Career Indecision among Israeli and Canadian Undergraduate Students

by

Danielle Kofler

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of Applied Psychology and Human Development
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Danielle Kofler
Career Indecision among Israeli and Canadian Undergraduate Students

Master of Arts 2015
Danielle Kofler
Department of Applied Psychology and Human Development
University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

Although career indecision in early adulthood has been associated with difficulties later in life, there are still significant gaps in the literature regarding career indecision in immigrant populations. The present study examines the relationship between immigration during adolescence and early adulthood and career indecision difficulties later in life in a sample of Jewish Israeli immigrant undergraduate students and a sample of Jewish Canadian-born undergraduate students. Preliminary analyses indicated that Israeli participants were significantly older and they tended to begin their post-secondary studies at an older age than the Canadian participants. Israelis were more likely than Canadians to report having immigrant parents, thereby making Israeli participants both first- and second-generation immigrants. Results suggest that there is no difference in career indecision attitudes between the study groups, as measured by the Career Factors Inventory (CFI). Results, limitations, and future directions are discussed.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Charles Chen, for inspiring and encouraging me to pursue research on a topic that has always been dear to my heart. His guidance and support have been invaluable to me in this process and I thank him for his continuous feedback and dedication. I would also like to thank Dr. Marg Schneider for taking the time to read my work and provide valuable feedback.

I would also like to thank the individuals who participated in this study, as none of this would have been made possible without their interest and support.

Lastly, I would like to thank my wonderful friends and supportive family – my parents, for their continuous love and support; my siblings, for their interest and care; and my husband, for motivating me every single day to be the best I can be.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................................................. ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .......................................................................................................................... iii

LIST OF TABLES ........................................................................................................................................... viii

LIST OF FIGURES ........................................................................................................................................ ix

LIST OF APPENDICES .............................................................................................................................. x

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW ............................................................. 1

  - Introduction ............................................................................................................................................... 1
  - Introduction to the Literature Review ...................................................................................................... 3
  - Career Development Theories Overview ................................................................................................. 4
    - History of Vocational Theories .............................................................................................................. 5
  - Super’s Life-Span, Life-Space Theory ....................................................................................................... 7
    - The development of Super’s theory ...................................................................................................... 7
    - Life stages and life roles ....................................................................................................................... 8
    - Self-concept .......................................................................................................................................... 10
    - Career maturity .................................................................................................................................. 11
    - Super and career indecision ................................................................................................................. 12
  - Career Indecision .................................................................................................................................... 13
    - Career indecision factors ..................................................................................................................... 16
    - Career indecision and immigration. ...................................................................................................... 17
  - Israeli Immigrants in Canada ................................................................................................................ 21
    - Unique characteristics of Israeli immigrants ....................................................................................... 21
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY ................................................................. 29

Rationale for Quantitative Design .................................................................. 29

Research Design ............................................................................................. 29

Participants .................................................................................................... 29

Participant selection criteria ......................................................................... 30

Recruitment .................................................................................................... 32

Sample size ..................................................................................................... 32

Data collection ............................................................................................... 32

Measures ......................................................................................................... 33

Career indecision measure ............................................................................. 33

Data Analysis Procedures ............................................................................. 35

Researcher ....................................................................................................... 36

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS .................................................................................. 37

Preliminary Analyses of Participants Demographic Variables ...................... 37

Hypothesis Analysis: Immigrant Status and Career Indecision ......................... 40

Secondary Outcome Analyses ....................................................................... 41

Career indecision and age ............................................................................. 42

Career indecision and age when first began post-secondary studies ................. 42

Career indecision and gender ....................................................................... 44

Career indecision and study year ................................................................... 47

Career indecision and study major ................................................................. 48

Career indecision and parents’ immigration experience .................................. 48
Career indecision and length of residence in Canada and age at immigration .................. 49
Career indecision and IDF army service ................................................................. 50
Comparison of the present study’s CFI and reported CFI scores ................................ 51

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION .................................................................................. 52
Preliminary Analyses of Demographic Variables .................................................. 52
Main Hypothesis: Immigrant Status and Career Indecision .................................. 55
Secondary Analyses: Demographic Factors and Career ....................................... 57
Career indecision and current age, age when first began studies, and study year ....... 58
Career indecision and gender .............................................................................. 60
Career indecision and study major .................................................................... 61
Career indecision and first-generation immigrant parents ................................... 62
Career indecision and length of residence in Canada, age at immigration, and army service. ............................................................................................................ 62
Super’s Theory Applied to the Current Study’s Findings .................................... 64
CFI Validity for Current Sample ......................................................................... 65
Limitations and Future Directions ..................................................................... 66
Counseling Implications ................................................................................... 68
Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 70

REFERENCES ................................................................................................. 71
APPENDIX A: Figure 1 Permission Documentation ........................................... 88
APPENDIX B: Recruitment Advertisement ......................................................... 90
APPENDIX C: Information Letter and Consent Form ......................................... 91
APPENDIX D: Online Questionnaire Outline and Demographic Form ............... 93
APPENDIX E: Career Factors Inventory (CFI) ................................................................................................. 95

APPENDIX F: Resources Sheet ........................................................................................................................ 96
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Descriptive statistics for participants demographics .................................................. 38
Table 2 Career indecision scores for by study group ................................................................. 41
Table 3 Correlation coefficients for relationship between age at studies onset and career indecision measures for total participants and by study group ................................................. 43
Table 4 Career indecision scores by gender for all participants ................................................. 45
Table 5 Career indecision scores by gender for Israeli participants ........................................ 46
Table 6 Career indecision scores by gender for Canadian participants ..................................... 47
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 The Life-Career Rainbow: Six Life Roles in Schematic Life Space (1990) ............... 9
Figure 2 Frequency of Israeli participants’ age at immigration............................................. 39
Figure 3 Generalized Indecisiveness subscale scores by participants’ age when first began post-secondary studies. ........................................................................................................ 44
LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Figure 1 Permission Documentation......................................................... 88
APPENDIX B: Recruitment Advertisement................................................................. 90
APPENDIX C: Information Letter and Consent Form.................................................. 91
APPENDIX D: Online Questionnaire Outline and Demographic Form ......................... 93
APPENDIX E: Career Factors Inventory (CFI) ............................................................. 95
APPENDIX F: Resources Sheet ..................................................................................... 96
CAREER INDECISION IN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Canada prides itself and thrives on its blooming immigrant population. In 2012 alone, more than a quarter of a million new permanent-residents began their new Canadian journey (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). To date, the majority of the research has focused on adult immigrants and their career adjustment following emigration to Canada (e.g. Suto, 2009). The impact such a life change has on the career trajectory of young adults remains largely unknown.

Career indecision is of research interest since it has been linked to high rates of anxiety, depression, external locus of control, low self-esteem, low levels of psychological separation towards parents, and inadequate identity formation (Santos, 2001; Saunders, Peterson, Sampson, & Reardon, 2000). Donald Super (1980) regarded career development as a gradual, stage-like process. It is thus assumed that immigration during a crucial developmental phase of career exploration might disrupt the natural trajectory of career development, potentially leading to career indecision. Young immigrants face numerous challenges as they acculturate to a new culture, language, and customs (e.g. Poon, 2014; Salehi, 2010). Research has found that immigrant youth are at an increased risk for secondary school dropout and mental health issues relating to negative acculturation experiences (Anisef, Brown, Phythian, Sweet, & Walters, 2010). It is of interest to investigate, then, how a transition such as immigration might influence career development in adolescents and young adults. To date, there has been no research that investigated the impact immigration in young adulthood might have on career indecision.

Between the years 1999 to 2010, more than 170,000 Israelis immigrated to North America (Rebhun & Lev Ari, 2010). The majority of research concerning immigration outcomes
in migrant groups has focused on visible minorities (e.g. Hamplová, 2010; Naidoo, 1992; Stafford, Newbold, & Ross, 2011). Psychological research is presently lacking for this particular group of immigrants, even though other Middle Eastern groups have been studied (e.g. Jackson, 1995; Nanji, 1993). Langman (1995) wrote, “Although it now seems self-evident that effective therapeutic work with minorities requires a knowledge of their culture and the particular issues they encounter, it is not seen as self-evident that this might be true for Jews also” (p. 222).

Israelis are a unique group of immigrants, mostly due to the complexity of Israelis’ national identity. Israelis grow up in a country that is mostly Hebrew speaking and the majority identify as Jewish (Tubin & Gans, 2012). Unlike other groups of immigrants, emigrating from Israel often entails feelings of guilt (Rebhun & Lev Ari, 2010), as many Israelis maintain a strong Israeli identity and hope to one day return to Israel. As a result, Israeli immigrants often neglect to develop a new national or bi-national identity in their new host country (Magat, 1999). This contrasts many other immigrant groups’ immigration experiences, as they tend to focus on their new home and country of residence and embed those values into their identity (Magat, 1999). Thus, it is of interest to explore Israeli immigrants as they present as a unique group of immigrants that might not follow traditional assimilation processes. Moreover, emerging adult immigrants present as a group that is worthy of continuous research to ascertain how immigration in late adolescence and early adulthood might influence one’s career decision-making later on in life.

In sum, the aim of this study is to explore the impact of immigration during adolescence and young adulthood on individuals’ career development. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to investigate whether two types of students who currently reside in Canada experience
different levels of career indecision: (1) first-generation Jewish Israeli immigrant undergraduate students and (2) Canadian-born Jewish undergraduate students.

The central research question in this study is, “Are Israeli immigrants more or less decisive about their career choice compared with their Canadian counterparts?” The present study seeks to uncover the relationship between immigration and career indecision in young adults by quantitatively correlating participants’ career indecision attitudes with immigration status, along with other possible contributing factors, such as age, age when first started studies, gender, studies major, length of residence in Canada, age at immigration, and military service. Career indecision is measured by the Career Factors Inventory (Chartrand, Robbins, Morrill, & Boggs, 1990).

It is expected that the results of this study will expand existing knowledge about emerging-adult immigrants in Canada and their potential career struggles and add to a body of research that is currently not culturally diverse. It is also the hope that this study will inform universities about career counseling and career struggles that are specific to young immigrants. Increased awareness, availability, and accessibility to career-planning and mental-health services for this particular group of students might also be a potential outcome of this study.

Introduction to the Literature Review

This literature review is divided into several sections. It begins by providing a brief overview of the development of the career theories field. Theoretical concepts will be introduced to explain how the concept of ‘career’ is thought to evolve and develop. Donald Super’s Life-Span, Life-Space Theory will be introduced and discussed in detail to provide an organizational framework for understanding career development from a developmental perspective. A review of recent research in the field of career indecision and the experience of career indecision in the
lives of immigrant undergraduate students, and Israelis in particular, will follow. This discussion will include contextual barriers and socio-cultural influences that may affect career decision in immigrant populations. Finally, research on the effects of career indecision and well-being will be discussed in the context of immigrant undergraduate students.

Career Development Theories Overview

Work has played a central role in human living and continues to do so in our ever-changing work market. ‘Career’ has been defined as “the variety of occupational roles which individuals will undertake throughout their lives” (Patton & McMahon, 2006, p. 4). Career choice was defined by Sharf as the “decisions that individuals make at any point in their career about particular work, leisure, or other activities that they choose to pursue at that time” (2013, p. 3). The definition of career is in contrast to similar terms such as job, occupation, and work, which denote specific positions that exist in the workforce. The term career refers to a more holistic view of work and occupations and refers to life-long pursuits of the individual, rather than distinct work positions.

Chen elucidated the intricate and dynamic connection between individuals’ work roles and “life roles” in his “lifecareer” term (1998), including the concept of development across the lifespan as an integral component of career development. A lifecareer perspective seeks to fully capture the meaning of career where individuals are a sum of their various roles in life and not merely a reflection of their occupational role. As Chen summarized it, “Instead of viewing career as a narrowly defined, isolated work-related aspect on in one’s life, career is seen as an integral, active, and essential component in a person’s life” (Chen, 1998, p. 439).

Traditional career theories so far have neglected to describe the career development of immigrants and marginalized populations. For example, Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) described
the career development of minorities at length, but failed to include the career experiences of immigrants. Research that captures the career experience of immigrants has begun to emerge only recently (e.g. Chen, 2008).

**History of Vocational Theories**

The vocational development field originated with a focus on characteristics and interests of individuals. These models assumed a linear decision-making trajectory between worker abilities and vocational opportunities. Parsons (1909), Hull (1928), and Kitson (1925) were among the first theorists to focus on the alignment of individuals and workplace requirements, theories that are now referred to as trait and factor theories (Sharf, 2013; Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). Parsons, who is regarded as the forefather of vocational psychology (Brown & Brooks, 1984), characterized the very first step in career decision-making as gaining “a clear understanding of yourself, your attitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resource limitations, and causes” (Parsons, 1909, p. 5). The second factor in the process of career decision-making is to gain an understanding of the requirements of different workplaces and occupations. The third factor is the relationship between the first two factors.

The testing movement was another major foundation to the rise of the career development field (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). From Alfred Binet to Sir Francis Galton, the ability to measure individual traits gave rise to the trait and factor theories. In the twentieth century, wars were a major catalytic force in the emergence of differential psychology. In the 1930s and 1940s, much attention was directed at assessing the abilities of military personnel and placement in various military positions, especially during World War II (Yerkes, 1921). Holland’s personality theory of careers developed shortly thereafter. Holland’s typology categorizes individuals according to traits. He concluded that increased congruence between the
characteristics of individuals and workplace requirements would lead to a better career choice (Holland, 1985).

While the trait and factor theories received a lot of empirical attention to date, they have also been criticised for having a narrow focus on the stable characteristics of individuals and workplaces and disregarding external influences on career development (Sekiguchi, 2004). Meanwhile, by the end of the war, a system for the assessment and assignment of war veterans was in place, and psychologists turned to understanding career from a developmental lens. The need for a more dynamic and comprehensive model grew over time, and career theories that focused on developmental stages and growth over a lifespan began to take centre-stage (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). These newer theories took into consideration the aforementioned individual dispositions, along with broader life contexts (Patton & McMahon, 2006). The term ‘career’ was broadened and began to include other aspects of individuals’ lives, such as leisure and recreation (Chen, 1998).

Donald Super, a prominent psychologist during World War II, was heavily involved in the assessment and assignment research that was taking place at the time. In 1953, Super first proposed his theory of vocational development, which integrated individuals’ life roles within a developmental lifespan perspective (Super, 1980). Super regarded career as a concept that “takes into account the constellation of roles that constitute a career, viewing study, work, home and family, community services, and leisure activities as interacting and interdependent (Super, 1984, p. 32). Super’s (1980) Life-Span, Life-Space career development theory is explored in more detail in the next section.

Super’s theory was chosen as the general theoretical framework for this study for a number of reasons. First, it concerns career decision-making as a developmental process, one
that is dynamic and changing. This interpretation aligns with the context of this proposed study’s population of young adults who are faced with the task of exploring and choosing career paths (Sharf, 2013). Second, in his later revisions, Super discussed the concept of maturity in deciding on a career path (Super, Starishevsky, Matlin, & Jordaan, 1963). The instrument that will be used to measure the level of career indecision in this study is in a way a measure of readiness to make a decision. Lastly, Super’s theory considers not only personal elements, but also socio-cultural determinants that might influence the progression of career development. This complements the hypothesis that young immigrants are faced with different socio-cultural circumstances than their Canadian counterparts (Khanlou, 2008; cf. Segal & Mayadas, 2005), and thus it is hypothesized that their career development would diverge from the norm.

**Super’s Life-Span, Life-Space Theory**

The life span theory applies to career development across individuals’ entire lifespan, and stands in contrast to the trait and factor theories that only assess personal characteristics required for successful career performance (Sharf, 2013). Donald Super explored the career development of children, adolescents, late adolescents, and adults (Super, 1957). His emphasis on the time of adolescence and late adolescence fits with this study as it captures some of the developmental tasks and challenges that the majority of young adults face as they navigate their career exploration and eventual choice.

**The development of Super’s theory.** Super acknowledged a number of disciplines that influenced his theory: (1) differential psychology, which contributed to trait and factor theories; (2) occupational sociology, which encompasses environmental influences on occupation choice; and (3) developmental psychology, which looks at the development of abilities, interests, and values over time in individuals.
Developmental psychology focuses on self-concept theories, such as the one by Rogers (1951; Super, 1984). In his theory, Super integrated concepts of psychology of occupations and psychology of career. The former was based on differential psychology, and assumed that successful vocational placement depended on the match between individual and career. The latter stemmed from developmental psychology and assumed that a career development trajectory follows general principles of human development. Super referred to the integration of these theories, along with the overarching principles of developmental psychology, as vocational psychology (Super, 1961, 1964).

**Life stages and life roles.** Super first presented his “Life-Career Rainbow”, a graphic representation of his “Life-Span, Life-Space Approach to Career Development” theory in 1974 (Super, 1980). The Rainbow is presented in Figure 1. The rainbow portrays the full life span, life stages, life roles, as well as personal, social, and environmental determinants.
Super’s lifespan theory of career development is founded on two major constructs: life stages and life roles (1990). The life span is broken down into life stages that include growth, exploration, crystallizing, emerging adulthood (a new addition by Arnett, 2004, 2011), establishment, maintenance, and disengagement. Each major life stage corresponds to its respective ages. Even though the stages follow one another, Super saw the age transitions as flexible in nature, and believed that individuals could go back and cycle through the stages at any point in their lives. The importance of the life cycle gained more prominence in Super’s more recent work (Super, 1980, 1990, 1994).
The second dimension, according to Super, is life space, and it constitutes of the roles people occupy in their lives. These roles include studying, working, community service, home and family, and leisure activities (Sharf, 2013). As individuals go through their life stages, the roles they play in life, as well as the number of roles they occupy, change over time. For example, in childhood, children hold no major roles other than being children. As they grow older, they take on the roles of student, worker, and so on. The concept of role salience, based on life roles, developed over time. Super hypothesized that people differed in how they valued different roles in their lives, i.e. different roles were more salient and/or important to some people than others.

The various roles interact and can either enrich or burden one’s life. According to Savickas (1997), Super was cognizant of changing work patterns in the post-industrial era. Super’s theory recognized that work roles are embedded within the greater context of other life roles, such as homemaker, leisurite, and citizen. The shift in focus from distinct work and home roles to an emphasis on the work role in relation to other roles was a forthcoming prediction on Super’s part, and it is highly applicable to the constantly changing job market that we face today.

**Self-concept.** Super viewed the self-concept as having a pivotal role in career decision making. Self-concept is generally defined as how “individuals see themselves and their situation” (Sharf, 2013, p. 178). Super emphasized individuals’ subjective reality over objective measures of the self (Super, Starishevsky, Matlin, & Jordaan, 1963). Self-concept is also a developmental notion. As children mature over time, their self-concept becomes more coherent and sophisticated. Once formed, it is used to guide behaviour, including career behaviour. It also organizes the way that individuals process new self-percept information. The role of parents and role models, as summarized by Savickas (2002), is vital in the development of a healthy self-
concept. Self-concept nourishes on the content that is available in children’s socio-cultural environments. As children grow, their role models and environmental influences broaden, providing more content upon which the self-concept is elaborated.

Super proposed the self-concept as a vital component in choosing a vocation as it allows for self-expression. Moreover, Super suggested that self-concept matures over time, and that it is implemented vocationally based on one’s stage in life. Vocational behaviours, then, are best understood within the context of the changing life cycle and are considered attempts to implement a self-concept. In sum, Super viewed vocation choice as a “matching theory” (1984, p. 208), in which individuals aim to match their personal attributes and occupations’ requirements in order to maximize fulfillment. This process, according to Super, is developmental in nature, since individuals develop their roles and respective role salience over time. Lastly, Super’s “matching theory” considers the facts that individuals assess their socioeconomic and social structure in which they live, and these ultimately affect their career choice.

**Career maturity.** One of the main contributions of Super’s career development theory was the inclusion of adolescent readiness and maturity for making a career decision (1955). This inclusion was later elaborated and applied to the complete life span (1984). The concept of career maturity describes and assesses the stage of career development reached by students of different ages and grades. Super described four dimensions of career maturity: attitude toward planning, attitude toward exploration, knowledge about occupations, and practice of career decision making. Super theorized that career decidedness is also a developmental construct (Patton & Lokan, 2001), which suggests that career choice develops gradually over time (Super, 1980). Super expected that the greater the congruence between an individual’s vocational behaviour and
expected vocational behaviour at a certain age, the greater that person’s vocational maturity (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996).

At each stage in the life span, individuals confront different career developmental tasks and differ in their readiness to make a career decision (Super, 1984). Some studies have found a correlation between career maturity and career decidedness in undergraduate students (Brusoki, Golin, Gallagher, & Moore, 1993; Hartman, Fuqua, & Harman, 1983; Rogers & Westbrook, 1983). This means that the more mature a student is the more likely he or she is to be certain of a career choice.

**Super and career indecision.** According to Super, the process of career development requires the completion of five vocational tasks (Super et al., 1963). There are no clear guidelines indicating the age at which each stage is surmounted. As such, overall themes for each stage are extrapolated and used for the purposes of this study.

According to Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996), the first task is the crystallization of a vocational preference. This typically occurs in the crystallization phase, and although individuals may begin to formulate self-concepts that are relevant to work at any time, it typically occurs between the ages of 14 and 18. The next phase is specification and it is at this point that individuals narrow their direction and focus on a specific area of interest. Individuals become more in tune with reality, and their previously contemplated values and interests are integrated and weighted with reality’s constraints. This takes place between 18 to 21 years of age, a time when many individuals are enrolled in post-secondary education. The implementation of a career preference follows. It is typically completed by age 25, although current research would stretch the phase of early adulthood into age 30 (Arnett, 2000, 2004). The tasks of stabilization and consolidation occur later in life. A more recent summary of Super’s career stages by Sharf
(2013) considers the exploration and crystallization phases to be around the ages of 15 to 25, when young adults begin to contemplate possible vocational choices that coincide with their values, interests, capacities, and opportunities (Super, Thompson, & Lindeman, 1988).

Although not a part of Super’s original work, Arnett (2004, 2011) continued Super’s work on the exploration phase and described in detail five features that distinguish this phase. These include age of identity, age of instability, self-focused age, age of feeling in-between, and age of possibilities. The ones that are most relevant to career exploration and decision are the age of feeling in-between and the age of instability. It is during emerging adulthood that individuals may find themselves feeling that they are neither adults nor adolescents. It is also common that during this time people change jobs, try different school majors, and develop new interests. This time of exploration is essential to discovering one’s interests, values, and abilities in the process of career decision making.

Hall (1992) discusses the limitations of career development theory in his critique of career indecision research. Hall argued that Super’s (1957) work overlooked the concept of career exploration and indecision, a limitation of Super’s theory and the field as a whole. Hall also expressed his dissatisfaction with the negative connotation that career indecision has, as many actually regard career decision making a normal process. However, Hall concludes in his critique that overall, career indecision carries with it more negative consequences than positive outcomes.

Career Indecision

Adolescence, and more recently acknowledged emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2011), is the time when individuals explore and commit to a career path (Sharf, 2010, p. 203). Making a decision regarding one’s future career is arguably one of the most important tasks for adolescents
and young adults. Career indecision has been recently defined as “the inability to specify an educational or occupational choice” (Kelly & Lee, 2002, p. 322). Over the years, a distinction between indecision and undecidness (or indecisiveness) became clear. According to Osipow (1990), career indecision is seen as a normal developmental phase during which individuals decide on a career path. In contrast, undecidness is a chronic abnormal personal trait that can be generalized to other domains of one’s life. Thus, indecision is a temporary state during which people contemplate career-related decisions, whereas indecisiveness is a more permanent personality trait. For the purposes of this proposed study, the temporary state of indecision will be the main variable of interest.

While many undergraduate students declare a major when they first enter university, many grapple with career decision-making during their time in university (Gati et al., 2011). Earlier studies have found that approximately 24% of students were undecided about their career choice (Lunneborg, 1975). More recent reviews have shown that over half of students are undecided about their career choice (Gordon & Meyer, 2002). A 2006 study found similar rates, with 52% of college students identifying as undecided. Out of those who were undecided, half were considered to be developmentally undecided and the other half to be chronically undecided (Guay, Ratelle, Senecal, Senécal, & Deschénes, 2006). Developmentally undecided students were defined as those who started out at moderate levels of career indecision and one year later experienced a decrease in career indecision. Those who were defined as chronically undecided maintained their high levels of career indecision even after a one-year period.

Career indecision during university may become chronic and thereby have negative effects on well-being. Overall, career indecision has been associated with high levels of anxiety, an external locus of control, low self-esteem, low levels of psychological separation from
parents, and inadequate identity formation (Gati et al., 2011; Santos, 2001). In a review of career decidedness types extracted from research between 1977 to 1996, Gordon (1998) reported that the chronically indecisive individuals tended to be excessively anxious, distressed, and not goal-driven. A recent longitudinal study examined students in Grade 8 and then again in Grade 10 using measures of career decision, well-being, and social experiences (Creed, Prideaux, & Patton, 2005). At the first point of data collection, 292 students in Grade 8 filled out measures of school achievement and work experience. This study also evaluated participants on career measures, such as maturity, barriers, indecision, and decision-making efficacy, as well as self-esteem and life-satisfaction. Two years later, the participants, now in Grade 10, completed the same surveys as before. Results showed that undecided students had poorer career, well-being, and social outcomes than decided students. Continuously undecided students, those who had maintained their indecision at both time points, fared worse compared to students who either were decided at both time points or had become decided over time.

Career indecision has also been linked to depression and poor overall well-being. A group of 158 college students enrolled in a career development course completed measures of dysfunctional career thoughts, career indecision, and depression symptoms. Walker III and Peterson (2012) found that dysfunctional career thoughts and indecision were linked to depression symptoms, with decision-making confusion being the best predictor of depression. A 2010 study examined the relationship between career decidedness and subjective well-being. Using a sample of 181 Canadian undergraduate students, Uthayakumar et al. (2010) found that students who scored higher on career decision also reported higher subjective well-being. Even though career indecision is a normal part of human development, pervasive indecision might be related to negative feelings, and therefore should be addressed.
Career indecision factors. Since career indecision may carry with it negative effects, career indecision has been at the forefront for career development researchers and counsellors (Gati, Krausz, & Osipow, 1996). As such, efforts have been made to compare decided and undecided students in the hopes of differentiating between the two groups (e.g. Guay et al., 2006; Newman, Gray, & Fuqua, 1999). Identifying personal traits related to career indecision can be very useful, for example in aiding career counsellors to distinguish between the temporarily undecided and the chronically indecisive. Moreover, it allows counsellors to identify which traits contribute to indecision and to focus the work on those traits (Leong & Chervinko, 1996). The two main factors identified and extensively studied in relation to career indecision among students are personality traits and anxiety.

Personality. A relationship exists between a number of personality variables and career indecision. Earlier studies, such as the one by Leong and Chervinko (1996), looked at negative personality traits as predictors of career indecision. In a group of 217 undergraduate students, they found that a positive correlation existed between career indecision and perfectionism, self-consciousness, and fear of commitment. Fear of success and an external locus of control have also been found to be more prevalent amongst undecided students (Taylor, 1982).

Another study linked career indecision with low self-efficacy for making career-related decisions (Taylor & Betz, 1983). In this study, the most indecisive college students reported lower self-efficacy or confidence in their decision-making abilities. Investigators also identified a lack of a sense of identity as a contributing factor to career indecision (Brown, 2004; Holland & Holland, 1977). A very recent meta-analysis using the five-factor model of personality found a positive relationship between Neuroticism and career indecision (Martincin & Stead, 2015).
Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, and Openness were found to be negatively correlated with career decision making difficulties (Martincin & Stead, 2015).

**Anxiety.** Anxiety, a common emotion experienced by many individuals, has been shown to influence people’s decision-making abilities (e.g. Curtis & Locks, 2005). Similar to indecision, anxiety can be understood in two ways: as a state and as a trait. State anxiety is regarded as a temporary feeling of anxiety that is aroused by threats or stressors (Spielberger, Gorsuch, Lushene, Vagg, & Jacobs, 1983). Trait anxiety, on the other hand, is defined as the propensity of individuals to become anxious (Spielberger et al., 1983). Not surprisingly, these two constructs are highly correlated (Chaplin, 1984).

The relationship between anxiety and career indecision has been confirmed through extensive research over the years (Lewko, 1994). Very early studies (e.g. Hawkins, Bradley & White, 1977; Kimes & Roth, 1974) found evidence for the positive relationship between anxiety and career decision-making difficulties. A recent study by Campagna and Curtis (2007) examined the relationship between state anxiety and career indecision. A sample of 110 undergraduate students completed the Career Decision Scale (CDS; Osipow, Carney, Winer, Yanico, & Koschier, 1979) and a measure of state anxiety. It was found that state anxiety and trait anxiety both correlated with career indecision, meaning that higher anxiety levels were related to lower career certainty.

**Career indecision and immigration.** Career indecision research has thus far identified perceived contextual factors and personal traits as the main factors that contribute to career indecision (e.g. Betz & Luzzo, 1996; Campagna & Curtis, 2007; Leong & Chervinko, 1996). Very few studies have examined the role of immigration in career decision-making. The 2011
annual review report of the Career Development Quarterly focused on diversity and career, yet neglected to address career development in immigrant populations (Erford & Crockett, 2012).

New immigrants anticipate and typically face numerous challenges prior to and after arriving at their new home country. A recent comprehensive review of the health of immigrant youth in Canada revealed that immigrant youth experience stress as they leave familiar settings behind and struggle to acculturate to their new country of residence (Salehi, 2010). Research has shown that immigrant youth have higher rates of mental health issues related to negative migration experiences (e.g. Khanlou, 2008). In addition, since immigrant youth face greater obstacles than natives in achieving academic success, they consequently face an increased risk of secondary school dropout (Anisef, Brown, Phythian, Sweet, & Walters, 2010). Thus, there is a need to aid immigrant youth in Canada in the transition and assimilation processes to reduce the likelihood of negative health and academic outcomes.

A number of studies have looked at career development and indecision in participants from various cultural backgrounds, with conflicting results. Earlier research has found that Caucasian, middle-class students scored higher on measures of career maturity (Crites, 1978; Dunn & Veltman, 1989; LoCascio et al., 1967; Smith, 1983; Westbrook & Sanford, 1991). However, these findings have been criticized for ignoring cultural influences and discrimination when interpreting career maturity in disadvantaged groups (Cheatham, 1990). Similarly, Gloria and Hird (1990) found that Caucasian students held stronger decision-making self-efficacy beliefs compared with a racially-diverse group. However, since the groups differed in size, analyses were limited in this study. A study on Asian-American children to immigrant parents found that racial inequalities and stereotypes hindered them from pursuing their career interests, especially in fields considered atypical for Asian immigrants (Poon, 2014). Leong and Chou
CAREER INDECISION IN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

(1994) found that more acculturated Asian Americans have also been less likely to be steered into choosing an atypical career path due to family opinions. A study by Lopez and Ann-Yi (2006) reported that African American female students perceived more career barriers than White and Hispanic women. Luzzo (1993) reported that ethnically-diverse students perceived their racial status as a barrier to their career development. This finding was replicated in a study by McWhirter (1997), as Mexican American students acknowledged more barriers compared with their White counterparts. Some other studies did not find a relationship between career indecision and perceived barriers (Swanson, Daniels, & Tokar, 1996).

Research has also shown that culture plays a part in role salience, and that different cultures place importance on different life roles. Super’s Work Importance Study (WIS) instrument assessed work values and salience (1982). Using the WIS scale, Esdaile, Lokan, and Madill (1997) found that Australian and Canadian occupational therapy students held different vocational values. These students reported committing to different life roles: Canadians scored higher on the study role whereas Australians were more committed to the leisure role.

These inconsistent findings might be attributed to different ethnic samples (Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006) and failures to acknowledge social and environmental barriers on choice (Brooks, 1990). Thus, we know very little about the career development of culturally-diverse individuals beyond basic group difference, which warrants further research to elucidate the role that culture might play in career indecision.

Super’s theory applied to immigrant population. As previously noted, theories of career development and choice are based on the assumption that all individuals in society hold the same degree of choice when it comes to vocation choice. Some of the criticism raised against vocational theories is that they only concern those who are privileged and typically middle- to
upper-class White men (Brown & Brooks, 1984). Similarly, it can also be argued that the majority of those theories are not applicable to non-Western cultures (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). Another point of contention is that career development theories are centred on the concept of continuity (Rojewski, 1994). Developmental theories maintain that occupational choice is a continuous process, characterized by developmental stage tasks (Crites, 1978; Super, 1974). It is argued that since these theories were based on the experiences of White, middle-class males, they might not be applicable to non-traditional groups, such as immigrants, whose development is more likely to be discontinuous or delayed (LoCascio, 1967; Manuele, 1983; Smith, 1983).

Osipow (1975) argued that it is possible to analyze the degree to which traditional vocational models are applicable to certain groups. He described poverty, lack of education, and discrimination as possible social forces that can reduce one’s selection of available career opportunities. Thus, certain populations might have a reduced range of choices in vocational decisions. Even though more recent theories have increased awareness of socio-cultural influences, and have attempted to go beyond the perspectives of “middle-class white male individuals” (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 61), the focus has remained on social class, race, gender, and sexual orientation.

Since this proposed study uses Super’s theory as a conceptual framework, it is of interest to investigate whether his original theory can be applied to immigrant populations. Super’s theory is developmental in nature and it allows for the recognition of external circumstances that might affect one’s career choice. Immigration and other life transitions are events that consciously and subconsciously influence development and eventual career choice. Super’s model also acknowledges that career decision-making is a developmental process over time, fitting with this study’s young adult population.
Israeli Immigrants in Canada

From 2003 to 2012, more than 43,000 Israelis immigrated to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). Like many other immigrants, Israeli newcomers tend to populate and reside in large metropolitan cities, such as Toronto. As the majority of immigrants register under the “family class” category (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012), it is expected that adolescents who are members of immigrant families will be affected by this life transition. In terms of numbers, Israeli immigrants obviously make up a minority group, yet Israelis and Jews in general are often not regarded as such. Langman (1995) provides a number of reasons for this discrepancy. First, Jews are often seen as an “assimilated non-minority” that is economically privileged. Second, Jews are a part of the White majority and are not regarded as a visible minority. That is a grand simplification, as there are Jews across all major racial categories. Third, Jews and Israelis are often grouped under a religious sect and not a culture, and are often regarded as one and the same. Lastly, Langman cites lack of appreciation for Jewish oppression and prejudice as another variable that prevents Jews and Israelis from being included in cross-cultural discussions. Thus, although not inherently apparent, Jews, and especially Israeli immigrants, face a number of social, historical, and cultural complexities that are unique to this minority group.

Unique characteristics of Israeli immigrants. Israelis immigrants share some common traits with immigrants from other countries. A relatively recent study that examined Israeli and Russian immigrant adolescents’ well-being found similar results to previous studies: immigrant adolescents reported higher psychological distress, lower self-esteem, and higher alcohol consumption that non-immigrant adolescents. Moreover, they found that second-generation immigrants reported higher functioning compared with the first-generation immigrants (Slonim-
CAREER INDECISION IN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

Nevo, Sharaga, Mirsky, Petrovsky, & Borodenko, 2006). These findings are consistent with research on culturally diverse immigrant adolescents. However, due to the complex history and political dynamic of the state of Israel, Israelis face unique challenges as they acculturate to a new country. It is of importance to note that these difficulties are experienced by some, not all, Israeli immigrants.

Gold (2002) described the Israeli immigrants at length. He described Israel as a “nation of immigrants” (Gold, 2002), with a variety of cultural roots and backgrounds. Even though Israel is made of a plethora of cultures, religions and religiosity, and political views, this unique group also shares many commonalities. Those commonalities include a Jewish religious identification, speaking the same language (Hebrew), as well as having both men and women serve in the Israeli army. These factors have contributed to a strong communal feeling and cultural identification. Israelis’ emigration to the Diaspora is often motivated by their efforts to acquire greater social capital, such as enhanced education and career opportunities, better wages, and in some cases freedom from mandatory military service, in conjunction with a desire to live in a place that is politically stable and relatively free from the upheavals of the Middle East.

Similarly to other immigrants, Israeli immigrants must make up for other forms of social capital post-migration. Upon emigration, Israelis are faced with the task of mastering a new language, becoming a cultural and religious minority, and establishing new contacts and networks.

Identity formation. As they try to acculturate and consolidate parts of their identity into a coherent sense of self, some immigrant youth may experience a form of post-immigration identity crisis (Salehi, 2010). Israeli youth may experience a similar conflict as they form their new identities as Canadians while wishing to maintain their Israeli identity. In addition, the identity of a migrant might be perceived as a weakness and be rejected. Salehi (2010) reported...
that adolescent immigrants opposed the immigrant label as it carried with it a minority and disadvantaged status in Canadian culture. In addition, Israeli youth might begin to explore their Jewish identity, now that they are a religious minority in Canada (Fogelman, 1996). Thus, Israeli adolescents may face an additional identity exploration as they evaluate their immigrant, Israeli, Canadian, and Jewish identities.

**Autonomy.** Choice and control over one’s life is also an issue relevant to adolescent immigrants (as summarized by Berger, 1996). Adolescents may resent and be angry with their parents for imposing immigration upon them, and feel as if they had no say in the matter. Autonomy is thus threatened, and they may be left feeling lonely and isolated as they push their family away but have no other means of social support. Moreover, while many adolescents begin to assert their autonomy during their teen years, this newfound independence might come in conflict with the immigration transition and its constraints on decision-making. This might be particularly difficult for Israeli adolescents, as Israeli culture often encourages autonomy and independence at a young age. A study by Roer-Strier and Rivlis (1998) that examined the timetable of autonomy expectations among Israeli parents found that Israeli and Russian-born parents held different expectations regarding their children’s timing of privileges and responsibilities. For example, Israeli parents granted their children autonomy in decisions involving food consumption, staying out late at night, and dress code, at a much younger age than their Russian-born counterparts.

**Stereotypes and discrimination.** Israeli immigrants may suffer from stigma and stereotypes originating both from their native land and from their new host country. Israelis who choose to leave Israel are almost considered traitors by fellow Israelis (Nuttman-Shwartz & Weinberg, 2002). To give up and desert the land, which so many view as sacred, is seen as a
weakness and betrayal of fellow Israelis. Even the Hebrew word for those who leave Israel is “yordim” – meaning those who descend or go down (Fogelman, 1996). In contrast, the term for Jews who immigrate to Israel is “olim” – those who ascend or go up.

In addition, Israelis are not identified as “neutral” immigrants in their new host countries. Unlike other countries, Israel is continuously at the forefront of media and public scrutiny for political reasons. Moreover, due to Israel’s conflict-ridden history, Israelis are often depicted and stereotyped as aggressive and hostile. Sinacore, Mikhail, Kassan, and Lerner (2009) conducted interviews with Israeli immigrants in Canada, and revealed that the majority of participants encountered some form of discrimination, be it racism, anti-Semitism, or anti-immigrant opinions. Israelis in the Diaspora are therefore cautious of revealing their country of origin to prevent possible negative reactions (Fogelman, 1996).

**Acculturation and belonging.** Acculturation is defined as “the process of cultural change fostered by the experience of continuous, first-hand contact between two culturally different groups” (Olmedo, 1979, p. 1063). Acculturation does not necessarily imply rejection of one’s native culture (e.g. Schwartz, et al., 2013). In many cases, the task of acculturation involves maintaining one’s culture in the personal and cultural domains, while becoming integrated and engaging in acculturated behaviour in public spheres, such as school and work (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996).

Israelis often feel emotionally and culturally connected to Israel, and even they immigrate, they never truly separate from Israel. Despite being successfully integrated into their host country, Israelis continue to reside in Jewish neighbourhoods and maintain Israeli ties through cultural community centres, synagogues, Jewish and Israeli schools, and so on. Nearly all Israeli immigrants continue to define themselves as Israeli even after living outside of Israel.
for many years (Gold, 2002). As discussed by Fogelman (1996), Israeli culture is pervasive in all domains of life, and many of the “yordim” possess some yearning to go back “home”. This in itself makes the process of acculturation a difficult one, as one faces the task of assimilating to a new country while maintaining ties with Israel. As a result, many Israeli immigrants fail to make their new country their new home. This issue may present itself especially in Israeli youth as they may find it difficult to relate to Canadians as a whole and to Jewish Canadians in part. Most American and Canadian Jewish people’s activities are centred around religious holidays and affiliations, whereas Israelis tend to celebrate national holidays. Moreover, Israelis are often not accepted by existing Jewish North American culture and can be left feeling resentful (Fogelman, 1996; Sinacore, Mikhail, Kassan, & Lerner, 2009). Indeed, many adolescent immigrants report difficulty in making new friends and feeling as if they do not belong in their new country (Salehi, 2010).

Acculturation plays a major role in career development (Leong & Chou, 1994). The more acculturated, the more individuals behave in a way that is similar to the behaviour displayed by the host country’s residents. Acculturation can be defined in many ways, one of which is the degree to which individuals have internalized the dominant culture’s values. It is safe to assume that length of time spent in a new country of residence will also have an influence on the degree of acculturation. Thus, the longer one has lived in a country after emigrating, the more similar the level of career readiness would be between that individual and non-immigrant residents of that country.

It is important to note that even though many of the aforementioned stressors might be common in some Israeli immigrants, heterogeneity is still present and adolescents may experience these differently, if not at all. There are cultural differences within Jewish Israelis,
such as country of origin (those who have originated in Middle Eastern and North African countries versus those have their origins set in Europe and North America; Ben-Ari & Amir, 1988), religiosity, socioeconomic status, and so forth. Thus, one should refrain from painting all Israeli adolescent immigrants with the same brushstroke.

**Summary and Hypotheses**

The aim of the present study is to explore differences in career indecision among Israeli immigrants and Canadian-born undergraduate students. Using Super’s developmental model, it is assumed that Israeli immigrants followed a similar developmental path until the time of their immigration. Since the participants in this study immigrated during the phases of ‘exploration’ and ‘crystallization’, it is hypothesized that this process may have been disrupted at that point in time. It can be argued that these students were motivated to choose a profession without sufficient exploration, or the opposite, delaying the exploration phase to a later time in their lives. It is also plausible that opportunities that would enhance the development of self-concept might become diminished as additional demands are thrust upon the immigrant student post-emigration. Thus, this study aims to clarify how immigration might influence Super’s theorized phases of exploration and crystallizing.

Research on the impact of immigration on the salience of various life roles is also lacking. Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986) postulated that careers develop within a social context, as opposed to previous theorists who have focused on individual responses to societal demands. Vondracek and colleagues (1986) shifted the attention towards the social ecology in the life span, and have termed this ‘developmental contextualism’. From this perspective, development is produced from the interaction of the individual with contextual opportunities and barriers. It is a two-way interaction, not a passive interaction where the
individual is only impacted by the social system but has no influence on the environment.

According to developmental contextualism, career professionals are encouraged to appreciate flexibility in development and the potential for change within both the individual and the environment. It is assumed that young immigrants are not exempt from this theory. As they interact with their new home’s environment, the environment influences them and they influence their context. Thus, individualistic life roles that were previously salient, such as student and sibling, might be replaced with collectivist and family-oriented roles (Katsiaficas, Suarez-Orozco, & Dias, 2015). This might create either social-environmental opportunities or constraints that could influence individuals’ career decision-making process.

It should be noted that Super’s theories, like many other career theories, have been based on North American populations (Brown & Brooks, 1984). Career exploration and decision-making in Israel is quite different due to a number of various geographical, political, cultural, and social reasons. One of the major reasons is the mandatory military prescription in Israel. Eighteen-year old males and females in Israel are required to serve in the Israeli Defence Forces for three and two years, respectively. Thus, the question of career decision following high school is delayed for a few years. This is in stark contrast with the Canadian education system, which advocates and streamlines fresh high school graduates into post-secondary education following graduation. This difference can be seen as another hurdle in the transition of young Israeli immigrants, who following immigration face a new decision of a career. Immigrants who have decided to stay in Canada and are exempt from their military service in Israel are now faced with a decision about their career path, a decision they would have had a few more years to contemplate had they stayed in Israel.
Since there is very little literature on the effects of immigration on career choice (e.g. Brooks, 1990), it is difficult to predict whether Israeli students would be more or less prepared to make a career choice than their Jewish Canadian counterparts. Moreover, Israelis’ pre-existing cultural diversity as previously discussed would indicate the possibility of a number of adjustment and coping mechanisms following migration (Gold, 2002). Since these students’ developmental trajectory has been altered by the immigration process, it is plausible that they are not as confident in their career choice. However, due to external barriers, immigrants might choose a career path with little exploration and thus might appear as decided on measures of career decision. Due to the mixed results of previous research, a two-tailed hypothesis and analysis will be used in this proposed study. This will also ensure that bias will be reduced to a minimum as an open-mind is kept regarding the results. As such, this study will aim to answer whether Jewish Israeli immigrant undergraduate students differ in their career indecision when compared with Jewish Canadian students. The following hypotheses were made to answer this research question:

1. It is hypothesized that Israeli participants will differ from Canadian participants in their career indecision attitudes.

2. It is hypothesized that the two study groups would differ in terms of demographic variables due to cultural and immigration experience, though no specific hypotheses were made due to lack of previous research.
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Rationale for Quantitative Design

The present study used a quantitative methodology to explore the relationship between career indecision in a group of Israeli students and a comparison group of Canadian students. The rationale for collecting quantitative data is there is currently no data describing career indecision of Israeli immigrants. A quantitative method of analysis is deemed the most appropriate to investigate the main research question of this study, “Are Israeli immigrant students more or less decisive than their Jewish Canadian counterparts?”

Research Design

Participants. The population of the current study included a group of 57 Jewish Israeli immigrant undergraduate students and a group of 61 Jewish Canadian, non-immigrant undergraduate students as a control group. The total sample included 118 participants; however, 43 were excluded from statistical analyses due to not meeting the study’s qualifying criteria (Appendix D) and/or providing incomplete questionnaire responses. The resulting samples sizes that were analyzed consisted of 37 Jewish Israeli students and 38 Jewish Canadian students, for a total sample of 75 participants.

Participants were between the ages of 18 and 25, with the average age being $M = 21.5$ years ($SD = 2.40$). The sample was composed of $n = 42$ females (56.0%), $n = 32$ males (42.7%), and one (1.3%) individual that chose ‘other’ as their gender descriptor. The Israeli group consisted of 25 females (67.6%) and 12 males (32.4%), while the Canadian group consisted of 17 females (44.7%), 20 males (52.6%), and 1 ‘other’ (2.6%). The mean age for the Israeli group was 22.43 years whereas the mean age for the Canadian group was 20.68 years of age.
All participants were enrolled in a post-secondary education program and resided in Canada. In terms of year of study, \( n = 26 \) participants (34.7\%) indicated they were in first or second year of their studies, while a larger portion of participants \( (n = 49, 65.3\%) \) indicated they were in their third or fourth year of studies. Sixty-seven percent \( (n = 50) \) of participants indicated they were enrolled in an ‘arts’-related program, and the remaining thirty-three percent \( (n = 25) \) reported being a ‘science’ major. The designation of arts and science majors was done post-data collection phase by the researcher who matched the reported study major with faculty and program affiliation. The majority of participants \( (n = 52, 69.3\%) \) indicated that at least one of their parents had immigrated in their lifetime, whereas only 30.7\% \( (n = 23) \) of participants reported that their parents were born in the same country of the participants’ country of birth.

**Participant selection criteria.** The following are selection criteria for each study group.

*Jewish Israeli undergraduate students who:*

1) are between the ages of 18-25,
2) came to Canada from Israel as an immigrant after the age of 13,
3) are currently enrolled in a post-secondary education program (college or university, not diploma),
4) consider themselves Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, secular, conservative, other),
5) consider themselves Israeli (including dual/triple-identification e.g. Israeli-Canadian, Russian-Israeli-Canadian; any variation of cultural identification that contains Israeli identification), and
6) are currently residing in Canada.

*Jewish Canadian undergraduate students who:*

1) are between the ages of 18-25,
2) were born in Canada,
3) are currently enrolled in a post-secondary education program (college or university, not diploma),
4) consider themselves Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, secular, conservative, other), and
5) are currently residing in Canada.
For the purpose of this study, Israeli immigrant was defined as an individual who was born and raised in the state of Israel and legally immigrated to Canada at or after the age of 13. Participants would only be included if they self-identify as Israeli, or at least bi- or tri-culture, with one of those cultures being Israeli. The age range of the participants was between 18 and 25 years. Israeli participants reported having resided in Canada for one to 12 years at the time of the questionnaire. This criterion ensured that participants were relatively recent immigrants and their recent experiences would be consistent with a new immigrant experience (Kennedy, 2012). This also ensured that participants would have spent the majority of their lives in Israel, especially during the formative years of their childhood. Israelis who immigrated to Canada prior to the age of 13 were excluded entirely from the study. They are assumed to have lived the majority of their lives in Canada, and as such, likely fall on a spectrum between the two study groups. It would be difficult to determine whether those individuals would define themselves as “more Israeli” or “more Canadian”, and since the aim of the study is not to discern cultural identity following immigration, this group was excluded. Participants were required to read and write English with a reasonable degree of fluency in order to answer the online questionnaire.

A student was defined as an individual who is currently enrolled in a post-secondary institution in Canada. The control group consisted of Canadian-born young adults, between the ages of 18 and 25, who similar to the Israeli group, were also currently pursuing post-secondary education. This criterion limited the participant pool to young adults who were students, as one of the main decisions one has to make during that time is career choice.

Both groups were comprised of individuals who identify as Jewish, whether secular, reform, conservative, or orthodox. This criterion was added to control for religion, as the majority of Israelis identify as Jewish. This ensured that differences in religion between the
experiment and control groups would not influence the results of the study as a confounding factor. Lastly, gender was approximately split in both groups, to capture the experiences of both genders.

**Recruitment.** Participants were recruited through advertising (Appendix B) on various media platforms, such as Jewish and Israeli online groups, social media outlets such as Craigslist, Kijiji, Facebook, and Reddit, and word of mouth. A posting on social media was piloted, which included information about the proposed study and request for participants. This took place prior to the study’s commencement to ensure sufficient participation would be achieved, as the population that meets the study’s inclusion criteria is limited in numbers.

**Sample size.** Similar research using the Career Factors Inventory (Chartrand, Robbins, Morrill, & Boggs, 1990) has used sample sizes ranging from 102 to 111 undergraduate students (e.g. Gaffner & Hazler, 2002; Mojgan, Kadir, Noah, & Hassan, 2013; Schmidt & Nilsson, 2006). A previous study that used comparison groups had 48 participants in each study group, which was sufficient for similar unweighted analysis of variance (ANOVA; Stanley & Brown, 1983). Therefore, based on previous similar studies, 50 participants in each study group, for a total $N = 100$, should generate sufficient power for a meaningful analysis of the data. Even though the final sample in the present study consisted of only $N = 75$, a power analysis confirmed a medium effect size (alpha level of .05, 80% power, two-tailed analysis).

**Data collection.** Participants were sent a link to an online questionnaire. There were two versions of the online questionnaire; one, for the group of Israeli immigrant students; the second, for the group of Jewish Canadian students. Once participants visited the web link they found an informed consent letter (Appendix C) that explained the study, its risks and benefits, what is expected of them, and how to contact the researcher. Participants had the option to withdraw
from participation at any point in time. Participants were then asked to answer a number of demographic information questions to identify whether they fit the inclusion criteria for the study (see Appendix B, C, and D). The demographic survey (Appendix D) included questions about participants’ current age, age when first began studies, gender, year in university or college, study major, and whether participants’ parents immigrated in their lifetime. Israeli respondents also answered questions pertaining to the number of years they have been residing in Canada, age at immigration, and their military experience. No identifying information was collected. Students were then directed to complete the 21-item scale Career Factors Inventory (Appendix E). A list of resources was provided at the end of the questionnaire (Appendix F). Participants were compensated by being entered into a draw for a number of Amazon.ca gift cards. The e-mail address required for the draw was not linked to any identifying information or questionnaire responses.

Measures

The current study’s independent variable was participants’ immigrant versus Canadian-born status. The instrument that was used to measure the dependent variable, career indecision, was the Career Factors Inventory (CFI, Chartrand, Robbins, Morrill, & Boggs, 1990). Permission to replicate and use the CFI in an online format was granted by the authors (K. Boggs, Personal communication, November 14, 2014).

Career indecision measure. The CFI yields a four-dimension model of career indecision (Chartrand et al., 1990). The CFI originally consisted of 31 items that were divided into five subscales: Need for Career Information subscale, Need for Self-Knowledge subscale, Career Choice Anxiety subscale, Generalized Indecisiveness subscale, and Self-Esteem subscale (Robbins, Morrill, & Boggs, 1987). Confirmatory factor analysis using college student data
revealed that a four-factor model better fit with the data, and the Self-Esteem factor was removed from the CFI (Chartrand et al., 1990). According to Chartrand et al. (1990), Need for Self-Knowledge is defined as “[perceived] need for self-definition and discovery”. Need for Career Information is “a person’s perceived need to acquire factual data and experience concerning various occupations…” Career Choice Anxiety measures “the level of reported anxiety that is attached to the process of vocational decision making”. Lastly, Generalized Indecisiveness is defined as “a person’s inability to make decisions…”

The revised CFI is a 21-items instrument consisting of two informational scales and two emotional scales: Need for Self-Knowledge (SK, 4 items), Need for Career Information (CI, 6 items), Career Choice Anxiety (CC, 6 items), and Generalized Indecisiveness (GI, 5 items) (Lewis & Savickas, 1995). Respondents rate each of the 21 items on a five-point Likert scale, which has anchors that differ depending on the item. The possible range of scores for the CFI total is between 21 and 105. The scoring range for the four subscales is as follows: SK – 4 to 20, CI – 6 to 30, CC – 6 to 30, and GI – 5 to 25. Higher scores on the scales indicate increased career indecision.

Unlike first generation approaches that measured career indecision as a unidimensional concept (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 302), the CFI considers career indecision to be a multidimensional process, influenced by the four factors. According to Tinsely (1992), indecision is an atheoretical construct despite attempts at quantifying and measuring it. Theory is still lacking, and the debate on whether indecision is a unidimensional or a multidimensional construct is still going strong. For the purposes of this study, indecision will be regarded as a multidimensional concept measured by the four-factor CFI scale. This model is considered more
specific in scope and has been found to be more effective in counseling interventions (Osipow, 1999).

The CFI’s authors (Chartrand, et al., 1990) have found the factors to be internally consistent. Validity and reliability has also been established for the CFI (Lewis & Savickas, 1995). Chartrand et al. (1990) reported test-retest reliability coefficients that ranged from 0.79 to 0.84 for the four scales (a two-week period between testing). A construct discriminant analysis confirmed that the CFI adequately measured career indecision, as it accounted for 40 to 46% of students’ career decidedness ratings (Chartrand et al. 1990). A recent discriminant analysis of 350 college students reported further support for the four-factor model (Dickinson & Tokar, 2004). The same study provided additional support for the discriminant validity of the CFI. It was also found that there was no difference in scores between men and women on the CFI (Dickinson & Tokar, 2004).

**Data Analysis Procedures**

Summary scores were established for the career indecision variable by summing the relevant items on the four subscales of the CFI. The four subscales of the CFI were computed by summing the relevant items for each subscale. All analyses were completed using SPSS software (version 22). Preliminary analysis involved examining descriptive data for CFI total and subscale scores, gender, current age, age when began studies, age at immigration, army service, and parental immigration experience. Pearson product-moment correlations, chi-square tests, independent samples t-test, and one-sample t-tests analyses were conducted utilizing these variables of interest. Since this study is the first to quantitatively measure career indecision in Israeli immigrants, a two-tailed hypothesis was utilized, as the direction in which the means of the two study groups would differ is currently unknown. Alpha level was set to .05.
Researcher

I was born and raised in Israel and immigrated to Canada at the age of 16 with my family. Even though as a young adult I experienced difficulty choosing a career path, and attributed some of the struggle to my own immigration experience and acculturation process, I am cautious about assuming the same about fellow Israeli immigrants. I am keeping an open mind about the direction of the correlation between immigration and career indecision. By direct extension, I chose to conduct a two-tailed analysis of the data and to investigate whether there was any correlation between the two variables, if so in what direction – a positive or a negative correlation, and whether a correlation exists at all.
CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

In order to simplify and maintain consistency throughout this section, the participants in the Jewish Israeli immigrant undergraduate students will be termed the ‘Israeli study group’, whereas the participants who identified as Jewish Canadian undergraduate students will be grouped under the title ‘Canadian study group’.

Preliminary Analyses of Participants Demographic Variables

Descriptive statistics for participants demographics (age, age when first began studies, gender, year of study, study major, and parental immigrant experience) are listed in Table 1. Chi-square and independent samples t-tests were performed for the demographic data. The average age for the participants in this study is $M = 21.50$ ($SD = 2.40$). However, the Israeli group was found to be significantly older ($M = 22.43$, $SD = 2.28$) than the Canadian group ($M = 20.68$, $SD = 2.22$), $t(73) = 3.36$, $p = .001$. The groups also differed in terms of the average age when they first began their postsecondary studies, where the Israeli students were significantly older ($M = 19.97$, $SD = 2.22$) when they first began their studies, compared with the Canadian group ($M = 18.63$, $SD = 1.50$), $t(73) = 3.08$, $p = .003$. No significant differences were found between the groups in terms of gender, year of study, and study major. With regards to participants’ parents immigrating in their lifetime, Israelis were more likely to report having at least one parent who had immigrated in their lifetime (86.5%), compared with the Canadian respondents (52.6%), $\chi^2(1, N = 74) = 10.11$, $p = .001$. For the Israeli participants, this question excluded parents who had immigrated with their children to Canada. This means that parents who had immigrated in their lifetime had done so prior to immigrating with the study’s participants (their children), making the majority of Israeli participants both first-generation immigrants as they had
immigrated during their life, as well as second-generation immigrants as their parents had also experienced immigration prior to having children.

Table 1 *Descriptive statistics for participant demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Total participants</th>
<th>Study group</th>
<th>Statistics of group differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Israeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current age</td>
<td>21.5 (2.40)</td>
<td>20.7 (2.21)</td>
<td>22.4 (2.28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age when first began studies</td>
<td>19.3 (1.99)</td>
<td>18.6 (1.50)</td>
<td>20.0 (2.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of study</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd year</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th year</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ immigration experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents who immigrated</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>86.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian-born parents</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. *p* < .05, **p* < .01
Descriptive statistics for the Israeli group included length of residence in Canada, age at immigration, and IDF army service. The average age at the time of immigration was $M = 17.5$ years ($SD = 3.52$), with a range of 12 to 24 years of age. Israeli participants reported having resided in Canada for an average of $M = 5.11$ years ($SD = 2.63$), with a range of one to 12 years. Lastly, almost half of Israeli participants (46%) reported having served in the IDF.

It was of interest to explore whether those Israelis who had immigrated before the age of 18 differed from those who had immigrated after the age of 18 in terms of IDF army service. It was observed that the majority of participants had either immigrated before the age of 18 or after the age of 20, with only a few participants indicating having immigrated at 19 years of age. The frequency of participants’ age at immigration is summarized in Figure 2.

![Figure 2](image_url)  
*Figure 2* Frequency of Israeli participants' age at immigration.
A chi-square analysis was performed to ascertain whether older Israeli immigrants were more likely to serve in the army versus those who had immigrated before the age of 18, with the assumption that those who immigrated after the age of 18 were only able to do so after they completed their army service. Indeed, 88.2% of Israeli who had immigrated after the age of 18 had served in the Israeli army, whereas only 10% of those who had immigrated prior to the age of 18 chose to serve in the IDF, $\chi^2 (1, N = 37) = 22.65, p < .001$. Since the overwhelming majority of those who immigrated before 18 years of age did not serve in the army, and the majority of those who immigrated after 18 years of age did serve in the army, participants who did not follow this pattern could be considered outliers.

An additional significant difference between those who had immigrated at a younger age versus at an older age was the length of residence in Canada since immigration. Israeli who immigrated before the age of 18 reported an average of 6.6 years of Canadian residence ($SD = 2.48$), while Israelis who immigrated after the age of 18 reported living in Canada for only an average of 3.4 years ($SD = 1.50$), $t(35) = 4.68, p < .0001$.

**Hypothesis Analysis: Immigrant Status and Career Indecision**

Independent samples t-tests were run to compare the two study groups in terms of the total outcome measure, the CFI score, along with participants’ scores on the four CFI subscales (Career Choice Anxiety, Generalized Indecisiveness, Need for Career Information, and Need for Self-Knowledge). Table 2 summarizes the groups’ statistics in terms of scores on the CFI and subscales. Overall, no significant difference was found on the CFI measure of career indecision between the Israeli ($M = 70.92, SD = 12.27$) and Canadian ($M = 71.08, SD = 11.10$) groups, $t(73) = -.059, p = .953$. Similar results were found for the four CFI subscales, with no significant differences between the study groups. Thus, the hypothesis that there would be a difference in
career indecision attitudes2 between Israeli immigrant undergraduate students and Canadian undergraduate students has been rejected.

Table 2 Career indecision scores for by study group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Israeli group</th>
<th>Canadian group</th>
<th>Test for significant differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>t(73) = .059, p = .953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFI total score</td>
<td>70.9 (12.3)</td>
<td>71.1 (11.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Choice Anxiety subscale</td>
<td>18.9 (3.84)</td>
<td>18.3 (4.26)</td>
<td>t(73) = .616, p = .540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Indecisiveness subscale</td>
<td>13.2 (4.67)</td>
<td>14.0 (4.92)</td>
<td>t(73) = -.732, p = .466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Career Information subscale</td>
<td>23.9 (4.28)</td>
<td>22.9 (4.99)</td>
<td>t(73) = .878, p = .383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Self-Knowledge subscale</td>
<td>15.0 (4.41)</td>
<td>15.8 (3.49)</td>
<td>t(73) = -.948, p = .346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Since the groups differed in their age distribution, with the Israeli group being significantly older than the Canadian group, age was controlled for using regression analysis. No significant difference was found between the study groups in terms of CFI score even when age was controlled for, $F(2,72) = .039, p = .962, R^2 = .001$. This was also true for the Career Choice Anxiety subscale, $F(2,72) = .291, p = .749, R^2 = .008$; Generalized Indecisiveness subscale, $F(2,72) = .336, p = .715, R^2 = .009$; Need for Career Information subscale, $F(2,72) = .492, p = .614, R^2 = .013$; and Need for Self-Knowledge subscale, $F(2,72) = .539, p = .586, R^2 = .015$. Thus, there was no significant difference between the groups when age was controlled for in terms of career indecision.

Secondary Outcome Analyses

Bivariate correlations and independent samples t-tests were performed to examine the relationship between the career indecision measures, CFI and its subscales, and the various
demographic data collected from participants. Analyses were completed for all participants as well as by study group.

**Career indecision and age.** A Pearson product-moment correlation analysis was performed to examine the correlation between participants’ current age and career indecision. No significant correlation was found between age and career indecision (CFI total score) for all study participants, \( r(73) = -0.032, p = .78 \). Similarly, non-significant correlations were found for the four career indecision subscales. Age and career indecision measures were then correlated for each of the study groups. No significant correlation was found between age and indecision in the Israeli group, \( r(35) = -0.166, p = .327 \). There was also no significant correlation between age and indecision in the Canadian group, \( r(36) = 0.115, p = .49 \). Even though no significant correlations were found, it is important to note that the Pearson correlation coefficients were opposite in direction for the two study groups. In the Israeli group, as participants’ age increased, their CFI scores decreased, indicating decreased career indecision. The opposite trend was found for the Canadian group: as participants’ age increased, so did their CFI scores, indicating greater career indecision.

**Career indecision and age when first began post-secondary studies.** A Pearson product-moment correlation analysis was performed to measure the correlation between participants’ age when they first began their postsecondary education and career indecision. No significant correlation was found between age at studies onset and career indecision (CFI total score), \( r(73) = -0.066, p = .57 \). Similarly, no significant correlations were found when the study groups were analyzed by study group. Interestingly, albeit statistically insignificant, the Israeli and Canadian groups exhibited opposite directionality in the correlations between age at studies onset and career indecision (Table 3). For the CFI total score, as Israelis’ reported age when they
first began their studies increased, their indecision scores decreased. The opposite was true for the Canadian group; the older they were when they first began their academic studies, the higher their CFI scores were, indicating increased indecision. The most pronounced trend, though statistically insignificant, was observed for the Generalized Indecisiveness subscale, where the correlation coefficient for the Israeli group was $r(35) = -.252, p = .13$, and for the Canadian group it was $r(36) = .202, p = .46$. The Generalized Indecisiveness subscale measures “the inability to make decisions, even when the necessary conditions for decision making exist” (Lewis & Savickas, 1995, p. 46). The graph in Figure 3 illustrates the relationship between age at studies onset and Generalized Indecisiveness scale for both study groups.

Table 3 Correlation coefficients for relationship between age at studies onset and career indecision measures for total participants and by study group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Total participants</th>
<th>Study group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pearson correlation (r) with significance level (p)</td>
<td>Israeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFI total score</td>
<td>$r = -.066, p = .574$</td>
<td>$r = -.188, p = .265$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Choice Anxiety subscale</td>
<td>$r = -.040, p = .734$</td>
<td>$r = -.163, p = .334$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Indecisiveness subscale</td>
<td>$r = -.084, p = .473$</td>
<td>$r = -.252, p = .133$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Career Information subscale</td>
<td>$r = .061, p = .606$</td>
<td>$r = .061, p = .719$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Self-Knowledge subscale</td>
<td>$r = -.122, p = .296$</td>
<td>$r = -.173, p = .305$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01
Career indecision and gender. An independent samples t-test analysis was performed to determine if there was a relationship between gender and career indecision. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 4. When looking at all participants, the mean group difference for career indecision for males and females approached significance, with females’ CFI total scores ($M = 72.88$, $SD = 11.10$) being almost 5 points higher than the males ($M = 68.00$, $SD = 11.64$), $t(72) = 1.84$, $p = .071$. When the four CFI subscales were examined, the Generalized Indecisiveness (GI) scale was the only subscale that reached a significant difference, with females’ GI scores ($M = 14.81$, $SD = 5.08$) being significantly higher than the males’ ($M = 12.00$, $SD = 3.97$), $t(72) = 2.58$, $p = .012$. This finding indicates that females reported higher generalized indecisiveness scores than the male participants.
Table 4 Career indecision scores by gender for all participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Test for significant differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFI total score</td>
<td>72.88 (11.10)</td>
<td>11.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Choice Anxiety subscale</td>
<td>19.21 (3.89)</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Indecisiveness subscale</td>
<td>14.81 (5.08)</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Career Information subscale</td>
<td>23.64 (4.09)</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Self-Knowledge subscale</td>
<td>15.21 (4.15)</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                               | Independent samples t-test |
|                               | $t(72) = 1.84, p = .071^*$ |
|                               | $t(72) = 1.64, p = .106$ |
|                               | $t(72) = 2.58, p = .012^*$ |
|                               | $t(72) = .736, p = .464$ |
|                               | $t(72) = -.272, p = .786$ |

*Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$. $^*$ Approaching significance ($p < .10$).

Similar trends were observed when the two study groups were analyzed. The Israeli group exhibited similar results (summarized in Table 5), with females reporting higher scores on the GI subscale ($M = 14.16, SD = 5.12$) compared with the males ($M = 11.17, SD = 2.72$), yet this difference only approached significant levels, $t(35) = .189, p = .067$. No other significant differences were found between gender and CFI total score and the rest of the subscales for the Israeli group.
Table 5 *Career indecision scores by gender for Israeli participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Test for significant differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females M (SD)</td>
<td>Males M (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFI total score</td>
<td>72.64 (13.41)</td>
<td>67.33 (8.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Choice Anxiety subscale</td>
<td>19.48 (3.93)</td>
<td>17.75 (3.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Indecisiveness subscale</td>
<td>14.16 (5.12)</td>
<td>11.17 (2.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Career Information subscale</td>
<td>23.76 (4.58)</td>
<td>24.08 (3.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Self-Knowledge subscale</td>
<td>15.24 (4.80)</td>
<td>14.33 (3.58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. a Approaching significance (p < .10). In the Canadian group, females reported significantly higher GI scores (M = 15.76, SD = 5.02) than the male participants (M = 12.50, SD = 4.55), t(35) = 2.08, p = .045. No significant difference was found in terms of gender differences for the CFI total score and the rest of the CFI subscales (summarized in Table 6). Overall, across all participants and within each study group, findings suggest that female participants score significantly higher on the General Indecisiveness subscale.
Table 6 *Career indecision scores by gender for Canadian participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Test for significant differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFI total score</td>
<td>73.24 (6.78)</td>
<td>68.40 (13.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Choice Anxiety subscale</td>
<td>18.82 (3.92)</td>
<td>17.65 (4.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Indecisiveness subscale</td>
<td>15.76 (5.02)</td>
<td>12.50 (4.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Career Information subscale</td>
<td>23.47 (3.36)</td>
<td>22.10 (6.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for Self-Knowledge subscale</td>
<td>15.18 (3.11)</td>
<td>16.15 (3.77)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. *a Approaching significance (p < .10).

**Career indecision and study year.** An independent samples t-test analysis was performed to ascertain the relationship between participants’ study year and career indecision.

No significant difference in career indecision was found between participants who indicated they were in their first or second year of studies \((M = 70.19, SD = 10.88)\) compared with those in their third or fourth year \((M = 71.43, SD = 12.07)\), \(t(72) = -.44, p = .664\). There was also no difference between the groups when looking at the four CFI subscales. Similar results were obtained when analyzing the groups independently, with no difference found in career indecision scores between participants in their junior years of studies and those in their senior years. However, even though the differences in career indecision were insignificant, there was a difference in the direction of mean differences within the groups. In the Israeli study group, upper year students reported lower indecision scores \((M = 70.38, SD = 10.94)\) compared with Israelis in junior years \((M = 72.18, SD = 15.49)\). On the other hand, an opposite trend was observed for the Canadian study group. Senior Canadian students reported higher indecision scores \((M = 72.61, SD = 13.38)\) compared with junior students \((M = 68.73, SD = 5.87)\). Thus,
there appears to be an opposite trend between the two study groups in terms of the effect of study year and career indecision. Upper year Israelis reported lower indecision whereas upper year Canadian students reported higher indecision scores. It is important to note that the mean differences were not deemed to be statistically significant and so these trends are simply regarded as general trends.

**Career indecision and study major.** An independent samples t-test analysis was performed to ascertain the relationship between study major and career indecision measures. In the Israeli study group, no significant difference in career indecision was found between the participants were deemed in an arts \((M = 70.04, SD = 12.17)\) versus a science major \((M = 72.54)\), \(t(35) = -.59, p = .562\). There were also no significant differences within the CFI subscales. The Canadian study group displayed similar findings, with no difference in career indecision between those enrolled in an arts major \((M = 70.88, SD = 10.54)\) and those who declared a science major \((M = 71.50, SD = 12.72)\), \(t(36) = -.157, p = .876\).

**Career indecision and parents’ immigration experience.** Preliminary analyses indicated that the Israeli and Canadian groups differed in their distribution of parents who had immigrated in their own lifetime, with 86.5% of Israeli participants reporting having at least one parent who had immigrated compared with 52.6% of Canadians, \(\chi^2 (1, N = 74) = 10.11, p = .001\). There was no significant difference between participants who reported having at least one immigrant parent \((M = 70.58, SD = 10.96)\) and participants who did not report having immigrant parents \((M = 71.96, SD = 13.18)\), \(t(73) = .472, p = .638\). No differences were found for the CFI subscales. Within the Israeli group, there was no significant difference between those who had immigrant parent(s) \((M = 70.31, SD = 12.92)\) and those who did not \((M = 74.80, SD = 6.30)\) in terms of CFI total score, \(t(35) = .78, p = .455\). The Canadian group displayed similar results, with
no CFI total difference between participants who had indicated that their parents were immigrants \((M = 71.00, SD = 7.07)\) and participants whose parents were born in Canada \((M = 71.07, SD = 14.57)\), \(t(36) = .046, p = .964\). In sum, there was no significant difference in terms of career indecision between those who indicated having immigrant parent(s) and those who did not.

**Career indecision and length of residence in Canada and age at immigration.** A Pearson product-moment correlation analysis was performed to measure the correlation between Israeli participants’ length of Canadian residence and age at immigration and career indecision. No significant correlation was found between length of residence in Canada and career indecision (CFI total score), \(r(35) = .183, p = .283\). No significant correlations were found for the four CFI subscales.

A weak negative correlation was found for the relationship between age at immigration and career indecision, \(r(35) = -.259, p = .121\), although it was not statistically significant. This finding indicates a general negative correlation between age at immigration and career indecision. The older participants were when they immigrated to Canada, the lower their CFI total scores, indicating decreased career indecision.

As previously mentioned, preliminary analyses identified two distinct subgroups within the Israeli group – those who had immigrated prior to age 18 and did not serve in the IDF, and those who had immigrated after the age of 18 and had served in the IDF. An independent samples t-test analysis was run to investigate whether the two subgroups differed in terms of career indecision. The only significant difference between the two Israeli subgroups was evident in the Need for Self-Knowledge subscale, where those who were older at immigration reporting lower scores \((M = 13.41, SD = 4.78)\) than those who were younger when they immigrated \((M = \ldots)\).
16.25, \(SD = 3.70\), \(t(35) = 2.04, p = .05\). This indicates that Israelis who had immigrated later in life and most likely served in the army reported decreased need for self-knowledge compared with their younger counterparts who did not serve in the army.

Further analyses were completed to compare the subgroups with the Canadian participants. There was no difference in career indecision between the Canadian group and the younger-at-immigration Israeli group. When the Canadian group was compared with the older-at-immigration Israeli subgroup, there was a statistical difference within the Need for Self-Knowledge subscale, similar to the difference observed between the younger and older Israeli subgroups. Older-at-immigration Israelis who had served in the army reported lower scores on the Self-Knowledge subscale \((M = 13.41, SD = 4.78)\) than the Canadian group \((M = 15.82, SD = 3.50)\), \(t(53) = 2.10, p = .041\). An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) test was run to control for the effect of age on the difference between the two subgroups. When age was controlled for, the statistical difference between the two groups had remained, \(F(1,2) = .314, p = .577, R^2 = .035\).

Overall, the Israelis who immigrated after the age of 18 reported lower scores on the Self-Knowledge subscale when compared with both the Canadian group and the younger-at-immigration Israeli subgroup.

**Career indecision and IDF army service.** An independent samples t-test analysis was performed to ascertain the relationship between IDF army service and career indecision. When comparing Israelis who served in the IDF and participants who did not serve (both Canadian and Israeli), no significant difference was found between those who served in the army \((M = 71.08, SD = 11.10)\) and those who did not \((M = 69.00, SD = 8.85)\), in terms of their CFI total scores, \(t(53) = -.680, p = .499\). No significant differences were found for the four CFI subscales as well. An additional analysis examined Israelis who had served in the IDF in comparison to Israeli
participants who did not serve in the army. In this case, although there were no significant differences on the CFI total score, the difference between the two types of participants was approaching significance on the General Indecisiveness subscale, \( t(35) = 1.84, p = .074 \). Hence, Israelis who had served in the IDF had lower general indecisiveness scores (\( M = 69.00, SD = 8.85 \)) than Israelis who did not serve in the IDF (\( M = 72.55, SD = 14.60 \)), although this result only approached significant levels.

**Comparison of the present study’s CFI and reported CFI scores.** The last set of analyses examined the differences in CFI total means between the current study and reported sample means from previous studies. A 1995 study that examined the validity of the CFI scale reported a CFI total mean of 53.04 (Lewis & Savickas, 1995). The sample used in the 1995 study was a convenience sample drawn from a college in the US. A one-sample t-test was run to compare the current study’s CFI total mean of \( M = 71.00 \) (\( SD = 11.61, N = 75 \)) with the aforementioned published study. Results showed a significant difference between the two means. Participants in the present study obtained much higher scores on the CFI than did participants in the 1995 study, indicating increased career indecision scores (\( M = 53.04 \)), \( t(74) = 13.39, p < .0001 \). A more recent study that conducted a confirmatory analysis for the CFI reported a CFI mean total score of 66.07 for its sample population of 512 randomly selected college students in the US (Simon & Tovar, 2004). Even though the 2004 study’s total CFI score was higher than the 1995 score, it was still significantly lower than the current study’s mean CFI score, \( t(74) = 3.68, p = .0004 \). Overall, this present study’s student sample reported higher career indecision scores, indicating increased endorsement of career indecision attitudes, compared with two previous studies using the CFI measure.
CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between career indecision and immigrant status. Specifically, the present study sought to investigate whether Jewish Israeli undergraduate students differed in their career indecision attitude compared with Jewish Canadian undergraduate students. It was hypothesized that the study groups would differ in their career indecision due to social and cultural differences along with varying career development trajectories. In addition, the study aimed to investigate the relationship between career indecision measures and participant demographic factors such as age, age when first started studies, study year, study major, parents’ immigration experience, length of residence in Canada, age at immigration, and IDF army service participation. This chapter presents findings, limitations, and directions for future research in order of analysis.

Preliminary Analyses of Demographic Variables

Preliminary analyses examined group differences across collected demographic variables, including participants’ current age, age when first began their studies, study year, study major, and parents’ immigration experience. Israeli participants also provided data describing their length of Canadian residence, age at immigration, and IDF army service participation. Results showed that the study groups did not differ in terms of gender, year of study, and study major.

Israeli undergraduate students were significantly older than their Canadian counterparts, both at the time of this study and when they first began post-secondary education. This finding is consistent with previous research, albeit a limited amount of studies have researched immigrants completing post-secondary studies. Although they did not directly study age, Sinacore and Lerner (2013) conducted interviews with immigrant undergraduate students in Quebec whose ages ranged from 19 to 28. This is a considerably older age range compared to the traditional
North American age at entry, typically around 18 years of age (Statistics Canada, 2012). A large Israeli study that looked at Israeli undergraduates’ alcohol consumption patterns explained the participants’ unconventionally-older age: “Israeli university students tend to be older than their counterparts from other countries because they are obligated to provide, normally, two to three years of service to the military upon completion of high school” (Israelowitz & Peleg, 1996). Other Israeli studies cited similar age ranges, with a mean Israeli undergraduate students ages of 24 years (Carmi, 2013; Rubinstein, 1995) and 28 years (Heiman, 2004). What is of note, here, is that even though half of the Israeli participants in the current study did not enlist in the army, as a group, they were still significantly older when they first began their studies compared with the Canadian group. It is important to note that although the difference in age was statistically significant, the mean difference was less than two years. This raises the question of whether this statistical difference translates into clinical difference. It was found that Israelis who enrolled at an older age were also more likely to serve in the army. When analyses controlled for age, a relationship was still present for army service and reduced career indecision attitudes. Thus, it seems that it is not age per se that might influence career indecision; rather, it is some sort of meaningful activity, such as military experience, that takes place between the ages of 18 to 20, that is helpful in reducing career indecision. This finding is discussed at length in the discussion of demographic variables in the following sections.

Another group difference that was noted was that the percentage of Israeli immigrants who reported having at least one parent who had immigrated in their own lifetime was significantly higher than the percentage of Canadians participants who reported having at least one immigrant parent. This finding is not surprising, as Israel was established on Jewish migration. The establishment of the State of Israel followed the tragic events of Holocaust, and
Israel then became known as the Jewish people’s state. Less than a year later, in 1949, mass immigration waves hit Israel and by 1961, over one million new immigrants arrived in Israel (Seidelman, 2012). Currently, 70% of Jews in Israel are second- and third-generation immigrants, while the rest are first-generation immigrants (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010). In contrast, only about 40,000 Jewish Holocaust survivors arrived in Canada after World War II. The population of Canadian Jews has grown little, despite recent immigration from Jewish immigrants from Israel, the USSR, and other countries (Shahar, 2001). Thus, the current study’s finding of significant differences between the study groups’ parental immigration experience is in line with current Jewish immigrant populations.

The average age at migration for the Israeli participants was 17.5, indicating that most participants had immigrated in their late adolescent years. Upon inspection, it became apparent that the majority of immigrant either immigrated before the age of 18 or after the age of 20. There were only two participants who immigrated at 19. This is probably due to Israel’s mandatory conscription laws. Meaning, those who had immigrated after the age of 18 would have only been able to do so after the mandatory two years of army service. In addition, those who had immigrated before the age of 18 were more likely to remain in Canada and not choose to enlist (Israelis who leave Israel as minors are exempt from military service). Indeed, 88% of those who immigrated after 18 reported having served in the IDF, whereas only 10% of those who immigrated before the age of 18 reported army enlistment.

The average number of years that Israeli immigrants have resided in Canada was 5.11 years. However, there was a significant difference in the number of years of Canadian residence between Israelis who had immigrated before the age of 18 and Israelis who had immigrated after the age of 18. The younger immigrants reported a longer residence time of almost seven years,
compared with a little over three years of residence for the older Israeli immigrants. It could be assumed, then, that Israelis who immigrated at a younger age and had lived in Canada for a longer period of time would become more assimilated and acculturated to Canadian culture compared with the older Israeli immigrants (Yoon, Langrehr, & Ong, 2011)

Main Hypothesis: Immigrant Status and Career Indecision

The current study’s main hypothesis concerned Israeli immigrant undergraduate students and Canadian undergraduate students in terms of their career indecision attitudes, as measured by the Career Factors Inventory (CFI). As previously mentioned, the two study hypotheses were as follows:

1. It was hypothesized that Israeli participants will differ from Canadian participants in their career indecision attitudes.

2. It was hypothesized that the two study groups would differ in terms of demographic variables due to cultural and immigration experience, though no specific hypotheses were made due to lack of previous research.

Since there was very limited research on the impact of early adulthood immigration on individuals’ career indecision attitudes, a two-tailed hypothesis was used to frame the current study as an exploratory study. The following findings ought to be interpreted with caution due to a small sample size. The results demonstrated no group difference in terms of career indecision. The current study showed that the mean scores for career indecision as measured by the CFI were not significantly different for the two study groups. Thus, it appears that as a whole, Jewish Israeli-immigrant undergraduate students and Jewish Canadian undergraduate students do not differ in their career indecision attitudes. Therefore, based on the study’s results, it is possible to reject hypotheses one and two to accept the third hypothesis.
The lack of group difference may be explained by increased demographic heterogeneity of the study samples and temporal acculturation. Sample heterogeneity within the Israeli group might have contributed to the acceptance of the null hypothesis and lack of differences observed between the two main study groups. Two distinct subgroups emerged within the Israeli group during analysis. It appears that there are two types of Israeli immigrant students. The first type includes those who immigrated prior to age 18 and did not serve in the IDF, and the second type includes those who had spent two to three years in the Israeli military and consequently only immigrated after the age of 18. These two types significantly differed in their scores on the Need for Self-Knowledge subscale. The Need for Self-Knowledge subscale measures “a person's need for self-definition and discovery; a person with low self-knowledge may have a confused identity, with poor clarity of personal qualities such as capabilities and interests” (Chartrand J. M., Robbins, Morrill, & Boggs, 1990, p. 46). The older Israelis who had served in the military reported a lower need for self-knowledge and discovery compared with the younger Israelis. This finding was still significant when age was controlled for, indicating that the group difference was due to the participants’ age at immigration (and its correlated army service) rather than participants’ age. This is an interesting finding, questioning the assumption that as individuals mature over time their identity becomes more distilled and certain, as hypothesized by Super (1955).

Another plausible explanation for the lack of observed group difference is the Israeli group’s average length of residence in Canada. The average number of years of Canadian residence for all Israeli participants was approximately five years. Michel, Titzmann, and Silbereisen (2012) defined two types of immigrants according to length of residence – newcomers and experienced, with newcomers having less than six years of residence and
experienced immigrants having six or more years of residence. This specific time frame was chosen as many of the acculturation tasks, such as mastering a second language, are expected to have been completed in that time period. Acquiring a second language, a challenge faced by many immigrants, takes less time for younger immigrants, with an average of five years for adolescent immigrants, compared with the average of 10 years for adult immigrants (Birman & Trickett, 2006; Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000). It is thus assumed that experienced immigrants would face fewer acculturation challenges than newcomers. It could be argued that this study’s Israeli immigrants can be considered experienced immigrants due to their average length of residence in Canada and their relatively young age at immigration. Further evidence that suggests that at least some of the Israeli participants in this study have become acculturated can be found in the lack of significant difference in career indecision between the Israeli subgroup that immigrated at a younger age and the Canadian group. The literature supports the notion of faster assimilation of younger immigrants (Cheung, Maciej, & Heine, 2011). Since there was no statistical difference between the Canadian group and the younger-at-immigration Israeli participants, it could be postulated that the younger Israelis have become acculturated over time, as the average number of years of Canadian residence was almost seven for this subgroup. This would explain why there were no major differences observed in the CFI total score.

Secondary Analyses: Demographic Factors and Career Indecision

Secondary analyses included analysis of the relationship of career indecision and current age, age when first started studies, study year, study major, parents’ immigration experience. Israeli participants also reported demographic data for length of Canadian residence, age at immigration, and IDF army service participation, which were also examined in relation to career indecision. No hypotheses were made about the demographic data collected as only a handful of
previous studies have examined these demographic factors in relation to career indecision in an immigrant sample.

**Career indecision and current age, age when first began studies, and study year.**
Participants’ current age, age when they first started their study programs, and study year were evaluated in relation to career indecision in the present study. Overall, there were no significant correlations between any of these related variables and indecision. Based on developmental theories, such as Super’s (1957), one would have expected a strong negative correlation between age and career indecision. However, there have been mixed results in research examining the effect of age on career indecision. Recent research using a Canadian sample such as the one by Daniels, Stewart, Stupinsky, Perry and LoVerso (2011) found that age had little effect on career anxiety and career indecision. On the other hand, Kinnier, Brigman, and Noble (1990) found that older undergraduate and graduate students tended to be more decided than younger students.

When looking at career decision self-efficacy, which is negatively related to career indecision (Taylor & Betz, 1983), Choi, et al. (2012) found a small but significant positive correlation between age and career decision self-efficacy. It is reasonable to hypothesize that students in their junior years of study would score higher on the career indecision measures as they faced greater adjustment challenges compared with senior students (Perry, 2003). However, this hypothesis was not supported. Previous research findings have been mixed in this domain. Earlier studies have found that college freshmen expressed significantly more career indecision than senior students (Guerra & Braungart-Rieker, 1999). Gallagher, Golin and Kelleher (1992) also reported that first-year university students experience increased uncertainty in the career domain. On the other hand, Daniels, Stewart, Stupinsky, Perry, and LoVerso (2011) found no effect of year of study on career anxiety and indecision. Nauta (2012) also did not find any
significant associations between age, year of study, and career indecision factors. All of these findings suggest that some aspects of career indecision might be temporally persistent and may not decrease over time. If these findings were to be replicated with larger samples, it would be of interest to re-evaluate career indecision as a developmental process.

An interesting trend that was found, albeit statistically insignificant, is the direction of the relationships between age, age at studies, and indecision in the two study groups. In the Israeli group, as participants’ current age increased, their indecision scores decreased, indicating decreased indecision. The exact opposite correlation was found for the Canadian group; as their age increased, their indecision increased. The same pattern was found for participants’ age when they first began their academic studies, with Israelis becoming less indecisive as their age of entry increased, and Canadians becoming more indecisive as their age of entry increased. A cultural explanation of differences in career maturity might shed some light on this finding. Israeli adolescents are faced with additional social roles compared to North American youth (Adler & Kahane, 1984). Even though only half of this study’s Israeli participants actually served in the military, all of the Israeli participants lived in Israel until the age of 13 and were therefore exposed to these roles and expectations. This might result in increased maturity levels among the Israeli participants, an area that is worthy of further research.

An additional explanation includes differences in education systems. The Canadian secondary education system places great emphasis on students choosing an academic versus applied stream of studies. This typically means that one’s course choice starting in the ninth grade determines whether one will apply for and attain post-secondary education. The education system in Israel is different. As the majority of high school graduates go on and enlist in the army, the choice of an academic and career goal is delayed by a number of years (Willner, Gati,
& Guan, 2015). In addition, it is uncommon for Israelis to pursue a non-declared major in Israel. In Israeli, most post-secondary degrees require a major declaration and professional degrees such as law, medicine, and so on are considered bachelor degrees. In Canada, these professions typically require a bachelors degree followed by a graduate-level professional degree. These would result in a delay in career decision-making and would direct students to choose a profession as soon as they enter university. Since Israelis are also older when they enter university or college, as seen even in this study, the risk of being indecisive about one’s career is greater. This might explain why Israelis become more decisive about their career as they age – the risk of changing one’s mind about one’s career choice holds greater consequences in individuals’ mid-twenties compared to teenage undergraduate students. It would be of interest to investigate whether changing one’s career path is seen as a risk for mature students and for immigrants in general.

Conversely, as they grew older, Canadian participants reported increased career indecision. This phenomenon can be also traced to Canadian education. Most Canadian students, enter post-secondary institutions right after high school graduation. It could therefore be hypothesized that as students become more familiar with academia and their own interests and strengths, they reconsider their initial career goals and become less decisive as they enter senior years in university.

Career indecision and gender. The present study did not find a difference in CFI scores between genders, although results of women with higher scores on the CFI total measure approached significance. It is assumed that a larger sample size would produce a significant gender difference, as this finding has been reported in the development and validation study of the CFI measure (Chartrand et al., 1990). More current studies, on the other hand, did not find a
difference between the genders (Dickinson & Tokar, 2004). A meta-analytic study that investigated the relationship between career decision self-efficacy and other variables found no correlation between gender and career decision self-efficacy (Choi, et al., 2012). The only gender difference that was statistically significant in the present study was females’ higher scores on the General Indecisiveness (GI) subscale, which measures chronic decision-making difficulties that is otherwise not related to career decision-making. This finding is consistent with previous research, where female participants reported higher scores on the GI subscale (Lewis & Savickas, 1995). One explanation for the gender difference found in this study and other previous studies might be that women are more willing to report feelings of anxiety compared to male participants, a hypothesis that is supported by previous research on gender and emotions (Brody & Hall, 1993). Daniels, et al. (2011) found that gender was a significant negative predictor of career anxiety. Males reported less career anxiety than females. Unlike Daniels et al. (2011)’s finding, this present research did not find any difference between genders on the CFI’s Career Choice Anxiety subscale. On the other hand, it could also be the case that women truly experience more career-related anxiety and indecision, as women are still faced with a wide wage gap (Blau & Kahn, 2000) and discrimination in certain career fields (McElwain, Korabik, & Rosin, 2005).

**Career indecision and study major.** The present study analyzed career indecision attitudes as they may relate to participants’ chosen study major. Surprisingly, this study did not find any significant difference in terms of career indecision between those who declared an arts major and those who declared a science major. Previous research, such as the study by Daniels et al. (2011), found that undergraduate students in professional faculties experienced less career anxiety and career indecision than arts-majoring students. Moreover, Guerra and Braungart-
Rieker (1999) found that students enrolled in social science majors expressed more career indecision than those enrolled in pre-professional programs. There is some evidence to suggest that it is actually not the type of study major per se, that plays a role in career indecision, but that it is actually whether students have committed to an occupationally oriented major. For example, Kim (2012) found that students who majored in education and medicine, both occupationally-oriented study majors, scored higher on a career decision-making scale than those who specialized in the humanities. In sum, the present study did not find any differences in career indecision between students who specialize in arts and humanities and students who major in science-related fields. It is of interest for future studies to examine whether the lack of group difference is consistent with other groups of immigrants or whether it is a finding that is unique only to the present study’s sample.

**Career indecision and first-generation immigrant parents.** Career indecision was analyzed against participants’ parental immigration experience, i.e. whether participants’ parent(s) had immigrated at least once in their lifetime. For Israeli participants, this meant having parents that had immigrated at least once before coming to Canada, if they had immigrated with their parents. There was no difference in career indecision between participants with first-generation immigrant parents and participants with non-immigrant parents. Even though immigrant youth typically feel a strong sense of obligation towards their parents (Taylor & Krahn, 2013), there appears to be no difference in terms of career decision making between them and their Canadian participants. It would be of interest to explore whether the same result is present in other culturally diverse immigrant youth.

**Career indecision and length of residence in Canada, age at immigration, and army service.** Data regarding Israeli participants’ length of residence in Canada and age when they
first immigrated to Canada was collected and analyzed. No relationship was found between Israelis’ length of residence in Canada and career indecision. On the other hand, a weak negative correlation was found between Israeli participants’ age at immigration and career indecision, although it was statistically insignificant. As previously mentioned, the Israeli group was subdivided into two subgroups based on age at immigration – those who had immigrated prior to age 18 and those who had immigrated after 18. There was a strong correlation between those who had immigrated before 18 years of age and not enlisting in the army. There was also a strong correlation between those who had immigrated after 18 years of age and having served in the Israeli military. When these subgroups were compared in terms of career indecision, two significant findings were obtained. First, it was found that the Israelis who had immigrated at an older age scored significantly lower on the Need for Self-Knowledge subscale, when compared to both the younger Israeli subgroup and the Canadian group. Moreover, there was no significant difference between the younger Israeli subgroup and the Canadian group, indicating that these two groups are more similar than they are different. This is probably due to the younger Israeli subgroup’s lengthy time of residence in Canada (seven years), which made the Israelis who had immigrated at a younger age more acculturated than those who had immigrated at an older age. This finding cannot be separated from participants’ army service, as almost 90% of those who had immigrated at an older age served in the army, and 90% of those who immigrated at an earlier age did not serve in the army. Thus, Israelis who immigrated at a later age and most likely served in the army felt less need to explore their identity, interests, and abilities when it came to career decision making. This finding was present even when age was controlled for, indicating that army service is most likely the contributing factor for the older Israelis’ confidence in their identity and self-knowledge. It is fair to assume that two to three
years of mandatory army service would enrich and aid in the identity development process of young recruits, resulting in less reported need for identity exploration. No previous research has examined the impact of mandatory military service on emerging adults’ sense of self and identity. It would be of value for future research to include comparison groups of both non-Jewish, non-immigrant Canadian young adults and a group of non-immigrant Israelis who had served in the military and remained in Israel, to further understand the effect of immigration and military service on career indecision facets, such as need for self-knowledge.

Super’s Theory Applied to the Current Study’s Findings

Overall, a lack of group difference in terms of career indecision is a surprising finding. According to Super’s theory, individuals go through a developmental process of career development and eventual career choice. As such, immigration experience was hypothesized to have some effect on the career trajectory of immigrant youth. When Israelis are compared with North American participants, one would expect to see a difference in the career trajectory between the two groups, due to cultural and developmental differences.

An interesting finding that diverged from Super’s theory was the lack of significant effect of age and study year on career indecision. Super’s self-concept and maturity concepts contend that as individuals mature over time they become more decisive with their career choice. However, this study did not find a significant relationship between participants’ age and study year and career indecision attitudes. Thus, the assumption of the existence of a linear relationship between age and maturity is called into question. It is plausible that other measures of maturity, other than age, play a role in career indecision. For example, the current study found that Israelis who had served in the military reported a lower need for identity self-exploration. It can be stipulated, then, that life experiences such as military service contribute to self-concept and
identity development, thereby aiding in the maturity process and readiness for making a career choice.

It is important to note that Super’s theory might not apply to this study’s sample due to cultural differences. Super’s theory was originally based on Caucasian, male-dominated, North American culture of work. His theory might not apply to Jews as a whole, as the experience of being a religious and cultural minority might not align with the experiences of White, Anglo-Saxon Canadians. Additionally, Super did not include immigration as part of his theoretical framework, and it could be argued that North American progression of career development differs from that of other cultures and/or immigrants.

Super’s theory, like many other vocational theories at the time, was based entirely on male populations. The current study found a significant difference between males and females in terms of generalized indecisiveness. Gender difference in career development might also play a role in career indecision, a finding that is not present in Super’s theory.

Thus, the current study’s findings do not support some of Super’s theory’s main tenants, such as gradual career development process and self-concept maturity over time. Future studies could expand the work of the current study by applying Super’s theory to other cultures and immigrant groups to ascertain the fit between this developmental theory and diverse populations’ vocational experiences.

**CFI Validity for Current Sample**

Comparison of the present study’s CFI total score with previous studies that have used the CFI measure was not originally planned. Once analysis was finished, it seemed reasonable to compare this study’s participants’ average CFI total score with that of the original published CFI manual. Surprisingly, the mean difference between the current study and the CFI validation
study was 18 points and statistically significant. The current study’s participants scored much higher on the CFI (average score of 71) than did the undergraduate students in the original 1995 validation study (average score of 53) by Lewis and Savickas. A more recent study that used the CFI reported a mean score of 66 – much higher than the published value, yet still significantly lower than the current study’s mean CFI score. This finding can be interpreted in one of two ways. First, it is entirely plausible that this study’s unique population of Jewish Canadian students and Jewish Israeli immigrant students is significantly more indecisive than the general population of North American undergraduate students. The CFI has not been previously used with immigrant or minority populations, and it could be that the regular norms do not adequately apply to immigrant and/or religious minorities. Moreover, since one of the main commonalities between the two study groups was the Jewish religion, it is of interest to explore whether religion plays a role in career indecision. Second, it is possible that since it has been over 25 years since the CFI was originally published, it might not reflect career indecision attitudes of current emerging adults. Since this study was not the only study with significantly higher CFI total scores than the originally published CFI, it might be time to re-evaluate the applicability and construct validity of the CFI measure.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current study addresses important gaps in the literature on career indecision attitudes of young immigrant populations, there were a number of limitations in the research design. Research limitations of the current study include its relatively small sample size. Making up only a fraction of the general Canadian population, this group was not readily accessible. Almost half of respondents who began the online survey did not complete it, and a fair number completed it in part. This led to the disqualification of these respondents, resulting in a smaller
than expected sample size. This limitation could be traced to the online nature of the study, where there is less control over participants’ qualifying demographic factors, responses, and survey completion. This small sample size may have limited the ability to detect significant effects, resulting in fewer relationships that was may actually exist in this population.

The cross-sectional nature of this study is an additional methodological limitation. It limits the ability to draw causal and directional inferences. A longitudinal study would contribute to the current knowledge by following immigrants and Canadians over time to examine the effects of age on career indecision attitudes. An additional shortcoming is the use of only a single measure of career indecision. Additional measures of career indecision would have strengthened the results obtained in this study, as findings currently rest on the CFI measure alone. Future studies could incorporate multiple measures of career indecision in emerging adult populations.

The generalizability of this study’s results should be cautiously applied, as the immigrant sample and the control group in this study were unique and specific in terms of religion and cultural identification. Moreover, the current study’s sample is unique amongst immigrant groups as immigrant Jews tend to be highly educated and of an upper socio-economic background. This might limit the present study’s findings and generalizability to other immigrant groups. Future research may benefit from examining career indecision in other immigrant groups. In addition, the Jewish population is culturally divided into Ashkenazi Jews (Jews who originated from Central and Eastern Europe) and Sephardic Jews (Jews who originated from Spain and later on in Northern Africa and Arab countries). The cultural divide between the two types of Jews is vast. Future research looking into career indecision in Jewish populations could include this demographic variable.
As previously mentioned, the present study would have benefitted from the inclusion of two additional study groups. The addition of study group of Israeli residents in Israel would reveal personality and cultural differences between them and the Israelis who have immigrated to Canada. Since this study’s sample have resided in Canada for a number of years, it could be that acculturation played a role in the lack of an observed difference between the Canadian group and the Israeli immigrant group. Additionally, including a control group of Canadian-born, non-immigrant students from the general population would shed light on whether observed differences were due to Canadian upbringing. The current study’s control group was a religious minority.

Additional variables that may mediate and moderate the relationship between immigration status and career indecision could be perceived control, self-efficacy, and socioeconomic status. All of these variables are known to have an effect on career indecision attitudes, and future research could possibly include these variables in analysis.

Counseling Implications

The findings of the present study provide important clinical implications in the area of career counseling and career indecision. Even though the present study did not find a difference in terms of career indecision in the Israeli immigrant population, further research is needed to ascertain whether that difference exists in other immigrant communities. Career guidance counselor and career centres that are often present in colleges and universities ought to educate themselves about multicultural practices. By doing so, they can incorporate students’ cultural values into the career decision-making process, thereby allowing for a more holistic and wholesome experience for students.
The present study’s total career indecision scores were extremely high, indicating that undergraduate students in this sample experienced more career decision-making difficulties than other study populations. It is worthy, then, to provide special attention and career guidance to both immigrant and non-immigrant undergraduate students who are facing numerous academic and future vocational challenges as they complete their post-secondary education.

Special attention could be given to female undergraduate students, both in immigrant and Canadian-born populations. The results of the current study suggest that females might encounter career decision-making difficulties at higher rates than their male counterparts. On the other hand, it might also be the case that males simply did not report such career indecision difficulties. Given these challenges, secondary and post-secondary institutions must be aware of the gender difference that might exist in career indecision and career indecision reporting, and aid all students in their academic and vocational planning in an understanding and compassionate manner.

An interesting finding that surfaced in the present study is the advantage of taking time off between high school and post-secondary studies. Israelis who took (mandated) time off and served in the army reported lower indecision scores. Many high school graduates nowadays choose to take a year off, commonly called as a gap year. They may not feel ready to attend college or university just yet, and taking a year off allows them to develop their interest by pursuing other interests such as volunteering, working, or traveling before embarking on their post-secondary education journeys. Some schools even encourage it by allowing deferral of acceptance by a year. Parents and guidance counselors to high school students who are faced with the task of choosing and applying to colleges or universities might wish to keep the gap
year option in mind, as it might suit those who may wish to further develop their identity before committing to a study program and future career.

Conclusion

The present study sought to explore career indecision attitudes in Jewish Israeli undergraduate students who had immigrated to Canada after the age of 13. Their career indecision scores were compared with a control group of Jewish Canadian-born undergraduate students. A total of 75 participants completed the online questionnaire, which included a demographic information section and the Career Factors Inventory (CFI) measure of career indecision. To the author’s knowledge, this study was the first attempt to utilize any career indecision measure with a group of immigrant young adults. Preliminary analyses indicated that the two study groups differed in terms of their mean age, mean age when first started college or university, and in the percentage of participants reporting having immigrant parents. The results of the present study indicated that there was no difference in career indecision attitudes between Israeli participants and Canadian participants. Secondary analyses found a significant relationship between career indecision and gender. Due to a small sample size, a number of relationships only approached statistical significance. Those included the effect of army service, age at immigration, and parental immigration status, on career indecision. Possible explanations for the present study’s findings were explored in detail, limitations and implications of the findings were addressed, and future research suggestions were made.
REFERENCES


CAREER INDECISION IN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS


APPENDIX A: Figure 1 Permission Documentation

**Confirmation Number:** 11437061  
**Order Date:** 09/02/2015

**Payment Information**
Danielle Kofler  
danielle.kofler@mail.utoronto.ca

**Order Details**

**Applying Career Development Theory to Counseling**

**Order detail ID:** 68190484  
**Order License Id:** 3700580588196  
**ISBN:** 978-1-285-07544-0  
**Publication Type:** Book  
**Publisher:** South-Western College Publishing  
**Author/Editor:** Sharf

**Permission Status:** 🟢 Granted

**Permission type:** Republish or display content  
**Type of use:** Republish in a thesis/dissertation

**Requestor type**  
Academic institution

**Format**  
Electronic

**Portion**  
chart/graph/table/figure

**Number of charts/graphs/tables/figures**  
1

**Title or numeric reference of the portion(s)**  
Chapter 9, Figure 9.1

**Title of the article or chapter the portion is from**  
Late Adolescent and Adult Career Development

**Editor of portion(s)**  
N/A

**Author of portion(s)**  
N/A

**Volume of serial or monograph**  
N/A

**Page range of portion**  
233

**Publication date of portion**  
2014

**Rights for**  
Main product

**Duration of use**  
Current edition and up to 5 years

**Creation of copies for the disabled**  
no

**With minor editing privileges**  
no

**For distribution to**  
Canada

**In the following language(s)**  
Original language of publication

**With incidental promotional use**  
no

**Lifetime unit quantity of new product**  
Up to 499

**Made available in the following markets**  
Academic thesis

**The requesting person/organization**  
Danielle Kofler

**Order reference number**

**Author/Editor**  
Danielle Kofler

**The standard identifier**  
DK995401523

**Title**  
Career Indecision among Israeli and Canadian Undergraduate Students

**Publisher**  
University of Toronto
APPENDIX B: Recruitment Advertisement

Re: How immigration influences career indecision

The recruitment poster will contain the following information:

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS WANTED for a study on CAREER INDECISION AMONG JEWISH ISRAELI AND CANADIAN UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

Israeli immigrant students
- You are between the ages of 18-25
- You came to Canada from Israel as an immigrant at or after the age of 13
- You are currently enrolled in post-secondary education (college or university, NOT diploma)
- You consider yourself Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, hiloni [secular], conservative, other)
- You consider yourself Israeli (or dual/triple-culture e.g. Israeli-Canadian, Russian-Israeli-Canadian; any variation of cultural identification that contains Israeli identification)
- You are currently residing in Canada

If all of the above applies, you are invited to fill a very short online questionnaire: (URL to questionnaire version 1)

Jewish Canadian students
- You are between the ages of 18-25
- You were born in Canada
- You are currently enrolled in post-secondary education (college or university, NOT diploma)
- You consider yourself Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, hiloni [secular], conservative, other)
- You are currently residing in Canada

If all of the above applies, you are invited to fill a very short online questionnaire: (URL to questionnaire version 2)

Questionnaires are conducted in English – fluency is required

Participation will be highly appreciated and you will enter a draw for a variety of gift cards to major retailers!

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact danielle.kofler@mail.utoronto.ca

(This recruitment advertisement will also be translated and posted in Hebrew)
APPENDIX C: Information Letter and Consent Form

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

You are cordially invited to complete this online questionnaire. This questionnaire is a part of a research study conducted by Danielle Kofler, a graduate student in the Counselling and Psychology program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), under the supervision of Dr. Charles Chen.

I am currently studying the effects of immigration on career development and indecision. For my thesis, I am interested in finding out whether Israeli immigrants are more or less decisive following emigration to Canada, as compared with their Canadian Jewish counterparts, who have not experienced immigration. The questionnaire questions will cover your attitudes towards career goals, career decision making, and future career planning, along with relevant demographic information.

For the purposes of this study, “Israeli immigrant students” refers to individuals who meet the following criteria:

1. You are between the ages of 18-25
2. You came to Canada from Israel as an immigrant after the age of 13
3. You are currently enrolled in post-secondary education (college or university, NOT diploma)
4. You consider yourself Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, secular, conservative, other) AND
5. You consider yourself Israeli (or dual/triple-identification e.g. Israeli-Canadian, Russian-Israeli-Canadian; any variation of cultural identification that contains Israeli identification)
6. You are currently residing in Canada

For the purposes of this study, “Jewish Canadian students” refers to individuals to meet the following criteria:

1. You are between the ages of 18-25
2. You were born in Canada
3. You are currently enrolled in post-secondary education (college or university, NOT diploma)
4. You consider yourself Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, secular, conservative, other)
5. You are currently residing in Canada

The online questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. As one of the participants, your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Once you have completed the questionnaire, you will have the opportunity to enter your e-mail address in a draw and win
one of five gift cards to Amazon – four of them for the amount of $25, and one for the amount of $100. Your e-mail address will remain confidential and will not be linked to your questionnaire responses.

You are under no obligation to complete the study, even if you finish a portion of it and then decide that you do not wish to continue. You may choose to refuse to answer any particular question or questions posed to you and still complete the questionnaire. You may also refuse to participate or withdraw from the study, at any time, without any negative consequences to your personal life, academic standing, and other career prospects later. There are no foreseeable risks in completing this questionnaire. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant, please contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

We really appreciate your interest, and we are very grateful to you for your participation. The data collected will assist us in exploring career decision-making in immigrants, and in developing career-counselling programs that will be beneficial to many other new immigrant students. We will be very glad to provide you with a summary of the current study’s results if you wish to receive such a summary report when this research project is completed.

If you require additional information or have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my supervisor, Dr. Charles Chen.

Thank you very much for your time and valuable cooperation.

Sincerely,

Danielle Kofler, BSc., MA candidate
Department of Applied Psychology and Human Development
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
danielle.kofler@mail.utoronto.ca

Charles Chen, Ph.D.
Professor
Canada Research Chair
Department of Applied Psychology and Human Development
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
Tel.: (416) 978-0718
cp.chen@utoronto.ca
APPENDIX D: Online Questionnaire Outline and Demographic Form

Questionnaire version 1: Israeli immigrant students

Page 1: Information Letter and Consent Form (see appendix C)

Page 2: Qualifying questions
1. Are you between the ages of 18-25? Yes, continue; No → exit
2. Did you come to Canada from Israel as an immigrant after the age of 13, OR were you born and raised in Canada? Yes, continue; No → exit
3. Are you currently enrolled in post-secondary education at the undergraduate level (college or university, NOT diploma)? Yes, continue; No → exit
4. Do you consider yourself Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, secular, conservative, other)? Yes, continue; No → exit
5. Are you currently residing in Canada? Yes, continue; No → exit
6. What is your cultural identification (check all that apply)? Israeli, Canadian, Russian, other

Page 3: Demographic Form (common to both questionnaire versions)
1. Gender: ____
2. Age: ___
3. What college/university are you currently enrolled in? _____
4. What year are you in college/university? _____
5. What is your major in college/university? ____
6. What year are you expected to graduate? _____
7. How old were you when you first started your program? _____
8. When did you immigrate to Canada (month and year)? ___
9. How old were you when you immigrated to Canada? ___
10. What languages do you speak? ___
11. Are your parents immigrants? Yes/No; if Yes → where was your mother born, where was your father born

Page 4: Career Factors Inventory (21 items; see Appendix E)

--- End of Questionnaire ---

Questionnaire version 2: Jewish Canadian students

Page 1: Information Letter and Consent Form (see appendix C)

Page 2: Qualifying questions
1. Are you between the ages of 18-25? Yes, continue; No → exit
2. Did you come to Canada from Israel as an immigrant after the age of 13? No, continue; Yes → exit
3. Were you born and raised in Canada? Yes, continue; No → exit
4. Are you currently enrolled in post-secondary education at the undergraduate level (college or university, NOT diploma)? Yes, continue; No → exit
5. Do you consider yourself Jewish (cultural, reform, orthodox, secular, conservative, other)? Yes, continue; No → exit
6. Are you currently residing in Canada? Yes, continue; No → exit

Page 3: Demographic Form (common to both questionnaire versions)
1. Gender: _____
2. Age: ______
3. What college/university are you currently enrolled in? ______
4. What year are you in college/university? _____
5. What is your major in college/university? _____
6. What year are you expected to graduate? _____
7. How old were you when you first started your program? _____
8. What languages do you speak? ___
9. Are your parents immigrants? Yes/No; if Yes → where was your mother born, where was your father born

Page 4: Career Factors Inventory (21 items; see Appendix E)

--- End of Questionnaire ---
APPENDIX E: Career Factors Inventory (CFI)

The online questionnaire will be a modified version of the Career Factors Inventory (revised) as published in Chartrand, Robbins, Morrill, & Boggs (1990). Permission from authors to reproduce this measure has been granted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Response anchor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career choice</td>
<td>When I think about actually deciding for sure what I want my career to be I feel:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Frightened/fearless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dry/wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tense/relaxed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Loose/light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Worried/carefree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jittery/calm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized indecision</td>
<td>For me, decision making seems:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hard/easy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Clear/hazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Frustrating/fulfilling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for career information</td>
<td>While making most decisions I am:</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Quick/slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Certain/uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for self-knowledge</td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to talk to people in one or more various occupations</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to gain practical knowledge of different jobs through as much part-time and summer work as possible.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to find out what present and predicted job opportunities are like for a certain career area or areas.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to use my free time and school courses to help determine what type of career I might enjoy and do well in.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to familiarize myself with one or a number of college majors and their requirements.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to seek advice from others regarding my choice.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to attempt to answer “who am I?”</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to attempt to answer “what are my personal values?”</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to attempt to answer “what type of person would I like to be?”</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before choosing or entering a particular career area I still need to attempt to answer “what things are the most important to me?”</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Strongly disagree/strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F: Resources Sheet

**Help-lines**

**Kids Helpline** (up to age 20)
1-800-668-6868

**Distress Centres of Toronto**
416-408-4357

**Telehealth Ontario**
1-866-797-0000

**Mental Health Hotline Ontario**
1-866-531-2600

**Hospital Emergency Rooms**

- **North York General** (Sheppard & Leslie)
  416-756-6001
- **Humber River Regional** (400 & Finch)
  416-747-3833
- **St. Michael's** (Yonge & Queen)
  416-864-5346
- **Toronto Western** (Bathurst & Dundas W)
  416-603-5757
- **Scarborough General** (Lawrence & McCowan)
  416-431-8200 ext. 6300
- **Toronto General** (College & University)
  416-340-3946
- **York Central** (Major MacKenzie, between Bathurst and Yonge)
  905-883-2041
- **Centre for Addiction and Mental Health** (Queen & Ossington)
  416-979-6855

**University Counselling Centres**

- **Ryerson University Centre for Student Development and Counselling** (Jogenson Hall, Room 07)
  416-979-5195
- **University of Toronto Counselling and Learning Skills Service** (Koffler Student Services Centre, Room 111)
  416-978-7970
- **York University Counselling and Development Centre** (Bennett Centre for Student Services, Room N110)
  416-736-5297
- **McMaster University Centre for Student Development** (McMaster University Student Centre, B107)
  905-525-9140

**Career Counselling Resources**

- **JVS Toronto** (employment services, career counselling, psychoeducational assessments, therapy; offer sliding scale)
  416-787-1151
  http://www.jvstoronto.org
- **YMCA Career Planning and Development Services** (psychoeducational and vocational assessments, workshops)
  416-928-3362 x22609
  buildingfutures@ymcagta.org
- **JIAS (Jewish Immigrant Aid Services)** (offer various employment-related programs on a sliding scale/free)
  416-630-6481 x5440
  info@jiastoronto.org
  http://www.jiastoronto.org/