

Career Studies: New Ideas for Academics and Careers Advisers

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Career education is now part of the curriculum in the UK's educational system from at least Key Stage Three to postgraduate level. This flowering of career education means that it is now a subject of study in its own right in all types of educational institution. Unlike well-established subjects such as Maths or English, however, career education is still relatively under-theorised as a subject in the curriculum. In the UK at least, it is only over the last 35 to 40 years that it has begun to be conceptualised in this way. Consequently, its development as a subject has not yet been comprehensively documented, and much of this work remains to be accomplished.

The conceptualisation of career education as a subject from the early 1970s to the present day

In this section, some significant contributions in the conceptualisation of career education as a subject since the early 1970s are highlighted. This by no means definitive treatment concludes with a summary of main points.

The now disbanded Schools Council (1971) proposed, in a report broadly supportive of career education, that the educational aims of institutions must not be made subservient to the needs of the economy, and that schools must maintain an independent stance so that students can critically study all aspects of society, including work. Lindqvist (1982, p.322), writing from the perspective of cultural history, has argued that because the world of work can be subject to misrepresentation, individuals need to 'dig' where they stand in order to research their own careers and uncover the hidden links between work and society. In addition, Bates (1984, p.215) has suggested that incorporating work into the curriculum entails it becoming 'subject not object'; and argued for a new curriculum in which students can undertake critical enquiry into the historical development of work, its structures, products and requirements. These approaches have served to highlight the importance of independent and critical thinking in career education, and the need to study both past and present in order to gain a contextualised understanding of work and career.

In the mid-1990s, Law (1996, p.65) proposed that career development could be taught via a process of 'career learning'. Despite expressing some ambivalence about the place of career education as a curriculum subject, he suggested that by engaging in career learning, students could become 'their own career-development theoreticians'. In related vein, Holland (1997, p.176) has argued that every person develops a personal career theory (this can be simple or complex) and that the *personal* nature of such theorising means it is located in 'constructivist outer space'. He has suggested that the role of career interventions is to help a person implement or revise their personal theory by comparing it with the Holland theory of career types. The perspectives of both Law and Holland emphasise the beliefs and values of the student, and, in career educational terms, open up the possibility of the student comparing and contrasting such beliefs and values with those of more established thinkers.

Edwards (1997), writing from the perspective of discourse analysis, has criticised forms of career education in which students are encouraged to engage in ever greater levels of self-monitoring and self-governance. This, it is suggested, constitutes a form of oppressive 'responsibilisation' whereby individuals are made to align their identity projects with governmental goals (Edwards, 1997, p.165). Instead he has argued for educational interventions that enable the creative reconstruction of multiple and ambivalent identities via self-reflexive biographies. This approach has highlighted the need for career education in which the self-in-context can be understood and interpreted in creative and complex ways.

Young and Valach (2000) have reconceptualised careers work by combining theory and action within an action-theoretical perspective. This has provided one basis for the merging of career theories and theories of intervention, and represents an important transition from some commonly held distinctions between theory and practice (Herr, 1996; Law, 1996; Watts *et al.*, 1996). In terms of career education, this perspective has enabled the breaking down of the division between career development theory and models of career education delivery.

Harris (1999) and Mignot (2001a) have argued for increased recognition of the contested and political nature of careers work. In a related development, a number of commentators have suggested that the dominant discourse of employability should be connected with other academic disciplines and a wider knowledge base (Atkins, 1999; Moreau and Leathwood, 2006; Payne, 1999; Watts, 2006; Yorke, 2004). These views have highlighted the need for broader and more complex conceptions of career education and linking this with a wider range of disciplines.

Bringing this overview up-to-date, Hodkinson *et al.* (2006, p.44) have argued for the abandonment of 'folk theory' i.e. traditional career educational approaches. Similarly, the current author has suggested moving beyond traditional models of delivery. He has proposed breaking open career education so that students can study career directly, and identified a new role for students as career researchers of their own lives (McCash, 2006).

At the Centre for Career Management Skills Conference in January 2007, Pauline Kneale stated that 'researching a career opportunity is as good a way of practising research skills as any other research activity', provided students are equipped with 'real learning packages', 'real content' and 'appropriately demanding assessments'. Another conference speaker, Ros Foskett, demonstrated the growth of career education as a subject via a recent career education mapping project. The results show that, in the academic year 2004/5, career theory featured as part of the career module *content* at 22 higher education institutions (Foskett *et al.*, 2006, pp.87-88).

In summary, the perspectives briefly described above suggest that to conceptualise career education as a subject of study involves the following aspects:

1. Developing the intellectual and moral freedom to study all facets of career including definitions, concepts, cognitive and affective dimensions.
2. Emphasising the role of individuals as career researchers engaged in a dialogue between both academic and lay career theories, beliefs and histories.
3. Designing high quality course content and assessments that engender critical, evaluative and creative abilities.
4. Recognising that the study of career is an interdisciplinary field drawing from a range of relevant disciplines.

In order to reflect this particular conceptualisation of career education, and to avoid over-use of the cumbersome formulation 'career-education-as-a-subject', the current author will henceforth use the term Career Studies for this phrase (as a singular noun). The four dimensions of Career Studies outlined above will be used in the next section to analyse three models of career education.

Three career education models

Three commonly used career education models will now be examined: Windmills, DOTS and the VT scheme of work. Naturally, this is a somewhat reductive process and the examples chosen are in reality more complex than can be shown here. Nevertheless it will serve to amplify some of the tensions that exist between these models and a Career Studies approach.

1. The Windmills model of career education

The Windmills model is available in both book and web-based formats (Hawkins, 1999; Hawkins, 2001). In the model, seven tactics for career success are identified: focusing skills; finding your ideal job; revealing the secret jobs market; selling yourself; action thinking; boosting career; and measuring career management performance (Hawkins, 2001). In order to identify career issues, readers are invited to identify themselves as: toppled tortoises, crotchety camels, happy hippos, oblivious ostriches, busy bees or lost sheep (Hawkins, 2001). It is boldly stated that 'you need to be extremely self-reliant' and 'we are all a business of one – me plc' (Hawkins, 1999, p.73). Participants are exhorted to follow ten top morale-boosting tips such as:

Create positive pictures of your world and the part you play in it. Avoid negative or cynical imagery.... Hang out with positive people...and avoid negative people – they only drag you down to their level.
(Hawkins, 1999, pp.44-45)

An extensive reading list is included at the end of the book version. The influence of these publications can be detected in the main body of the text. For instance, the seven tactics for career success are based on the 12 self-reliance skills that were in turn drawn from a survey of graduates conducted by Whiteway Research (Hawkins and Winter, 1995, pp.18-19). The language of seven tactics is related to the language of seven habits (Covey, 2004), and the importance of seeing oneself as a company is foregrounded in Bridges (1997). The text concludes with the following statement:

There is one vital thing this book should have done for you – it should have given you confidence.
(Hawkins, 1999, p.80)

Despite its apparent popularity and superficial accessibility, there are a number of difficulties with this model of career education. The first is the absence of theoretical transparency. Aside from the further reading list, the author's theoretical position is not made explicit in the text. So, although one might speculate as to the author's theoretical stance if one is familiar with the wider reading, the non-specialist reader simply encounters statements in the text as a series of unsubstantiated self-assertions. The language used is simplistic, and the author's judgement is unquestioned and absolute. Bill Law has used the phrase 'God's own truth' to describe what one's stereotypical or habit-formed career beliefs can feel like (Law, 2006, p.22) and there is a flavour of God's own truth about the statements used in Windmills. This sits uneasily alongside the language of empowerment and self-reliance that is also a feature of the model.

As shown in the preceding section, Edwards (1997) has criticised the process of responsabilisation whereby individuals are encouraged to become entrepreneurs-of-the-self. On this basis, it could be argued that the Windmills model, and similar approaches, serve to exploit and pathologise vulnerable readers by emphasising self-reliance and self-esteem whilst neglecting contextualising social explanations. This approach is also in conflict with the high value placed by many careers workers on client-centred and emancipatory practices.

A further problem within the Windmills model seems to be the presence of unacknowledged or unconscious theoretical influences. For instance, the high importance accorded to self-reliance skills calls to mind the human capital theory of labour market economics but the advantages and disadvantages of this theory are not mentioned. Similarly, the personal or social issues that adopting a 'me plc' approach might entail are left unexplored.

2. The DOTS model of career education

In this model, four learning objectives are identified: self-awareness, opportunity awareness, decision learning and transition learning. These learning objectives are drawn from a range of career theories including Roberts' opportunity structure and Turner's social mobility theories (Law and Watts, 1977). In this sense, and in contrast to Windmills, the theoretical origins of the DOTS model are made explicit by the authors. A set of theories or beliefs about careers is explicitly applied to a series of learning outcomes. In this sense, DOTS represents a more advanced form of career education than the Windmills model. For some career educators, an advantage of this applied approach is that there is an increase in conceptual transparency. It is a matter for debate as to how widely this knowledge is shared amongst career educators (and their students), but it is certainly present in one of the most thorough and advanced elaborations of the DOTS model, the recent *Career Education Benchmarking Statement*¹.

The disadvantages of the DOTS model have been extensively discussed elsewhere (Law, 1999; McCash, 2006). In terms of this paper, a key point is that individual scope for constructing alternative concepts and models is circumscribed. For example, the model is of limited value to those who: disagree with the order of the four learning outcomes; or believe that alternative learning outcomes are important; or disagree with any of the underpinning theories. For such people, the learning outcomes will be experienced as non-negotiable skill sets and this returns us, in a sense, to the language of God's own truth. Further, the model is restrictive because it is not possible for

individuals to develop their own career beliefs and thereby construct their own models of career action within it. This is because the DOTS learning outcomes are designed to encourage matching (of self and opportunity), and so are inappropriate for students who argue for alternative approaches to career development.

A related difficulty, mentioned above in connection with the Windmills model, is the presence of unacknowledged theoretical influences. For instance, within DOTS, the emphasis on the individual and related absence of wider social explanations suggests the influence of human capital thinking in the construction of the model. Similarly, it has been suggested that, within the matching elements of DOTS, one can detect the influence of scientific management and social Darwinist approaches (McCash, 2006). The rather wider conception of Career Studies outlined above might allow some of these issues to be explored, but this is not possible within the limited range of skills-based DOTS learning outcomes.

3. The VT model of career education

The VT model of career education was developed for the Connexions Service National Unit as a scheme of work for Key Stage Three, Key Stage Four and Post-16 (VT Careers Management, 2003). It consists of 17 units each addressing specific question such as: 'What am I like?' (Unit 2) and 'What is the world of work like?' (Unit 7).

Most of the units can be linked with the traditional DOTS learning outcomes. For instance, two of the post-16 units are focused on decision-making and researching opportunities (Units 16 and 17) and can therefore be related to decision learning and opportunity awareness. Elsewhere, the influence of the career learning approach can be detected in the emphasis on sensing and focusing in Units 5 and 7 (Law, 1996). Arguably, human capital theory underpins Unit 15 but is not directly stated.

Within some units, and in marked contrast to the DOTS and Windmills models, students are invited to take a more advanced approach to engaging with career education. For instance, in Unit 13 students employ a personal model of career development. The degree of personalisation possible is left relatively unarticulated, but it is at least suggested that students can identify the factors that are important to them within a model. In Unit 14, students engage with career theory directly through understanding ideas such as self-concept and opportunity structure, and engaging in debates over the future of work and the meaning of employability. In Unit 1, the innovative use of labour market intelligence is suggested in a lesson plan for Key Stage Three pupils where the career beliefs of young people from the 1950s are compared with those from the present day.

¹ Within the Benchmarking Statement, the possibility of exploring the work of Roberts and Super via the DOTS learning outcomes is indicated (Stanbury, 2006, pp.15-16). There is, however, no getting away from the difficulty that DOTS is a matching model (McCash, 2006).

The VT scheme of work represents a more complex approach than that used in the two earlier models. Indeed, this school and college-based model should give higher education-based career educators some pause for thought. In a number of higher education institutions, career education is taught *in the curriculum* without any known theoretical content (Foskett *et al.*, p.45, 2006). In this respect, the VT model, designed for school and college-based students, represents a higher level of teaching and learning.

In summary, the Windmills and DOTS models do not provide a basis for a Career Studies approach to career education. In contrast, the VT model enables students to explore career development in depth by engaging in wider research and constructing their own career models. This is indeed closer to the Career Studies concept. One problem with the VT model, however, is that despite the innovations mentioned, many of the units are essentially based on the DOTS model. This suggests that a more distinct version of a Career Studies approach may be required. An example of this is provided in the next section.

A Career Studies case study

This case study is drawn from the author's own practice as a former lecturer at a higher education institution (HEI) in the east of England. Some contextualising information is first presented, and then an individual case history is provided in more depth.

At the HEI, all students were able to choose a 15-credit career development module as part of their undergraduate degree course. The module learning outcomes were concerned with understanding different dimensions of career development (societal, labour market and individual). Students encountered a range of approaches to career development both through lectures and undertaking wider reading and research which included undertaking an independent field visit. One of the assignments – the vocational study - involved studying a vocational role and using career concepts to interpret that role. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the different concepts used in the assignment by one group of students.

Table 1 shows that individual students varied as to the number of concepts applied, some using only three, others employing up to six. Some approaches were favoured over others, with person-environment fit, cultural and life-stage approaches, proving particularly favoured.

In order to illustrate the case study further, more detail is now supplied with regard to one student: Emma (name changed to protect anonymity).

Table 1: Summary of Career Concepts Used by Students

	Person-fit	Cultural	Life stage	Gender	Class	Race	Other
Claire							
Emma							
Caroline							
Amanda							
Anthony							
Julie							
David							
Caitlin							

Emma was a white, middle-class, female student in her mid-twenties. Growing up in a rural part of eastern England, she had achieved B grades in 3 A-levels, but, unlike many of her contemporaries, decided not to go to university at 18. She spent the years 18-25 working in a hard, physical rural job, and her spare time was devoted to horse-riding. Emma enjoyed both these activities, but at age 25, she had a riding accident and severely injured her back. This meant that she could no longer pursue her usual job or leisure interests, and she decided to enrol on a degree programme. As part of her degree course, she chose the career development module. In undertaking the vocational study, she elected to study her previous job and proposed a 'health-based' theory of career development. She undertook wider research to support her position, linking it to wider perspectives on the role of disability and career. In addition, she demonstrated understanding of competing explanations and theories of career development. Her work demonstrated understanding and conceptualisation of a high standard, and evidence of some original thought.

When interviewed after completing the module, Emma said that she had found it to be one of the most interesting and valuable modules in her degree course. It had provided her with an opportunity to conceptualise and understand her situation and the work roles she had encountered. This, she said, had enabled her to move on by helping her to make sense of her past. In terms of the future, she was now researching other career options, where her back injury would be less significant as a career factor, such as a marketing role in the animal feed industry.

In summary, the case study demonstrates one approach to Career Studies. There is a particular focus on vocational role and the interpretation of it using career concepts. This approach was believed to be appropriate to the needs of the students because it enabled them to make deeper connections between the knowledge and understanding gained in their wider degree course study, particularly with regard to cultural explanations. Emma's story reveals that, for some individuals, cultivating a deeper understanding of the past and present can provide a key to unlocking the future.

Implications of a Career Studies approach

In this section, some further implications of adopting a Career Studies approach are outlined. The following areas are covered: alternative approaches and learning outcomes; teaching and the availability of relevant literature; the role of career researcher; and final remarks.

Alternative approaches and learning outcomes

It is worth stressing that the case study shown above demonstrates only one example of Career Studies. As a consequence of the literature review above, there can be no one-size-fits-all approach to learning outcomes and assessment. It remains a challenge to develop Career Studies for different disciplines, and indeed for different ages and ability groups.

In contrast to the case study shown above, alternative forms of Career Studies may have a greater focus on creative expression, biographical understanding, or subject-specific frames of reference. Some examples drawn from within higher education include: using narrative approaches with undergraduates (Alterio, 2003) and graduates (Gothard, 1999); relating history to career studies (van Eeden, 1998); and understanding social life and employment practices via theological and religious studies (Pattison, 2005). Outside higher education, visual methods have been successfully employed with groups of young people (Cohen, 1984; Mignot, 2001b).

Career Studies suggests a wider curriculum than can be covered in three or four skills-based learning outcomes. In this sense, it is a mysterious subject. This rather portentous-sounding phrase simply meaning it is a puzzle that cannot be solved. In this respect, it is like any other academic field in permitting a wide range of theoretical divergence and epistemological variation. This is perhaps more important within the career education field than outside it. In other academic circles, a certain amount of tolerance is accepted when defining a broad subject area (see the subject benchmarking statements (Quality Assurance Agency, 2003)). Within the career education field, however, there is great and understandable attachment to the certainties of models such as DOTS, and concerns that, without this protective 'theory', arguments for a presence in the curriculum would be weakened. In fact, the reverse is the case; traditional career education models may struggle

to gain further credence because of their closed and uninquisitive nature. Arguably, the Career Studies approach attracts enthusiasts because it admits of many competing explanations and approaches. In this respect, it represents a significant maturation of the discipline

The role of career educators and the availability of relevant literature

To teach Career Studies effectively will entail professional development on the part of career educators. This, it has been suggested, will extend to: knowledge of pedagogic theory; research and evaluation methods; and an expanded knowledge of career development theory (Collin, 1998; McChesney, 1995). The reflexive understanding of the career educator's career will also need to be part of this expanded knowledge base.

For the general student, it is perhaps a little unfortunate that the biggest source of careers literature available is the extensive range of popular career guides on display in the self-help sections of high street bookstores. This highlights an important literature gap for textbooks, readers, journals and advanced works that are suitable for the general student of career.

The role of career researcher

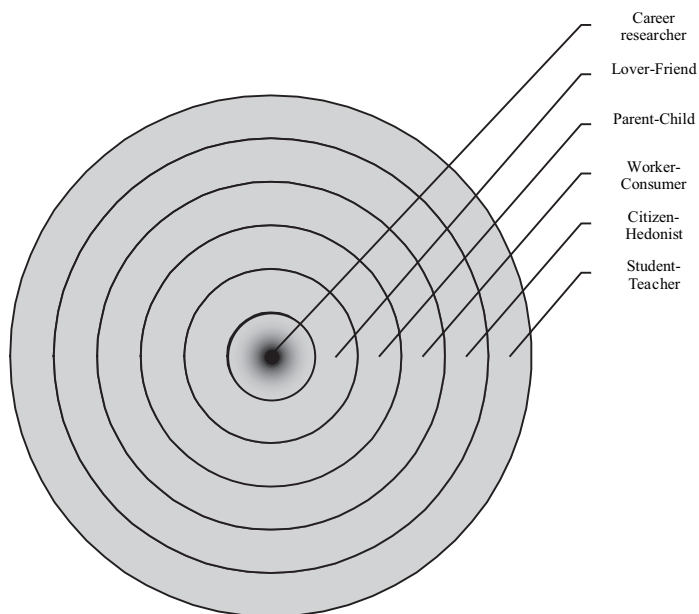
One further aspect of Career Studies is increasing in practical significance as students engage in longer and more substantial periods of formal learning. Within higher education, some students study a module over a term/semester, and others over an entire academic year or threaded throughout a degree course. A few undertake a career-related subject as part of a third-year dissertation. In so doing, students study career whilst their own careers are unfolding. In short, studying career becomes part of their career.

This is important because, in a way that is less immediately obvious in one-to-one career counselling and highly instrumental educational interventions, Career Studies involves developing the role of career researcher in addition to the other roles in one's life such as worker, student or citizen (Covey, 2004; Goffman, 1991; Super, 1981). This entails a recalibration of traditional careers work. Career education is often conceived as involving a preparation for entry to other roles, particularly the role of worker. This partly explains why the boundary between deciding about career and being an efficient worker can become blurred. In contrast, Career Studies is distinctively concerned with developing the role of career researcher directly, not as a means to an end, but as an end in itself.

In a wider sense, this is something that is already familiar within other disciplines. At the Centre for Career Management Skills Conference, Tony Watts has alluded to Becher's work on academic cultures in this respect (Becher, 1989). Through studying academic subjects, it is suggested, one becomes disciplined into a certain way of looking at the world and a certain way of being. Within

Career Studies, this involves developing the meaning and sense making parts of oneself. The role of career researcher is the part that makes sense of other roles and enables meaningful connections to be constructed between them (figure 1). It is therefore located at the centre of one's existence as the role that allocates and reallocates relative importance and meaning to other roles as one journeys through life. Following Jung (1969), it can be argued that this role relates to the work of individuation, and may extend to overall life purposes and meanings.

Figure 1: Career Researcher and Relations to Other Career Roles



Conclusion

The evolution of Career Studies since the 1970s has been charted, and a number of its characteristics have been described. It has been suggested that the subject involves direct engagement with a knowledge base of career beliefs, values, concepts and experiences. It further entails the study of academic career theories and beliefs alongside lay theories and actions. These studies result in new constructions and meanings - a move away from 'God's own truth' to 'my own truth'.

It has been stressed throughout this paper that there are many ways of developing a Career Studies curriculum, and it is hoped that this conceptualisation of career education may assist academics and careers advisers in the design of such courses in the future.

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