfaction (Jaensch et al., 2015). These findings point to the bi-directional nature of work and life satisfaction.

The example of pay inequality as a contextual factor impeding on the satisfaction model illustrates how this type of inequality may add an additional barrier for females with SAD. They may have a lack of internal (i.e., skills or confidence) and external resources (e.g., social supports) to advocate for pay equality or raise the issue of pay with employers. This lack of resources, or access to resources, then limits their ability to progress toward their personal and performance goals. Not only are performance goals negatively impacted, but also psychological well-being.

Using SCCT to conceptualize SAD in a career context demonstrates how the models are distinct but overlap in foci, and how the cognitive-person variables and the functions of the models have repercussions on each other. The impact of SAD on career development can be severe, and complex. The interplay between these factors and variables must be contemplated

when helping, in order to practically support youth with SAD in their career development.

Practical Implications

The challenges in career development faced by those with SAD have been outlined in this paper. To promote career development, children and youth must be exposed to supportive environments and reduced barriers (Lent, 2013). Individuals with SAD are more likely to report lack of training, lack of interview skills, lack of work experience and limited education as barriers to employment (Himle et al., 2014b). It is crucial to consider these perceived barriers in career counselling practice for children and youth. Current research also underscores parents' "gatekeeper" role in accessing treatment for their children (Reardon et al., 2017). Therefore, involving parents in the career counselling process for children and adolescents with SAD may be warranted.

How to effectively involve parents and caregivers of children and adolescents with SAD in the career counselling process is an area of research requiring further investigation. There is evidence to suggest that parents value collaboration with professionals but ultimately prefer to make the final decision regarding their children (Mak, Hiebert-Murphy, Walker, & Altman, 2014). Providing parents with psychoeducation about the impact of SAD on career development and evidence-based practices to treat SAD may help to facilitate service utilization by families.

As previously stated, much of the research exploring career development in individuals with SAD focuses on adult populations. Career counselling services for this age-group often involve a reme-

dial service orientation approach. In research comparing the effectiveness of work-related Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) to vocational services-as-usual for unemployed individuals with SAD, the CBT-based intervention resulted in significant improvement in job-search behaviours, and job-search self-confidence over treatment-as-usual. However, given the early age of onset, the deleterious effects of untreated SAD, and the lengthy delay in seeking treatment, practitioners must also consider ways of encouraging preventative or early intervention strategies to help children and adolescents with SAD in their career development. CBT is an intervention that can be used to promote career development in children and youth with SAD.

Cognitive Behavioural Therapy is the recommended evidence-based psychosocial treatment for SAD (Himle et al., 2014a; Katzman et al., 2014). Treatment typically involves the following components: psychoeducation, relaxation training, cognitive restructuring, gradual exposures, and social skills and/or problem-solving training (for overview, see McLellan, Alfano & Hudson, 2015). From a SCCT framework, CBT can be thought of as targeting the cognitive-person variables and effecting change in all four models. Parents can play a crucial role in shaping their child's cognitive-person variables by modeling and encouraging the practice of the strategies and interventions described below.

Exposure-based strategies are arguably the central feature in most CBT for anxiety disorders (Seligman & Ollendick, 2011). They are therapeutic tasks that involve confronting anxiety-provoking situations in a graduated fashion with the support and assistance

from a trained therapist (Peterman, Read, Wei, & Kendall, 2015). Part of the process involves learning to set small and realistic goals, which also serves to help track and acknowledge progress (an important feature in the satisfaction model). The purpose of exposure-based tasks is for the client to face an anxiety-provoking stimulus, cope with the anxiety, and cultivate a sense of mastery in anxiety-provoking situations. Not only do gradual exposures allow opportunities for learning experiences to challenge and modify negative self-beliefs, shift expected outcomes from negative to more realistic in nature, and build the practice necessary to help meet expected outcomes, the process can help people with SAD build coping strategies to foster resilience. Therefore, exposures can serve as a preventative measure by targeting the cognitive-person variables, fostering interest and persistence in performance, and contributing to experiencing satisfaction in career development. Exposures can be used to target career-specific fears of performance and evaluation. For example, an individual can develop gradual steps to face the fear of making a mistake in an interview, carrying conversations with co-workers, or asking a supervisor for clarification. Exposures can also be designed to target fears of rejection (e.g., not attaining a job following an interview).

In general, cognitive restructuring and cognitive bias modification strategies, such as attentional training and evaluating and challenging faulty or mistaken beliefs, can help individuals with SAD develop more realistic ways of thinking. To assist with developing "realistic thinking" in the career domain, psychoeducation may also be helpful. Specifically,

children and youth with SAD should be educated, at a developmentally appropriate level, about the nature of the current job market and the increasing trend (and inevitability) for multiple occupational or job changes within their lifetime. This type of psychoeducation can help to normalize the challenges and transitions that occur within the career domain, and help to motivate young individuals to learn to manage SAD. Research supports the notion that anticipation of career change can be beneficial. Adults reported better experiences of career transitions and self-perceptions of better coping when they were able to anticipate career change and thoughtfully and realistically take action, even when they appeared to have job security (Ebberwein, Krieschok, Ulven, & Prosser, 2004). Normalizing difficulties in career development can help to dispute attributional biases that contribute to low self-efficacy and impact the choice and performance model for those with SAD. They can begin to consider career choice and changes in the career domain as challenges that can be mastered rather than threats.

To help reduce perceived barriers to employment, it would be beneficial to focus on skills training in career counselling with children and adolescents. As discussed in a previous section of this paper, the importance of practice has been highlighted in fostering interest. Social skills training can be implemented through instruction, modeling, and the use of active practice, such as role-playing (McLellan et al., 2015). To target career-specific challenges and socio-political contextual factors present in the workplace, social skills training should focus on the skills required to face the common types of social interactions in the workplace, for example,

assertiveness and advocacy. In addition to general social skills, learning job interviewing, problem solving, and conflict resolution skills would be beneficial. The use of such skills training can help to improve beliefs of self-efficacy, shift expected outcomes, and improve performance attainment levels.

Resilience, and the ability to persist in the face of adversity can be learned (Alvord & Grados, 2005). In order to help children and adolescents with SAD build resilience and overcome the barriers that arise as a consequence of SAD, they must learn develop strategies and skills, including those that are career-related. Having these skills will promote the adaptability of the individual throughout career development and help to build the individual's internal and external (e.g., social networks) resources to persist in the face of adversity. The ability to successfully navigate the inevitable challenges in the career domain will also impact the satisfaction model, where daunting demands shift from insurmountable threats to achievable challenges.

Conclusion

SAD is a prevalent and disabling condition with impairment extending into the domains of social and occupational/academic functioning. To conceptualize how SAD impacts career development throughout the lifespan, the theoretical framework of SCCT can be applied. Using this lens, once can discern how SAD may impact an individual's beliefs of self-efficacy, expected outcomes and personal goals, and how these cognitive-person variables influence the development of interests, career choice, levels of performance, and satisfaction experienced within career development. In addition to

individual variables, the SCCT considers the role of environmental and contextual factors in shaping career development and helps to illustrate the intricacies of these variables and their interactions.

CBT can provide an effective vehicle for remedial services for individuals with SAD in the field of career counselling. However, to best support children and adolescents with SAD in their career development, a preventative service orientation would be most beneficial to address the unique challenges they face. CBT can be used to modify and shape cognitive-person variables, which then impact the interest, choice, performance and satisfaction models outlined in the SCCT. Children and adolescents may also learn that they are capable of learning to manage SAD and decreasing the extent to which it impairs their lives, including in the career domain. Although further research is necessary to better understand the mechanisms by which SAD influences career development across the lifespan and the contextual factors at play, grounding practice in theory allows the practice of career counselling to advance with rigor.

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Testing a Model of Co-op Students' Conversion Intentions

David Drewery, Dana Church, Judene Pretti, & Colleen Nevison
University of Waterloo

Abstract

Due to increased competition for talent, employers often look to *convert* co-op employees to full-time hires. The purpose of this paper was to conceptualize and test a model of co-operative education (“co-op”) students’ conversion intentions (i.e., plans to become a full-time member of the organization). Perceived work term quality (learning, impact, and relatedness) is proposed to influence conversion intentions serially through work engagement (feeling of vigor, dedication, and absorption at work) and organizational commitment (strong bond with the employer). The model is tested with data collected from co-op students ($n = 1,364$) at a Canadian university. As predicted, results suggest that perceived work term quality affects conversion intentions both directly and indirectly through work engagement and organizational commitment. This study is the first to examine potential contributions of the perceived quality of co-op students’ work term experiences to students’ plans for becoming a member of the organization. As such, it has important implications for how host organization members such as supervisors can design and deliver co-op work term experiences to leverage the benefits of participating in co-op.

Keywords: work-integrated learning; work term quality; work engagement; organizational commitment; conversion; Canadian

Increasingly employers look to students enrolled in work-integrated learning (WIL) programs such as co-operative education (co-op) to address talent needs. Co-op is a form of education in which students alternate between academic terms and work terms, each lasting typically four months in length (Sattler & Peters, 2013). The work terms are usually paid employment arrangements in which students are expected to be fully integrated members of the organization. It is believed that both students and employers benefit from this arrangement.

Converting Co-op Students

One of the reasons that employers have turned to co-op within a broader talent management strategy is to *convert* students into full-time employees. Often employers participate in co-op to determine which students might make the best organizational members (e.g., Sattler & Peters, 2012). They use the co-op work term to screen students’ talents and develop relationships that promote conversion. If successful, employers can derive significant benefit from converting students to full-time employees (Gerdes, 2009). This may be in part to the cost-savings associated with onboarding students who are already “up to speed” (Dessler, 1999). Of course, employers become involved in co-op for other reasons, such as giving back to the community, but recruitment and conversion outcomes are typically the most

important to employers (Sattler & Peters, 2012).

Previous Conversion Research

There are three main critiques of the previous conversion research. First, to date conversion research has focused on internships (e.g., Hurst, Good, & Gardner, 2012), which differ from co-op in that they are often unpaid and occur typically once during the educational program (compared to multiple times). With multiple work terms in co-op comes the opportunity for exposure to multiple employers. How co-op students navigate these experiences to end up in one position or another is unclear.

Second, previous conversion research has focused on students’ intentions to convert, rather than on the conversion intentions of those students who have received an *offer* of employment. Surely, organizations are interested in the dynamics of conversion only for those students they wish to retain. Thus, a greater focus on conversion intentions in response to a job offer is warranted.

Third, previous conversion research lacks a framework for understanding the process through which the work term experience translates into students’ plans to convert. Studies (e.g., Rose, Teo, & Connell, 2014; Zhao & Liden, 2011) have focused on the role of student-supervisor relationships, and dynamics regarding learning opportunities. Mixed results have been presented, and it remains unclear how such factors actually influence

conversion. The study by Hurst et al. (2012) suggested that feeling connected to the organization is a significant predictor of students' intentions to become full-time employees, yet did not provide insight regarding how students become connected to their employer.

Previous Retention Research

Organizational behaviour research regarding retention provides additional insight into students' conversion intentions. Retention occurs when existing organizational members continue to remain in the organization. Conversion refers to a situation in which the relationship ends for a period of time (e.g., while student returns to an academic term) but then continues at a later time. Thus, the concepts differ in that organizational *insiders* are retained while organizational *outsiders* are converted. Nevertheless, retention research provide a useful perspective on how students might make decisions to join the organization.

Two factors are consistently highlighted as important predictors of retention. The first is the degree to which one's work experience is *engaging*. Engaging experiences are those that promote feelings of vigor (energy), dedication, and absorption (Schaufeli, Salanova, González-Romá, & Bakker, 2002). Feeling engaged is an important part of why individuals choose to stay in their jobs (Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007; Saks, 2006). Thus, students may be more likely to convert in organizations where they feel engaged and happy with the work that they do. The second factor that promotes employee retention is a strong psychological bond between employee and organization, called *organizational commitment*. Employees are committed to the organization

when they feel a sense of duty or obligation to remain and when they feel a strong emotional attachment to the organization (Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993; Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). Organizational commitment is one of the strongest predictors of employee retention (e.g., Michaels & Spector, 1982; Podsakoff et al., 2007). Collectively, this area of research highlights the importance of creating engaging experiences and student-employer bonds in relation to conversion outcomes.

Present Investigation

Employers often hope to build a talent pipeline, one that identifies talented students and brings those students into the organization. The success of their efforts depends partially on whether students who receive an offer of employment accept that offer and become full-time members of the organization. The goal is to create for students an experience that is engaging and that creates a bond between student and employer. The challenge is to understand *how* the work term can be managed to promote work engagement, organizational commitment, and conversion.

We propose that the key to work engagement and organizational commitment is students' perceptions of the *quality* of their work term. The quality of a work term has been conceptualized as students' perceptions of three aspects of their experience: quantity and quality of learning, impact (e.g., contribution to the organization), and relatedness (connection between the experience and other work and academic experiences) (Drewery, Pretti, & Pennaforte, 2015). Figure 1 presents a conceptual model of this proposition. The purpose of this study is to

test the proposed model. In doing so the study contributes to the literature in two ways. First, it focuses on the conversion phenomenon specifically in a co-op context and for students who have received an offer of employment, both which have been overlooked in previous conversion research. Second, it uses the WIL and organizational behaviour literature to enhance an understanding of how organizations can manage successful outcomes while participating in WIL programs.

Perceived Work Term Quality

The conceptual model presented above focuses on co-op students' perceptions of the *quality* of their work term as the fundamental predictor of conversion intentions. Students report high-quality experiences when they have learned something meaningful, made a positive contribution, and found connections between the experience, their academic pursuits, and potential future work (Drewery et al., 2015). Each of these is discussed briefly below.

Learning. The WIL and experiential education literature fundamentally agree that the purpose of the co-op work term is student *learning*. The degree to which students learn about themselves, the world of work, or the world at large, is the basis on which to assess the quality of co-op experiences (e.g., Smith et al., 2009). Learning about one's job and how to navigate work-related tasks successfully in particular is essential to students' learning at work (Drewery et al., 2015). And yet, WIL experiences vary in the extent to which they offer learning experiences (Dewey, 1938; McRae, 2015). The degree to which students believe that learning has occurred for them seems to be linked

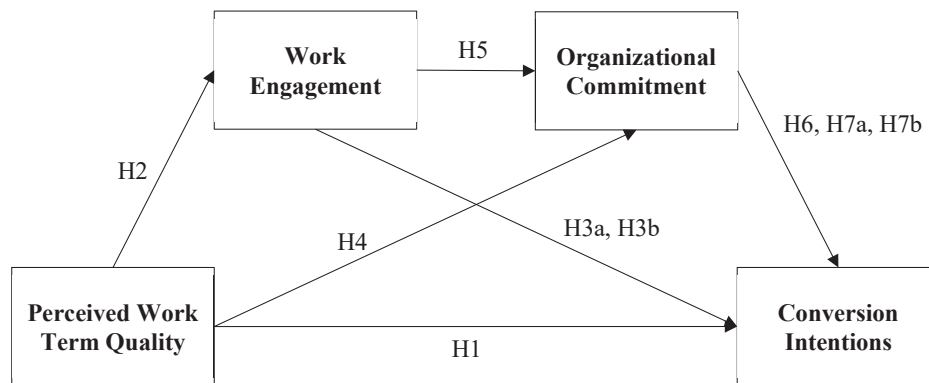


Figure 1. Conceptual model of and hypothesized relationships between co-op students' perceived work term quality, work engagement, organizational commitment, and conversion intentions

to the overall quality of the experience (Drewery et al., 2015).

Impact. In previous research (Apostolides & Looye, 1997; Drewery et al., 2015), students have highlighted a connection between overall perceived work term quality and a sense of *impact*. The best experiences seem to be those in which students felt they contributed, such as to the success of the organization or to improving the wellbeing of others. The co-op literature details several cases in which students made a positive impact on others, especially those within the organization (Braunstein et al., 2011). Hearing from organizational members such as the supervisor that one has “done a good job,” or simply being involved in important moments (e.g., having a voice in decisions) can contribute to a sense of impact.

Relatedness. Relatedness refers to the degree to which the experience was connected to what students had previously learned in their academic pursuits and what students hoped to learn in future experiences (Drewery et al., 2015). A fundamental tenet of experiential education theory is the connection or integration of work and academic experiences (Kolb, 1984). The op-

portunity to apply previous knowledge directly at work is often cited as an important aspect of WIL experiences (e.g., Smith, 2012; Wiseman & Page, 2001). Students hope that the experience will afford them the chance to put into practice what they have learned previously, and they also hope that the work term pays dividends for future employment.

We propose that students' perceptions of the quality of their work terms will impact conversion intentions. This proposition is based on students' motivations for participating in co-op. A key motivation for co-op students is to identify high-quality opportunities for work upon graduation (Sattler & Peters, 2013). They look for organizations that offer meaningful and exciting work. Having a high-quality work experience may trigger the belief that conversion will lead to more beneficial work experiences and thus might influence decisions to accept offers of employment.

H1: Co-op students' perceptions of work term quality will be positively associated with their intentions to convert.

Mediation Effects of Work Engagement

It is proposed that work engagement and organizational commitment jointly mediate the influence of perceived work term quality on conversion intentions. First, it is expected that higher quality work terms are associated with more work engagement. Each aspect of quality may have an important contribution to work engagement. Environments that afford learning opportunities also promote work engagement (Park et al. 2014). Feelings associated with making a difference at work are empowering (Spreitzer, 1995) and may encourage work engagement (e.g., Bhatnagar, 2012; Jose & Mampilly, 2014) and conversion intentions (Bhatnagar, 2012). Co-op students' perceptions of relatedness between academics and work may also promote work engagement (Drewery, Pretti, & Barclay, 2016a). Together, these studies tell us that students' perceptions of the quality of their work term experiences will be linked with their work engagement.

H2: Perceived work term quality will be positively associated with work engagement.

The link between work engagement and conversion is explicated in the organizational behaviour literature. Experiencing work as something that is absorbing, intrinsically pleasing, and energy-inducing promotes retention. Saks (2006) for example showed, using data from a Canadian sample ($n = 102$), that employees' work engagement was negatively associated with their intentions to quit. Based on this research, it is expected that a high-quality work term will be more engaging and therefore will lead to a stronger intention to convert.

The career development literature also suggests that greater work engagement may be linked with stronger intentions to conversion. Engaging work might facilitate conversion because it creates for the student a connection between their interests and a career path. The career engagement model (Pickerell & Neault, 2016) suggests that engaging work experiences might suggest to students a career within their current field is right for them. This belief might manifest in decisions to remain within the field. Likely, this enhances plans to convert for the employer because that employer offers a direct entry point into the field. In this way, more engaging work terms might signal more engaging career opportunities with that particular employer.

H3: Work engagement (a) is positively associated with conversion intentions and (b) mediates the relationship between perceived work term quality and conversion intentions.

Mediation Effects of Organizational Commitment

Our model suggests that organizational commitment also plays an important function in the

relationship between perceived work term quality and conversion intentions. Organizational commitment may mediate the effect of perceived work term quality on conversion intentions in two ways. First, it may explain the link between perceived work term quality and conversion via a social exchange principle (see Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Students who have high-quality work experiences likely attribute their success in part to the organization. Indeed, most organizations invest resources through socialization efforts, mentorship, and coaching to ensure that their students will be successful. Feeling as though the organization has helped to create a successful experience may in turn foster a connection with the organization that results in "paying back" the employer via conversion.

Based in this same line of thinking, organizational commitment may intervene in the path from perceived work term quality to work engagement to conversion. As the quality of the work term increases, so too will students' engagement in their work. Deeper engagement in work has been shown to increase organizational commitment (e.g., Cho, Laschinger, & Wong, 2006; Saks, 2006). As is explained by the dynamics of social exchange, deeper organizational commitment may result in stronger intentions to convert for the employer (e.g., Saks, 2006). Thus, perceived work term quality may promote organizational commitment through work engagement, and it is through this process that students may intend to convert.

H4: Perceived work term quality will be positively associated with organizational commitment.

H5: Work engagement will be positively associated with organizational commitment.

H6: Organizational commitment will be positively associated with conversion intentions.

H7: Organizational commitment mediates the relationship between (a) perceived work term quality and conversion intentions, and (b) the chain of relationships between perceived work term quality, work engagement, and conversion intentions.

Method

Data Collection

Participants ($n = 1,364$) were co-op students who had recently completed a co-op work term experience and who had been offered the opportunity to return to their employer for either a subsequent work term or work after graduation. Participants were enrolled in co-op programs across several faculties (e.g., arts and humanities, science and technology, math and engineering, applied health sciences) on a full-time basis at a research-intensive Canadian university. Participants completed an electronic survey and received nominal remuneration.

Measures

Perceived work term quality. As explained previously, perceived work term quality is comprised of learning, impact, and relatedness. We created a seven-item measure of perceived work term quality. Two items ("I learned how to successfully perform my job in an efficient manner" and "I mastered the required tasks of my job") measured learning, three items ("I was involved in making important decisions," "This organization valued my contribution," and "My supervisor valued my contribution to this organization") measured

impact, and two items (“The tasks I had to do at work were in line with what I really want to do” and “How connected did you feel your work experience was to your academic program?”) measured relatedness. Responses to all items were on a five-point Likert scale where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*. The only exception was that participants used a 10-point scale (where 1 = *not at all connected* and 10 = *very connected*, later transformed to a five-point scale) for the second relatedness item. A principle components factor analysis (KMO = .667; Bartlett’s test = 2040.067, $df = 15$, $p < .001$) confirmed that all of these items loaded onto a single factor explaining 41.41% of the total variance. Thus, we obtained an overall perceived work term quality score by calculating the mean of the items (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .703$).

Work engagement. Work engagement was measured using eight items adapted from Schaufeli, et al.’s (2002) Utrecht work engagement scale (UWES). Three items were used to measure absorption (“I was immersed in my work,” “I got carried away when I was working,” and “I felt happy when I was working intensely”), two items were used to measure dedication (“My job inspired me” and “I am proud of the work that I did”), and three items were used to measure vigor (“At my work, I felt bursting with energy,” “In my job, I felt strong and vigorous,” and “When I got up in the morning, I felt like going to work”). Responses were on a five-point Likert scale where 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. A total work engagement score was obtained by calculating the mean of all the items (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .905$).

Organizational commitment. Organizational commitment was measured using three items (“How committed were you to your company?” “How much did you care about your company?” and “How dedicated were you to your company?”) adapted from Klein, Cooper, Molloy, and Swanson’s (2014) unidimensional measure of commitment. Responses were on a five-point Likert scale where 1 = *not at all* and 5 = *an extreme amount*. An average score was computed for an overall measure of organizational commitment (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .933$).

Conversion intentions. Conversion intentions were measured using two items (“How likely would you be to return to this organization?” and “How likely would you be to accept a full-time job at this company past graduation?”) that were developed for the current study. Responses to each item were on a five-point Likert scale where 1 = *not at all likely* and 5 = *very likely*. The average of both items was taken as an overall conversion intention measure where higher scores indicated a greater likelihood of conversion (Spearman-Brown coefficient = .894).

Individual differences. Several additional measures of participants’ characteristics were taken. These included their age, sex, faculty of study, the number of work terms they had completed (between 1 and 6), whether they had worked for their most recent employer prior to the work term (0 = *no*, 1 = *yes*), the size of the team (1 = *mostly alone*, 2 = *1 to 5 employees*, 3 = *more than 5 employees*), and the size of the organization they worked in (1 = *50 or fewer employees*, 2 = *51*

to 100, 3 = *101 to 150*, 4 = *151 to 200*, 5 = *200 or more*).

Analysis Procedure

To test our model, a conditional process regression analysis was conducted using the PROCESS program available in SPSS (see Hayes, 2013). The PROCESS program allows for an estimation of linear regression coefficients in models involving mediation. This affords evaluations of the pathways by which one variable might affect another variable through one or more mediator variables. As our conceptual model proposed that both work engagement and organizational commitment would mediate the influence of perceived work term quality on conversion intentions, the PROCESS program (Model 6; see Hayes, 2013) provided the best approach. Perceived work term quality was entered as the predictor variable, work engagement and organizational commitment were entered as mediators, and conversion intention was the outcome variable. Organization size, number of work terms completed, and previous employment in the organization were entered as control variables. For estimation purposes, the model was estimated with 10,000 bootstrapped samples (see Hayes, 2013).

Results

Sample and Measures

Participants ($n = 1,364$) were roughly 21 years old ($SD = 1.431$) and about half (48.5%) were female. Roughly 71% of participants belonged to faculties where they would primarily study science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). Over half (52.3%) of the participants had an academic aver-

age above 80%. They worked mostly in small groups of five or fewer employees (60.6%). Most worked in large (more than 200 employees; 53.5%) organizations and roughly one quarter (26%) worked in small (between one and 50 employees) organizations. Just over one quarter (26.5%) of participants had completed only one work term, one third (37.9%) had completed two or three work terms, and another third (35.5%) completed between four and six work terms. Prior to their most recent work term, most participants (78.2%) had not worked for their employer.

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations for the variables in the model. Perceived work term quality for the sample was slightly above the midpoint of possible responses ($M = 3.782, SD = .561$) suggesting that the average quality of work terms experienced by participants was somewhat positive overall. Work engagement reported by participants was also above the scale midpoint ($M = 3.515, SD = .760$) suggesting most participants were engaged in their work. Organizational commitment was high ($M = 3.908, SD = .837$). Conversion intention scores were closer to the midpoint of the scale ($M = 3.319, SD = 1.233$) sug-

gesting that intentions to convert varied from weak to strong. Correlations suggest that the core measures in the model (perceived work term quality, work engagement, organizational commitment, and conversion intentions) are all linked. The strongest correlation amongst these variables is between perceived work term quality and engagement ($r = .695, p < .001$) and the weakest is between engagement and conversion intentions ($r = .471, p < .001$).

Results of Hypothesis Tests

Table 2 shows the unstandardized regression coefficients that are relevant to hypotheses made of direct relationships in the conceptual model (H1, H2, H3a, H4, H5, and H6). All these hypothesized relationships were supported after controlling for the number of completed work terms, whether the student had worked for their employer prior to the work term, and the size of the organization. There were significant positive relationships between perceived work term quality and work engagement ($B = .944, SE = .027, p < .001$), perceived work term quality and organizational commitment ($B = .381, SE = .040, p < .001$), and perceived work term quality and conversion intentions ($B = .317, SE$

$= .070, p < .001$). Therefore, perceptions of a higher-quality work term were linked with reports of more engaging work, a stronger psychological bond with the employer, and stronger intentions to convert (H1, H2, and H4 supported). As expected, the results also showed significant relationships between work engagement and organizational commitment ($B = .554, SE = .029, p < .001$), work engagement and conversion intentions ($B = .269, SE = .056, p < .001$), and organizational commitment and conversion intentions ($B = .423, SE = .046, p < .001$) (H3a, H5, and H6 supported).

Table 3 shows the bootstrapped estimated regression results that are relevant to the hypotheses made of indirect (i.e., mediation) relationships in the conceptual model (H3b, H7a, H7b). Estimates for which the confidence intervals do not cross zero are statistically significant (Hayes, 2013). In support of H3b, the results show that there is a significant indirect relationship between perceived work term quality and conversion intentions through work engagement (estimate = .254, $SE = .054$, 95% confidence interval: lower limit = .150, upper limit = .358). The results also support H7a and H7b in that there was a significant indirect effect of perceived

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Reliabilities, and Pearson Correlations for Constructs in the Conceptual Model ($n = 1,364$)

	Pearson Correlations			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Perceived work term quality	--			
(2) Work engagement	.695***	--		
(3) Organizational commitment	.607***	.680***	--	
(4) Conversion intentions	.450***	.471***	.496***	--
<i>M</i>	3.782	3.515	3.908	3.319
<i>SD</i>	.561	.760	.837	1.233

Note. *** $p < .001$

Table 2

Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for the Relationships between Control Variables, Work Engagement, Organizational Commitment, and Conversion Intentions (n = 1,364)

Variables	Work Engagement		Organizational Commitment		Conversion Intentions	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Number of terms	.013	.010	-.034 **	.011	.064 ***	.018
Worked previously	-.034	.037	.142 ***	.040	.247 ***	.069
Organization size	-.006	.009	-.002	.009	.127 ***	.016
Perceived WT quality	.944 ***	.027	.381 ***	.040	.317 ***	.070
Work engagement	--	--	.554 ***	.029	.269 ***	.056
Organization commitment	--	--	--	--	.423 ***	.046
	Adj. R ²					
	.485	***	.506	***	.347	***

Note. WT = work term. ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 3

Results of Bootstrapped Estimated Effects for Indirect Relationships in the Conceptual Model

Relationship	estimate	SE	Bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals	
			Lower limit	Upper limit
Indirect through M1	.254	.054	.150	.358
Indirect through M2	.162	.026	.115	.216
Indirect through M1 + M2	.223	.031	.167	.288

Note. M1 = work engagement, M2 = organizational commitment

work term quality on conversion intentions through organizational commitment (estimate = .162, SE = .026, 95% confidence interval: lower limit = .115, upper limit = .216) and jointly or serially through work engagement and organizational commitment (estimate = .223, SE = .031, 95% confidence interval: lower limit = .167, upper limit = .288).

Discussion

Employers increasingly rely on students enrolled in WIL programs such as co-op to fill gaps in the talent pipeline. Understanding the dynamics of how to bring students effectively into the organization is therefore of interest. The purpose of this study was to test a model of co-op students' conversion intentions, or whether they planned to work for their employer again after a co-op work term. Previous research had focused more on reten-

tion for full-time employees or on conversion specifically in internship contexts. Thus, this study contributes to the literature by examining conversion intentions specifically in co-op.

Perceived Work Term Quality and Conversion

The central contribution of this paper is in demonstrating a link between co-op students' perceptions of work term quality and their intentions to convert. Students think about the quality of their experiences with respect to learning, making meaningful contributions to others, and finding connections between academics, work, and future endeavours (Drewery et al., 2015). We reasoned that perceived work term quality would affect plans to return because they signal what future opportunities might be like. Low-quality

work terms signal that the student should look for other employment prospects while high quality ones suggest opportunities for subsequent high-quality experiences. This finding reinforces that there is a link between students' positive experiences and plans for future employment. The more co-op students perceive that they have learned (e.g., how to master their job), have had a positive impact on the organization, and have done something that is connected to their academic program, the more likely the student will return to the organization.

Connecting Quality and Conversion

The results of our analyses further highlight why perceived work term quality might be connected to conversion intentions. This relationship has to do with work

engagement and organizational commitment. Students who reported a higher-quality work term also reported a more engaging experience overall. This affirms previous research that suggested relevant, meaningful, and educational experiences would be highly engaging for co-op students (e.g., Drewery et al., 2016a; Jose & Mampilly, 2014). Conversion intentions were higher for those who had more engaging experiences for two reasons. First, having a more engaging experience might have signaled to students that they would have a more engaging career in their field, and converting for the employer provided an entry point to that career (Pickerell & Neault, 2016). Second, students who had highly engaging experiences formed a psychological bond with their employer which facilitated conversion plans. The employer invested in creating a higher-quality, more engaging experience and in exchange students “invested” in the organization by planning to become a full-time member (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Saks, 2006). By contrast, students who did not have engaging experiences were likely those who became over-worked and burnt out or who felt bored and under-valued (Pickerell & Neault, 2016). Such experiences are unlikely to build organizational commitment and instead trigger searches for other opportunities (e.g., Drake & Yadama, 1996; Janssen, de Jonge, & Bakker, 1999).

An important contribution of the paper is in understanding students' conversion intentions in response to job offers. While other research (e.g., Hurst et al., 2012) had examined WIL students' plans to return to their employer, no distinction had been made between students in general and the students whom organizations target. We accounted for

this by including in analyses only those students who had received an offer to return, a proxy for the organization's commitment to the student. Under this important condition, the model demonstrates that perceptions of the work term enhance engagement and commitment and in turn also enhance conversion intentions.

Practical Implications

The practical implications of this paper are relevant for a variety of employers who want students to accept offers of employment. Our study suggests that efforts to create higher quality work terms, more work engagement, and stronger organizational commitment all serve the end goal of conversion.

Creating a high-quality work term. Drewery and his colleagues (2016b) showed that employers might contribute to high-quality work terms in several ways. In part, it involves creating a culture of learning. Such cultures involve opportunities to make mistakes and actively promote novel exploration (Marsick & Watkins, 2003). When students are brought into an organization that values learning they are not only more likely to learn something important, but they are also given the opportunity to apply that learning in a way that makes an impact. They are also given the freedom to make connections between their work, their academics, and future careers. It is setting up an environment that encourages and rewards learning that may be the key to creating engaging experiences and enhancing conversion rates. Supervisors and team members may therefore be instructed to encourage co-op students to try new things, reflect on their learning, and apply it

in ways that benefit the organization.

Also consistent with the results of our study and with the results presented by Drewery et al. (2016b) is the importance of setting students up for success. Creating a learning culture may not be beneficial without the necessary supports. Thus, organizations might think about what other supports students need. High-quality socialization and training programs that clearly lay out formal (e.g., rules and regulations) and informal (e.g., organizational norms) structures at work may help students to transition successfully, provide them with better understanding of their roles in context, and set them up for better performance (Chao et al., 1994). Given that making a positive impact is of importance, socialization seems key to creating a high-quality experience (Drewery et al., 2016b).

Organizations might mobilize supervisors to create relevant, meaningful, and engaging learning experiences. For example, supervisors might try to discern students' backgrounds and future intentions in order to frame students' work in more meaningful and relevant ways. They need not alter students' core tasks, but rather help students to make connections between what is being done at work and what was learned in the classroom. We have also found, through our own supervisory experiences, that providing students with opportunities to *own* (i.e., manage and complete in a personal way) a project as a side-feature of the work term can be rewarding and create engagement. Providing students with a chance to take control of their work intuitively promotes learning but also seems to help make connections between students' studies and their work.

Creating an engaging experience. The results of this study suggest that creating high-quality work terms is also important for fostering a sense of engagement in co-op students' work. It makes sense that students would be more engaged in work that they find to be relevant, impactful, and full of opportunities to learn. These characteristics are at the heart of work-integrated and experiential education. Presumably those students who are enrolled in WIL programs seek out these attributes in the work terms they have and therefore are more interested, immersed, and engaged in jobs that contain these traits. Thus, taking steps to create a high-quality work term also creates engagement, which our results show enhances conversion outcomes.

Beyond our study, existing research adds that employers might contribute to co-op students' work engagement by empowering them. Empowering students, that is, providing support (e.g., good information, resources to accomplish tasks) and power (both formal and informal) to do their jobs, creates a sense of control and belonging that is connected to engagement (Greco, Laschinger, & Wong, 2006). Supervisors feature prominently in empowering employees, and so employers may direct students' supervisors to empower students. Increasing the job resources (e.g., social support, coaching) and removing job demands (e.g., work pressure, emotional demand) may create a more engaging environment that contributes to several job outcomes including conversion intentions (Bakker & Demerouti, 2008).

Creating organizational commitment. Similarly, as employers create relevant, impactful, learning-oriented work, they may

also enhance organizational commitment. The results of this study suggest that employers may be interested in creating positive (i.e., high-quality, engaging) experiences because they foster a psychological bond between co-op student and the organization. In reflecting on how the term has played out, students assess the quality of their relationship with the employer. When they are happy, achieving what they set out to achieve, making a difference, and learning new things, they become more connected to the organization. We reason this is the case because they are "returning the favour" to the employer for creating a successful work term (Saks, 2006). When things go well, there is a stronger bond with the company and therefore less of a reason to leave it. Employers might therefore maximize organizational commitment by highlighting ways in which the term has satisfied salient goals for the student. Supervisors might be instructed to provide opportunities for learning, impact, and relevance that are uniquely tied to the organization. For example, many accounting firms design their own in-house programs that advance the formal and informal knowledge of accounting and actuarial science students. These programs involve mentorship from existing organizational members, informal gatherings, and textbook sharing. All these elements are implemented by the organization in a way that contributes to the quality of the experience and clearly places the employer as being responsible for that quality in the mind of the student.

Limitations and Future Research

While there are several avenues for future research that extend from this study, we wish to

emphasize those pertaining to the quality of co-op students' work term experiences. The research on students' perceptions of the term is surprisingly limited. Additional research across different kinds of WIL contexts could enrich our theoretical understanding of what makes for a high-quality experience. In a related way, the literature would benefit from a thorough development of a valid and reliable instrument to measure perceived work term quality. Creating better assessment tools would provide educators and organizational members alike a useful rubric by which to measure quality so that they may affect change. Organizations, for example, might want to know which socialization practices have the strongest impact on co-op students' perceptions of quality in order to invest resources accordingly. At the same time, educators may want to understand which dimensions of quality are linked with students' learning outcomes to reveal how they might add value to the work term. A tool that could be used across contexts and even across several forms of WIL would be of significant value.

Also, we believe that there is much more work to be done connecting students' perceptions of the quality of their work term experiences and employers' recruitment outcomes. While our study tested one conceptual model, other models with different variables may be viable. For example, our model did not assess the effects of the attractiveness of other jobs on conversion intentions (Hurst et al., 2012). Students in some programs are faced with a wide variety of attractive positions, while some students struggle to find jobs that are desirable. Therefore, identifying the situational or contextual factors that further explain why some students convert while others

do not is relevant to both research and practice.

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Developmentally Relevant Career Constructs: Response Patterns of Youth with ADHD and LDs

Abiola Dipeolu. Texas A&M University-Kingsville
Samuel Deutch. Associates in Neuropsychology
Stephanie Hargrave. Guildford College
Cassandra A. Storlie. Kent State University

Abstract

The vocational needs of adolescents with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and Learning Disabilities (LDs) have been generally overlooked in vocational research. Exploration of relevant career development constructs can illuminate our understanding of the post-school transition needs and strengths of youth with disabilities. Given the increasing prevalence of these disorders, this study compared the response patterns of 258 adolescents with ADHD and LDs on dimensions of career thoughts, attitudes, and vocational identity. Participants were administered the *Career Thoughts Inventory* (CTI), *Career Maturity Inventory –R* (CMI-R), and *Vocational Identity* (VI) to examine the differences in response patterns. Using univariate ANOVA analyses, results showed that levels of VI were significantly related to all CTI subscales and a CMI-R subscale. A diagnosis of LD or ADHD was significantly related to the Decision-Making Confusion (DMC) subscale of the CTI and the CMI-Att subscale of the CMI-R. Implications for practice and future research are discussed.

Keywords: Attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder, learning disabilities, negative career thoughts, attitudes, post-school transition, and vocational identity

Youth with disabilities are vulnerable to negative outcomes in their vocational lives due to experiences with marginalization, stereotypes, and continued attitudinal barriers (Vash & Crewe, 2004) in social, school, and work settings. Negative career thinking can impair an individual's ability to solve career problems and make career decisions (Sampson, Reardon, Peterson, & Lenz, 2004) resulting in lower than average self-efficacy. The inability to select a career path or direction can cause major difficulties during the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Adolescence is described as a difficult period because individuals are beginning to explore interests, discover new talents, and make choices and commitments at a time when they are experiencing major physiological and biological changes (Halpern, 2009; Lapan, 2004). Ng and Fieldman (2007) found that the ease or difficulty of this first major life transition, occurring at the end of high school, may impact employment-related adjustment later in life, and future coping with vocational changes. However, research addressing these processes among youth with disabilities is limited (Fabian & Liesener, 2005), as most of the existing literature focuses on youth without disabilities.

The call for further career research on marginalized groups, including individuals with disabilities (Blustein, 2006; Whiston, 2011), demonstrates the need to inform practitioners of best practices in

supporting career development. Issues surrounding vocational identity, career choice readiness, and negative career thinking are closely tied to the developmental tasks associated with adolescence and must be given appropriate attention. Using evidence-based interventions, combined with strength-based, developmental and preventative approaches (Walsh & Gallassi, 2002), can assist students with disabilities in reducing dysfunctional career thoughts and strengthening vocational identity, making way for continued resilience throughout their career paths. Extending career research to include youth with disabilities can further the understanding of career development and transitional needs among underserved groups.

Attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and learning disabilities (LDs) are two of the most common developmental problems of childhood and adolescence (Jakobson & Kikas, 2007). Yet, attention to the unique career development and post-school transition needs of these youth is generally absent in the scholarly literature. Given the increasing prevalence of these diagnoses, and the limited understanding of how they impact success at work, empirical studies can assist practitioners of the vocational strengths and weaknesses unique to each population.

ADHD is a neurodevelopmental disorder (Gregg, 2009) involving the frontal lobes and marked by behavioral disinhibition and

executive function dysregulation. An estimated 3-7% of school-aged individuals in the United States (US) have a diagnosis of ADHD (Monas-tra, 2008). Problems with time management, focused attention, task initiation and completion, procrastination, forgetfulness, and difficulty with scheduling and setting priorities are work-related difficulties associated with ADHD symptomology (Barkley, 2006; Dipeolu, 2011). Higher than average levels of irritability, hostility, negative affect, emotional hyper-responsiveness, and low frustration tolerance are common (Ngg, 2006). Despite being the most comprehensively studied mental health disorder in school-aged children (Monas-tra, 2008), there is limited empirical support to provide individualized career interventions for students with ADHD, in addition to students with LDs.

LDs are conditions in which there is a failure to develop expected and adequate academic skills in various educational areas (Deutsch & Davis, 2010). LDs can impair the ability to achieve adequate work performance and efficiency, complicating career development concerns in adolescence (Ochs & Roessler, 2001; Rojewski, 1999) and adulthood. It is estimated that 4-7% of school-aged US students have a specific LDs (Buttner & Hasselhorn, 2011; Geary, 2006; Mercer & Pullen, 2005), the most prevalent being reading disability. Symptoms of ADHD and LDs do not resolve on their own and interventions are often required (Shaywitz, 2003), including post-school interventions for optimal work functioning in adulthood.

The symptoms of ADHD and LDs are often discussed concurrently in scholarly literature, and extrapolating findings from one population to the other is common. Scholarly research has not yet

addressed the transition and career development needs unique to each diagnosis. The disorders are unmistakably discrete, evidenced by distinct diagnostic criteria and varying effects on functioning. The hyperactive-impulsive symptoms of ADHD do not appear to have a shared genetic relationship with LDs (Gregg, 2009). In youth with ADHD, control and impulse inhibition are impaired, whereas LD are associated with impairments in phonological awareness, verbal memory span, storytelling ability, reading comprehension, and information processing (Korkman & Pesonen, 1994; Ofiesh, Mather, & Russell, 2005). This study aimed to empirically identify areas of commonality and/or difference among these populations to avoid extrapolating findings from one diagnosis to the other.

Two purposes guided this study. The first was to build on existing research examining the career development needs and strengths unique to youth with ADHD and LDs by focusing on the career development constructs of decision-making confusion, commitment anxiety, external conflict, vocational identity, and career attitudes/readiness. The second purpose was to fill a gap in career development research by comparing the response patterns of these discrete populations by exploring the dimensions of career thoughts, attitudes, and vocational identity to better illuminate the needs and strengths unique to each population. The variables of interest in this study, which included dysfunctional career thoughts, career maturity/readiness and vocational identity, were chosen based on their relevancy to developmental tasks associated with adolescence.

Career Development Research on Youth with Disabilities

Limited attention has been paid to the experience of children and adolescents with disabilities in vocational research (Foley-Nicpon & Lee, 2012) and examination of career thoughts and attitudes, along with vocational identity, can help to highlight the needs and strengths of youth with disabilities. Widely recognized and empirically supported as a measure of career readiness and attitudes, the *Career Maturity Inventory* (CMI-R) has utility in career development work with adolescents (Patton & Creed, 2007a; Creed, Patton, Prideaux, 2007). Among adolescents, a relationship exists between the level of career maturity/readiness and decision-making, suggesting that a lack of career readiness may lead to indecision about career selection, and vice versa. *Vocational Identity* (VI), is a crucial task during adolescence, and the development of a strong ego identity is central in overall identity development (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2007). VI demonstrates an inverse relationship with negative, maladaptive career constructs, including indecisiveness, depression, and lack of goal stability (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2007).

Existing data on negative career thoughts, attitudes, and vocational identity suggest that youths with LDs respond differently when compared with those without LDs, and that it is possible to predict scores for individuals with LDs on these relevant constructs (Dipeolu, 2007; Dipeolu, Hargrave, Sniatecki, & Donaldson, 2012). Additionally, researchers have found that ADHD symptoms were predictive of negative career thoughts (Painter, Prevatt, & Welles, 2008). Career thoughts and attitudes have also

recently been found to significantly predict VI in a sample of adolescents with ADHD (Dipeolu, Sniatecki, Storlie, & Hargrave, 2013).

In our extensive review of literature, most existing studies with these populations compare ADHD to a non-ADHD sample, LDs to a non-LD sample or simply extrapolate findings from one population to the other. This study aimed to empirically identify areas of commonality and/or difference among these populations, guided by the following hypotheses: 1) Significant differences would be found in the ways in which students with ADHD and LDs responded to each of the career development constructs; 2) Significant differences in response patterns associated with three levels of VI (High, Moderate, and Low) would be found; and 3) Significant interactions would be found in the CMI-R and CTI subscale scores between group and VI levels.

Methods

Sample

Participants consisted of 258 high school students, 119 diagnosed with ADHD (46.1%) and 139 (53.9%) with LDs. As such, all the participants were tested, diagnosed, and were receiving supportive services for their particular disability. Students had an existing diagnosis of ADHD or LDs, and qualified for special education services under Part B of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA, 2004), and defined by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Student experiences were assumed to be generally equivalent in participating schools based on the uniform federal guidelines for special education and disability services across the United States.

The students with ADHD were recruited from special education classrooms in three high schools in the northeastern US and consisted of 35 females (29%) and 84 males (70.6%), representing grades 8-12. They self-identified as White, non-Hispanic (45.4%, $n=54$), African American (37%, $n=44$); Hispanic (7.6%, $n=9$), Native American (2.5%, $n=3$), Asian (0.8%, $n=1$), and Other (4.2%, $n=8$). The average age of the participants was 15.7 years ($SD = 2.01$), and the sample included freshmen (34.5%), sophomores (20.27%), juniors (16%), seniors (21.8%), and unidentified (7.6%).

The LDs sample consisted of students identified with the following LDs: 47 (34%) reading; 39 (28%) written expression; 36 (26%) mathematics; 7 (5%) written expression and reading; 6 (4%) math and reading; 3 (2%) math, reading, and written expression; and 1 (1%) unknown. The students with LDs were recruited from special education classrooms in two school districts in the Midwest, one rural and one urban, and were from ten different schools. Participants consisted of 39 females (28%) and 100 males (72%). They self-identified as White, non-Hispanic (77.2%, $n=99$), African American (12.9%, $n=18$); Hispanic (7.9%, $n=11$), Native American (6.5%, $n=9$), and Asian (1.4%, $n=2$). The sample consisted of 49 freshman (35%), 26 sophomores (19%), 35 juniors (25%) and 29 seniors (21%). The mean age was 16.4 years ($SD = 1.5$).

Procedures

Three hundred consent letters were sent to parents/guardians of students with ADHD requesting participation with eleven hundred and eleven returned for a

37% response rate. Assent was also obtained from each student. Four students did not sign the assent form and were not included in the study.

Three hundred and eighteen parents/guardians of students with LDs were targeted for recruitment and contacted via mail. Of these, one hundred and fifty (47.1%) gave consent for their child to participate. Assent was also obtained from each of the participants with LDs. Three students declined participation, and eight did not sign the assent form and were excluded. Thus, one hundred and thirty-nine total students with LDs participated. A transition specialist and a graduate assistant administered the instruments to the participants. Accommodations that included periodic breaks and the use of a reader were offered to all; however, no students utilized these accommodations during data collection. This is not an improbable response given that students who participated in this study are part of school districts with strong and intensive programs of intervention for students with disabilities, particularly those with ADHD and LDs.

Measures

Career Thoughts

Inventory (CTI; Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon, & Saunders, 1996). The CTI consists of 48 Likert-scale items, each representing a dysfunctional career-related thought. Respondents identify their level of agreement with each statement, with response options ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). The total score is intended to provide a global evaluation of negative/dysfunctional career thoughts. The developers "identified three cluster areas of dysfunctional thinking: (a) decision-making confusion (DMC), the inability to initiate

or sustain the career decision-making process due to disabling emotions and/or limited understanding; (b) commitment anxiety (CA), the inability to commit to a career choice because of anxiety about the anticipated outcome; and (c) external conflict (EC), the inability to balance self-perception with input from significant others, translating into a reluctance to assume independence and/or responsibility for career decision making.” (Sampson et al., 2004, p. 92). Evidence of dysfunctional career thoughts can be found in one, two, or all three cluster areas. Research has supported the reliability of the CTI for students with and without LD. Dipeolu et al (2012) found further support for the reliability of the CTI with students with LDs, with an alpha coefficient of 0.95 for the CTI total score, and coefficients of 0.89, 0.80, and 0.75 for the DMC, CA, and EC subscales, respectively. Reported total score test-retest reliability for a four week period was 0.89 for the non-LD college sample and 0.69 for a sample of high school students without disabilities (Sampson et al., 1996). The internal consistency for a sample of undergraduate college students without LD was comparable to that of those with LDs (Dipeolu, 1997; Dipeolu, Reardon, Sampson, & Buckhead, 2002). According to Vernick (2002), several studies have found CTI to be a stable and valid instrument for use during the career counseling process for non-LD populations. Additionally, Dipeolu et al (2013) found support for reliability of this measure with ADHD students, with alpha coefficients of 0.96, 0.88, 0.85, and 0.74 for CTI total, DMC, CA, and EC subscales respectively.

Career Maturity

Inventory – Revised (CMI-R; Crites & Savickas, 1996). The CMI-R assesses level of career maturity, which is critical in an individual’s ability to make realistic career decisions (Busacca & Taber, 2002). The instrument provides three scores: Attitudes (CMI-Att), Competency (CMI-Com), and Career Maturity Total (). The CMI-R utilizes a dichotomous response format (*agree/disagree*) and is comprised of 50 items. Half of the items (25) tap into the attitudinal/affective domain (CMI-Att) and half assess the cognitive/competency domain (CMI-Com). The CMI-Tal provides a global assessment of career maturity, with higher scores indicating a higher level of maturity. Studies have generally supported the reliability and validity of the CMI-R (Busacca & Taber, 2002). For students with LDs, reliability coefficients have been moderately strong. Dipeolu (2007) found coefficients ranging from 0.69 (CMI-Com) to 0.80 (CMI-Tal). Additionally, Dipeolu, et al (2012) found moderately strong reliability estimates among students with LDs (0.77 for the CMI-Tal, 0.74 for the CMI-Att, and 0.71 for the CMI-Com. Dipeolu, et al (2013) found a reliability estimate of 0.54 for CMI-Att with an ADHD student sample.

Jepsen and Prediger (1981) reported a convergent validity correlation of 0.37 with the Career Development Inventory (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981), a measure of career maturity. Bathory (1967) reported a criterion validity correlation of 0.39 with the Occupational Aspiration Scale (Miller & Haller, 1964). Busacca and Taber (2002) assumed that the current version of the CMI has similar validity and reliability as the 1978 version.

Vocational Identity (VI;

Holland, Daiger, & Power, 1980). The VI is comprised of 18 items intended to evaluate a person’s vocational identity, which refers to a sense of clarity regarding one’s personality, talents, interests, and goals (Holland et al., 1980). The VI utilizes a dichotomous, true/false response format with the score obtained by summing the number of false responses. Higher scores indicate a well-developed vocational identity. The developers assert that strong vocational identity is typified by consistent career-related decision-making despite unavoidable uncertainty in one’s environment (Holland et al., 1980).

Holland et al (1980) reported internal consistency reliability coefficients of 0.86 for both male and female high school students. Additionally, among a sample of workers and college students, a KR-20 coefficient of 0.88 was obtained for women, while the coefficient for men was 0.89. Among students with LDs, Dipeolu et al (2012) found a KR-20 coefficient of 0.82, and a KR-20 coefficient of 0.86 among students with ADHD (Dipeolu et al., 2013). The instrument developers also provide support for the construct validity of the VI (Holland et al., 1980).

For the purposes of this study, results of the VI scale were divided into profile scores consisting of High, Moderate, and Low levels of vocational identity. Other studies have used a similar profile or clustering approach (Crews, 2006; Johnson, Smither & Holland, 1981; Mauer & Gysbers, 1990; Wanberg & Muchinsky, 1992). This analytical approach is designed to assist with the application of the instrument, to provide clarity for scholars, and practitioners’ interpretations of student scores (Osipow, 1999).

Results

The VI scores were categorized into High, Moderate, and Low groups using the K-Means Cluster Classification procedure in SPSS. This allowed for interpretation of the pairwise results, as well as the interaction results of the study. After four iterations, a stable set of three clusters was established with 76 in Cluster 1, 58 in Cluster 2, and 112 in Cluster 3. Based on the values for each cluster center, the clusters were interpreted and labeled as follows: Cluster 1 was labeled High, Cluster 2 was labeled Low, and Cluster 3 was labeled Moderate. Mean scores (SD) were equal to the Cluster Centers for each of the three levels, High mean 15.54 (1.83) range = 6.00, Low mean 3.98 (1.93) range = 6.00, and Moderate mean 9.05 (1.62) range = 5.00. Results of the cluster analysis were saved as standardized variables in the data set and used for subsequent analyses.

The correlations between the CMI and CTI subscales were calculated (Table 1), and although the measures were found to be highly correlated, it was determined that each subscale provided information specific to different areas of function. Thus, the DMC subscale was related to, but distinct from, the CA subscale as intended within the CTI instrument. The distinctive subscale scores were developed to provide the best vantage point possible to begin intervention within the client population and need to be individually examined (Sampson et al., 1996).

Four univariate ANOVA analyses were performed using each of the dependent variables: CMI-Att score, CTI DMC T-score, CTI CA T-score, and CTI EC T-score. These were based on locally derived norms for either LDs or ADHD.

Independent variables used in each of the analyses were Group (LDs and ADHD) and Levels of VI (High, Moderate, and Low). SPSS GLM was used for the analysis and the data met the sampling, distribution and variation assumptions of the ANOVA analysis. (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2001; Mertler & Vannatta, 2002). As suggested by Grove and Andreasen (1982) and Bender and Lange (2001), an exploratory study in mental health/epidemiology should focus on avoiding a Type II error, rather than avoiding a Type I error. This helps to develop hypotheses that can be tested in greater detail later, and suggests that adjust-

results were calculated, with DMC Mean Difference = /3.05/ (1.42), (/ .26/ , /5.84/), and Cohen's $d = 3.04$, $r^2 = .71$ and CMI-Att Mean Difference = /1.00/ (.46), (/ .10/ , /1.90/), and Cohen's $d = 3.09$, $r^2 = .71$. (See Tables 2, 3, 4 & 5 for complete ANOVA results). For these two constructs (DMC and CMI-Att), higher scores were found for participants with diagnosis of LDs than for students with ADHD.

Results for the second hypothesis related to differences in the constructs based on levels of VI in the participants, and all of the analyses provided significant results. Results for the four ANOVA analyses

Table 1.

Correlations of CMI-R and CTI Subscales

	CTI-DMC Tscore	CTI-CA Tscore	CTI-EC Tscore
CTI-DMC Tscore			
CTI-CA Tscore	.76**		
CTI-EC Tscore	.67**	.56**	
CMI-Att score	-.50**	-.43**	-.41**

Note. CTI-DMC = Career Thoughts Inventory-Decision Making Confusion; CTI-CA = Career Thoughts Inventory-Commitment Anxiety; CTI-EC = Career Thoughts Inventory-External Conflict; CMI-Att = Career Maturity Inventory-Attitude
** correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

ing for the alpha level error rate is unnecessary in an exploratory study such as this one.

Results of the analysis were mixed. With regard to Hypothesis 1 (related to differences between the two diagnostic categories), two constructs demonstrated significant differences and two did not. Specifically, there were differences between the LDs and ADHD groups on the DMC subscale, $F(1,247)=4.62$, $p=.03$, and the CMI-Att subscale, $F(1, 241) = 4.77$, $p=.03$. Mean difference (Standard Error), (95% Confidence Interval LB and UB) and effect size for these two significant

were: DMC $F(2,247)=34.96$, $p<.01$; CA $F(2,247)=29.37$, $p<.01$; EC $F(2, 247)=27.28$, $p<.01$; and CMI-Att $F(2,241)=28.24$, $p<.01$. Additional post-hoc analysis revealed significant mean differences in DMC across all VI comparisons, significant mean differences in CA across all VI comparisons, significant mean differences in both EC and CMI-Att between High-Low, High-Moderate, and Low-High comparisons but non-significant differences in Low-Moderate comparisons (See Tables 2, 3, 4 & 5).

Further exploration of multiple comparisons of each dependent

Table 2
Univariate ANOVA for Decision Making Confusion Scores normed for Group Diagnosis

Variables	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Corrected Model	9607.16	5	1921.43	16.58	.000*	.25	1.00
Intercept	537437.70	1	537437.70	4636.53	.000*	.95	1.00
Group	535.52	1	535.52	4.62	.033*	.02	.57
VI	8104.59	2	4052.29	34.96	.000*	.22	1.00
Group * VI Level	385.48	2	192.74	1.66	.192	.01	.35
Error	28630.70	247	115.91				

Note. VI = Vocational Identity
* significant at the 0.05 level

variable at each level of VI was undertaken in order to more fully understand the relationships between the levels of VI and the dependent variables. A post-hoc Tukey analysis identified the significant differences and provided 95% confidence intervals for the sample (Table 6). Regarding the third hypothesis, no significant interactions were identified for any of the dependent variables based on LDs/ADHD diagnosis and VI levels.

Discussion

It was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference in the way students with ADHD and LDs responded on these constructs. We also hypothesized that there would be a significant differences by levels of VI (High, Moderate, and Low) and that there would be significant interactions between groups and VI levels. Results for the hypotheses were mixed.

more career readiness. The results identified that scores on the CMI-Att and DMC scales were significantly different between these two diagnostic groups. The significantly lower scores for the ADHD sample on the CMI-Att scale suggests a relative lack of readiness to make career decisions. This may be related to the ADHD students' lower threshold for attention and potentially lower confidence in making career development decisions. The higher scores on the DMC subscale by the LDs group indicate that professionals may need to examine career decision-making confusion when working with this group. As Szymanski (1993) noted, disabilities may limit opportunities

When each of the four dependent variables were analyzed, significant differences were found on two of the dependent variables (CMI-Att and DMC) for the LDs

Table 3
Univariate ANOVA for Commitment Anxiety Scores normed for Group Diagnosis

Variables	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Corrected Model	6579.30	5	1315.86	12.56	.000*	.20	1.00
Intercept	560838.75	1	560838.75	5355.04	.000*	.95	1.00
Group	104.52	1	104.52	1.00	.319	.00	.17
VI	6150.78	2	3075.39	29.37	.000*	.192	1.00
Group * VI Level	114.89	2	57.45	0.55	.579	.00	.14
Error	25868.56	247	104.73				

Note. VI= Vocational Identity
* significant at the 0.05 level

and ADHD groups. Higher scores on the DMC can be interpreted as problematic, in that a student with a high DMC score demonstrates more decision-making confusion in his/her score pattern. Alternatively, higher scores on the CMI-Att scale identify a more positive attitude or

to learn and practice decision-making skills. Hence, it is strongly recommended that interventions focus on the process of career decision-making in order to adequately address the career development needs of these youth. Additionally, LDs students may be more sensitive to the limitations of their disability in their career aspirations, leading them to identify more barriers, and experience more confusion during the career development process.

Opportunities that remove barriers to career decision-making should be promoted for students with LDs. Professionals should explore emotions related to having a disorder and how these may impact

Table 4
Univariate ANOVA for External Conflict Scores normed for Group Diagnosis

Variables	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Corrected Model	7039.15	5	1407.83	12.20	.000*	.20	1.00
Intercept	545186.79	1	545186.79	4725.40	.000*	.95	1.00
Group	201.61	1	201.61	1.75	.187	.01	.26
VI	6295.49	2	3147.74	27.28	.000*	.18	1.00
Group * VI Level	162.16	2	81.08	.703	.496	.01	.17
Error	28497.33	247	115.37				

Note. VI = Vocational Identity
* significant at the 0.05 level

Table 5

Univariate ANOVA for Career Maturity Inventory – Attitude Subscale

Variables	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Corrected Model	718.75	5	143.75	12.19	.000*	.20	1.00
Intercept	50881.72	1	50881.72	4315.34	.000*	.95	1.00
Group	56.24	1	56.24	4.77	.030*	.02	.59
VI	665.95	2	332.97	28.24	.000*	.19	1.00
Group * VI Level	8.13	3	4.07	.35	.709	.00	.11
Error	2841.61	241	11.79				

Note. VI = Vocational Identity
* significant at the 0.05 level

career decision-making, as problem-solving deficits are commonly associated with ADHD and should be specifically addressed (Dipeolu & Keating, 2010; Weyandt, 2001). Appropriate skills and a positive attitude for the decision-making process are prerequisites to making a healthy career choice (Patton & Creed, 2007b). By addressing these deficits, youth with LDs and ADHD can be prepared to appropriately meet decision-making and readiness challenges related to career.

When High versus Low levels of VI were examined, significant differences were found in all four dependent variables. This suggests that a student's level of VI has a moderating effect on her/his responses regarding DMC, CA, EC and CMI-Att. A strong VI allows a young person to find methods to alleviate confusion, anxiety and conflict in order to achieve the desired identity. Alternatively, those with lower levels of VI are more susceptible to decision-making confusion, commitment anxiety and external influence. More readiness for career decisions, as measured by the CMI-Att scale, is associated with stronger levels of VI. When the Moderate versus Low levels of VI were examined, significant differences were found only in two of the dependent variables: DMC and CA. Given the constructs involved, decision-making confusion and commitment anxiety can be considered largely

internal, whereas the environment heavily influences EC.

Youth with Moderate levels of VI may have only begun to focus on the internal components (i.e., DMC and CA) of career development and have not yet focused on the external influences (i.e., EC) to career decisions. Similarly, those with Moderate levels of VI would likely demonstrate moderate readiness for career decision-making as measured by the CMI-Att. It is possible that the levels of VI may represent stages in career development similar to other stages in developmental theories, as higher

VI is associated with more positive outcomes on the dependent variable constructs than lower VI. If we take the correlations into consideration, it is clear that higher levels of DMC, CA and EC are associated with lower levels of readiness to make career decisions, and vice versa. CTI subscale scores (DMC, CA, and EC) and the CMI-Att were significantly related to High and Low VI scores, which also confirms the results from previous studies (Dipeolu et al., 2013; Dipeolu et al., 2012; Saunders, Peterson, Sampson, & Reardon, 2000). The results of this research support the predictability of the Low and High VI levels from the CTI subscales and the CMI-Att subscales.

It was also hypothesized that there would be significant interactions between groups and VI levels. No significant results were found in this study. This may be related to the low numbers of participants in each group once divided into the three levels of VI and two groups of

Table 6

Tukey HSD Multiple Comparisons for VI score Independent Variable and DVs

Multiple Comparisons	Vocational Identity Level Comparisons					
	High – Low	High – Moderate	Low – High	Low – Moderate	Moderate – High	Moderate – Low
CTI-DMC Tscore						
Mean Diff	-15.49*	-9.01*	15.49*	6.48*	9.01*	-6.48*
St Error	1.86	1.58	1.86	1.72	1.58	1.72
95% CI Lower	-19.87	-12.72	11.11	2.42	5.29	-10.54
95% CI Upper	-11.11	-5.29	19.87	10.54	12.72	-2.42
CTI-CA Tscore						
Mean Diff	-13.11*	-8.58*	13.11*	4.53*	8.58*	-4.53*
St Error	1.77	1.50	1.77	1.64	1.50	1.64
95% CI Lower	-17.27	-12.11	8.95	0.67	5.04	-8.39
95% CI Upper	-8.95	-5.04	17.27	8.39	12.11	-0.67
CTI-EC Tscore						
Mean Diff	-12.68*	-9.77*	12.68*	2.91	9.77*	-2.91
St Error	1.85	1.57	1.85	1.72	1.57	1.72
95% CI Lower	-17.05	-13.48	8.31	-1.14	6.06	-6.96
95% CI Upper	-8.31	-6.06	17.05	6.96	13.48	1.14
CMI-Att Score						
Mean Diff	4.17*	2.86*	-4.17*	-1.31	-2.86*	1.31
St Error	0.60	0.51	0.60	0.55	0.51	0.55
95% CI Lower	2.75	1.66	-5.58	-2.62	-4.06	-0.00
95% CI Upper	5.58	4.06	-2.75	0.00	-1.66	2.62

Note. CTI-DMC = Career Thoughts Inventory-Decision Making Confusion; CTI-CA = Career Thoughts Inventory-Commitment Anxiety; CTI-EC = Career Thoughts Inventory-External Conflict; CMI-Att = Career Maturity Inventory-Attitude

* indicates significant at the .05 level

diagnosis. Post-hoc observed power in the univariate ANOVA analyses, ranging from 0.11 to 0.35, supported this possibility. Larger sample sizes will provide greater power for subsequent exploration of this interaction.

Implications, Limitations and Future Research

The data from the present study contains implications for understanding the career development unique to youth with ADHD and LDs, providing opportunities to apply evidence-based interventions from a strength-based approach. Previous studies have supported the need to develop norms based on local samples when utilizing career development instruments (Dipeolu et al., 2013; Dipeolu et al., 2012; Dipeolu, 2007; Sampson et al., 1996; 2004). Perhaps re-norming the instruments using a representative sample of students with LDs (Dipeolu, 2007; Dipeolu et al., 2012) and ADHD (Dipeolu et al., 2013) will allow practitioners to better understand subtle changes in students' scores related to each diagnosis. These results suggest that developing representative norms based on disability classification will be beneficial when utilizing career development instruments. Continuously examining the use of local norms to provide better information for researchers and practitioners can enhance the usage of these instruments.

The use of multiple-method assessments in addressing the career development of adolescents with ADHD and LDs is preferable to a single score approach. This approach best captures the multiple elements that influence career decisions. Empirical studies support the practice of multiple-method

assessment batteries to obtain a comprehensive picture of each client (Meyer Finn, Eyde, Kay, Moreland, & Dies, 2001). Ultimately, a multi-pronged approach can help students by promoting the inclusion of a variety of characteristics (Power, 2006) and facilitate a more holistic view (Whiston & Quinby, 2009). Students with ADHD and LDs often bring a myriad of career concerns compounded by disability-related issues to the process of career counseling (Dipeolu, et al., 2013). Hood and Johnson (2007) recommended combining different types of assessment data to maximize the strengths and minimize the limitations. This approach places strengths and weaknesses on the same continuum to help individualize the chosen interventions. The combined use of career development instruments can increase the amount of knowledge extracted, enhancing the overall career decision-making process (Dipeolu, et al., 2013; Meyer et al., 2001; Whiston & Quinby, 2009) for young adults.

This study has some limitations, beginning with sample size. The data set is relatively small for norming the scales involved. However, it is important to note that the size of this sample does approach the size used in the standardization of these scales. Additionally, the sample in this study was derived from the public school system and not from a clinical population. Hence, there was limitation in accessing information about different subtypes of ADHD and length of diagnosis. Research suggests that 25% of individuals diagnosed with ADHD also have an accompanying diagnosis of an LD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Barkley, 2006; Weyandt, 2001). Further research on the differences in career development between students with

ADHD and LDs should include clinical samples in which this information is accessible, along with the identification of any co-morbid conditions.

Continued research with youth with disabilities has the potential to maximize future employment possibilities for this population, as well as expand the practice of professionals working with these individuals. Future studies should incorporate a methodology that would move research beyond the participants' stage of development, thereby expanding the understanding of career maturity to include that of career adaptability (Savickas, 2002). For example, the use of a structured interview and developmentally-focused measures of VI may provide new insights into working with this population (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2007). Investigation of the post-school transition needs unique to youths with ADHD and LDs can also provide necessary information for developing individualized, evidence-based career development and post-school transition interventions. More importantly, this allows for the use of strength-based models with attention to optimal levels of development for students with disabilities, emphasizing resilience and empowerment (Kenny, Waldo, Warter, & Barton, 2002). Utilizing strength-based, developmental and preventive approaches, while paying careful attention to the differences and similarities in these diagnoses, can maximize the effectiveness of interventions to reduce dysfunctional career thoughts, strengthen vocational identity, and foster resilience along students' career paths.

The findings and constructs explored in this study suggest that exploring VI as a developmental process may provide insight into decision-making confusion, commit-

ment anxiety, and external conflict as well as readiness to make career decision. Traditionally, VI is conceptualized as a unitary construct and not as a developmental process. These findings confirm the suggestion of Skorikov and Vondracek (2007) that VI is best conceptualized within a developmental model. This re-conceptualization allows for further examination of how development of a strong VI influences other career development constructs. Future research may provide additional understanding of the significant relationships found between the VI scores and the dependent variables in this study.

Conclusion

Work fulfills an important rite of passage for adolescents with disabilities. It provides a sense of challenge, instills a sense of identity and purpose, and enhances personal growth, while helping to establish financial independence. Given the high unemployment and the distinctive transition needs of youth with disabilities (Blustein, 2008), empirically derived understanding and individualized interventions are crucial to help youth navigate the transition from young adulthood into the adult world of work. With attention to the unique vocational needs of adolescents with ADHD and LDs, informed practitioners may have greater success in helping these students attain desired vocational and career goals.

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Context Counts in Career Development

William Borgen & David Edwards
University of British Columbia

Abstract

This paper reviews existing literature to explore how changing labour market opportunities have altered the context in which career decisions are made. The literature investigating the effectiveness of traditional career counselling interventions is also briefly reviewed, and new helping approaches that emphasize the importance of intuition and embrace the unpredictability of the modern job climate are discussed. The authors' past research into employment transitions, wherein transitions are conceptualized as emotional rollercoasters, is used as a platform from which common challenges and contexts of job loss are then considered. Four broad contexts and their associated emotional trajectories are expanded upon, with high level suggestions for approaching work with clients within each of these contexts. The paper concludes with a suggested need to consider a fundamental shift in the aims of some career development interventions in order to take changing labour market opportunities more fully into account.

Approaches to vocational guidance and counselling have been heavily influenced by models developed in North America, during times when there was a stable or expanding labor market that resulted in work opportunities across a range of employment sectors (Bezanson, Hopkins & Neault, 2016; Li, 1996). Historical and current models from

Super (1957) to Holland (1973) to Savickas (2012) have promoted self-exploration and understanding to find a good fit between a person's skills, attributes, passions, life circumstances, and labour market opportunities. Taken together these models tend to rest on a series of now outdated assumptions, including: there are a series of individual attributes or traits that draw people to certain occupations; these attributes or traits are pivotal to effective and desired decision-making; occupations that match the vocational interest of individuals are accessible to them; occupations are stable enough in their characteristics for assessment instruments that match the traits of individuals with occupational characteristics to be useful over time; and once secured, individuals have the capability to stay involved in desired occupations or career trajectories (Borgen & Hiebert, 2006).

Societal and employment contexts in North America and in other parts of the world have changed radically since these models were developed (Danziger & Ratner, 2010). An example from Canada is evident in an article from The Province newspaper on October 26, 2016, in which the federal Minister of Labour suggested that we need to "get used to job churn... [and that] high employment turnover and short-term contact work will continue in young people's lives... We also need to think about: How do we train and re-train people as they move from job to job...because

it's going to happen" (Canadian Press, 2016). This perspective was recognized the following week in the federal government budget, with a number of measures put into place to address the ongoing volatility in the labour market. While this example is from Canada, related issues are arising in a number of countries around the world.

Career and vocational issues have a direct and visible impact on individuals and the broader society, and at a fairly basic level. These issues are affecting young people who are not able to effectively connect with the labour market and adults who need to manage employment/career transitions across the life span (Andres & Wyn, 2010; Danziger & Ratner, 2010). In several countries, governments are looking for guidance and counselling to provide assistance in ameliorating these issues. Furthermore, societal expectations are a major factor. In many countries, for example, there is a strong bias against technical and vocational education compared with university education because of the prestige and security that has traditionally accompanied professional occupations. This continues despite the better occupational opportunities and improved salaries for trades' people in those countries. Attempts at changing attitudes and practices related to vocational and career planning are often conducted without being informed by cultural orientations, which has led to problems with recruitment and retention of students into educational programs,

or their successful attachment with the labor force upon completion of their studies. However, perhaps the most pervasive issue that is arising is that the context in which people are making occupational, vocational, and career decisions is evolving rapidly and unpredictably. This requires the re-thinking of the approaches that will be effective in this new contextual reality, as well as the assumptions that drive them (Borgen & Hiebert, 2014).

Given the altered and rapidly changing context in which career development work is now being conducted, a new set of assumptions regarding career development may be more salient: several factors influence the choice of occupations or career paths, including individual attributes or traits, family expectations, and rapidly evolving cultural influences such as poverty, addiction, conflict, displacement, and discrimination; these factors are differentially important across cultural contexts, but appear to be an influence in most of them; internationalization and rapid and erratic changes in labour market opportunities must be considered, and occupations of choice may not always be accessible; many tasks and processes related to occupations are unstable; and people need the skills and attitudes required to successfully manage rapid and unpredictable changes that characterize many occupations and career trajectories (Borgen & Hiebert, 2006).

As the context of work has changed, so too must our approaches to helping individuals with securing and maintain employment and further career development. The purpose of this paper is to discuss how the changing context has influenced peoples' ability to both secure and maintain employment, and to suggest that, although it will

continue to be helpful to help young people and adults to engage in career-related self-exploration and understanding, this may no longer be sufficient. We will need to assist them in being robust, resilient and sustainable in successfully managing employment transitions and periodic unemployment that may occur as a result of labour market changes that are beyond their control.

The Changing Context of Work

As Savickas (2015) succinctly observes, our careers and lives no longer follow Super's (1957) model of a predictable and linear progression through career stages. Rather, career has evolved into what is often a conglomeration of short-term, contract, or part-time positions that see people changing jobs roughly every five years, and in which "individuals now own their own careers and design their own lives" (Savickas, 2015, p. 136). Temporary work has grown, in part, because it offers employers the advantage of low-cost numerical flexibility and adaptability, and specialization for their labour force in changing market conditions (Cappelli & Keller, 2013; Kalleberg, Reynolds, & Marsden, 2003; Peck & Theodore, 2007) while also enabling financial risk to be passed downstream to employees by removing institutionalized benefits like pension plans (Cobb, 2015). Indeed, while temporary employees are the most likely to bear the brunt of layoffs during recessions (Luo, Mann, & Holden, 2010; Wenger & Kalleberg, 2006), their numbers are growing. Between 1990 and 2008, the number of workers in the US temporary help services industry grew from 1.1 to 2.3 million, with temporary workers occupying a wider array of occupations over

the same period (Luo et al., 2010). In Canada, part-time positions accounted for 89 percent of all job creation from 2015 to 2016 (Johal & Thirgood, 2016). Additionally, the number of open-ended contracts tends to decrease as unemployment levels increase. Fewer than 20 percent of US organizations now use only full-time workers (Kalleberg et al., 2003).

The shift in worker expectations of attachment to their jobs marks a change in the psychological contract of work (Kalleberg et al., 2003). Auer (2005) authored a report from the International Labour Office in which he stated that "the long-term employment relationship (and the employment contract) is seen as being part of the defunct Fordist and industrial model" (Auer, 2005, p.5), which relied on mass production, technological progress, semiskilled labour, and increasing wages (in exchange for compromises between big business and organized labour that allowed for special management privileges) (Jessop, B., n.d.). Increasingly, these models are being replaced "by a much more heterogeneous and volatile service sector economy" (Auer, 2005, p. 5). Lyons, Schweitzer, and Ng (2015) demonstrated that there is an increase in job and organizational mobility amongst workers that is amplified across generations, wherein Millennials in their study had nearly twice as many organizational moves per year as Generation Xers. Furthermore, they had nearly three times as many as the Boomer generation, and 4.5 times as many as the Matures. Despite these increases, Lyons et al. (2015) found that there has been only a small increase in the amount of involuntary mobility, suggesting that younger generations may simply be more self-directed in their

career development, approach, activities, and strategies.

Many argue that “the narrative that one can find secure and stable employment is no longer a realistic goal” (Morillon, 2017, para. 7) and that, in Canada, millions of workers, in almost half of all occupations, are at risk of losing their jobs over the next decade due to automation (Johal & Thirgood, 2016). Routine jobs, whether primarily cognitive or manual in nature, are argued to be most at risk of automation (Johal & Thirgood, 2016), while jobs that require expert thinking – or the “ability to solve new problems that cannot be solved by applying rules” (Levy & Murnane, 2004, p. 82) – and complex communication are in growing demand (Levy & Murnane, 2004). Johal and Thirgood (2016) suggest that the trends towards part-time and precarious work growth, wage stagnation, and increased income inequality are likely to accelerate because of continued rapid technological change in the workplace. Johal and Thirgood (2016) cite peer-to-peer platforms such as Uber, and advances in artificial intelligence, as being key drivers in this acceleration. In light of these trends towards non-standard work arrangements, it must be remembered that some people do prefer these types of arrangements to traditional work relationships, as they appreciate the flexibility and increased pay that can sometimes accompany them (Berg, 2016; Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000). Chambel et al. (2016) concluded that “a temporary agency contract does have an inevitable negative impact on workers’ well-being” (p. 1215). Nonetheless, temporary-help agency and part-time workers are more likely to have lower pay when compared to full-time workers, and to also lack benefit packages (Kalle-

berg et al., 2000).

The Role of Education in Changing Work and Career Development

Within this new world of work, graduates entering the workforce from all levels of education are not only faced with less predictability and more bewilderment, but also with stiffer competition for work and high demands from employers of applicants (Brown, Hesketh, & Williams, 2003; Van Horn, 2006). To add to the challenges faced by those entering the workforce, it is this group who experience a disproportionate share of the impacts on the labour market during an economic downturn. Furthermore, the now excess supply of college and university graduates in the labour market has led to dramatic increases in competition, unemployment, and underemployment amongst recent graduates (Fogg & Harrington, 2009): something that students themselves hold no illusions about (Tomlinson, 2008). As Cappelli (2008) observes: Yes, more education enables an individual to make more money and be less subject to unemployment, but if everyone had that professional degree, they couldn’t all make more money. The reason, of course, is because wages are set by supply and demand. Those with professional degrees make more money only when there is a lot of demand for their skills relative to the supply available. (p. 59)

It has been argued that, at least in the US and Australia, the workforce is generally overqualified with no skills shortage (Cappelli, 2008; Taylor, 2005), and that we have no evidence that existing

positions and requirements exceed current education levels (Cappelli, 2008). Despite the saturation of highly trained graduates, 52 percent of US employers say that they have difficulty filling vacant positions due to talent shortages (Cappelli, 2011). Similarly, young people report feeling as though “employers [hold] unrealistic expectations of their skills and abilities given their lack of experience” (Oxenbridge & Evesson, 2012, p. 4). What’s more, more college students than ever are now pursuing vocationally oriented, and highly specialized, course work while US employers seem increasingly reluctant to provide formal apprenticeship programs (Cappelli, 2011). Adding to the challenges of preparing younger generations for tomorrow’s workforce, it is estimated that 65% of today’s youth will eventually work in roles that do not currently even exist (Morillon, 2017).

Although universities have attempted to improve employment prospects for their students through bringing employability skills training in to the classroom (Prokou, 2008), there is doubt that these skills can be effectively developed here (Cranmer, 2006). Cranmer (2006) argues that more effective approaches to improving graduation employment prospects would be to utilise employment-based training programs and involve employers directly within courses. Indeed, employers’ chief concerns with applicants and new employees rarely have to do with education levels, but rather with work-related behaviours and attitudes (Cappelli, 2008). Such immersive training, as proposed by Cranmer (2006), might serve to address these concerns, provide young people with what they feel they need to be supported in the workplace, and to assist students’ efforts to

build their social credentials in such a way as to fit into the changing demands of employers (Oxenbridge & Evesson, 2012; Tomlinson, 2008); however, Schomburg's (2007) results lead to the conclusion that there is no simple answer to the question of what generates professional success, and that "it is neither the country and the related cultural and structural conditions, nor the institution and programme of study which alone determine individual professional success" (Schomburg, 2007, p. 56). Rather, many factors, such as socio-biographical, competences, study behaviour, and work experiences together contribute to professional success (Schomburg, 2007).

Nonetheless, many universities throughout Europe, North America, and Australia have been building experiential education into students' curriculum through structured work-integrated (WIL) learning initiatives, often with the expenditure of considerable institutional, personal, and industry resources (Billet, Cain, & Hai Le, 2018; Ferns, Smith, & Russell, 2014; Jackson, 2018a; Jackson, 2018b). WIL is considered to be not only work, but also the integration of that work into a purposeful curriculum that allows for the integration of theory, evaluation, and reflection, and which helps to foster the employability of graduates through practical experience that builds career readiness (Dunn et al., 2018; Ferns et al., 2014; Hamilton et al., 2018; Jackson, 2018b). Although many think of cooperative education programs, internships, and practicums when considering WIL, the learning can also be in the form of case studies, virtual or on-campus projects, and industry mentoring (Jackson, 2018b). Indeed, the investment of resources into WIL has been found to be well worth the

returns for economic well-being, as the enhanced employability of these graduates has direct impacts on productivity, sustainability, and innovation (Ferns et al, 2014). In Hamilton et al.'s (2018) review of the WIL literature, it was found that WIL is effective in developing and improving employability by providing an opportunity to apply knowledge to real world problems, and by encouraging students to reflect on their learning. Furthermore, WIL builds the important non-technical skills, discipline, and career self-management, along with professional networking and increased self-confidence that is so important for graduates to carry forward into the rest of their careers (Jackson, 2018b). Hamilton et al. (2018) also highlight the mutual benefits inherent in a WIL program, as employers have the potential to discover early emerging talent, and are supplied a pool of motivated new workers.

The Effectiveness of Career Interventions

The good news is that the evidence points to career interventions as being helpful. A meta-analysis of 268 treatment-control groups showed that career interventions are moderately effective, with individual counselling being the most effective treatment modality; however, it remained unclear what factors contribute to this effectiveness (Whiston, Sexton, & Lassoff, 1998). Similarly, from their meta-analysis Brown and Roche (2016) concluded that career interventions are modestly effective, particularly with respect to improving decidedness, vocational identity, career maturity, and career decision-making self-efficacy beliefs. While Whiston (2011) later amended her assessment of vocational interventions as being

moderately to highly effective, she, and others, have lamented that we still understand very little about what processes produce these positive outcomes (Bernes, Bardick, & Orr, 2007; Whiston, 2011; Whiston, Brecheisen, & Stephens, 2003). Interventions that do not involve a counsellor have repeatedly been found to be less effective than those that do (Omally & Antonelli, 2016), as have interventions which are only computer-based (Whiston et al., 1998; Whiston et al., 2003).

Taking Context into Account

Several theorists have pointed to the need to take the context of the client in to account. For example, Savickas (2010) believes that the career theories which arose during the mid-twentieth century, and which focused on helping individuals to advance through linear career trajectories within organizations, are not adequate for today's world of work. They do not, he argues, account for the uncertain and rapidly changing structures found in the workplace that modern workers must navigate (Savickas, 2010, 2012, 2015). Many now believe that career exploration is more complicated than, and needs to shift away from, simply being a process of discovering facts and reaching a decision (Krieshok, Motl, & Rutt, 2011; Krumboltz, 2011; Pryor, 2010; Savickas, 2007).

Several approaches and theories have been developed and adopted. Life Design works to deconstruct limiting narratives and beliefs held by the client, before creating new narratives that are absent of limiting beliefs, and a subsequent action plan involving real-world action and reflection (Savickas, 2012). Happenstance Learning Theory also argues that counsellors should help

clients to explore the unpredictable world, as we learn best from our actions. Exploration is said to facilitate the generation of skills, knowledge, and contacts, which should then be debriefed with the counsellor (Krumboltz, 2015). Positive Uncertainty advocates for setting a direction for action, but being open to, and mindful of, other possibilities and opportunities that present themselves. Positive Uncertainty also treats intuition as intelligence, and encourages individuals to gain information, but not to dwell on information-gathering. They must then take meaningful action based on this information and intuition to avoid drawn-out information-gathering and the overthinking of next steps. (Gelatt & Gelatt, 2003). Finally, the Chaos Theory of Careers posits that the world is a complex system which is ultimately unpredictable, and clients are therefore best served by helping them to normalise chance in their lives. Chaos Theory challenges those individuals who believe that linear upwards career trajectories are still the norm, and believes that career counselling should help clients to negotiate the ongoing challenges associated with career, and life, that come from the continuity of chaos (Pryor, 2010).

A common thread through all of these approaches is a movement towards embracing adaptability, and the acceptance of the uncertainty, unpredictability, and decreased job security that can accompany modern careers. Similarly, there is a movement towards advocating that clients engage in continuous learning (Savickas, 2008; Krumboltz, 2010), become more resourceful and open-minded (Krumboltz, 2010), and shift their emphasis away from becoming decided and instead to increasing self-agency (Krieschok, 2001; Krum-

boltz, 2010, 2011). For example, Krumboltz (2011) believes that in place of making a decision, clients should be helped to learn how to create more satisfying lives for themselves. Gelatt's (1989) Positive Uncertainty model, on the other hand, urges people to be cautious about what they want and to be open to new ideas.

Arguments have also been made for deprioritizing the traditional emphasis of decision making through conscious rational and logical means (Gelatt, 1989; Gelatt & Gelatt, 2003; Krieschok, 2001; Krieschok, Black, & McKay, 2009; Krieschok et al., 2011). Gelatt (1989) stated that "the new science should make it clear that the rational, objective approach is not always possible or desirable" (p. 254). Krieschok (2001) argued that not only does most of the processing that occurs in decision making happen at an unconscious level, but that reflecting on those processes can be confusing and detrimental at worst, and futile at best. He labelled this stance as an anti-introspectivist view. Krieschok et al. (2009) suggested a trilateral model of career decision making that employs conscious and unconscious decision-making processes which are mediated by occupational engagement. Krieschok et al. (2011) expanded this further by suggesting that intuition must be fed by real world engagement and experiences, such as job shadows or informational interviews. Other real world engagement options that could be taken into account for post-secondary students and soon to be graduates are externships, internships, cooperative educational opportunities. Conscious processes can then address practical concerns, such as the pay or location of a considered job. This aligns well with Gelatt and Gelatt (2003), who believe that our

tendency when faced with a decision is to seek more information; however, more information can often compound uncertainty and indecisiveness. Instead, they suggest that at some point one must stop asking questions, and instead listen to their intuition and the information they already have to just make a decision.

It also is important to recognize that the way decisions are made, whether based on logic or intuition, will be highly influenced by the culture of the person making it (Arthur, 2017) and the social, economic and cultural systems in which they live (Patton & McMahon, 2015).

Employment Transitions

As already noted, the psychological contract of work has changed, leading more employees to have an asymmetric relationship with employers in which they face contract and fixed-term work that places them at an increased risk of being terminated (Buchholz & Blossfeld, 2012). Such changes involve new expectations about job security, or lack thereof, and employee flexibility (Smitsen, Schalk, and Freese, 2013), leading the International Labour Office to argue that the traditional long-term labour contract is now obsolete (Auer, 2005). Furthermore, young people not in education, training, or employment (NEET) can face challenges in transitioning from schooling to full-time employment, particularly since the onset of the 2008 financial crisis (Carcillo, Fernández, Königs, & Minea, 2015; Ryan, 2001). Governments are facing considerable challenges in reducing NEET rates, as these youth often struggle with the complex barriers associated with disadvantaged backgrounds, including inactivity and low education

levels (Carcillo et al., 2015). Indeed, government policies to address the NEET population challenges are often at best ineffective, and at worst harmful (Ryan, 2001). It is therefore important for helping professionals to understand what those who face unemployment experience, so that we can be best positioned to help these individuals/clients (Edwards, 2017).

Borgen and Amundson (1987) looked at the dynamics of unemployment 30 years ago, during a period of economic turmoil and high unemployment in British Columbia, Canada. Workers were unaccustomed to layoffs, and primary wage earners who lost their jobs responded with grief-related lows that followed the stages of grief outlined by Kübler-Ross (1969) (Borgen & Amundson, 1987). The participants' stages of denial, anger, bargaining, and depression were followed by an acceptance of the job loss, and a new enthusiasm for their job search. This enthusiasm did not persist, as job-search challenges steadily decreased affect through the burnout process described by Edelwich and Brodsky (1980), and predicted by Amundson and Borgen (1982). The initial enthusiasm shifted to stagnation, frustration, and finally apathy (Borgen & Amundson, 1987).

The downward slide that accompanied the job-search phase was punctuated by oscillations, termed the "yo-yo" effect (Borgen & Amundson, 1987, p. 66), that resulted from sharp upwards increases in mood that were driven by hope at potential job prospects, followed by lows at the subsequent failure of securing the job. Participants would again be pulled up by social supports, and possibly new job prospects, only to repeat this pattern again. The long-term trajectory of this pattern was, however, an overall

decrease in mood. Affect would decline during the job-search phase to the point where participants felt worthless and adrift. At this point, participants would either choose to consider new career options and retrain, or re-assess their self-worth in a way that was independent of their career identity; either route would lead to an improvement in affect (Borgen & Amundson, 1987).

In comparing the modern experience of unemployment to Borgen and Amundson (1987), Edwards (2017) found that while overall responses were largely the same, the initial responses of all participants differed. While Edwards (2017) observed grief responses in all non-contract worker participants, he also found that these workers all also had post-work plans in place when their jobs ended. More importantly, these plans served to bolster their moods. Edwards (2017) theorized that this might reflect an increased flexibility or preparedness in modern workers. For those individuals who were contract workers, there appeared to be no grieving response at the end of a contract. This might have resulted from a familiarity with, and anticipation of, a job ending. Rather, for these contract workers, an initially neutral response was followed by a prolonged job-search. This resulted in a steady decrease in affect that mirrored the burnout response, and yo-yo effect, of Borgen and Amundson (1987).

In their related study, Amundson and Borgen (1987) identified helpful and hindering factors in unemployed individuals. Amongst the most commonly reported helpful factors that improved mood were support from family and friends, career changes or plans for retraining, and part-time or temporary work. Amongst the most commonly reported unhelpful factors that

worsened mood were job rejections, financial pressures, an unknown or negative future, and ineffective job search activities. Edwards' (2017) thematic analysis identified all of these factors, though it did not rank order them as Amundson and Borgen (1987) did. Additionally, Edwards (2017) found that most of his non-contract participants suspected their job loss was imminent, while all his contract-based participants obviously had advanced notice of their end date. Furthermore, this suspicion of job loss led to decreases in affect which preceded the actual notification of termination (Edwards, 2017).

Contexts of Unemployment

Edwards (2017) observed four different contexts to job loss: the fixed-term contract worker; the employee who suspected their termination; the employee who was given advanced notice of their termination; and the employee who was blindsided. Three of these four contexts mirror those found by Borgen and Amundson (1987), with the outlier being that of the fixed term contract worker. The absence of this context from Borgen and Amundson's (1987) findings is symbolic of the changes over the preceding three decades.

We briefly consider ideas for working with individuals within these four contexts of job-loss. Within each, the helper must exercise their judgement about when and how to broach the idea of expanding a job search beyond the preferred vocational area. This can depend on a number of factors, such as financial pressures, client engagement and optimism in their job-search, and their perceived readiness to have such a discussion. Certainly, as clients deepen into a job-search

burnout, it becomes more desirable to encourage them to cast their net wider, as the decision to pursue new vocational directions after prolonged burnout has been related to drastically improved mood (Borgen & Amundson, 1987).

Finally, in all of the following scenarios we must also assess the degree to which clients require education and coaching on conducting an effective job search. Such discussions might range from how to build a resume that shows transferable skills, to making contact with employers and presenting oneself in a desirable way.

The Fixed-Term Contract Worker

This individual might be the easiest to work with, from both an emotional and job-search self-efficacy standpoint. They may not experience a grief response, and are more likely than other groups to be familiar with having to search for new jobs and to therefore have a developed job-search skillset (Edwards, 2017). The primary focus for these individuals is likely to be on supporting them during their job-search, with interventions focusing on preventing a downward slide in affect and burnout. Recruiting social supports and encouraging engagement in hobbies and other leisure activities is important to reduce the risk of burnout.

The Employee who Suspected Their Termination

We know that individuals who suspect their termination can experience a drop in mood (Edwards, 2017; Mandal, Ayyagari, & Gallo, 2011). This presents an opportunity to intervene early before the beginning of what may become a grieving process, if job loss does

indeed occur. This also, however, presents a risk: if the feelings of anger, resentment, and hopelessness that might accompany this news are made visible to colleagues and supervisors, they may mark an individual for termination (Edwards, 2017), even if this was not, in fact, the organization's plan. That is, organizations can use layoffs as both a genuine means of downsizing, or as a method to conveniently remove lower performers or undesirable individuals (Karren & Sherman, 2012).

This containment needs to be the priority, as we want to prevent a potentially bad situation from becoming even worse. It is after this that we can, as Krumboltz (2015) suggests, help these clients to explore their world. This exploration is done pre-emptively, to give as much time as possible for the client to generate a Plan B.

The Employee who was Given Advanced Notice of Their Termination

The grieving response may begin while still employed (Edwards, 2017). A triage response may be necessary, where the individual's grief must be attended to, alongside helping them to close out their final days of work with professionalism. As in the previous scenario, there is the risk that feelings of shame, anger, and betrayal (Edwards, 2017) may lead to unprofessional actions that could hurt future references and leave the individual with regret. The processing and containment of these feelings, and grief, can then be followed by constructive discussions and actions aimed at exploring options.

The Employee who was Blindsided

If viewed through an optimistic lens, these individuals benefit from not having to manage their emotions while remaining at work, and there is nothing that we can do to help them manage their response to notification. It is likely that, if existing plans are not already in place, that the immediate response to job loss will be a grief reaction. The focus of career work at this point may therefore very well have nothing to do with employment. It seems unlikely that meaningful discussions and exploration can progress until the person who has lost their job has come to a fuller realization of what has happened to them.

The Challenge

In the face of increasing employment precariousness, career counsellors often find themselves working with unemployed individuals who are struggling with burnout and discouragement. Yet it is at this time that these individuals are best served by nourishing their extroversion, self-esteem, highlighting the value and importance of their skills and the transferability of their skills, experience, volunteer work, hobbies, community involvement/contributions, passion and talents and the broader options for employment based on these factors) conscientiousness, and job search self-efficacy, as these have been shown to relate to effective job search behaviour and likely be of benefit in the job-selection process (Kanfer, Wanberg, and Kantrowitz, 2001; Karren & Sherman, 2012). Indeed, Ayllón (2013) found that discouragement increases with the length of unemployment, and that the chances of remaining unemployed actually

increase with this discouragement. Those who are hopeful of finding a new job have almost half the probability of remaining unemployed as those who believe it unlikely that they will find a new job (Ayllón, 2013).

We must therefore intervene strategically (when clients see the need) and as early as possible, to stem the drop in affect that can accompany job loss, or even the suspicion of job loss (Borgen & Amundson, 1987; Edwards, 2017). Amongst those clients who value finding enjoyable and meaningful work, the goal should be to help them make plans that excite or interest them by engaging in exploration activities that feed their intuition and reconnect them with a sense of purpose. The challenge, of course, comes from doing this in the context of those who are often grieving or facing job-search burnout, and the possibility that the jobs that fit with their vocational passions, education, skills and experience, or desired work-life balance may not be available, within a landscape of various evolving contexts. There are three influences or forces to consider. Firstly, the societal and economic contexts in many countries are in states of ongoing accelerating change, which have resulted in often unpredictable changes in labour market opportunities. Secondly, North American and European approaches to career development have taken labour market volatility into account in focusing on the need for people to make career/employment decisions with flexibility and intuition to enable them to be in a position to take advantage of labour market opportunities that correspond with their passions or sense of vocation. And thirdly, there is historic and recent research evidence indicating that individuals who become

unemployed experience psychological challenges that sap their energy and confidence in seeking future employment, regardless of their employment context.

Within this context the focus of career development to assist people in discovering their interests and passions may be an important part of our work in cultures where this is important, but it may no longer be possible to reliably tie those interests and passions to paid work. In engaging in career planning we may increasingly need to help clients disconnect their sense of vocation from their paid employment in some periods of their lives. If we believe that the concept of career involves the engagement in meaningful activities across the lifespan, it is legitimate to help people in employment transitions to seek to engage in activities which are meaningful to them and which are apart from their employment.

This perspective challenges career counsellors to disconnect their sense of effectiveness from being able to connect clients with employment that matches their vocational passions. It also suggests that career counsellors will need to help clients embed considering jobs that only pay the bills within life activities that contain personally and socially meaningful activities outside their paid employment. This can help clients retain a sense of competence and strength to counteract the feelings of self-doubt experienced in protracted employment transitions, which, in turn, may assist them in maintaining a level of self-confidence that is important in a successful job search. It may also make them more open to accepting jobs that they had not previously considered as a means of easing possible financial, and other, pressures while they wait for employment

opportunities that are more connected to their interests and passions.

Both higher levels of self-confidence, and interim employment fit with the emerging major goal of career development activities of helping young people and adults across the lifespan to be psychologically robust during what are often stressful protracted periods of employment transitions. Research has indicated that this distress affects family and friendship relationships, and ultimately one's sense of who they are a person – not just as a worker. This suggests that any consideration of occupational, vocational and career issues needs to take the whole person and his or her context into account (Amundson, Borgen, Iaquina, Butterfield, & Koert, 2010), and suggests an increased need for career counselling as a part of career development services.

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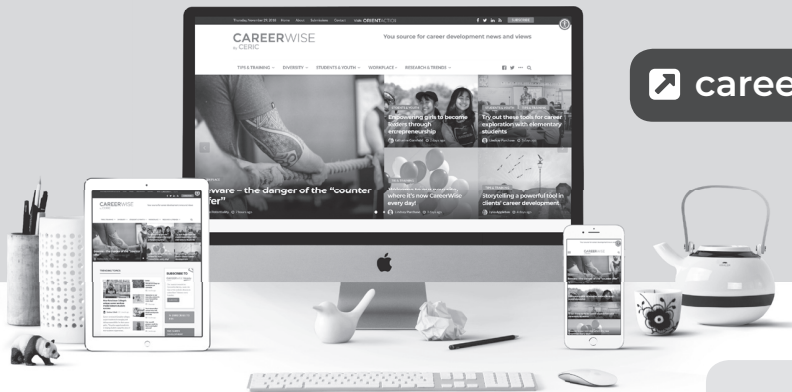
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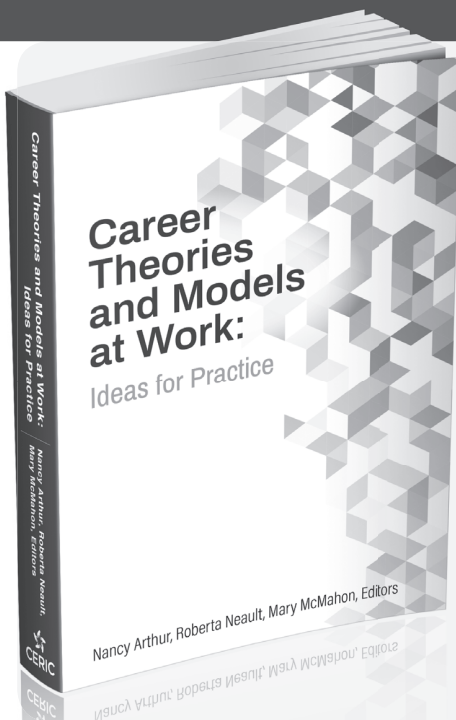
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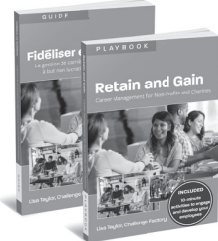
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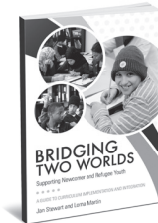
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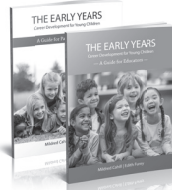
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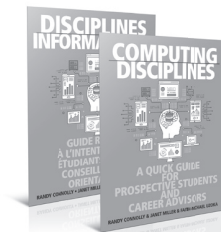
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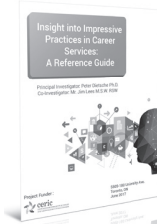
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