

WORK TRANSITION OF THE NON-POSTSECONDARY
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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WORK TRANSITION OF THE NON-POSTSECONDARY HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to clarify the role of the self system in the work transition process of high school graduates who did not participate in post-secondary training following graduation. Specifically, the role of the possible self in the immediate work history was explored.

The work transition process is best conceptualized as a gradual life-long process. It includes events, activities, and decisions that influence individuals as they attempt to realize their personal goals in the development of a satisfying lifestyle.

Possible selves are a key component in the work transition. They are future views of self that have yet to be realized (i.e. goals, aspirations, or fears). Possible selves are the link between self-concept and motivation. The more elaborate, vivid, and specific the possible self, the more likely that this possible self will be realized, thus helping to facilitate the work transition process.

The sample used in this study consisted of 1393 non-postsecondary graduates (high school graduates with no post-secondary training). These respondents were part of the Youth Transition into the Labour Market (YTLM) study which began in 1989 in Newfoundland, and tracked an entire cohort of high school graduates for several years.

This research revealed that the possible selves of the respondents did indeed play an instrumental role in their immediate work history, and the career transition as a whole. A possible self related to a definite intention to work appeared to be particularly important to greater degrees of work engagement. In addition, gender and geography were shown to be influential on immediate work history. Females living in rural areas tended to work for shorter periods of time than males living in urban centres. Individuals not holding "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self were more likely to have greater degrees of work engagement and were less likely to work only for a period of time necessary for U.I. maintenance and/or qualification. Individuals who had the lowest perception of their academic potential tended to work for shorter periods of time. In contrast, individuals with career aspirations that required higher levels of intellectual ability tended to have higher levels of work engagement.

Recommendations arising from this research included programming for the development and elaboration of the possible self; programming to address apparent gender differences as they related to pursuing postsecondary training; a recommendation to address the boundaries associated with the pursuance of post secondary training; and finally, the presentation of alternative means of sustained income beyond dependence on the U.I. system.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to clarify and explain the role of the self system in the work transition process of high school graduates who do not participate in post-secondary training following graduation. Specifically, the role of the possible self in the immediate work history of the non-postsecondary graduate (NPG) was explored, and subsequently placed in the context of a work transition model.

Significance of the Study

The importance of work to the individual and to society as a whole has long been recognized. From an individual perspective, Branson (1988) believed that "Work ... is the most meaningful stage of our lives" (p. 95). Herr & Cramer (1988) noted that meaningful work meets a variety of individual needs, including economic, social, and psychological. They expanded on this idea by stating that "... access to work is crucial to the ability to move effectively from adolescence to adulthood" (p. 71). From a societal perspective, the economic wellbeing of a nation is very much related to its workforce. In fact, Herr (1990), points out that "the key factor in the nation's ability to compete in the growing global economy is the quality of its workforce..." (p. 1). Given the relative importance of the concept of work, an individual's

transition into the world of work becomes very significant. Understanding the work transition process provides the potential to facilitate this transition in a more successful and efficient manner.

A significant proportion of students leave secondary school and do not pursue post-secondary education. This decision is made despite clear indications that further education would afford them a much more competitive position in the labour market, greater job security, and a higher income (Sharpe & Spain, 1991). It is also worth noting that a significant number of individuals find themselves in this category not by choice, but because of boundaries which restrict their access to the post-secondary system. These boundaries include rising costs associated with the pursuance of post-secondary education, rising academic prerequisites, and limited capacity. The rationale behind restricting the analysis to include only the non-postsecondary graduate was based on the assumption that the work transition of those who attend postsecondary institutions is different from the work transition of those who do not. This assumption was supported by Spain (1993a) who discovered that during the transition process, students appeared to be much more industrious overall than individuals classified in categories related to working. The Commission on Skills of the American Workforce (1989) articulated some of the challenges faced by individuals who enter the work force immediately following high school:

There is no curriculum to meet the needs of the non-college bound youth, no real employment service for those who go right to work, few guidance services for them, no certification of their accomplishments and ... no rewards in the workplace for hard work in school (p. 47).

Glover and Marshall (1993) point directly to the link between higher education levels and greater success in obtaining and retaining employment. As the new global economy continues to place greater emphasis on communication and the exchange of information, one might assume that the work transition of the individual who does not pursue post-secondary education is becoming progressively more precarious.

The isolation of the NPG sample will provide a clearer picture of the work transition behaviour of this group. This has both practical and theoretical implications. Discovering and understanding the factors that influence the immediate work history of the NPG group could lead to important programming suggestions that would facilitate entry into the workforce, and aid in the transition process as a whole. From a theoretical perspective, the self-system (particularly the possible self) has often been linked theoretically to issues associated with motivation (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989). The Economic Recovery Commission (1992) has pointed directly to the role of motivation in a young person's life as a possible solution to the labour force development problems in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Thus, focusing specifically on the NPG sample may also provide further theoretical insight into the work transition process.

Rationale

Overview

The work transition process through which individuals move into the world of work is thought to be controlled by a number of different elements. The process of transition is a rather complex concept. It includes events, activities, and decisions that influence the adjustments made by individuals in an attempt to achieve their personal goals in the development of a satisfying lifestyle (Spain & Sharpe, 1990). This transition is best conceptualized as a gradual life-long process. Most individuals make transitions throughout their working lives, moving from one job to another as their career develops (Rosenthal & Pilot, 1988). Transitions may involve periods of work, the combination of educational pursuits and part-time work, leaving formal education for a time and returning later, or any combination of these different pathways (Sharpe & Spain, 1991b). From an individual perspective, a successful transition into the labour market might be one which allows for both personal satisfaction and economic independence. Increasingly, however, success in transition is viewed in terms of the level of participation in the labour market, rather than achieving individual satisfactions (W.H. Spain, personal communication, July 12, 1994). While many individuals may be involved in activities during the transition process that would be considered successful and gainful, paid employment has been afforded a rather high status. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the level of paid employment was thought to be an

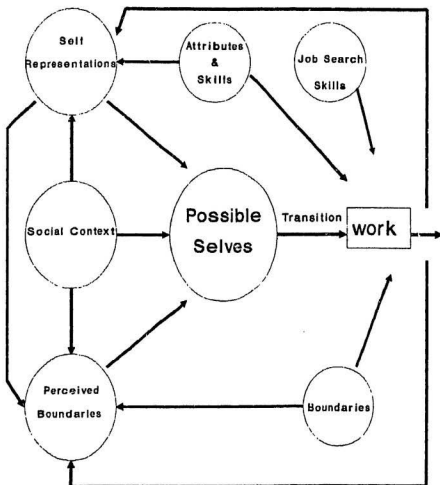
appropriate demonstration of a successful work transition in progress and was, thus, the focus of the investigation.

The Work Transition Model

According to the work transition model used in this study (Russell, Cahill, & Spain, 1992), the transition process is directly influenced by the possible self (future view of self) and the actual occupational boundaries (obstacles or circumstances that may impact on the individual's occupational future, such as an economic recession) that exist in the individual's system. The work transition is also influenced by the work related attributes and skills that the individual brings to, or develops during this transition process, as well as job search strategies. These skills and attributes not only directly influence the transition process itself, but may also impact on self-representations, causing changes in the self system (see figure 1).

The individual's self-representations (self-knowledge), the social context (community, school, family, and peers) in which these self-representations develop, and the individual's perception of the occupational boundaries all interact in an idiosyncratic way to influence the development of the possible self. This study will attempt to provide evidence that the possible self is a key element in the transition behaviour of a young person. The more fully developed the possible self, the greater the likelihood of a successful career transition.

Figure 1
Work Transition Model



(Spain, Cahill, and Russell, 1992)

Self-Representations

According to Russell, Cahill, and Spain (1992), self-representations are basically self-cognitions (information about self). They are formed on the basis of cognitions, behaviour, emotions, motivations, and physiological arousal. As an individual engages in self-evaluation and assessment, self-representations can be modified. In addition, these self-representations can serve to self-regulate the individual. Social comparison and feedback from various sources are thought to be very important in the development of self-knowledge (Russell, Cahill, and Spain, 1992).

Self-representations can be broken down into three types: core or central selves, working selves, and possible selves (Markus and Wurf, 1987). The possible self develops as a function of the working self. The core or central self is the most elaborated, powerful, valued, and resistant to change, and is most influential in directing behaviour and processing information (Russell, Cahill, & Spain, 1992). The working self-concept is the active part of the self-system. It might be conceptualized as the self-concept of the moment; active and shifting self-knowledge. It changes depending on the particular activity or circumstance in which the individual is involved. The working-self can prompt a change in the core-self if the appropriate connection is made in the self-system (Markus & Wurf, 1987).

The Possible Self

The possible self is a necessary and influential component in the work transition process. According to Markus and Ruvolo (1989), possible selves are future views of self that have yet to be realized. These views of self include things that individuals think they might become, what they would like to become, as well as those things which they wish to avoid. "They are the manifestation of one's goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats" (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989, p. 212).

Possible selves are particularly important to the work transition process in that they provide the crucial link between self-concept and motivation. Markus and Ruvolo (1989) conceptualize possible selves as "the personalized carriers of an individual's motivation" (p. 212). They function as incentives for future behaviour and provide an evaluative and interpretive context for the current view of self (Markus and Nurius, 1986). In other words, possible selves serve as the impetus or driving force which influence one's current course of action in the pursuit of a given goal. The success of this action might then be evaluated on the basis of these established possible selves. In some respects, the possible self might even be conceptualized as the goal itself.

Possible selves "...impact on behaviour to the extent that an individual can personalize it by building a bridge of self-representations between one's current state and one's desired or

hoped-for state" (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989, P. 211). It appears that the "personalizing" of a given goal or aspiration is instrumental in the realization this goal. In terms of the work transition process, this might be thought of as the personalization of self in a particular career/occupation or in a state of employment. According to Markus and Ruvolo (1989), the task of goal representation and self-representation merge into one, bringing the current state and the desired state closer together, thereby forming a possible self. Presumably, the more competent one is at constructing these possible selves, the more elaborate, vivid, and specific they become. This, in turn, facilitates the realization of these possible selves and impacts positively on the work transition process.

Social Context and Boundaries (Perceived/Actual)

The social context in which individuals find themselves exerts a tremendous influence on the formation and development of the self-system (self-representations). Factors such as the family unit, the educational system, the peer group, and, indeed, the community and culture as a whole, interact with one another to directly influence the formation of self-representations (self-knowledge) for all individuals.

An individual functions in a variety of different social contexts, and will consequently develop a multiplicity of working selves. These working selves have the potential to promote the

development of related possible selves. It is likely that the influence of social context determines which possible selves will be elaborated and subsequently realized (W.H. Spain, personal communication, July 12, 1994). As one engages in social comparison and receives feedback from various elements found within the social context, self-representations are formed and modified. The relative importance of each element in the social context varies from individual to individual, though it appears that the family plays a significant role in this process.

The social context, which is fundamental in the formation of self-representations, is also important in terms of the considerable influence it exerts on the perception of occupational boundaries. As was previously stated, boundaries might be best conceptualized as obstacles or circumstances that impact in some way on an individual's occupational future. The social context directly influences the way in which the occupational boundaries are interpreted and perceived by the individual. It is clear that not all boundaries are perceived similarly by everyone. What is viewed as an insurmountable obstacle by one individual, might be little more than "another step along the way" to another. It is the social context that is chiefly responsible for this difference. To the extent that a boundary actually exists, it impacts independently on the work transition. The individual's perception of an occupational boundary dictates how he or she will deal with that boundary. This action impacts directly on the transition to

work. This is not to say that there are no actual occupational boundaries. In fact, the unemployment rate, economic trends, and labour market requirements will exert influence on all those who engage in the work transition process. It might be argued, however, that these boundaries directly affect each individual equally. The variance observed between individuals then, would be due to the perception of these boundaries, as opposed to the boundaries themselves.

Work Skills/Attributes and Job Search Skills

Work skills and other attributes, such as employability skills, might be best conceptualized as the skills and knowledge needed by individuals to secure and retain employment (Wentling, 1987). These skills can be brought to the transition process, or developed during the process through experience, education, or training. They might also be conceptualized as those skills that employers desire their entry-level employees to possess. These skills might include basic reading, writing, and computational skills; good communication skills; effective reasoning and problem-solving ability; interpersonal skills; leadership skills; the ability to cooperate and work as part of a team; a willingness and ability to learn; and independence, flexibility and creativity (Ascher, 1988; Imel, 1989; Harrison, 1986; Junge, 1983). According to the work transition model used in this study, these work skills and attributes not only impact directly on the work transition

itself, but also influence the further development of self-representations.

Job search skills are those skills specifically related to locating employment and gaining entry into the job market. These impact directly on the work transition process. According to Yates (1987), job search skills should include the following:

- 1) Self-awareness of one's values, interests, aptitudes and personality.
- 2) Occupational information about the world of work
- 3) Job hunting strategies
- 4) Knowledge of educational and training information
- 5) Decision-making skills

Research Questions

It is hypothesized then, that the possible self forms the basis for the transition behaviour of the young person. The more fully elaborated the possible self in occupation-related areas, the more likely a successful career transition becomes. More specifically, it is assumed that the immediate work history of the individual is indicative of the work transition in progress. Individuals reporting a longer work history are assumed to be handling the work transition process more successfully than those falling into shorter work history categories.

General

1. What is the relationship of the self-system, particularly the possible self, to the concept of gainful engagement?

Specific

1. Are possible selves based on future intentions related to gainful engagement?

2. Are gender and geography related to possible selves?

3. Are gender and geography related to immediate work history?

4. Are there differences in the profile of the possible self between persons in the various work history categories?

5. Is a possible self related to future participation in the U.I. system related to the immediate work history of the respondent, and is this related to gender and geography?

6. Are individual's perceptions of their academic potential related to their immediate work history?

7. Are specific career aspirations (occupational possible selves) related to their immediate work history, and is this related to gender and geography?

Limitations

A limitation inherent in all studies of this kind has to do with generalizability. Can the findings of this study be applied to other populations? A number of factors have been identified that could impact on the generalizability of this study.

1. The current provincial economic climate is considerably more depressed now than it was at the time that this data was gathered. These findings may apply more accurately to Newfoundlanders living in an economic climate that is more favourable than is currently being experienced. It is important to recognize, however, that more favourable conditions were nonetheless characterized by relatively high provincial unemployment, a high level of dependence on federal transfer payments, and a seasonal, resource-based economy.

2. Individuals who remained at home during the longitudinal study were considerably easier to track for the purpose of participation in follow-up surveys. This may have resulted in a follow-up sample in which students who chose to leave home were under-represented.

3. There was a tendency for respondents living in rural areas to participate more readily in the follow-up process than their urban counterparts. This may have resulted in a follow-up sample in which urban-based students were under-represented.

4. This study is based on a secondary analysis of a data set. The original data was not obtained with this particular work transition model in mind. Consequently, the fit between the data and the theoretical model is an imperfect one. This imposes limitations in terms of the available data as it relates to the posed research questions.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The model used in this study proposes that the possible self is central to the transition process and is dependent on the individual's self-representations (self-knowledge), the social context (community, school, family, peers, etc.) in which these self-representations develop, and the individual's perception of boundaries (obstacles/circumstances that may impact on the individual's occupational future). The transition process is directly influenced by the possible self (future view of self), the actual boundaries that exist in the individual's system, the work related attributes and skills that the individual brings to, or develops during this process, and job search strategies.

Given that the focus of this study is to examine the impact of the individual's possible selves on the immediate work transition, the following discussion will centre around the concept of work, the work transition process, self-concept, and the possible self.

Work

Meaning of Work

"Work is a term having multiple definitions and meanings that shift across time, and hierarchical elements that differ within and between societies" (Herr & Cramer, 1988, p. 45). Super (1976) defines work as follows:

the systematic pursuit of an objective valued by oneself (even if only for survival) and desired by others; directed and consecutive, it requires the expenditure of effort. It may be compensated (paid work) or uncompensated (volunteer work or an avocation). The objective may be intrinsic enjoyment of the work itself, the structure given to life by the work role, the economic support which work makes possible, or the type of leisure which it facilitates (p.20).

Sears (1982) defines work as a conscious effort, other than having as it's primary purposes either coping or relaxing, aimed at producing benefits for oneself and/or others. Branson (1988) viewed work in the following way:

Work is what we orient ourselves towards in childhood and adolescence, and what we must compensate for when we are forced to leave it in retirement. In ideological terms, it is the most meaningful stage of our lives. If we don't work we are assumed lazy, parasitic, disabled, still in childhood, still being educated for work, resting in our dotage after the fulfilment of work, or a housewife. Work is public work, labour that secures financial reward in the public world (p. 95).

Work Outcomes

The interaction between individuals from varied backgrounds and diverse work settings makes it highly unlikely that there is only one meaning for work. Indeed, the preceding definitions demonstrate considerable variation. It has been suggested that the meaning of work should not relate to the nature of work. The nature of work is in a constant state of flux as new technologies are developed and subsequently introduced into the work place. According to Baude, (1975) work needs to be understood within a context of people, position, and purpose. In order to understand

the true meaning of work for each individual, it is necessary to consider it's meaning in terms of work outcomes. The importance of the work outcome will vary between individuals.

Work outcomes for the individual may include income, quality of work, occupational satisfaction, and job satisfaction (Harpaz, 1985). The relative importance of these outcomes to the individual, and how these outcomes are interpreted, depend to a large degree on the formation of self. In this context, elements in the self-system may include the perception of "me as worker", importance of work, leisure, and family, as well as work and economic values. These various aspects of the self-system will dictate the outcomes important to the individual, and thus create a unique meaning of work for each person.

Harpaz (1985) identified 4 work outcomes for the worker:

- a. the income that individuals receive from their work
- b. the quality of their work in terms of the perceived level of learning opportunity, autonomy, responsibility and variety existing in their present work situation.
- c. the occupational satisfaction of the individual expressed in terms of whether or not he/she would choose the same work if they could begin work again.
- d. the job satisfaction of the individual expressed in terms of stating that they would continue to work in the same job versus not working or continue to work but with changed conditions given they had sufficient money and could live comfortably for the rest of their life without work (p. 38).

Nature, Purpose, and Importance of Work

The nature of work and work preparation has changed considerably over time as technological advancements place an increasing importance on information, knowledge, and communication. In the past, a person trained for work by working. The family was an integral part of this process, as trades and work skills were passed down through generations. Formal education was restricted to the elite and the wealthy. In recent years, however, increasing industrialization and advancing technology has altered this pattern. Training in a formal educational setting has become a necessary part of work preparation. These changes have placed new demands on the worker. Indeed, the economic success of a society is related to the "preparedness" of its workforce. Herr (1990), points out:

the key factor in the nation's ability to compete in the growing global economy is the quality of it's workforce as defined by literacy, numeracy, flexibility, and teachability which characterizes it (p. 1).

Therefore, from a societal prospective, work must meet the demands of a changing economy. Society requires a workforce with the skills necessary to compete in the global economy.

The importance of work to society and to the individual can be explored in both economic and non-economic terms. Employed people spend a significant portion of their waking hours in work-related activities (training, looking for work, or actually working). For most adults and their families, working is the major source of

economic well-being. Work also provides individuals with non-economic benefits. Harpaz (1985) reported that 65% to 95% of individuals in the national labour force samples state that they would continue to work even if they had enough money to live comfortably for the rest of their lives. In addition to the economic value, there are social and psychological values attached to working as well.

From a societal perspective, work can allow the individual to become a self-sufficient economic asset, striving toward greater independence and flexibility in the workplace. For the individual, work may serve several needs: economic, social and psychological (Herr and Cramer, 1988). From an economic perspective, work provides the financial means to obtain goods and services. Socially, it may serve as a place to meet people and develop friendships. Psychologically, it may help build self-esteem and develop a personal identity. The type of work and the work environment often dictate the degree to which these various needs are met. If an individual's work outcome does not meet the needs and expectations of the society in which he or she lives, the individual may be considered unproductive. If the work outcome does not meet an individual's personal needs and expectations, then personal development in these areas may be inhibited.

Summary

The meaning, nature, and importance of work must be viewed in the context of the individual as he or she functions within a social framework. The importance of various work outcomes to the individual will depend largely on the interpretation and evaluation of these outcomes in the context of the self-system. The success of the work outcome may be measured in terms of the fulfilment of societal expectations and the achievement of personal satisfaction.

The Process of Transition

The Nature of Transition

The transition process through which individuals must pass in order to move into the world of work is influenced or controlled by a number of elements. The process of transition is a rather complex concept. In fact, Drier & Ciccone (1988) suggest that "one of the most difficult transitions that takes place in life is when a young person moves from school to the work place" (p. 8).

The school to work transition includes events, activities, and decisions that influence the adjustments made by individuals in an attempt to achieve their personal goals in the development of a satisfying lifestyle (Spain & Sharpe, 1990).

The Ontario Teacher's Federation (1983) defines the school to work transition as follows:

The break with school and entry into employment has come to be regarded as part of a longer phase in the lives of

youths which begin while they are still in school - with development of expectations and aspirations about school and work - and extends well into their first years at work, including their adjustment to working life. It is this phase that represents the transitional years because the young individuals proceed through a series of stages and decisions, each entailing implications for the next, from full-time education to full-time employment (p.2).

Sharpe and Spain (1991b) expand this idea to conceptualize the transition as a gradual life-long process. Most individuals continue to make transitions throughout their working lives as they move from one job to another as their career develops (Rosenthal & Pilot, 1988). It may involve periods of work for some, the combination of educational pursuits and part-time work for others, leaving formal education for a time and returning later, or any combination of these different pathways (Sharpe & Spain, 1991b).

The Context of the Transition

The work transition takes place within the social context of the developing individual. This context provides opportunity, and influences the perception that people have of these opportunities. The number of jobs actually available to young people, and their beliefs concerning opportunities in the labour market influence the transition process.

According to Spain and Sharpe (1990), the context of the work transition is the real world with which a person must deal in making the move from school to work. It is multi-faceted, and is often beyond the control of the individuals involved. The macro

context is comprised of major, widespread influences that are distanced from individuals. These are the economic trends, the major policy changes of governments, and the introduction of radical innovations (such as new technology).

Potential Problems in the Transition

According to Stevenson (1978), most young workers enter the labour force gradually following the completion of high school. During the work transition process, large numbers of teenagers and young adults combine work and school due to the opportunities for part-time employment. However, Adams and Mangum (1978) noted that beyond a predictable period of experimentation, joblessness among out-of-school youth carries with it a "hangover effect" that may be present for an extended period of time. Garraty (1978), points out "those who have unfavourable early labour market experiences are less likely than others to have favourable experiences later, education and other background characteristics held constant. Thus, early labour market experiences are related to subsequent measures of labour market success" (p.132). According to the Grant Foundation (1988) non-college bound youth who complete high school have been saddled with the expectation that they will readily find a place in the labour market, and need not be of further concern to society. However, Dole (1990) points out that many non-college bound youth spend years trying to constructively enter and remain in the labour force, and many never succeed. Dole (1990) goes on to say that the lack of a structured transition from school to the

work place, leaves many young people without a plan for entering the labour market or for continuing their education.

A Successful Transition

A successful transition into the labour market might be conceptualized as one which allows for both personal satisfaction and economic independence. According to Spain and Sharpe (1990), the work transition would be regarded as successful by society if the individual was engaged in activities that would lead to the acquisition of skills and aptitudes that contribute to the goal of economic independence. They further state that in our society, education is a universally valued activity because it generally leads to greater success in obtaining employment. Numerous studies have attested to the fact that the highest levels of employment are enjoyed by the more highly educated sector in our society. Glover and Marshall (1993) state that "few people will obtain a good job that pays well without significant learning beyond high school" (p.60).

According to Whitfield (1988), the competencies necessary for a successful transition into the occupational world ought to serve as the focal point of any high school career guidance program. "Competencies expected of students must be those that allow them to adjust, mature, and succeed in the world of work and allow them to satisfy the multiple roles they will have throughout their career" (p.19).

Finally, Glover and Marshall (1993) proposed the following principles as a basis for a systematic yet flexible and successful work transition model:

1. Connect achievement in school to rewards in the labour market.
2. Be aware that no program or training approach can meet the needs of all youths or of all employers.
3. The system must be made available to all youths, rather than a series of short term demonstrations for special populations.
4. The systematic provision of information is the key element of any proposed system.
5. If adolescents are expected to be in a position to make decisions about careers, providing better and earlier occupational information and guidance is essential.
6. Vocational options in the system need to have a strong academic content.
7. The system should not foreclose the option for higher education (p. 597-598).

Summary

The work transition process is best conceptualized as a gradual life-long process. It includes events, activities, and decisions that influence individuals as they attempt to realize their personal goals in the development of a satisfying lifestyle. The transition process takes place within the social context which exerts a variety of influences that are often beyond an individual's personal control. A successful transition into the labour market might be conceptualized as one which allows for both personal satisfaction and economic independence.

Self Concept

Historical Perspective

The conceptualization of self and its relative importance in governing various aspects of the individual such as emotions, cognitions, and behaviours has undergone numerous changes over the years. With the emergence of modern psychology came a decrease in the belief that a solely spiritual component was responsible for the various aspects of self. William James (1890) might be considered a forerunner in this conceptualization of self, as he divided self into spiritual, material, and social aspects. In addition, James ascribed a dynamic quality to the understanding of self. Freud (1943) gave attention to self under the concept of ego development and function. Ego was an integral part of his theory of personality development, and was said to serve as the executor of the personality, controlling the actions of a healthy individual. Meade (1934) placed self in a social context, as an object of awareness. He asserted that individuals became more self-aware as others responded to them. Lewin (1936) believed a "life space" region determined one's present belief about self. He proposed that all aspects directing the behaviour of an individual could be found in that individual's life space. This life space was viewed as central and relatively permanent, governing one's entire personality. Goldstein (1939) analyzed the process of self-actualization and was a forerunner of Maslow's (1954, 1962) work in this area. Rogers (1951) viewed self as a central component of the human personality, and suggested that one's perception of self is

unique to the individual (phenomenological), and is of key importance to governing behaviour and adjustment. Combs and Snagg (1949) believed that maintaining and enhancing the self was a basic drive of the individual. They asserted that an individual's behaviour is a direct result of his or her perception of a situation, and the perception of himself or herself in that situation. Purkey (1970) summarized what he thought were the important characteristics emerging from the historical development of the concept of self.

(1) that the self is organized and dynamic; (2) that to the experiencing individual the self is the centre of his personal universe; (3) that everything is observed, interpreted, and comprehended from his personal vantage point; and (4) that human motivation is the product of the universal striving to maintain, protect, and enhance self (p. 13).

The Current View of Self in Career Development

Donald Super (1951, 1953, 1957, 1980, 1988) has written extensively in the area of career development. Super's developmental approach to the provision of career counselling relies heavily on the contribution of the self-concept to the process. He envisioned self-concept as a construct that developed and continually changed throughout childhood as a result of the social interaction encountered in various environments. This construct was confirmed, elaborated and solidified during adolescence and adulthood. According to Super, individuals choose occupations that allow them to function in various roles that are consistent with the self-concept.

Ginzberg (1984) stated, "occupational choice is a lifelong process of decision making for those who seek major satisfactions from their work. This leads them to reassess repeatedly how they can improve the fit between their changing career goals and the realities of the world of work" (p. 180). In this view, self is thought to develop in the economic and family context. An individual's career choice balances the view of self and related constructs while taking into account opportunities and the cost of pursuing them.

Tiedeman and Miller-Tiedeman (1984) advocated a view of career development that incorporated concepts of self, decision making strategies, and personal values. In this view, the development of self-concept and a career concept occur gradually as many small decisions are made.

Gottfredson (1981) stressed the importance of self-concept in vocational development. In her view, "people seek jobs compatible with their images of themselves. Social class, intelligence, and sex are seen as important determinants of both self-concept and the types of compromises people must make..." (p. 546). She goes on to say that some aspects of self are more important than others, and that individuals set priorities as to which aspects of self they wish to emphasize.

Self Redefined

The work of Hazel Markus in the area of self representations and the relative function of self to the individual was most influential to the conceptualization of self in this study. The views of Markus and her colleagues are best represented in Markus and Wurf's 1987 review. They explain self-concept as a dynamic interpretive structure that mediates most significant interpersonal processes.

Self concept does not just reflect ongoing behaviour but instead mediates and regulates behaviour. It interprets and organizes self-relevant actions and experiences...it adjusts in response to the challenge from the social environment. (Markus & Wurf, 1987, pp. 299-300)

In this view, self-concept is characterized as dynamic, interactive, experiencing, interpreting and mediating. Self concept develops, not in a vacuum, but within the system in which the individual functions. This dynamic self-concept is influenced by the environment and, in turn, influences the environment.

According to Markus and Wurf (1987) the self concept is composed of several types of self-representations: (1) Core or central selves are those which are most elaborated, valued, and most powerful in directing behaviour and processing information; (2) Possible selves are those which are not yet realized. Some selves are realized while others are futuristic (possible selves - feared or hoped for). "These selves function as incentives for behaviour, providing images of the future self in desired or undesired end-states. They also function to provide an evaluative

and interpretive context for the current view of self" (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 302); (3) Working selves are a third type of representation. Markus and Wurf (1987) state that:

it is no longer feasible to refer to the self-concept.... The idea is simply that not all self-representations or identities that are part of the complete self-concept will be accessible at any one time. The working self-concept, or the self-concept of the moment, is best viewed as a continually active, shifting array of accessible self knowledge (p. 307).

In this view, the core self is considered quite stable and resistant to change. However, around this core there are self-views which are prone to change and shift, depending on the social context or activity in which the individual is participating. Various aspects of self may be accessed through memory and thought, which then become the focus of attention-related processes. These can become background schemas for other situations which illuminate different aspects of self.

It would seem that activated states which become part of the working self have the potential to change the core self if a connection is made to the self-system in a particular way. An individual may behave in different ways, but may continue to hold self-views which no longer represent the present view of self in a behavioral sense. Once this connection is made, modification of the core self may begin to take place. For example, although an individual continues to hold a view of self as non-assertive, the potential is there to alter cognition and feelings. A possible self (a future view of self) at one point in time may become a

working self in the future, with new possible selves emerging. In both the short and long term, there is a development from one self to another; from possible self to working self, and then from working self to core self.

Sources of Self-Representations

Russell, Cahill, and Spain (1992) suggest that information about self may be derived from a variety of sources, including cognitions, behaviour, emotions, motivations, and physiological arousal. They go on to say that social interaction and feedback from others is an important source of self-knowledge. The influence of social interactions on the self and the influence of the self on social interactions is of a reciprocal nature. The self-concept provides a framework for both the interpretation and selection of social experiences, but the experiences also modify, and are instrumental, in the formation of new or altered self-views.

Each aspect of the self-concept is important to the formation of an occupational identity or schema. However, given the importance of possible selves as a redefinition of aspirations for career-related behaviour, and the importance of the possible self to this study, further discussion of this aspect of self-system is warranted.

Possible Selves

While investigation of the topic of possible selves is relatively new, diverse preliminary studies have been conducted and considerable theoretical discussion has taken place (Cross & Markus, 1991; Borkowski, Day, Saenz, Dietmeyer, Estradaz & Groteluschen, 1990; Day, Borkowski, Dietmeyer, Howsepian & Saenz, 1991; Inglehart, Markus & Brown, 1989; Markus & Nurius, 1986, 1987; Oyserman & Markus, 1990a; Oyserman & Markus, 1990b; Markus & Ruvalo, 1989; Ruvalo & Markus, 1992; Markus, Cross & Wurf, 1990). This research has focused on such issues as the functions of possible selves, possible selves across a life span, the generating of possible selves in particularly troubling contexts, and the use of imaging in creating possible selves.

Two functions of possible selves in the motivational process are the structuring or focusing aspect, and the energizing function toward pursuing goals. As outlined by Inglehart, Markus and Brown (1989), the structuring or focusing function allows individuals to conceptualize a desired goal, resulting in the initiation and structuring of their activities towards achieving this goal. In the case of a feared goal, it may involve avoiding that which is feared. The energizing function of possible selves involves the affective state. When imagining a possible self, individuals may experience varied emotions which energize them to take whatever action necessary to achieve or avoid an end-state. In focusing on a specific professional possible self and in perceiving a

satisfying possible career, the individual is motivated to achieve this career-related possible self. As indicated by Markus and Nurius (1987), "it is the possible self that puts the self into action, that outlines the likely course of action" (p. 159). Possible selves work to regulate behaviour and motivate a person to realize or avoid possible end-states. Motivation, as examined by Markus and Nurius (1987), is perceived "as a reflection of what individuals hope to accomplish with their lives and the kind of people they would like and not like to become" (p. 162).

Unless possible selves are well-elaborated, firmly rooted, and affirmed by others through social interaction, they may become less important and, as stated by Markus and Nurius (1987), "they may easily slip out of the working self-concept to be replaced by negative possibilities" (p. 164).

A study by Cross and Markus (1991) looked at how possible selves vary across a life span. As people age, they may have to restructure cognitive schemas in revising possible selves. The results of this study indicated that well-educated people of all ages who have high self-esteem can construct new possible selves without perceiving unrealized possible selves as indications of failure. Younger respondents were less committed than older respondents to behaviours which would produce a desired end-state perhaps because they had more possible selves to contend with. The authors found that the more complex a person's self-representations

are, the less likely he or she is to experience loss when discarding selves. It would appear that these individuals possess many other selves to compensate for those which have been discarded.

Individuals are most likely to develop possible selves for guiding behaviour in domains that are central and have well-elaborated self-schemas (Markus & Ruvalo, 1989). These are the domains to which there is commitment and the need for social validation. This allows people to ignore negative aspects associated with a job (such as long hours) and focus on the positive aspects (such as financial rewards and a sense of accomplishment). According to Markus and Ruvalo (1989),

Possible selves are action-oriented structures...in the course of constructing, recruiting and deploying their parts of the required sequences of actions will be primed, partially activated, or "run." When this type of mental and somatic practice or anticipation occurs, performance is enhanced. To the extent that we can develop methods for measuring the degree of elaboration of the possible self, we should be able to predict performance more precisely than measures of level of aspiration or achievement motivation, which assess only one aspect of the individual's orientation to the goal (p. 236).

According to Markus and Nurius (1986), the possible self is potentially most important for changing self-representations as it is a motivational force in directing action towards goals. The more elaborate the possible self, including strategies for achievement, the more likely that it will be actualized. In other words, the closer the possible self is to the core, the more likely

it is to be realized. There is a shifting from one aspect of self (core, working, possible) to the other as the individual grows and develops.

Summary

Markus, Cross and Wurf (1990) define the self-concept as: "a set of knowledge structures which summarizes and facilitates processing of an individual's information about the self in a particular domain (self-schema)" (p. 3). Markus (1977) defined self-schemas as "cognitive generalizations about the self, derived from past experience, that organize and guide the processing of self-related information contained in an individual's social experience" (p. 63). According to Russell, Cahill, and Spain (1992), self-schemas are developed by individuals so that they are able to organize, summarize, and explain their own experiences. Once self-schemas are established, they influence the interpretation of subsequent behaviours and experiences encountered in the social context.

Markus and Wurf (1987) describe a dynamic self-concept in terms of self-representations; the "core self" (well established and resistant to change), the "possible self" (futuristic view of self; an aspiration), and the "working self" (self knowledge of the moment; continually active and changing). Possible selves

"are specific representations of one's self in future states and circumstances that serve to organize and energize one's actions. These thoughts, images or senses of one's self in the end-state or in the intermediate

states - me wearing a red shirt or me doing rounds at the hospital, or me being made fun of by co-workers, or me as a bored and underpaid clerk - are viewed as the individualized carriers of motivation. They are the manifestation of one's goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats" (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989, p. 212).

According to Byrne (1984), "self-concept is considered a critical variable in education and educational research" (p. 427). Byrne cites a plethora of studies concerned with self-concept as related to students' functioning in a variety of educational settings. Glover and Marshall (1993) point directly to the link between higher education levels and greater success in obtaining and retaining employment. This link between self-concept, education, and employment success is consistent with conventional wisdom which suggests that one's view of self plays a significant role in the school to work transition. One might logically assume that as the "individualized carrier of motivation" and the "manifestations of one's goals and aspirations" (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989, p. 212), the possible self becomes a very important element in the work transition process.

The Redefined Self in Context

In order to clearly understand the context in which the "redefined self" should be viewed, it is important to consider it in the framework of the self-concept and self-efficacy literature, especially as it relates vocational concerns.

Self-Efficacy Theory

According to Bandura's (1977) self-efficacy theory, self-efficacy expectations "are the conviction that one can successfully execute the behaviour required to produce the outcome" (p. 193). Efficacy expectations exert considerable influence on an individual's choice of activities, how much effort he or she will exert, and how long the effort will be sustained. The stronger the perceived self-efficacy, the more active the effort.

Hackett and Betz (1981) extended this theory to vocational behaviour when they stated that personal efficacy help determine career decisions and achievements. They hypothesized that efficacy beliefs are related to people's range of career options, and to persistence and success in their chosen field. Self-efficacy has been shown to be related to a number of indices of career choice behaviour. These include the range of perceived options, expressed interests, and occupational preferences. In particular, perceptions of low self-efficacy may be an important factor in an individuals' elimination of possible career options.

Lent, Brown, and Larkin (1986), suggested that self-efficacy expectations appear to be related to the prediction of academic achievement, persistence, and the range of career options considered. They went on to suggest that self-efficacy may be an important cognitive factor mediating educational and vocational behaviour (p. 269).

According to Markus and Nurius (1986), the possible self is the mechanism for motivation. There is a cognitive distance between the possible self and core or working self. The closer the possible self is to the core or working self, the more likely it will be realized. Within this framework, self-efficacy is the perception of the distance between the current view of self and the elaborated possible self. In addition, it is also the perception of one's ability to accomplish the procedural aspects of the possible self.

Self-Concept Context

Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton (1976) noted tremendous variability in definitions in their review of the self-concept literature. So much so in fact that they were able to classify these definitions into seventeen different conceptual dimensions. Construct validation was used in an attempt to draw together these diverse studies. They concluded that self-concept might well be divided into a number of different dimensions.

In their review of data gathered from five different self-concept instruments, they suggested that scores were related to four general areas of experience: academic, social, emotional and physical. A hierarchical arrangement of this data led them to hypothesis that general self-concept (at the apex of the hierarchy) was stable, whereas situation-specific self-concept was unstable. Their conceptualization of general self-concept has obvious

similarities to the core self, while situation-specific self-concept may be equated with the working self.

Vocational Context

Super believed in the stability of the self-concept as established in childhood and clarified, and/or confirmed during adolescence (1951/1988). This view corresponds to the most enduring aspects of self, the core self, but does not seem to address the issue of an ever changing and developing self-concept as defined by the working self (Markus & Wurf, 1987). However, Super also referred to this stable notion of self-concept as the "actual self" (1957, 1969, 1970, 1951/1988). The working self (Markus & Wurf, 1987) might be considered as one of several "actual selves". Markus and Wurf (1987) conceptualize the core self as stable, yet shifting and dynamic. It seems likely that this development is accomplished as various working selves are elaborated and eventually assimilated into the core self over a period of time. Super's view of the "actual self" solidifying during adolescence and early adulthood does not seem to allow for the continuous development of a dynamic self-concept as conceptualized by Markus and Wurf (1987).

Super also made frequent references to the "ideal self" as what one would really like to be (1957, 1969, 1970, 1951/1988). One might consider this similar to an unelaborated possible self, with little consideration of the ways and means for moving from the

present to the future state. According to Super, an individual tries out different roles in an attempt to narrow the gap between the ideal self which represents role aspirations and the actual self. The greater the difference between the actual self and the ideal self, the lower the level of job satisfaction (1970).

Two aspects of Gottfredson's (1981) approach are relevant to this discussion: her idea of the centrality of various aspects of the self, and the future orientation of self. In terms of the centrality of self, she believed that one's gender self-concept was most strongly protected, followed closely by one's concept of class and abilities. This view is somewhat consistent with the idea of a core self, but more rigid. She also refers to self-concept being projected into the future, including who one expects or would like to be. This is somewhat analogous to the concept of the possible self as explicated by Markus and her colleagues.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

Introduction

This study explored the effect of the possible self on the immediate work history of a group of high school graduates who did not pursue postsecondary training in the year immediately following graduation. The career transition model which provided the direction for this study was developed by Russell, Cahill, and Spain (1992) (see figure 1, p. 6). The original data for this study was not gathered for the purpose of this particular work transition model, making this a secondary analysis of this data set.

Information regarding the possible self (independent variable) was extracted from data provided in "Youth Transition into the Labour Market (YTLM): The Class of '89: Initial Survey of Level III (Grade 12) High School Students" conducted by Spain and Sharpe (1991b). This was subsequently explored in relation to the immediate work history of non-postsecondary graduates (dependant variable). This information was extracted from data gathered in "Youth Transition into the Labour Market (YTLM): Second Follow-up Study" also conducted by Spain and Sharpe (1993).

The YTLM Study

The "Youth Transition into the Labour Market (YTLM): The Class of '89: Initial Survey of Level III (Grade 12) High School Students" conducted by Spain and Sharpe (1991b) identified and surveyed a full cohort of students who were nearing the completion of level III in 1989 in the province of Newfoundland. The YTLM study was longitudinal in design, intended to track the school to work transition over a number of years.

The following summary of the YTLM procedures was taken from reports on the initial study (Sharpe and Spain, 1991b) and the report on the second follow-up study (Sharpe and Spain, 1993).

Schools were asked to identify all students who were classified as Level III (having earned 23 or more credits). Given a required 36 credits for graduation and an average work load of 13 credits per year, graduation at the end of this academic year was a feasible prospect for all those fulfilling this criteria.

The questionnaires were distributed at the end of April, 1989. This occurred shortly after the students returned to school following the Easter break, yet several weeks prior to final exams. The intention was to be as least disruptive as possible to the end of the school year, yet provide an accurate picture of the students at the time of high school graduation.

All the schools in the province which offered Level III during the 1988-89 school year were identified through information obtained from the Provincial Department of Education. Approval from school board superintendents and principals was secured prior to administration of the questionnaire. Nearly all schools contacted (199 out of 201) agreed to participate in the study. The majority of the schools in the sample (150) were classified as small, and were either all-grade schools (K-Level III) or schools comprised of junior and senior high grades (7-Level III). The actual number of Level III students identified was 9611.

The initial questionnaire was developed as part of the original "Youth Transition into the Labour Market, a Longitudinal Study" (Spain, Sharpe, Wiseman & Wiseman, 1987) document. It was based on general research questions being posed, as well as a thorough review of the literature. Prior to administration, the questionnaire was field tested on two groups of Level III students from two different schools, after which some final modifications were made.

The resulting questionnaire "Youth Transition into the Labour Market Study: Career Plans, Attitudes, Knowledge Survey, 1989" was 22 pages in length and contained 76 questions with sub-parts arranged in three sections. It was estimated that the questionnaire would require between 45 minutes and one hour to complete.

Table 20
General Educational Development by Gender and Geography

GED	Gender	Rural		Urban		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No Goals	Male	33	6.9	14	5.1	47	6.2
	Female	26	6.3	11	5.6	37	6.1
	Total	59	6.6	25	5.4	84	6.2
1-3	Male	119	24.7	62	22.8	181	24.0
	Female	98	23.7	36	18.5	134	22.0
	Total	217	24.2	98	21.0	315	23.1
4	Male	161	33.5	84	30.9	245	32.5
	Female	154	37.2	48	24.6	202	33.2
	Total	315	35.2	132	28.3	447	32.8
5	Male	152	31.6	88	32.4	240	31.9
	Female	119	28.7	80	41.0	199	32.7
	Total	271	30.3	168	36.0	439	32.2
6	Male	16	3.3	24	8.8	40	5.3
	Female	17	4.1	20	10.3	37	6.1
	Total	33	3.7	44	9.4	77	5.7
TOTAL	Male	481	53.7	272	58.2	753	55.3
	Female	414	46.3	195	41.8	609	44.7
	Total	895	65.7	467	34.3	1362	100.0

Log Linear Analysis:

Gender x Geog. x Work History x GED: $\chi^2=7.82$; df=16; $p>0.05$

Gender x Geog. x GED: $\chi^2=6.85$; df=4; $p>0.05$

Gender x GED: $\chi^2=1.88$; df=4; $p>0.05$

Geog. x GED: $\chi^2=29.13$; df=4; $p\leq 0.05$

Geography

In terms of the relationship between the General Educational Development and geography, those individuals falling into the second or third GED category (1-3 or 4), indicating the lowest levels of GED, were significantly more likely to live in rural

communities. Conversely, those falling into the fifth GED category (6), indicating the highest level of GED, were significantly more likely to live in urban centres (see table 20).

Gender

There was no significant relationship observed between gender and General Educational Development (see table 20).

Specific Vocational Preparation

The Specific Vocational Preparation classifications are based on a scale of 1 to 9, with 1 representing the lowest degree of SVP and 9 representing the highest. All respondents were placed in one of six categories, based on the classification of SVP that their occupational possible self indicated (no goals, 1-4, 5, 6, 7, and 8-9).

There was no significant four-way relationship observed between the respondent's SVP, work history, gender and geography, and neither were there any significant three-way relationships observed when combining these factors. There were, however, a number of significant two-way relationships observed. SVP was not significantly related to work history, but it was significantly and independently related to both gender and geography.

Distribution of Specific Vocational Preparation

SVP was assumed to be indicative of an occupational possible self of each respondent. In excess of 70% of the respondents indicated an occupational possible self with an SVP of 6 or higher, with approximately 12% falling into the highest SVP classification of 8-9.

Those individuals who did not respond to questions from which the SVP was calculated represented approximately 6% of the sample. For the purposes of this portion of the analysis, these individuals were assumed to have no occupational goals at present, and were classified as such. This resulted in a sample of 1362 respondents (see table 21).

Table 21
Specific Vocational Preparation of NPG Sample

SVP	NPG Sample	
	Freq.	%
No Goals	84	6.2
1-4	111	8.2
5	187	13.7
6	281	20.6
7	532	39.1
8-9	167	12.3

Work History

There was no significant relationship observed between work history and Specific Vocational Preparation (see table 22).

Table 22
Specific Vocational Development by Work History

Work History		Classifications of SVP						Total
		No Goals	1-4	5	6	7	8-9	
< 3	Freq.	11	8	21	37	44	10	131
	%	13.1	7.2	11.2	13.2	8.3	6.0	9.6
3-5	Freq.	14	11	28	58	83	22	216
	%	16.7	9.9	15.0	20.6	15.6	13.2	15.9
5.5-9.5	Freq.	21	34	54	74	150	55	388
	%	25.0	30.6	28.9	26.3	28.2	32.9	28.5
> 9.5	Freq.	17	32	50	67	150	42	358
	%	20.2	28.8	26.7	23.8	28.2	25.1	26.3
NO RESP	Freq.	21	26	24	45	105	38	269
	%	25.0	23.4	18.2	16.0	19.7	22.8	19.8
Total	Freq.	84	111	187	281	532	167	1362
	%	6.2	8.1	13.7	20.6	39.1	12.3	100.0

Log Linear Analysis:

Work History x SVP: $\chi^2=19.28$; $df=16$; $p>0.05$

Geography

In terms of the relationship between the Specific Vocational Preparation and geography, those falling into the sixth SVP category (8-9), indicating the highest levels of SVP, were significantly more likely to live in urban communities (see table 23).

Gender

A significant relationship between the Specific Vocational Preparation and gender demonstrated that males generally

indicated higher levels of SVP than females. Males tended to be in SVP categories of 7, 8, and 9 more often than females.

Table 23

Specific Vocational Preparation by Gender and Geography

SVP	Gender	Rural		Urban		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No Goals	Male	33	6.9	14	5.1	47	6.2
	Female	26	6.3	11	5.6	37	6.1
	Total	59	6.6	25	5.4	84	6.2
1-4	Male	45	9.4	24	8.8	69	9.2
	Female	24	5.8	18	9.2	42	6.9
	Total	69	7.7	42	9.0	111	8.1
5	Male	65	13.5	43	15.8	108	14.3
	Female	60	14.5	19	9.7	79	13.0
	Total	125	14.0	62	13.3	187	13.7
6	Male	57	11.9	36	13.2	93	12.4
	Female	139	33.6	49	25.1	188	30.9
	Total	196	21.9	85	18.2	281	20.6
7	Male	227	47.2	106	39.0	333	44.2
	Female	137	33.1	62	31.8	199	32.7
	Total	364	40.7	168	36.0	532	39.1
8-9	Male	54	11.2	49	18.0	103	13.7
	Female	28	6.8	36	18.5	64	10.5
	Total	82	9.2	85	18.2	167	12.3
TOTAL	Male	481	63.9	272	36.1	753	55.3
	Female	414	68.0	195	32.0	609	44.7
	Total	895	65.7	467	34.3	1362	100.0

Log Linear Analysis:

Gender x Geog. x Work History x SVP: $\chi^2=12.89$; $df=20$; $p>0.05$

Gender x Geog. x SVP: $\chi^2=51.38$; $df=49$; $p>0.05$

Gender x SVP: $\chi^2=74.66$; $df=5$; $p\leq 0.05$

Geog. x SVP: $\chi^2=26.79$; $df=5$; $p\leq 0.05$

Specifically, those falling into the fourth SVP category (6) were more likely to be female, while those falling into the fifth SVP category (7) were more likely to be male (see table 23).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Research Summary

The purpose of this study was to clarify the role of the self system, specifically the possible self, as a determinant in the immediate work history of the non-postsecondary high school graduate.

This research revealed that the possible selves of the respondents were indeed related to their immediate work history, and to the career transition as a whole. Though many of the respondents had possible selves related to the pursuance of post-secondary education which were unfulfilled, a possible self related to a definite intention to work appeared to be particularly important to greater degrees of engagement in work. The effect of gender and geography on the possible self was evident in a variety of areas, including the aspiration to further education, perception of future participation in the U.I. system, perception of academic performance and potential, and specific occupational possible selves. Gender and geography were shown to be related to immediate work history as well. Females living in rural areas tended to work for shorter periods of time than males living in urban centres. The perception of their future participation in the Unemployment Insurance system also seemed to be associated with the immediate work history of the respondents. Individuals not holding "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self when they finished high school

were more likely to have worked for longer periods of time, and less likely to work only for the period of time necessary for either the initial qualification, or for the maintenance of U.I. The respondents' perception of their academic potential was also shown to affect their degree of engagement in work. Individuals who worked for the least amount of time also had the lowest perception of their academic potential. Though specific career aspirations were not found to significantly impact on immediate work history, there was a strong relationship between higher levels of work engagement and career aspirations that had high GED classifications.

Research Questions

Are possible selves based on future intentions related to gainful engagement?

The answer to this question is somewhat unclear. In keeping with the established definition of gainful engagement, the pursuance of education and training would meet the necessary criteria. Almost 50% of the respondents indicated that continued education of some sort was at least a preference, if not a definite possible self. Approximately 30% indicated a definite intention to continue with education and training. By definition of the sample, however (NPG; none of whom had attended post secondary education and training), a possible self of this rather large proportion of the group was unfulfilled, despite the evidence of some degree of elaboration.

The question as to why this particular possible self was unfulfilled for such a large proportion of the sample is very interesting. No evidence was presented in this analysis which helps to explain this finding. There are several possibilities, however, that might be responsible for this phenomenon. It is possible that some unspecified boundary related to pursuing post-secondary education prevented these individuals from realizing this possible self. It is also possible that a postsecondary-related possible self was unrealistic for this particular group, and that they were not in a position to pursue this aspiration. A third possibility that might help explain this phenomenon may be related to the idea that the possible self was not sufficiently elaborated to allow its realization.

The Elaborated Possible Self

The degree to which a possible self is elaborated is a crucial element of this discussion. Hazel Markus and her colleagues make frequent references to the "elaborated possible self", yet seem to give very little attention to defining exactly what this means. According to Markus (1986), the more elaborate the possible self, including strategies for achievement, the more likely it is that it will be actualized. It is very likely that the degree of elaboration is of key importance to the realization of any possible self. In private consultation with William Spain, one of the authors of the YTLM studies, the following elements in a well elaborated possible self were suggested:

- 1) A clear, concise, and well articulated view of self in this future state; the possible self.
- 2) An informed and detailed plan or strategy as to how one will move from the present state to the desired future view of self. In other words, how the possible self can be realized.
- 3) A belief that one is capable of implementing this plan to move from the present state to the desired future view of self. In other words, confidence that one can realize the possible self (W.H. Spain, personal communication, July 5, 1994).

It seems likely that the development of the third element in the process of elaboration is largely dependant on the development of the first two. It is possible that those respondents who were unable to realize possible selves related to the pursuance of postsecondary education did not possess the degree of elaboration necessary to bring these possible selves to fruition.

Immediate Work History

Though a number of activities not specifically related to work engagement have been characterized as gainful (ie. education and training), the analysis has been structured in such a way that immediate work history of the NPG sample is the sole indicator of their "degree of gainfulness". The NPG sample must work in order to be classified as gainful.

Individuals who had indicated further education and training as a possible self were less likely to respond to questions regarding their work history. One possible explanation of this phenomenon is that those individuals who did not respond in this section were unemployed. A failure to achieve their education-related possible self may have influenced their tendency not to respond to this question, as they could not report positive engagement of any kind.

Those indicating that additional high school education was their intention were less likely to have worked for a long period of time. Given that these individuals had already graduated from high school, it maybe assumed that their motivation to return was based on a desire or need to improve their academic standing. If true, it is possible that their lower levels of work engagement were caused by being less employable as a result of their lower academic standing.

Those individuals indicating that they definitely planned to work during the coming year were more likely to have worked for longer periods of time. Thus, this group appeared to have been more successful in the realization of their career-related possible self.

Summary

Based on this analysis, it seems that a significant proportion of this sample were unable to fulfil possible selves related to the pursuance of postsecondary education. It would appear, however, that individuals indicating a possible self directly related to entering the work force were more successful in realizing these possible selves. It is also possible that individuals indicating a possible self directly related to returning to high school were successful as well, though there is no direct evidence to support this assumption.

Are gender and geography related to possible selves?

The effect of gender and geography on the possible self was found to be significant only in education-related areas. Individuals who planned to return to high school plans were more likely to come from an urban setting. Those planning to move into further education and training of all types, including returning to high school, were more likely to be female.

Are gender and geography related to immediate work history?

The effect of geography on immediate work history was significant in two categories. Those who classified themselves in the second work history category (3-5 months worked) were more likely to live in rural areas. It is worth noting that this particular urban/rural difference is occurring at the unemployment insurance maintenance level. There does appear to be a public

perception related to the idea that rural Newfoundland is somewhat dependent on the federal U.I. system. Those who classified themselves in the work history category indicating the highest degree of engagement (more than 9.5 months worked) were much more likely to live in an urban centre. Thus, it appears that those who worked for longer periods of time were more likely to have lived in the urban centres rather than rural communities.

The effect of gender on immediate work history was not significant, but a small pattern did exist, showing that those respondents who worked for shorter periods of time tended to be female rather than male.

Thus, gender and geography were related to immediate work history. Individuals who worked for the shortest periods of time tended to be females living in rural areas. It is important to note, however, that this relationship was found to be independent of the relationship between work history and possible selves.

Are there differences in the profile of the possible self between persons in the various work history categories?

This analysis revealed that there were significant differences between the possible selves of the respondents falling into the various work history categories. These differences suggest profiles of the possible selves that may be useful in predicting

the immediate work history of the non-postsecondary graduate at the time of high school graduation.

Less than 3 Months Worked

Individuals falling into the work history category indicating the lowest level of work engagement (less than 3 months worked) revealed the following possible self profile:

- 1) Individuals with an academic possible self which placed them in the "low" category of Maximum Perceived Academic Potential and who were significantly less likely to fall into the "high" category of MPAP.

3-5 Months Worked and 5.5-9.5 Months Worked

There was no characteristic profile of the possible self for those individuals classified in the second and third work history categories who worked between 3 and 9.5 months during the time in question.

Greater than 9.5 Months Worked

Individuals falling into the fourth work history category indicating the highest level of engagement (greater than 9.5 months worked) revealed the following possible self profile:

- 1) Individuals who indicated a definite intention to work as a possible self.
- 2) Individuals who did not hold "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self.

3) Individuals who indicated occupational possible selves with the second highest GED classification of 5 (a strong but not significant relationship).

"No Response"

The establishment of the work history categories revealed that a significant number of non-postsecondary graduates failed to respond to questions related to their immediate work history. This necessitated the creation of the no response category, allowing the analysis and interpretation of this group independently of the other categories. As was stated earlier, there appeared to be a strong possibility that those falling into this category were unemployed during the time in question.

Individuals who did not respond to questions concerning their immediate work history revealed the following possible self profile:

- 1) Individuals who indicated a definite intention to pursue education and training as a possible self.
- 2) Individuals who had an academic possible self which placed them in the "high" category of Maximum Perceived Academic Potential.
- 3) Individuals who indicated occupational possible selves with the highest GED classification of 6.

A high perception of academic potential, occupational possible selves requiring high levels of intellectual ability, and a significant proportion aspiring to post-secondary education are not characteristics that are generally associated with a group of unemployed individuals. Further to this, one might also expect that such a group would be more likely to successfully pursue their aspirations and fulfil these possible selves. Given the nature of the sample (NPG), neither of these expectations appears to have held true, though the intention to pursue further education and careers requiring high levels of intellectual ability might well be grounded in their higher perception of academic potential. Indeed, these characteristics are certainly consistent with one another, despite the fact that they do not appear to be consistent with a group of unemployed individuals.

One might hypothesize several explanations for the apparent contradictions that are characteristic of this "no response" group:

- 1) As previously mentioned, this group may not have possessed a possible self that was sufficiently elaborated to allow the realization of this possible self in the pursuance of post-secondary education. It can be argued that an elaborated possible self would have made accommodation for potential boundaries that might impact on its realization.
- 2) These individuals may not have possessed a possible self that facilitated pursuing employment immediately following school, and thus were not gainfully engaged in terms of work.

Further to this, if these individuals did indeed possess a well elaborated possible self as it related to the pursuance of post-secondary education, this may have inhibited the formation and elaboration of possible selves in alternate areas, such as going to work.

3) These individuals may have chosen not to respond to questions concerning the degree of work engagement because, for whatever reason, they were unable to elaborate their possible self as student, and felt somehow ashamed of this fact.

Is a possible self related to future participation in the U.I. system related to the immediate work history of the respondent, and is this related to gender and geography?

Of those individuals who cited "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self, a total of 58% worked between 3 and 9.5 months during the year in question (22.8% worked from 3-5 months and 35.2% worked 5.5-9.5 months). It should be noted that this satisfies the prerequisite necessary for U.I. qualification and/or U.I. maintenance. Those not holding "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self were less likely to fall into the 3-5 months work history category and were more likely to fall into the category indicating the highest degree of engagement, greater than 9.5 months. This suggests that the "I as U.I. recipient" possible self may well have an influence on future levels of employment.

Gender and geography were also found to influence the respondents' perception of their future participation in the U.I. system. Those stating a U.I. expectation as a possible self were more likely to live in a rural community. In addition, they were more likely to be male than female. Those who were unsure whether or not a U.I. expectation could be a possible self were more likely to be female.

Thus, individuals not holding "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self were more likely to have worked for longer periods of time, and less likely to only work for the period of time necessary for U.I. maintenance or qualification. Those stating "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self were more likely to be males living in rural communities. In addition, males appeared to be more certain in terms of their expectations concerning participation in the U.I. system than females.

To hold "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self may or may not have a negative connotation, depending on the social context. This may explain the geographical differences observed in holding "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self. Perception of the availability of work could also influence the formation of this possible self.

Are individual's perceptions of their academic potential related to their immediate work history?

It was clear from this analysis that the respondents' perceptions of their academic potential was related to their immediate work history. Respondents who indicated the lowest level of the academic potential (the academic possible self) were significantly more likely to fall into the first work history category (less than 3 months worked) indicating the lowest level of work engagement. Individuals with the highest level of academic possible selves were more likely to fall into the highest category of work engagement (greater than 9.5 months worked). Thus, it would seem that individuals with a lower academic possible self were less likely to have worked for as long as those with higher perceptions of their academic potential.

It is interesting to note that those falling into the no response category in the work history analysis indicated the highest level of perceived academic potential. This phenomenon was explored in detail in a previous section dealing with the "no response" category.

Are specific career aspirations (occupational possible selves) related to immediate work history, and is it related to gender and geography?

Based on this analysis, specific career aspirations were not significantly related to immediate work history. Though not

significant, those individuals with occupational goals which placed them in the second highest GED category (occupations requiring relatively high levels of intellectual ability) tended to fall into the work history category indicating the highest level of work engagement (greater than 9.5 months worked). In addition, individuals with occupational goals with a GED classification of 6 tended to fall into the "no response" category.

In terms of the relationship between geography and the occupational possible self, this analysis indicated that geography was significantly related to GED and SVP. Those respondents living in urban communities indicated occupational possible selves requiring higher levels of intellectual ability and training than their rural counterparts.

In terms of the relationship between gender and the occupational possible self, males tended to aspire to careers that required more training than females.

The Work Transition Model

Based on the findings of this study, it has been concluded that the possible self of the respondents was indeed related to their immediate work history, though the effect was not completely consistent. It is important at this point to place these findings in the context of the work transition model as a whole (see figure 1).

According to the model, the work transition is directly influenced by a number of factors, in addition to the possible self. To expand somewhat on the factors outlined in the model, these might include past academic achievement, prior work experience, work-related skills, job search and job holding skills, and occupational boundaries. It is possible that the work patterns observed in this study could be attributed to any of these factors, working in combination with each other, as well as the possible self.

The work transition model is both dynamic and non-recursive. All aspects of the model are continually developing. In addition, all work outcomes feed back into the system, thus influencing subsequent transition behaviour. In other words, the degree to which a possible self is realized will feed negative or positive information back into the system, and will presumably impact on the subsequent formation and elaboration of additional possible selves. For example, if an individual is unsuccessful in an attempt to realize a possible self, negative information will be fed back into the system, influencing the individuals' perception of occupational boundaries and his or her self-representations. This perception of failure may have a negative influence on the development of additional possible selves, thus altering, or even inhibiting a successful work transition process.

As the vocational possible self is elaborated, it gradually moves into the realm of the working self. Changes in the working self is closely related to the nature of the work outcome. The work outcome validates the working self and thus, the possible self is realized. This validation process may cause aspects of the possible self to eventually be assimilated into the core self, and thus the life long work transition continues.

The development of all the factors directly influencing the transition process, including the possible self, is influenced by the same past experiences, and thus are correlated in such a way that their separation may be impossible. It is likely that the relationship between the possible self and other factors influencing the work transition is such that any change in the elaboration of the possible self will automatically cause change in these other factors. For example, as an individual seeks to elaborate a given possible self, he or she will attempt to develop the appropriate work skills and experience necessary to realize this possible self. As the possible self is elaborated, the other factors in the model which directly impact on the work transition will develop as well. When viewed in this context, the relative independence of the possible self in influencing the work transition becomes less important. The possible self becomes the key element in the work transition process.

Recommendations

Programming

1. This study demonstrated that the possible self was related to the immediate work history of the non-postsecondary graduate. Based on this finding, programming should be developed to ensure that the development and elaboration of the possible self is addressed throughout an individual's school career. These programs must address the informational needs of the individual as it relates to career issues, as well as dealing with issues surrounding self-awareness and self-efficacy. Programming for success is a critical part of this pursuit. These are crucial elements in an individual's potential to fully elaborate his or her possible selves.

2. Differences between the non-postsecondary graduate sample and those who participated in some sort of postsecondary training indicated that those in the NPG sample were more likely to be male, while those who pursued post-secondary training were more likely to be female. In addition, individuals within the NPG sample who aspired to additional education and training were significantly more likely to be female. Based on this finding, programming should be established to address the apparent lack of importance that education has to the male portion of the student population. Educators must strive to make the educational experience pertinent to the immediate world of the student. Education must be presented

in such a way that students are continually aware of it's economic, social, and personal value.

3. Nearly 50% of the NPG sample indicated at least a preference to pursue postsecondary training. By definition of the sample, however, these individuals were unable to realize this possible self more than one year after high school graduation. It is likely that the various boundaries associated with the pursuance of postsecondary training had considerable influence on this phenomenon. Based on this finding, all areas of government and education should work together to develop and implement means by which the boundaries surrounding the pursuance of post-secondary education are less burdensome, and thus not a deterrent to post-secondary pursuits.

4. This study has demonstrated that those individuals who possess a possible self related to future participation in the U.I system were more likely to work only for the period of time necessary for U.I qualification and/or maintenance. In addition, those with no such possible self were more likely to work for longer periods of time. Based on this finding, programming should be established with a focus to provide students with exposure to viable alternatives to the U.I. system as a long term means of income.

5. A perception exists which suggests that many students seem to make very little connection between current performance in school, and their potential for success following graduation. This study suggests, however, that individuals with a low perception of their academic potential were significantly less successful in the labour market immediately following high school graduation. Based on this finding, programming should be established to teach students the importance of their current academic performance as it relates to their future success in the world of work.

Further Research

1. Develop a study specifically designed to test this work transition model, and in particular, the independence of the effect of the possible self.
2. Explain and clarify the concept of an elaborated possible self, and develop a means to more directly measure the degree to which the various possible selves have been elaborated. What is the relative importance of the various elements necessary to ensure the development of well elaborated possible selves (ie. self-awareness, self-concept, environmental influences, exposure to information and ideas)?
3. Does a well elaborated possible self in a given area preclude the development of alternate possible selves in other directions?

4. To what extent does an individual's inability to realize an elaborated possible self impact on the formation and elaboration of subsequent possible selves?
5. Does the elaboration of a possible self cause other elements directly influencing the work transition to develop as well?
6. Why were individuals holding further education and training as a possible self unable to realize this possible self, and why didn't they respond to questions concerning their immediate work history?
7. A random sample of the student population surveyed in the YTLM study should be selected and analyzed to determine the relative importance of the possible self to those individuals who pursue post secondary education as well as those who do not.
8. Other aspects of the work transition model and their relative importance to the process should be addressed. These include occupational boundaries, social context, self representations, work attributes and skills, and job search skills.

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APPENDIX 1

RATIONALE FOR QUESTION SELECTION

Possible Self Questions (Independent Variable)

23. If you worked at your studies the best you could, how many more marks on the average do you think you would get?

No more
5 marks more
10 marks more
15 marks more
20 marks more

It was assumed that the information provided in this question was representative of the "academic possible self" of the respondent. This was a view of self in the future, given a maximum effort in their studies was expended.

29. Look ahead 5 or 10 years from now.

b. Do you think you will get seasonal work and collect unemployment?

The information provided in the question demonstrated whether or not the respondent held "I as U.I. recipient" as a possible self. Given the degree to which the U.I. system is used in this province and the increasing attention that it is receiving, such information was deemed valuable.

30. Think of the career you would like to enter in the future.
What is it?

This question provided information as to the specific "occupational possible self" of the respondents. The specific type of career aspired to by each respondent is provided.

33. How much do you expect to earn in the first year of work?

This question provided information related to the "financial possible self" of the respondents. This will allow the accuracy of their perception to be evaluated in addition to judging whether or not it actually impacts of the degree of engagement.

35. Do you plan to attend a postsecondary institution after you finish your education at high school?

This question provided information related to the educational possible self of the respondent. This would provide clear feedback as to whether or not this possible self was realized for the NPG sample.

53. What are your thoughts about next year? What do you plan to do? Which of the following plans describe you best?
- I don't have a plan.
 - I plan to take the year off.
 - I would like to continue my education/training but I may have to go to work.
 - I shall probably continue my education/training but I would rather go to work.
 - I definitely plan to go to work.
 - I definitely plan to continue my education/training.
 - I plan to return to high school in September.

This question served as the most extensive source of information as it related to the immediate possible selves of the respondents in areas of education and work.

Self-Representational Questions

22. Which of the following best describes your average mark so far this year?
- 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 More than 80

The information provided by this question was used in combination with the information gathered in #23 to calculate the maximum perceived academic potential, a direct measure of the academic possible self.

Gainful Engagement (Dependent Variable)

1. Take a moment and think back on your activities of the past year. Tell us what you were doing each month since January, 1990 in terms of your work, education, and place of residence.

Describe what you did each month by ticking as many boxes as you need to.

For at least two weeks of that month I was:

Working for Pay

Full-time (more than 30 hrs per week)

Part-time (less than 30 hrs per week)

Not working

At School/Taking a Course/Training

Full-time

Part-time

Involved With

Homemaking/home duties

Looking for work

Ill or incapacitated

This question provided information concerning the total level of gainful engagement of all categories of concern to this study.

APPENDIX 2

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SPECIFIC VOCATIONAL PREPARATION

General Education Development (GED)

The following is a table explaining the various levels of general educational development:

Level	Reasoning Development	Mathematical Development	Language Development
6	Apply principles of logical or scientific thinking to a wide range of intellectual and practical problems. Deal with non-verbal symbolism (formulas, scientific equations, graphs, musical notes, etc.) in its most difficult phases. Deal with a variety of abstract and concrete variables. Apprehend the most abstruse classes of concepts.	Apply knowledge of advanced mathematical and statistical techniques such as differential and integral calculus, factor analysis, and probability determination, or work with a wide variety of theoretical mathematical concepts and make original applications of mathematical procedures, as in empirical and differential equations.	Comprehension and expression of a level to -Report, write, or edit articles for such publications as newspapers, magazines, and technical or scientific journals. Prepare and draw up deeds, leases, wills, mortgages, and contracts. -Prepare and deliver lectures on politics, economics, education, or science. -Interview, counsel, or advise such people as students, clients, or patients, in such matters as welfare eligibility, vocational rehabilitation, mental hygiene or marital relations. -Evaluate engineering technical data to design buildings and bridges.
5	Apply principles of logical or scientific thinking to define problems, collect data, establish facts, and draw valid conclusions. Interpret an extensive variety of technical instructions, in books, manuals, and mathematical or diagrammatic form. Deal with several abstract and concrete variables.		
4	Apply principles of rational systems to solve practical problems and deal with a variety of concrete variables in situations where only limited standardization exists. Examples of "principles of rational systems" are: Book-keeping, internal combustion engines, electric wiring systems, house building, nursing, farm management, ship sailing. Interpret a variety of instructions furnished in written, oral, diagrammatic, or schedule form.	Perform ordinary arithmetic, algebraic, and geometric procedures in standard, practical applications.	Comprehension and expression of a level to -Transcribe dictation, make appointments for executives and handle their personal mail. -Interview and screen people wishing to speak to them, and write routine correspondence on own initiative. -Interview job applicants to determine work best suited for their abilities and experience, and contact employers to interest them in services of agency. -Interpret technical manuals as well as drawings and specifications, such as layouts, blueprints, and schematics.
3	Apply common sense understanding to carry out instructions furnished in written, oral, or diagrammatic form. Deal with problems involving several concrete variables in or from standardized situations.	Make arithmetic calculations involving fractions, decimals and percentages.	Comprehension and expression of a level to -File, post, and mail such material as forms, cheques, receipts, and bills. -Copy data from one record to another, fill in report forms, and type all work from rough draft or corrected copy.
2	Apply common sense understanding to carry out detailed but uninvolved written or oral instructions. Deal with problems involving a few concrete variables in or from standardized situations.	Use arithmetic to add, subtract, multiply, and divide whole numbers.	-Interview members of household to obtain such information as age, occupation, and number of children, to be used as data for surveys, or economic studies. -Guide people on tours through historical or public buildings, describing such features as size, value, and points of interest.
1	Apply common sense understanding to carry out simple one- or two-step instructions. Deal with standardized situations with occasional or no variables in or from these situations encountered on the job.	Perform simple addition and subtraction, reading and copying of figures, or counting and recording.	Comprehension and expression of a level to -Learn job duties from oral instructions or demonstration. -Write identifying information, such as name and address of customer, weight, number, or type of product, on tags, or slips. -Request orally, or in writing, such supplies as linen, soap, or work materials.

Specific Vocational Preparation (SVP)

Specific vocational preparation includes training given in any of the following forms:

a. University or College Training:

Training given by a degree granting institution and for which a degree, diploma, or certificate is issued. The average four-year university or college curriculum (except for liberal arts which is not vocationally oriented) is considered as equivalent to about two years of specific vocational preparation. Each year of university graduate schooling is regarded as one year of specific vocational preparation.

b. Vocational Training:

Training given by a vocational school or a non-degree granting college intended to develop general or specific skills, such as commercial, shop, or art training. In evaluating vocational training of this nature, thirty hours of such schooling is regarded as about fifteen hours of specific vocational preparation.

c. Apprenticeship:

Training given for an apprenticeable occupation.

d. In-Plant Training:

Training given or sponsored by employers either on or off their own premises, intended as preparation for a specific job in their plant.

e. On-The-Job Training:

Any training acquired while serving as a learner or trainee on the job under instruction of a qualified worker, and intended as preparation for a specific job.

f. Experience in Other Jobs:

Experience acquired while serving in less responsible jobs, or serving in other jobs, which prepares a worker for a specific job at a higher grade.

ESTIMATING THE LEVEL OF SPECIFIC VOCATIONAL PREPARATION

The following is an explanation of the various levels of specific vocational preparation:

Level	Time	Level	Time
1	Short demonstration only.	5	Over 6 months up to and including 1 year.
2	Anything beyond short demonstration up to and including 30 days.	6	Over 1 year up to and including 2 years.
3	Over 30 days up to and including 3 months.	7	Over 2 years up to and including 4 years.
4	Over 3 months up to and including 6 months.	8	Over 4 years up to and including 10 years.
		9	Over 10 years

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