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Promoting research and reflective practice in career development

NICEC

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR CAREER EDUCATION AND COUNSELLING

NICEC STATEMENT

The Fellows of NICEC agreed the following statement in 2010.

'The National Institute for Career Education and Counselling (NICEC) was originally founded as a research institute in 1975. It now plays the role of a learned society for reflective practitioners in the broad field of career education, career guidance/counselling and career development. This includes individuals whose primary role relates to research, policy, consultancy, scholarship, service delivery or management. NICEC seeks to foster dialogue and innovation between these areas through events, networking, publications and projects.

NICEC is distinctive as a boundary-crossing network devoted to career education and counselling in education, in the workplace, and in the wider community. It seeks to integrate theory and practice in career development, stimulate intellectual diversity and encourage transdisciplinary dialogue. Through these activities, NICEC aims to develop research, inform policy and enhance service delivery.

Membership and fellowship are committed to serious thinking and innovation in career development work. Membership is open to all individuals and organisations connected with career education and counselling. Fellowship is an honour conferred by peer election and signals distinctive contribution to the field and commitment to the development of NICEC's work. Members and Fellows receive the NICEC journal and are invited to participate in all NICEC events.

NICEC does not operate as a professional association or commercial research institute, nor is it organisationally aligned with any specific institution. Although based in the UK, there is a strong international dimension to the work of NICEC and it seeks to support reflective practice in career education and counselling globally.'

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TITLE

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Its former title was *Career Research and Development: the NICEC Journal*, ISSN 1472-6564, published by CRAC, and the final edition under this title was issue 25. To avoid confusion we have retained the numbering of editions used under the previous title.

AIMS AND SCOPE

The NICEC journal publishes articles on the broad theme of career development in any context including:

- Career development in the workplace: private and public sector, small, medium and large organisations, private practitioners.
- Career development in education: schools, colleges, universities, adult education, public career services.
- Career development in the community: third age, voluntary, charity, social organisations, independent contexts, public career services.

It is designed to be read by individuals who are involved in career development-related work in a wide range of settings including information, advice, counselling, guidance, advocacy, coaching, mentoring, psychotherapy, education, teaching, training, scholarship, research, consultancy, human resources, management or policy. The journal has a national and international readership.

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GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Manuscripts are welcomed focusing on any form of scholarship that can be related to the NICEC Statement. This could include, but is not confined to, papers focused on policy, theory-building, professional ethics, values, reflexivity, innovative practice, management issues and/or empirical research. Articles for the journal should be accessible and stimulating to an interested and wide readership across all areas of career development work. Innovative, analytical and/or evaluative contributions from both experienced contributors and first-time writers are welcomed. Main articles should normally be 3,000 to 3,500 words in length and should be submitted to one of the co-editors by email. Articles longer than 3,500 words can also be accepted by agreement. Shorter papers, opinion pieces or letters are also welcomed for the occasional 'debate' section. Please contact the relevant issue co-editor(s) prior to submission to discuss the appropriateness of the proposed article and to receive a copy of the NICEC style guidelines. Final decisions on inclusion are made following full manuscript submission and a process of peer review.

SUBSCRIPTION AND MEMBERSHIP

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Membership of NICEC is also available (£75 pa or £50 pa for full-time students). Members receive the journal, free attendance at NICEC events and other benefits.

For information on journal subscription or membership, please contact: membership@nicec.org

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Introduction to a special issue dedicated to Bill Law

Welcome to the autumn edition of the *Journal of the National Institute for Career Education and Counselling.* This is a very special issue. Earlier this year the Institute received the news that Bill Law, a founder and eminent fellow, had passed away at the age of 81. This issue is entirely dedicated to remembering and celebrating his leading role in NICEC, and his wide-reaching influence on career education and counselling. Within this issue there are articles from NICEC fellows (both current and emeritus) summarising and assessing Bill's contribution, whilst giving a personal account of working with him. It is also our pleasure to reprint articles written by Bill himself, so his voice comes through very clearly in this edition.

My first outing as lead editor for the journal has been a bittersweet responsibility. For NICEC fellows and members, Bill's passing was sad and unwelcome news. Yet the task of commemorating his work presented a chance to revisit some of Bill's familiar writings, and to find some hidden gems. It has given me an opportunity to work with some of NICEC's finest authors. Their appraisals strike a balance between informing us of Bill's contribution to career education and guidance, whilst also giving vivid and personal accounts of being his friend and colleague.

Such is the scope of Bill's contribution to our field, the question of what to leave out was rather harder than what to include. One of my own favourites is *Community Interaction Theory* (Law, 1981), which articulated the importance of levels of analysis in career thinking, and sought to explain how local social influences operate on young people in real life. This important influence on my own thinking merits a more extensive discussion than we have found space for in this issue. Nonetheless, the selection presented in this issue gives a sense of the extensive reach of Bill's work, and plenty of leads for the interested reader to pursue.

Our first author, **Tony Watts**, provides a detailed outline of Bill's early work and involvement with NICEC. Tony collaborated with Bill on some of the most influential career-related publications to emerge from the UK. Bill's role as a trainer, as a theorist and an empirical researcher are highlighted, with reference to his many publications in the 20th century.

David Andrews moves the focus onto career education. Promoting career learning in schools was one of Bill's passions and a major theme of his working life. His prominent role in developing concepts for careers work in school and for the training of careers teachers/co-ordinators is explored here.

To extend and amplify David's points, **Peter Plant** provides a brief and personal perspective. A regular collaborator with Bill, he chooses to highlight Bill's talents as a communicator and the influence his ideas about career learning have had beyond the UK, notably in Scandinavia.

Hazel Reid moves the story on by focusing on Bill's contribution to career counselling, most particularly his embracing of narrative approaches. She weaves her own contact with Bill into an account of the emergence of a new, biographical way of thinking about career development. Here the turn to narrative counselling is evident.

Following logically on from Hazel's contribution, we reprint an extended article by Bill, kindly shared by Canterbury Christ Church University. Here **Bill Law** argues there are '*…too many lists, not enough stories*' in guidance practice. In this article,

we can see a number of features of Bill's work: his willingness to engage with new ideas and techniques, and his ability to impose structure on complexity. We can also see something of his cultural influences and his eclecticism: evolutionary psychologists and neuroscientists rub shoulders with film stars, writers and sociologists in this argument. Not previously published in this Journal, this important article merits wider attention. This is Bill's thinking in full flight.

Another facet to recognise is Bill's pioneering work on online guidance, and his early adoption of web-based platforms for communication and sharing career thinking. Indeed his innovative *Career Learning Café* (www.hihohiho.com) continues to be a useful resource. It is in the nature of progress that this material can date rapidly, so we reprint a relatively recent article from this publication, just five years old. Here **Bill Law** addresses the question '*On-line guidance: hit or myth?*' and links use of the internet to career education concepts and concerns. His willingness to ensure contemporary relevance for his work is evident.

We end with a selection of **Bill Law's** writing for this journal from his regular feature '*Points of Departure',* the title now taking on a new resonance. With his words put in context by **Lyn Barham**, here we see Bill's humour, creativity and intellectual curiosity deployed to thought provoking effect. The result is an uplifting reminder to celebrate Bill's life, his contribution to NICEC and to the world of careers.

I would like to extend special thanks to Maureen and Andrew Law, for supplying photographs of Bill and giving their permission for their inclusion in this publication. We hope this issue will be more than a commemoration, but also a valuable resource to future generations of career education and counselling practitioners and academics seeking to explore the work and ideas of Bill Law.

Pete Robertson, Editor

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Bill Law and his contributions to NICEC

A. G. Watts

Bill Law's early work is reviewed. The training and development work carried out by NICEC under Bill's direction is outlined. Finally, his substantial contributions to theory and research are described.

Pre-NICEC

I first met Bill Law in the early days of CRAC, in the early 1970s. As noted in the history of CRAC by Smith (2010, p.61), 'the formidable Miss C.C. (Betty) Bather, who had been a supporter of CRAC from her position as a Personnel Manager for Courtaulds, was recruited to run a CRAC Schools Liaison Office covering South Western England'. She identified Bill, then a school counsellor at Lampton School in Hounslow, as a particularly creative careers practitioner. I was at this point Head of the Research and Development Unit at CRAC, and Bill and I started a series of discussions that led to CRAC's publication of his booklet *Decide for Yourself*, designed for use as a curriculum resource within a careers education programme. When in 1973 CRAC launched the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, we invited him to be a member of its Editorial Advisory Panel. During this year he was appointed as a Lecturer in Education at the University of Reading, teaching on a training course for school counsellors.

Much of Bill's early writing was addressed to the role of school counsellors. These had begun to be introduced in the late 1960s, based largely on the US model of combining educational and vocational guidance with therapeutic counselling (Hughes, 1971; Hamblin, 1974). Experienced teachers were seconded to one-year full-time university courses, initially at Keele and Reading and later also at Exeter and Swansea, to be trained to take up roles as school counsellors. Bill's PhD thesis, completed in 1978 (Law, 1978c), was concerned with the conceptions held by these school counsellors of their role in their school. In particular, it focused on the extent to which they continued to identify with the role of a teacher or saw themselves as having a distinctively different role, and the extent to which this was related to what he termed 'system orientation' – legitimising the demands of the school upon both counsellor and client, and working in close partnership with the conceptual and formal organisational structure of the school. The project originated in dilemmas Bill had experienced in his own work as a school counsellor (Law, 1973; 1974; 1976). Based on qualitative data but also on a rigorous statistical analysis of questionnaires completed by nearly 400 school counsellors, it was a ground-breaking piece of work, resulting in a number of influential publications (Law, 1977; 1978a; 1978b). Unfortunately, school counsellors were one of the early casualties of the education cuts in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Meanwhile, around 1973-74 CRAC began to explore the possibility of separating its publishing from its research activities, with mechanisms to enable some of the profits from the publishing side to be used to support the research side, and also for this to be multiplied by resources from elsewhere. Accordingly, Hobsons Press was established to publish on behalf of CRAC, in exchange for royalties and licence fees. Some of these would then be used to support a new research institute, the National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling, which would be jointly sponsored by CRAC and Hatfield Polytechnic (later the University of Hertfordshire) (for more detailed accounts, see Smith, 2010; Watts, 2014).

To launch and build the new Institute, the Polytechnic agreed to appoint a Senior Lecturer to work alongside me. We effectively head-hunted Bill, encouraging

him to apply, and were delighted when he was appointed following due process. It proved an inspired appointment.

Training and development work

NICEC started work in January 1975. Our aim was to advance the development of guidance services in Britain through a programme of education and training, and of research and development work. We were committed to a developmental approach to careers guidance work, together with recognition that this could not be satisfactorily divorced from a wider definition of guidance incorporating, for example, personal development and personal counselling.

We decided at an early stage that, as a National Institute, NICEC should not attempt to compete with the one-year courses for careers teachers, careers officers, counsellors and the like which by this time had been established at a number of higher education institutions. Instead, it should seek to improve the quantity and quality of short-course provision nationally. This was based on the recognition that for the foreseeable future most schools and colleges would not have even one member of staff who had been on a long course. Moreover, it was clear that a single careers teacher or counsellor could not possibly satisfy the full range of guidance needs in, for example, a large comprehensive school or college of further education, and that increasingly guidance work in such institutions would need to be organised on a team basis. Ways therefore had to be found of diffusing guidance skills more widely, using those who had been on the one-year courses not only as beacons of good practice but also as potential trainers of colleagues.

Bill accordingly created a Training Resources Centre on which providers of short guidance courses all over the country could draw. In particular, he developed a series of training modules – flexible packages of training strategies and materials – and then selected and trained experienced guidance practitioners to use these materials as members of NICEC's field staff. Each module provided training in a particular set of guidance skills, was designed to consume about six hours of training time, and was constructed in a way which enabled it to be incorporated into existing courses or to be used as the basis for a short course in its own right. Topics covered by the modules included:

- Introduction to careers guidance.
- Co-ordinating a careers guidance programme.
- The use and abuse of occupational information.
- Collecting and interpreting information about students.
- Designing a careers education curriculum.
- Selecting materials for use in a careers education curriculum.
- Careers education in the classroom: methods and styles.
- Interviewing relationships and skills.
- Small groups in guidance work.
- The use of occupational interests questionnaires.
- Teaching decision-making skills.
- Careers guidance with disadvantaged students.
- Integrating careers guidance with the community.

By 1977-78, 46 field staff had been recruited and trained, and links had been established with Dundee College of Education and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic to act as regional centres for the organisation of NICEC modular training. Field staff seminars were held to enable the field staff to share and evaluate their experiences and develop their skills. Bill had become the centre of a very extensive web of activity.

In addition to the training modules, Bill edited a termly *NICEC training bulletin* (later retitled the *NICEC training and development bulletin*) aimed at those in training and development roles all over the country. Then in 1977 he helped to establish a Careers Education Resources Centre at NICEC's base at the Bayfordbury annex of Hatfield Polytechnic, which teachers and others could visit to see the full range of available careers education resources, and which provided support to other institutions seeking to develop similar centres (27 were listed by 1980-81). Reciprocal links were

also established with a one-year course in careers education and guidance established elsewhere within the Polytechnic, with Bill doing some teaching on that course, in exchange for which the staff appointed to teach the course – Eileen Tipper and Tony Crowley – were released to spend time on NICEC activities.

Alongside this work, Bill developed a further distinctive set of activities linked to an organisational development approach to guidance work in schools and colleges, seeking to develop them as guidance communities both within the institution and in their links with the wider community. A significant stimulus to this work was provided by a seminal project carried out for the Church of England Board of Education (Law & Watts, 1977). The main project involved analysing six schools in terms of the activities and experiences they provided which potentially or actually helped students in making their career choices and in preparing for the transition to work. Attention was paid not only to formal careers guidance activities, but also to relevant features of the curriculum, of extra-curricular activities, and of links with parents, local employers and the wider community, including the relationship between these features and the general philosophy of the school. As we shall see later in this article, the DOTS model developed as a research tool for this project proved highly influential as a planning tool.

As an additional part of the Church of England Board of Education project, two consultations were carried out in collaboration with the Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies, in each of which representatives of a variety of agencies concerned with helping students from a particular school in the transition to work – the school's management staff, its guidance staff, the Careers Service, employers, trade unionists, parents – examined their respective roles in a dynamic way. While the project used the consultations as a further research tool, it gave NICEC an opportunity to explore ways of applying organisational development techniques alongside on-site training to guidance work.

These activities attracted a great deal of national attention, and in 1978/79 were extended through the award of two substantial external grants. One was the Careers Guidance Integrated Project, funded jointly by the Department of Education and Science and the European Commission. This was designed, over a period of four years, to help some 20 schools and colleges in three contrasting Local Education Authorities (Haringey, Bedfordshire, Knowsley) to address their attention to ways in which as organisations they could help students more effectively for their career choices and transitions. The project was one of a series of European projects on vocational preparation, which gave it wider European visibility. Kathryn Evans, the project officer recruited to work with Bill and his NICEC colleague John Miller on the project, had organisational development experience in industry and other settings. The project report (Evans & Law, 1984) provided a major resource on the implementation of change in the guidance field.

The other major grant was for a three-year project to disseminate the work of the Schools Council Careers Education and Guidance Project (SCCEGP), which had ended in 1977. Funded by the Schools Council, the dissemination project was designed to sustain the SCCEGP's work in supporting local curriculum development in careers education, to provide support and training to enable the materials produced by the SCCEGP to be used effectively, and to do this in a setting which also introduced teachers to other careers education materials and enabled them to make an informed choice between the available materials. In the course of the project, the primary emphasis shifted from materials to disseminating the philosophy and methods underlying the SCCEGP. Two full-time members of staff – Beryl Fawcett and John Pearman – were appointed to carry out this work. Effectively they enabled NICEC's training and consultancy services for schools, co-ordinated by Bill, to be substantially extended. The project also facilitated the development of a more devolved structure for this work, which included a wider network of regional centres.

In subsequent years Bill was involved in a wide variety of training and development projects: for example, on profiling (Law, 1984), on careers education and the multi-ethnic classroom (Watts & Law, 1985) and on widening concepts of work (Law & Storey, 1987). He also led the development of two influential open-learning packs to support the training and co-ordination of teachers involved in careers programmes in schools and colleges (Law, 1991b; Law, Hughes & Knasel, 1991).

Theory and research

One of Bill's great strengths was that, in addition to his experience as a guidance practitioner and his commitment to training and development work, he was an innovative thinker who had a strong interest in developing theory and research.

Bill made important contributions to the NICEC Career Development Research Seminar. In its early years the seminar was directed by Professor Donald Super from Columbia University, New York, USA, who was based at NICEC as Honorary Director from 1976 to 1979, supported by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust. Bill contributed three chapters to the ground-breaking book *Career development in Britain* (Watts, Super & Kidd, 1981) that resulted from this work. The book aimed to synthesise British empirical evidence on occupational choice and on the transition from school to work, and to explore and re-interpret the existing concepts of career development – many of which had been developed in the USA – in a British setting. Bill's first chapter covered the role of motivation in career development (Law & Ward, 1981). His second addressed the role of autonomy in theories of career development, as a 'third dimension' alongside those of psychological v. sociological theories and developmental v. differential theories (Law, 1981a). The third examined the implications for guidance practice of the full range of chapters in the book (Watts, Law & Fawcett, 1981).

Linked closely to this work, Bill developed a new 'community interaction' theory of career development which he presented as a 'mid-range' theory between existing self-concept theories and opportunity-structure theories (Law, 1981b). This theory focused on 'that part of the external world which is proximately in a process of exchange with the individual – in other words, with the sources of expectation, feedback, support, modelling and information which form part of the warp and weft of the client's day-to-day experience' (p.156). The theory drew from, and provided a strong rationale for, NICEC's work in encouraging schools and colleges to view themselves as guidance communities in interaction with their neighbourhoods and community resources (see previous section). Some of the implications for careers programmes in schools were spelt out in a further paper (Law, 1981c), in a report on initiatives in the USA to establish collaborative links between school and community (Law, 1982), in a book on organising community-linked education for adult and working life (Law, 1986) and in an evaluation of education-business partnership activities (Law, 1991a).

Subsequently, Bill developed a complementary career learning theory which focused attention on the processes of learning within career development, and in particular the stages of sensing, sifting, focusing and understanding. He proposed this as a basis for designing progressive careers programmes (Law, 1996a). His seminal paper presenting this theory was part of a major NICEC book entitled *Rethinking careers education and guidance: theory, policy and practice* (Watts, Law, Killeen, Kidd & Hawthorn, 1996), which sought to synthesise and rethink NICEC's work over the preceding 20 years or so. Bill also contributed chapters on careers work in schools (Law, 1996b), careers education in a curriculum (Law, 1996c), recording achievement and action planning (Law, 1996d), staff development (Law, 1996e) and developing careers programmes in organisations (Law, 1996f).

In 1999, Bill sought to integrate aspects of his community interaction and learning theories into the DOTS model which, as noted above, had been developed early in NICEC's work and which had proved very influential not only in the UK but also internationally (Andrews, 2014). The DOTS model was based on a distinction between four core elements of careers education: self awareness, opportunity awareness, decision learning and transition learning. Bill's 'new-DOTS' model (Law, 1999) added the four stages of his career learning theory as 'post-DOTS processes', thus creating a three-dimensional 'learning space' for careers education.

Conclusion

In 1992 the partnership between CRAC and Hatfield Polytechnic was ended, and NICEC was restructured as a network organisation supported by CRAC, initially with links to the University of London Institute of Education. Bill became a self-employed consultant, but remained a NICEC Senior Fellow. Subsequently, in 2010, the link with CRAC was terminated, and NICEC

became an autonomous learned society for reflective practitioners in the careers field (see Watts, 2014). Bill continued as a NICEC Fellow until 2010 when he was invited to become an Emeritus Fellow.

Bill's contribution to the development of careers education in the UK was immense. His main commitment was always to schools, though his work influenced developments in other sectors too. His contributions to career development theory were unparalleled outside the USA. He had a great respect for teachers and guidance practitioners, and had a powerful influence on many of them both through his writing but also through his lecturing and consultancy work. He always sought to challenge and inspire, but also to empower, the people he worked with.

A personal postscript

At a dinner when I retired as Director of NICEC in 2001 I said that the two people to whom I owed most in my own career, in very different ways, were Adrian Bridgewater and Bill Law, and that I felt that I had been arguing with both of them throughout my working life. Bill loved arguments. But they were good arguments, based on common values and mutual respect, and I learned so much through them.

Both as a journal editor and as Director of NICEC, I spent quite a lot of time editing Bill's work. Bill relished words, and sometimes I persuaded him that some judicious pruning would enable his core arguments to be understood more readily. With some authors, such pruning can reveal the shakiness of what lies within. But that was never the case with Bill. The core of his writing was always robust, rigorous and cogent.

Bill was a wonderful colleague and friend: warm, energetic, stimulating, and a man of total integrity. I miss him very much.

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'A giant from whose shoulders we might all see further': Bill Law's contributions to careers work in schools

David Andrews

In this article Bill Law's work and influence on careers programmes in schools is reviewed. It focuses in particular on his contributions to careers education theory and practice, and to the professional development of careers teachers. It is neither an exhaustive nor a comprehensive account, but a personal review based on 36 years of friendship.

Dr Bill Law

On 8 April 2017 the careers sector lost one of its most original and creative thinkers, the world at large lost a citizen who cared deeply about young people's futures and I lost a friend and mentor. Three years and a day earlier Bill's friend and colleague Peter Daws had passed away and, writing a tribute to Peter, Bill adapted the phrase about 'standing on the shoulders of giants' for his concluding sentence.

> 'He is my giant, and from those shoulders we might all see further.'
>
> (Law, 2014)

I can think of no more fitting way to encapsulate how Bill's work should be seen. So many of Bill's ideas and projects have laid the foundations of the good practice that exists today, and which is continuing to be developed. A key purpose of this article is to ensure that the links between developments being implemented today and Bill's work are acknowledged by contemporary and future careers workers. The development of careers work in schools remains unfinished business: something that Bill himself recognised. He never truly retired and in his final weeks he was still posting ideas on his website and blog.

I first met Bill in 1981. As a newly-appointed head of careers in a school in Cambridgeshire, I registered for the Postgraduate Diploma in Careers Education and Guidance at Hatfield Polytechnic, a part-time course that occupied me from 2pm to 8pm every Thursday for the next two years. Bill was one of the lecturers on the course and delivered a module on integrating careers work across the school. He inspired me then, and has continued to make me think ever since about what we do and why we do it.

In this article I examine his work on careers education and on teacher training, but I have organised my thoughts and commentary around questions and axioms that will be familiar to anyone who had the privilege and pleasure of attending one of Bill's workshops.

'Is what schools do under the heading of 'careers education' really careers education, or is it just careers training?'

Bill will be forever associated with the DOTS model of careers education, which he developed in a project with Tony Watts forty years ago (Law & Watts,

1977). And it is right that he should be. This simple framework still provides the basis of curriculum frameworks not just in the UK but in many other countries as well. The three aims in the framework for careers, employability and enterprise education, promoted currently by the Career Development Institute in England (CDI, 2015), can be traced back directly to self-awareness, opportunity awareness, decision-learning and transition learning. The Blueprints of career management competencies developed in the USA, Canada, and Australia are organised into: self-development; learning and work exploration; career planning and career management. Occasionally in education we get something right and it stands the test of time. Of course we need to keep the model under review, and update it for contemporary times, but the basic underlying theory is sound.

However, Bill was never entirely happy with how the DOTS model was used. He also said that it was designed as a review tool, rather than a planning framework. I do not think he ever thought it was wrong: he just thought it was not enough. He started to develop the model further and to introduce the concept of progression into career learning. This culminated in Bill's career learning theory (Law 1996). He argued that the DOTS framework was useful in helping to determine what careers education programmes should cover, in terms of curriculum content, but that it was limited in its use as a planning tool as it did not inform decisions about the order in which the content should be sequenced. He proposed a model that set out stages in learning about self, opportunities, decisions and transitions: sensing; sifting; focusing; understanding. Bill suggested that one of the problems for careers education in schools is that all too often we ask pupils to deal with quite challenging and complex ideas before we have helped them to acquire more basic knowledge and skills. Another of his workshop sayings was 'we ask young people to make career choices before they have enough to go on.' Twenty years on, Bill's career learning theory can still be applied to the design of careers programmes in schools.

One of the features of Bill's work was to continuously challenge practice and he would often ask if what we did in 'careers education' was not really 'careers training'. By this he meant, were we *training* young people in the skills to succeed in their careers, but not *educating* them about careers? To adapt the language from work-related learning, he would say we were training pupils *for* career, but not helping them learn *about* career. He would not deny the need for career management skills but, again, this was not sufficient for Bill. He wanted young people to understand the world of work and the nature of 'career', to question why work was organised as it is and to be active in determining the future of work.

Bill's influence on careers education did not stop at the theoretical level. He wrote several resources that provided a wealth of practical materials of careers teachers to use in the classroom. His influence at a policy level was however more limited. Only once was he asked to contribute to writing curriculum guidance for schools. When the National Curriculum was introduced in England, Bill and Tony were invited to contribute to the drafting of the guidelines on careers education as a cross-curricular theme (NCC, 1990). In the final published document, the concept of 'roles' had been added to the DOTS framework and this introduced an element of learning about work and its place in people's lives; but this was dropped from the national frameworks that came later.

Bill's contributions to the development of careers education theory and practice have been highly influential: it is a matter of regret that they have not been picked up more fully by policy makers. In 2006 his thinking captured the imagination of a senior officer within the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), as the organisation led a consultation on reforming the secondary school curriculum. Bill's paper on life-role relevance in curriculum (Law, 2006) addressed the tension between designing a curriculum around traditional subject disciplines and putting personal and social development at the centre of the school. Such a radical shift in the balance between intrinsic and anticipatory values of the curriculum proved to be a step too far for the politicians but, as Bill wrote at the end of his article:

> '...if policy were to prove less supportive than we might like it to be that would not rule out

wholly locally-driven action. You could develop something more practical, really bold and much smarter.'

That quotation sums up Bill's philosophy: try to influence policy where we can but if we fail, then get on with developing the best possible practice, based on what we know and believe. Bill's work over more than 40 years gives us plenty of ideas and materials on which to draw.

'Young people need to meet the likes of whom they've never met before'

Bill often described careers work in schools as being about who gets to do what. He went on to argue that young people need to meet as wide a range of people as possible, including in particular people whom they were unlikely to have met before within their familiar contexts. He suggested that teachers should broaden pupils' horizons and help them see opportunities beyond their immediate environment. This lies at the heart of Bill's community interaction theory (Law, 1981).

In work on this theory Bill talks a lot about people's encounters with others and how they challenge stereotypical thinking about future job opportunities, in terms not only of gender but also of social class. There is a lot of attention in contemporary careers work in schools to enabling pupils to have several encounters with employers and employees. Much of the focus is on the number of encounters. Bill's concerns would be about the quality of the encounters and how they were then used as a basis for learning about work, career and yourself.

The issue of encounters with employers is the subject of two of the eight Gatsby benchmarks of good practice that schools are being encouraged to use today as a framework for reviewing and developing their own careers programmes (Gatsby, 2014). Taken as a whole the benchmarks identify eight components of a comprehensive careers programme in a school, although it could be argued (and I am sure Bill would) that they do not adequately state the case for explicit careers education in the curriculum. It is interesting to observe that an often overlooked chapter of the book that introduced DOTS to the world of careers (*op. cit.*) includes a framework that sets out eight stages of the development of careers work in schools, starting with a collection of careers information leaflets, progressing through to guidance interviews and curriculum programmes, and ending with integrating with the wider community. Bill was to go on to develop this framework further as a structure for a teacher training resource (see below), but he would recognise the links to the Gatsby benchmarks today.

'We haven't been good at attracting the best of the profession'

Bill started his professional working life as a teacher, of religious studies, and it was as a teacher, of careers teachers, that I first met him. He loved teaching and the intellectual engagement with a group of students. Much of his early work as founding Senior Fellow of NICEC consisted of leading workshops, literally across the length and breadth of the country. It is no surprise, therefore, that when the then Department of Education and Science (DES) were looking for someone to write a training pack for careers teachers in the late 1980s they approached Bill.

The DES and Employment Department had published a seminal policy document *Working Together For A Better Future* (DES, ED and Welsh Office, 1987). This included a recommendation that secondary schools should make sure that those responsible for careers had had up-to-date training. The then National Association of Careers and Guidance Teachers (NACGT), of which Bill was an honorary life member, had campaigned for training for careers teachers and viewed this as an important breakthrough. Bill was commissioned to write an open learning pack (DES, 1990). This was in an era before the arrival of the internet and online resources. The pack consisted of eight workbooks of open learning materials, with titles that reflected the various components of careers work that Bill had identified. The materials were intellectually challenging but rooted in practice. Unfortunately the pack survived for only a few years, because of a lack

of investment in tutorial support, but with appropriate updating the materials would still be relevant today.

There are many further examples of materials authored by Bill some time ago that are still of current relevance. Shortly after completing the *Careers Work* pack Bill was invited to lead a team to produce a training resource for members of school staff, other than the head of careers, who might be asked to contribute to the careers programme. The project, called 'Getting Involved in Careers Work' was managed by the then National Council for Educational Technology (NCET). It was mainly a vehicle for testing out some new technology in the form of an interactive video disc. As the hardware soon became redundant, the resource has not survived but the quality of the written supporting materials was excellent and they would be really useful for careers teachers today as schools seek to involve subject teachers and tutors more in contributing to the careers programme.

Bill continued his interest in training careers teachers, by running workshops both in the UK and overseas. He also contributed to two NICEC research projects on professional development. He led one project researching the different forms of staff development for careers work (Andrews, Barnes & Law, 1995); and when I later led a project on the career development of careers co-ordinators (Andrews & Barnes, 2003), Bill worked as a consultant to the team.

In the past twenty years there have been a few attempts to establish a national professional qualification for careers teachers in England. The most recent example is Teach First's careers and employability leaders programme. The evaluation of the first pilot found that it was as much a school development programme as a training programme for individuals (Hooley, Dodd & Shepherd, 2016). Bill would have welcomed that. In the 1980s he led a BP-sponsored programme at CRAC called 'Learning for a Changing World'. Each school was represented by two members of staff who attended three separate training sessions, over a period of several months, using the time between sessions to undertake review and development work in their schools. This is yet another example of how things that Bill worked on several years previously are being set up again now, but not always with clear references back to his work, which would help to ground them more deeply.

Bill believed strongly that well-designed professional development for individuals could enable them to be agents for change back in their school. But he often expressed concerns that careers work did not always attract the best of our teachers. I sense that part of the explanation lies in how the role of careers teacher is viewed both by teachers in relation to their own career progression and by those recruiting teachers into more senior positions. Bill and I saw evidence of this in the career development of careers co-ordinators project and I have come across similar findings in recent work researching careers leadership in schools. Although the role of careers leader gives the postholder substantial experience of working at a whole-school level, and of linking to the school's wider community, this is not always recognised by headteachers and governors recruiting to the positions of assistant head or deputy head. At an individual level Bill inspired so many careers teachers. We owe it to him to continue to work to raise the status of the role.

'If you are not confused, you are not paying attention'

To learn from Bill required an investment of effort from the learner. Some people were put off by his apparent over-complication of issues, but if you persevered and paid attention, you gained insights that brought new meaning and understanding to your work. Bill's workshops were challenging and hard work, but enjoyable and rewarding at the same time. He wrote and spoke with a great deal of intellectual rigour, drawing on a range of disciplines: he read widely and voraciously, as witnessed by his two book-lined studies. He would not attempt to over-simplify matters to what he called 'tick and flick' lists. He wanted us to join him in thinking about what we were doing and why.

This approach did not make Bill easy to work with at times. When you thought you had produced a final draft, Bill would have another set of questions, but the end product would be improved by those further challenges. He should have been a professor: he certainly looked the part but, more importantly, he brought that level of intellect to his work. As I have

indicated, I also think policy makers should have paid more attention to his work. I once shared a taxi with Bill and a senior civil servant at the DES: it was clear that at a personal level the civil servant had a lot of respect for the quality of Bill's work but perhaps it was too challenging for the politicians, who wanted answers on one sheet of A4.

Last word

In this article I have touched on the highlights of Bill's work on careers work in schools: the DOTS model; the stages of development of careers programmes; the community interaction theory; his career learning theory; his work on resources for professional development. Those contributions alone give us a lot to build on.

The UK Government has been promising a new strategy for careers for over 18 months now. Bill was always intensely interested in the political context for our work but he remained sceptical of the influence of policy on practice in schools. He would probably advise us to examine the theories, review the best practice and get on with implementing improvements. His catalogue of work gives us more than enough to be getting on with. All of us dwarfs can stand on his shoulders.

When I moved into advisory work and consultancy, I often invited Bill to lead sessions for teachers and careers advisers. In my introduction I always used to say that he inspired me all those years ago and that he still made me think. I miss my friend but he will continue to make me think.

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Bill the Communicator: Bill Law's Learning Theory has made its way abroad

Peter Plant

Bill Law often illustrated his points through narratives. He was a great communicator. Nellie often crept up in his stories, as in 'Sitting-with-Nellie', i.e. learning on the job: learning by doing and reflection. Models, too, were also among his favourite communication tools. But Bill made theory practical. In doing this, he used models. One of his more well-known models (with Tony Watts) picks up social and learning aspects of career guidance and career education. It is known as the DOTS model (Law and Watts, 1977), which introduced four aspects of guidance activities, i.e., support in relation to: Decision making (D), Opportunity awareness (O), Transition skills (T), and Self awareness (S).

Or put in Bill's everyday language:

S: "who am I?" - knowing about self

O: "where am I?" - knowing about opportunities

D: "what will I do?" - ready for a decision

T: "how will I cope?" - ready for the next transition

The New DOTS model

The DOTS approach reaches back through the history of career guidance: it would be recognised by Frank Parsons' (1909), and his three-stage model, in particular in relation to the S, the O, and the D of DOTS. But Bill had the ambition to develop DOTS into a career learning model. Whereas DOTS focused on *what* can be learned through guidance, the New DOTS model focused on *how* we learn: sensing, sifting, focusing, and understanding (Law, 1996; Law, 1999; Law, 2001; Reid, 2000). This added a strong learning dimension to DOTS, in turning it into a learning taxonomy.

On a European level, the learning aspects of career guidance have been labelled Career Management Skills (CMS). 'Career management skills refer to a whole range of competences which provide structured ways for individuals and groups to gather, analyse, synthesise self, educational and occupational information, as well as the skills to make and implement decisions and transitions.' (Sultana, 2011: 5). Clearly, DOTS and New DOTS are mirrored here in the areas of self, opportunities, transition, and decisions. Whereas Bill Law's writings on career learning are thus reflected in current EU-policies on CMS, his work has had other long-lasting effects, in particular, in the Scandinavian countries, where his ideas were much appreciated. He was held in high esteem and often cited in scholarly work. Together with Watts et al, Bill Law's contribution (Law, 1996) was soon translated into Danish: this book is much used in training of guidance practitioners. More recent examples of Bill Law's profound influence may be seen in, for example, Thomsen's (2014) Nordic report on Career Competences which suggests a strong career learning component to CMS approaches; or in Haug's (2014) Norwegian report on CMS as a possible national framework for career learning and career guidance. The thinking of both these scholars, of the generation following Bill's, are inspired by Bill Law's theories on career learning. These works are extensively cited.

Currently, a Danish project on career learning for younger students explicitly builds on Bill Law's career learning theory (Udsyn i Udskolingen, 2016). This extensive career learning project was documented in a free downloadable book (Poulsen et al, 2016). These

examples illustrate how Bill Law's theoretical work has had long-lasting impact in the Scandinavian countries, where, incidentally, community interaction is high on the agenda, also inspired by Bill Law (Law, 2009).

A model reduces complexity, and it runs the risk of being simplistic. Bill's aim was to communicate complex matters in understandable ways. Simply, but not simplistically: he was a master communicator. And he never forgot Nellie.

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Bill Law's contribution to narrative in careers work: A story to be told

Hazel Reid

Bill Law's work based on practice, research and theory is extensive. This article celebrates Bill's contribution to the use of narrative in careers work and, as he saw it, its relevance for the changing world within which careers work operates. It draws on his publications for NICEC and the conference papers given at Canterbury Christ Church University. It does not aim to be exhaustive in mapping Bill's contribution and, in keeping with the tenets of narrative, is a personal story drawn from the author's conversations with Bill and editorial work on the articles cited. But Bill did not ignore the political and Bill's attention to the social context is noted in the article. The final section includes Bill's rallying call for careers work to review, continually, its relevance and to contribute to social justice.

Are you sitting comfortably? Then I'll begin.

You need to be old enough to recognise that the phrase above introduced an early afternoon radio, or 'wireless', storytelling programme for children in the UK. It was called 'Listen with Mother' and ran from 1950 – 1982. For me it evokes an almost physical reaction, a *re-membering* of time and place and family. It was a fifteen minute weekday ritual, where other activity stopped and the radiogram, the size of a small sofa, was switched on, in time for the valves to warm up, and attention given to the story told. What is it about storytelling that can have this effect? The power of storytelling, its meaningfulness in all societies is well known. Narratives are central to our ways of making sense of our lives and our interactions with the world 'out there'. Whether spoken, depicted or written down, storytelling is at the core of what it is to be human and our relationships with others as we co-construct identity (and career identity).

Bill understood the importance in careers work of people's encounters with others early on in his writing, for example in his interdisciplinary Community Interaction Theory (Law, 1981). Narrative is also implicit in the move from descriptive nouns to active verbs in his Career Learning Theory (Law, 1996), which he continued to develop in publications, in practice and via the Career Learning Café (www.hihohiho.com). And what a 'telling' domain name that is for careers work.

In this article I highlight a fraction of Bill's work on narrative, drawing in particular on his contributions to articles in the NICEC journal and his presentations and publications in the Occasional Papers written for Canterbury Christ Church University. This is not an academic piece, and, as indicated, does not offer a neat summary of Bill's contribution with regard to the use of narrative for careers work. Before moving on, I want to say that I struggled with using the past tense in writing about Bill and Bill's work. I hear Bill's voice as I quote his words, and see his inquisitive look when I think of conversations when we did not always agree on a particular point. With Bill it was always a dialogue, a conversation – derived from the Latin: a wandering together with. So, I decided to stick with the present tense, as appropriate, use the first person singular and adopt an informal style.

Meeting THE Bill Law

Prior to my own interest in narrative and careers work, I submitted an abstract to a CRAC/NICEC conference, which took place in April 2000. The

aim of my paper was to rehearse the early ideas for my doctoral research on clinical supervision within career guidance: this at a time of significant change to careers work practice in the UK. It was at the conference that I met Bill for the first time, although his work was part of the curriculum taught to our students at what was then the College of Guidance Studies (COGS) in the UK. In saying I had not met Bill previously, I had corresponded with him, via email, about an article I was writing for which he provided constructive comments. He then sent me a draft paper he was preparing for my comments, which made me feel rather important. I later came to know that this sharing of ideas at the developmental stage, with a number of colleagues, was an example of Bill's collegiality and drive to ensure his work would be both useful and meaningful.

I recognised Bill at the evening reception, held before the start of the conference. Wearing a trench coat and his signature fedora, he asked the person standing next to him, "Do you know what Hazel Reid looks like?" "She's right behind you", was the reply. Upon which I was enveloped in a hug along with, "Oh, sorry I think I should have introduced myself first!" A friendship was born. During the conference I spent time with Bill and enjoyed his company, his wit, his wisdom and gentle, respectful questioning about my work. His questions could be challenging, but always respectful and never threatening. One of the key note speakers was Mark Savickas and Bill and I, along with many others, attended a workshop Mark gave to demonstrate his narrative approach for careers counselling: that is, the career construction interview (Savickas, 2011). In the evening, with Audrey Collin (who had been writing about interpretive approaches for many years, e.g. Collin and Young, 1992) we had a long conversation about how Mark's approach could influence the development of career education and guidance in the UK. A short time after this conference Bill became a Visiting Senior Researcher at the Centre for Career and Personal Development (CCPD) at my university and made numerous contributions to teaching sessions and conferences over many years. Our students, alongside many new and experienced practitioners benefited from his input. When told that Bill would be running a teaching session, or presenting at one of our conferences, students would often say 'What THE Bill Law?'

The contribution to narrative and careers work

In 2002, the CCPD conference was entitled 'Challenging biographies: re-locating the theory and practice of careers work' and a publication followed in 2003. It brought together three separate areas of thinking around narrative for careers work, namely in research, in career guidance and in career education. At the conference and in the publication, my colleague Linden West (West, 2003) discussed the importance of paying attention to biographical research methods for understanding career building in an uncertain world. I outlined the potential of applying the approach of narrative career counselling and questioned the feasibility within a volatile landscape for career guidance services in the UK (Reid, 2003). Bill's contribution (Law, 2003) entitled 'Guidance: Too many lists, not enough stories' was seminal; seminal in that it provided the basis for future development of narrative-led methods for career learning and development.

> Narrative thinking, though harder to control [than outcome-driven thinking], is potentially more useful than lists of outcomes. This is because it is more congruent with the way people learn and with the way learning is shaped by attachment to group cultures.
>
> (Law, 2003:25)

It was written in 'Bill speak' – immediate, engaging, but also drawing on an extensive transdisciplinary literature that makes the piece both erudite and thought provoking. The final chapter in the occasional paper was a dialogue between the editor and the three of us. We attempted to address some of the key questions that were raised from delegates at the conference and the emerging debate about the contribution of narrative (Edwards et al, 2003). Culture, feelings, learning and attachments are paid attention to in another occasional paper (Law, 2006) where Bill discusses labour market information and labour market experience. The work looks at what to learn, how to learn and what influences affect career learning and is written in Bill's narrative style.

Bill contributed to every biennial conference and publication held at CCPD, speaking and writing on a

number of strands of his work. However in the rest of this article I will focus on other contributions to the development of narrative thinking for careers work. Bill and I once discussed whether 'careers work' was a good enough term, I use it here to indicate that Bill's contribution cannot be fixed within career education or, the preferred term, career learning and development, its impact is wider than this.

Storyboarding for career management

In 2007 Bill expanded his thinking around the potential of narrative for careers work and had by then developed the Career Learning Café for the dissemination of his work. The café became and remained an active site for other thinkers/practitioners hungry for new ways of working. Always an advocate of the need to provide examples, Bill illustrated the use of narrative for career learning *in practice* on the website, for example, 'Career Learning Narratives – Telling, Showing and Mapping' (Law, 2007). His presentation and the publication from another CCPD conference, was based on a café monograph (Law, 2008a) and examined the 'necessity, practice, and research potential in the uses of narrative' (Law, 2008b:9). In both he launched his ideas about the potential of storyboarding for careers work. In the introduction he discusses the differences between career development, career management and careers work, before moving on to the thinking behind storyboarding. As in so much of Bill's work he distinguishes between different aspects of the work via a step by step, bite-size unravelling of the terms he uses. Words are chosen carefully as he explains the storyboarding technique:

> This chapter … is based on the distinctive features of stories – 'people', 'places', 'talk', 'events' and 'meanings'. … This chapter shows how a well-rounded story invites an examination of some of the most significant features of experience – 'sequence', 'other people', 'point of view' and – in particular – 'turning-points' and 'change of-mind'.
>
> (Law, 2008b:10)

As I copy these words I hear Bill's voice. The copy editor for the CCPD occasional papers and also the NICEC journal, would ask me, "Will there be a Bill chapter?" She did not know him, but welcomed prior warning that the layout would be different – often landscape rather than portrait – the referencing style would vary from the standard guidelines and there would be extra work in terms of placing sections coherently on a page. And there would be diagrams – many diagrams in Bill's 'show rather than tell' approach.

Bill explains at the end of the article why storyboarding is important. He speaks of the concept of change-of-mind for careers work – to move away from habit-of-mind. He shows how storyboarding can help students/clients to work against stereotypes and probe other possibilities. The approach is graphic (in both senses) and also playful, but derived from serious thinking about transitions and turning points. In saying it is playful, it is essential to highlight the social justice ethos that underpinned Bill's work. This is nicely summed up in his final words in the article:

> We, especially, need to understand the extent and dynamics of the damage caused by class, race, gender and other stereotyping. We really don't know how frequently, or how intensively, that kind of damage is done. Storyboarding can help us to find out, and also find out what happens to transform that habit-of-mind into a change-of mind. We really need to know that.
>
> (Law, 2008b: 27)

Bill continued to work on storyboarding and the uses of narrative for careers work, and to share the work in publications and on his website. The work - his legacy in this particular area - is extensive and is encapsulated well in an article for the NICEC journal in 2012. In this article he reminds us once again of the power of narratives, 'They reach from the walls of our caves to the displays on our on-line devices' (Law, 2012:280). But let's be clear, Bill's belief in the power of storytelling is underpinned by in-depth reading and understanding of some impressive philosophical writing and debate. In the 2012 article reference is made to the works of Ricoeur, Bruner, Strawson, Damasio, Dennett and others. It draws also on contemporary research within the field of careers work… and it critiques it. As an aside, he bought the Ricoeur text twice in error and gave me the 'spare'

copy. We discussed it a few months later and Bill asked, "There is much to learn from Ricoeur, but did you find it an easy read?" No Bill I did not, but I read it because you thought it was important that I did.

Bill's 2012 article, amongst providing other insights, touches on embodiment, how creative approaches that encompass drawing, graphics, and imagery can locate feelings and meaning in a life that talking, even with a skilled and empathic other, cannot bring to the surface. Defences are important and not to be breached via an unthinking voyeurism. However, on completion of the creative exercise, such as storyboarding, a conversation with a 'helper' can be a modelling process that develops understanding of the significance of personal values and motivations that can be taken forward into career management (and may also identify what can be left behind). Bill describes it thus:

> But the most telling embodiment is in the careers worker's questioning. By seeing how an educator probes a story, students [are] learning how to do it for themselves – the process is modelling. … It is a two-way connection: the educator modelling an enquiring life, the student becoming disposed to question, to be curious about surprises, to take one thing with another, and – in finding a way forward – to take nothing for granted.
>
> (Law, 2012:36)

Moving with a changing horizon for careers work

Encouraging curiosity is a good expression for careers work, and Bill's storyboarding technique provides a practical tool in what is, euphemistically, a challenging employment context for many young people and adults. As Bill frequently reminds us in his writing, geography, place, space, time…and culture, are all aspects that influence life chances (Law, 2013). Careers work, Bill says, needs to engage with such complexities and continue to interrogate and update its own learning and development. In Bill's writing in books, professional journals, academic monographs, on the Careers Learning Café and in the many peer reviewed, international journal publications, he continually challenged us, practitioners / teachers / researchers / trainers / academics to re-think our approaches. In the NICEC journal in 2015 in the abstract to his article, he wrote:

> People are changing the ways they manage career. Careers work cannot afford to miss the opportunity this presents. And that calls for new thinking for a changing, challenging and crowded world. Seeing career management as a process of 'holding on' and 'letting go' is part of that thinking. It speaks of thoughts and feelings about what is and is not valued. The thinking is set out here [in the article] as a search for new meaning in policy, professionalism and practice. It radically expands the careers-work repertoire. More importantly it positions clients and students as agents of change.
>
> (Law, 2015:18)

There is so much more that might have been referred to in this short article that celebrates Bill's contribution to narrative thinking in careers work, but Bill is telling me to avoid list making, be concise and stick with the meaningful narrative. The international community of careers work practice, training, research and theoretical development has lost a significant thinker and activist, and I have lost a friend - but Bill's legacy and his call for meaningful innovation will live on.

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Guidance: Too many lists, not enough stories

Bill Law

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The author argues for a new start on developing contemporary guidance. It could, he argues, significantly change all aspects of careers work: including careers education, personal and social education, and their integration with mainstream curriculum - in all sectors. The argument is for the greater use of narrative-led methods, and - therefore - for weakening the grip of outcome-driven thinking. Narrative thinking, though harder centrally to control, is potentially more useful than lists of outcomes. This is because it is more congruent with the way people learn and with the way learning is shaped by attachment to group cultures. Narrative thinking therefore promises significant new ideas for programme development in Connexions, Education for Citizenship and life-long guidance.

Introduction

The 'DOTS' analysis sorts the elements of career into useful order, by clustering information into categories for 'opportunity', 'self ', 'decision' and 'transition' (Law and Watts, 1977). DOTS was, however, developed as a means of sorting careers-work *provision*; it does not much help us understand how careers themselves are actually *managed*. For that, we need more subtle ways of understanding how people learn.

In particular we need: (1) to take account of the social context of career learning, now acknowledged in the design of Connexions; (2) to link learning for worker roles to consumer, partner, volunteer and citizen roles; and (3) to portray career learning as a continuously adjusting response to life-long-change. DOTS is limited in all these areas.

DOTS is an analysis, ordering the elements of career into columns - often as lists. Narrative orders the elements into sequences - as stories. Donald Super's (1957) account of 'growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline' - one of the earliest theories of career development - was more a story than a list. I argue here that we now need more of the subtlety of the story, and one which can take account of changes in the experience of contemporary career. This is not a 'post-DOTS' argument, for the abandonment of past thinking; it is a 'new-DOTS' plea, for a much-needed extension of existing thinking.

I argue that biographical writing is now a significant resource for that work. Published biography is, of course, a story; and it always portrays elements of career development. But biographical writing is an increasingly a prevalent form, with many variations:

in diary, autobiography and memoir; in journalism, humour and gossip; as well as in lyric and poetry. It is set out face-to-face, in writing, in print, on radio or tv, on stage, on disc, tape and film. It is a huge, accessible and growing resource.

Story as learning

The link between story and learning is ageless: sagas, myths, legends, fables and parables are among the earliest teaching-and-learning methods. Contemporary educators understand the value both of stories that we tell and stories that learners tell.

Putting learning into useful order

But lists and stories are not the only ways of putting the elements of career into useful order. We have a range of ways of sorting learning. Some are set out on the right in table 1; it suggests four broadly distinguishable frames of reference - ranging from lists to stories.

The analysis reorganises Jerome Bruner's (1986) broad distinction between 'paradigmatic' and 'narrative' ways of learning (here re-labelled 'lists' and 'stories'). The analysis may best be thought of as a learning spectrum, shading from 'lists', through 'boundaries' and 'links', into 'stories'. Few experiences offer only one of any of these learning hues. But, if there are four broadly distinguishable ways of learning here, the question is 'do stories offer any advantages over other parts of the spectrum?'.

Against narrative

Jerome Bruner (1986) says paradigmatic ways of knowing are validated by verification, logic and falsifiable truth. Narrative, he says, appeals - in a more diffuse way - to what he calls 'believability and meaning'.

Table 1. How advisers and teachers help learners put learning into useful order

Frames of reference which...	For example...
...make lists of elements: setting down facts and perceptions	...items-by-item checklists and worksheets - in class-work ...alphabetical directories of opportunity - in resource centre
...work within boundaries: separating facts and perceptions into significant factors	...interest-framed data bases - in ICT work ...factor-by-factor agendas - in structured interviews
...identify links: mapping the cause-and-effect connections between facts, perceptions and factors and events	...freely identified themes - in loosely-structured interviews ...built-up decision-trees - in discussion work
...tell stories: sequencing events - encounters, feelings allegiances and intuitions - into what is 'then', 'now', and 'for the future'	...learner-led disclosure - in counselling-type interviewing ...autobiographical writing - in curriculum work

The hard-headed won't take this as a recommendation for narrative. People who want to feel safe, orderly and accountable will cling to lists and boundaries. Narrative works in looser ways, infused with feelings and diffused by relationships. It is true that stories sequentially portray change; but they do not isolate specific causes-and-effects, they only vaguely show how one thing leads to another.

It is harder to find quantifiable evidence of learning in a 'fuzzy' story than in a well-defined list. Some researchers share with policy people a belief that it is not worth saying unless it can be said with verifiable precision. Supporters of narrative may put up their hands, and say that they are less interested in the structure of accountability and the problems of verification than they are in the dynamics of change. None of this will impress true policy wonks.

In favour of the way we think

Novelist A.S. Byatt remarks, 'narration is as much part of human nature as breath and the circulation of the blood'. And so it seems; stories feel more concrete, more engaging and more useful than do clearly categorised learning structures at the other end of the learning spectrum.

Some of the explanation for why this is so can be found in evolutionary neurology and psychology.

Drawing on neurological evidence Antonio Damasio (1999) finds a number of levels at which the story can be told. He distinguishes what he calls 'biographical consciousness' from 'core consciousness'. Through core consciousness an organism, driven wholly by feeling, instinctively seeks safety and comfort. But, in a learning organism, the feelings of core consciousness become part of a unified portrayal of what happens - Antonio uses the metaphor of 'a movie in the brain'. It is an accumulation of overlapping and more-or-less 'fuzzy' accounts of what we each experience and can recall. It takes us, beyond instinct, towards an imperfect but developing appreciation of how things are and how they work.

But Antonio goes on. As a species, he claims, we have the additional ability of being able to locate ourselves in that story. We not only see, and we see ourselves seeing - each a witness to our own life. This is more than 'self awareness' listed alongside 'opportunity awareness'; it is a single story of self-in-the-world, which is why Antonio uses the term 'biographical consciousness'.

According to evolutionary psychologist Steven Pinker (1997) this ability is useful to us, for the way it locates 'place', 'path', 'motion', 'causation', and 'agency'. Put another way, it gives us a way of asking the 'where?', 'what?', 'when?', 'who?', 'how?', and 'why?' questions of life. Medical journalist Jerome Burne (2001) surveys the evidence to indicate that stories we tell are as basic to our survival as the tools we use. It is, he says, why gossip is so prevalent; gossip seeks a useable understanding of what happens. Finding that understanding is positively pleasurable. Literary academic H Abbott Porter (2002) agrees, pointing to a small number of recurring master plots in human story telling ('girl-meets-boy…' is among the most common. Each of these plots has a special significance to the survival of the species).

There is an important career-management point here. Our capacity for narrative means that we most naturally make a *unified* account of self-in-situation - less separation of the 'S' from the 'O' in DOTS. That, in turn, means that we can see ourselves both as effects and causes of what happens 'out there'. This has survival value - we learn for action! There are a lot of young men and women, sitting in a lot of classrooms, to whom this is going to come as a big surprise.

How to write 'better' biography

A publisher's test for a good story is called the 'water-cooler effect': do people talk about it? Celebrity biographies pass the publisher's test, but fail in other ways.

How good can biographical writing be? According to our story-guru, H Abbott Porter, good narrative allows inner conflicts, flaws, confusions and uncertainties to appear. They also, he says, counterpoise this inner tension with external tension. All of this means that there is uncertainty about how the story can be

resolved - it depends on what view prevails. That is the narrative tension - different ways of reacting to the same events. As literary critic James Wood puts it, 'there is something about narrative that puts things in doubt'.

We can draw implications from all of this. The 'story teller' must show enough about what is happening, but not so much as to bog down the audience. The story needs to have enough room for different interpretations, so that it is interesting. It does that by offering each member of the audience the chance to learn in his or her own way. This is not, then, didactic or moralising stuff. Good story telling is more subtle that - scaffolding learning, but not seeking to compel it.

Good biographical writers each offer a distinctive 'take' on these qualities. Table 2 illustrates how.

All biographical writers can do some of this. None can do all of it. Some careers-work case- studies have very little of it. None of it can be learned from manuals on research methodology.

Yet, it seems that it is part of our humanity to learn like this.

Where is the power?

The art of the biographer can make research - and even policy - interesting. Narrative has power, to the point that politicians deliberately seek 'a story' to represent their ideas (Hunt, 2001).

What power? We have already come across the elements of narrative power: a story has characters

Table 2. Biographical stories - differently told

> disclosing of 'good' and 'bad' feelings for other people	Terence Stamp 1989	autobiographer
> accepting ambiguity - such as concurrently holding people in contempt and affection	Terry Eagleton 2001	memoirist
> informality in conversation, eliciting trusting disclosure	Richard Sennett 1998	sociologist
> open accessibility and warmth for people, releasing what otherwise would be hidden	Paul Willis 1977	researcher
> having seen and heard enough to appreciate the significance of what people say	Studs Terkel 1975	social commentator
> humour, not just for the laugh, but for the incisiveness	Jeanette Winterson 1991	novelist
> interweaving lives, showing gains of the one from the troubles of the other	Tom Courtney	biographer
> courage to probe what other people do not want probed	Nick Davies 1998	journalist
> imaginative empathy and regard for the character	Carole Angier 2002	biographer

(people), in a situation (setting), engaged in dialogue or soliloquy (talk), involved in plot (events), and leading to some resolution (meaning).

All five elements raise issues for the management of career. For each element this chapter selects four signposts to further development in careers work. Twenty running hares is more than we can chase here. But, at this stage, we need the ideas.

Table 3 sets out the five - and the twenty.

Table 3. Five story elements - with twenty signposts for careers work

A People	1 encounter 2 allegiances - and letting go 3 feeling and tensions 4 driving events
B Setting	5 roles - linking setting and person 6 inter-linking roles 7 different 'selves' in different settings 8 culturally varied role
C Talk	9 learning 10 culture 11 changing minds 12 imagination
D Events	13 luck and learning 14 resolving through explanation 15 other-than-rational resolutions 16 this and other stories
E Meaning	17 meaning and facts 18 meaning and person 19 turning points and the crux of the matter 20 multiple meanings

A People

Biography portrays people - their abilities, allegiances, feelings, assumptions, beliefs and values. But the story adds a social context to the 'S' column in DOTS. There are, then, signposts beyond DOTS:

1 **encounter:**

2 **allegiances - and letting go:**

3 **feelings and tensions:**

4 **driving events:**

1 Encounter as structure

Terry Eagleton (2002) constructs his memoir as a procession of encounters - deeply layered and in tension with one another. Early on we meet his working-class father; towards the end we meet the élitist tutor who admits him to Cambridge - at about the time his father died…

> 'It burst on me like a strange kind of forgiveness. The gatekeeper had let me in, though it was my father who had turned the key. Greenway had accepted me as a literary type; had my father ever done as much? Perhaps this was one reason why I kicked so hard against Greenway when I got to Cambridge. His world was the Law which had brought my father to his ruin, but it was a Law which my father was asking me to love.'

It is evidence for 'community-interaction' theory (Law, 1981). But it is more: it has a depth and dynamic - manifesting forgiveness (where the theory might have settled for 'feedback'), acceptance ('expectation') and love ('support'). It can persuade a reader why and how Terry will now move on. The articulate can express it, but we all experience it.

Encounter frequently marks transition between episodes in biography. That step is often a letting go and a moving on.

2 Allegiance and 'letting go'

DOTS has no room for encounters. And, so, it misses the way in which career change can be not so much a matter of new information as of changing allegiance.

Terence Stamp (1989) hails from London's East End; his move on to the West End entailed a difficult letting go.

> 'There are certain moments when you know that if you hadn't been there, or met that person, you would never have taken a particular road. Meeting David Baxter was one of those milestones…A psychological tug-of-war complicated my life… Those trips up west with him were invariably followed by an uneasiness which left me clinging for days like a limpet to my old mates and haunts.'

Terence eventually made the move, with career consequences which - it turned out - David had anticipated better than Terence.

Researcher Paul Willis can portray that tension. At some level of awareness his 'Joey' always knew that something better was possible. It is the research method, but is also the researcher's accessibility, which allow Paul to describe Joey in some depth. We can understand why Joey would not 'let go'. And we can also appreciate that it might be a mistake (see Career-Learning Network, 2002a). Great stuff! - and it all depends on the character.

3 Feelings, 'roundedness' and tensions

Much of what we call 'feelings' are a deeply-laid responses for managing threat or promise (Goleman, 1996). Both can be found in the way journalist Nick Davies (1998), speaks for another Terence. Terence left school at 16, and had - so far - resisted the enticements of criminality.

> 'The younger people were angrier, less respectful, willing to take more risks and to organise themselves. They had grown up without the

> solid certainties of life in Jamaica, rejected by the society around them, feeling insulted and disrespected. Now they advertised their hostility…But ever since he had been a child in Spanish Town, Terrence had dreamed of becoming a lawyer…[But] the reality was that he was living in a ghetto, where he was far more likely to become a pimp.'

Nonetheless, Terence signed up to study law. The skills he will learn merely *permit* Terence to do that work; it is fear and anger that *drive* him; and hope that *beckons* him. We could list the skills; but if the fear and the hope are un-woven from the story it falls apart. To try would be to compress character in the interests of being easily understood. And, as H Porter Abbott (again) observes, such 'flat characters' are for formulaic writing, '…restricted to a narrow range of predictable behaviours…a reduction of the human to the mechanical'. That is for celeb biogs, not careers work.

Because DOTS disregards social life it also misses what all narrative portrays - conflict or (in Greek) '*agon*'. The word is cognate with 'prot*agon*ist' and 'ant*agon*ist', characters since the dawn of drama. H Porter suggests a learning purpose for drama: 'conflict in narrative provides a way for a culture to talk to itself about, and possibly resolve, conflicts that threaten to fracture it'.

Terence's feelings are rooted in allegiance: his work is to be for, with, and in response to his people. But allegiance implies the likelihood of conflict, as Terence will discover (see Career- Learning Network, 2002a).

4 Character and plot

'Rounded' character means portraying 'skills'; but it means portraying them in a life of 'feeling' and 'purpose'. And it means seeing all of that in a network of old allegiances - and new ones. It also means understanding that all of this risks tension - perhaps conflict. So skills are just a part of the picture; perhaps a small part; perhaps a not-terribly-significant part.

In the moment the actor enters, a glance, a posture, a remark will set the action in motion. The action is the product of inner life - her own and those of her acquaintances. Through the use of narrative Terence and Joey can learn to understand how they are the present effect of past causes. But - if they will - they can also learn to see themselves as the present cause of future effects.

But they will not learn enough of it from the formula 'S into O plus D equals T'. It needs a story.

B Setting

The setting for career development comprises the locations where learning-and-action unfolds. Different settings enable different learning in different roles. The signposts to action here relate to:

5 roles - linking setting and person:

6 inter-linking roles:

7 different 'selves' in different settings:

8 culturally varied roles:

5 Role, person and situation

'Role' is a narrative term, it is a variant of 'the roll', on which ancient drama scripts were wound. In sociological use, a role is a social position - such as 'woman', 'worker' or 'citizen'. Insofar that there is agreement, 'role expectations' are assigned to the people occupying the role - a kind of script. But sociology also acknowledges that role occupants influence roles, through their own 'role conceptions' (Biddle and Thomas, 1966). And so, although people are assigned roles, they also create them. Role is, then, almost always the forging - from something handed down - of something new. There is both holding on and letting go - both stability and change - in 'womanhood', 'worker', 'citizenship'…in all roles. How that happens can only be told in a story.

Again, in considering story as a framework for career, we find something that is neither 'self ' nor 'opportunity' - role is a-self-in-a-setting.

As we have seen, story involves conflict. Some conflict is external - between self and others 'out there'.

Terence's conception conflicts with other people's expectation in that way. But some tension is wholly 'in here'. Journalist Peter Lennon's (1998) interview with Jonathan Miller portrays an example. Jonathan speaks…

> "'Everything that has happened to me in the theatre, including my exit for medicine, has always been the result of my being pathetically susceptible to someone knocking on my door with a frisbee in their hand saying 'Do you want to come and play?'…"There was [before that] a whole series of people who I looked up to, admired and who set standards for me and expected much…[The conflict] is suddenly realising at the age of 65 that what I have done in the theatre world is simply not worth what I left." "It was unintentional," Rachel [his wife] put in sympathetically, "and you never did anything cynically." "I know Rachel thinks I exaggerate these things.'"

What a career, and what an insight into it! 'Doctor' and 'theatre director' are roles, as are 'family member' and 'spouse'. In drawing upon them Jonathan speaks both of what is 'in here' and 'out there' - in one breath. The issues - 'what can I do?', 'what am I expected to do?', 'what might I have done' - are all, neither 'S' nor 'D'. They are, in any and all of those roles, simultaneously both.

The idea of 'role' is as central to any worthwhile concept of careers work as any idea can be. And DOTS has no place for it.

6 Roles inter-link

The stories we have already looked at do not allow us to think of work roles in isolation from other roles. Becoming an academic, a school-boy, a lawyer, or a theatre director cannot be properly understood in isolation from a person's other roles. Being a son, a friend, a neighbour, a spouse bears upon becoming a worker. Almost all of these links belong to almost all of the stories we have looked at.

In contemporary society new conceptions of roles - as lover, parent, partner, consumer, volunteer and citizen - are being re-negotiated. We should also put criminal roles on that list. They all bear upon being a worker; indeed, they are all seen as alternatives to conventional work roles.

In some deeper sense all roles are work roles. All roles are a position, in a setting with a task that pursues some end. That end may be for survival, for fulfilment or for achievement. In some cases the alternative role offers the more promising route to the end.

Ideas of life-role are necessary to the concept of the 'boundary-less career' (following Arthur, et al, 1999). To understand such links is to open up a more extensive map of possibilities for careers work than we have yet imagined. Ideas of life role are necessary to developing those possibilities. The use of story is necessary to the method.

7 Different roles manifest different aspects of self

Role expectation is pressure. John Mortimer (2000) speaks of resisting that pressure, referring to his mother's wifely role.

> 'What was it that made my mother stay with my blind…and, in many ways, impossible father?… She had been an art student, had read Bernard Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*. She shipped herself out to South Africa before the 1914 war…So why do they do it?…Is staying on to put on other people's socks the mark of a truly heroic character?…Of course, my mother did have her temptations. I can remember times when she would steal away in the middle of dressing my father and leave him with his braces dangling…, make herself a cup of tea and waiting till he had learned not to class her among the cretins.'

Freedom from the pressure of role expectation is never an option. But re-conceiving a role in new terms always is. This wife's other roles - their positions, settings and tasks - fed her own ideas about being a wife; she would be no less committed, but much less biddable.

Life's continuous back-and-forth movement between roles - now artist, now mother, now lawyer, now friend, now director, now spouse - is *the* enabler of role re-conception. We all need a 'repertoire' of roles to manifest all that we are - and can become. Indeed - as welcoming young men and women back from their work-experience frequently demonstrates - people's very identity can seem to change as they expand their life-role repertoire. It may be more helpful to say that new roles reveal new aspects of self; they reveal a roundedness of character which is always there, and which it is the work of education to find. Careers work could do more.

8 Role is a cultural phenomenon

Role scripts - such as those for wife, worker, and citizen - are different in different cultures.

Culture is a group response to what sociologist Irving Goffman claims is the most basic of all questions - 'what is going on here?'. Groups develop shared beliefs about the way things are, what can be changed, and what must be protected. Culture is transmitted in all the story forms mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Humour is often important: sociologist Jason Rutter argues (and Joey's story illustrates) that 'having a laff ' is one of the ways in which cultural 'outsiders' are marked off.

For that is one of the prime functions of all cultures - to mark off positions. 'Women's' work', 'our kind of work' and 'valuable work' are all culturally defined.

Phil Hodkinson and his colleagues (Bloomer and Hodkinson, 2001) drawing on the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, point to how culture perpetuates beliefs. Those beliefs are often deeply internalised by individuals, and crystalise into habitual forms of life-role management: the 'out there' inhabitance nurtures the 'in-here' habit. Bourdieu's term is '*habitus*'; and it - yet again - breaches the boundaries set up by DOTS.

Habit can inhibit career development. Even in the young; perhaps especially in the young. In her partly autobiographical novel, Jeanette Winterson (1991) is funny in pointing up the discomfort of ill-fitting cultural habit. The occasion is the classroom reading of a primary- school essay.

> "'This holiday I went to Colwyn Bay with our church camp." The teacher nodded and smiled. "It was very hot, and Auntie Betty, whose leg was loose anyway, got sunstroke and we thought she might die." The teacher began to look a bit worried, but the class perked up. "But she got better, thanks to my mother who stayed up all night struggling mightily." "Is your mother a nurse?" asked the teacher, with quiet sympathy. "No, she just heals the sick."…"Very good, but I don't think we'll have time today. Put your work back in your tidy box and do some colouring till playtime." The class giggled. Slowly I sat down, not sure what was going on, but sure that something was. When I got home I told my mother I didn't want to go again. "You've got to," she said. "Here, have an orange.'"

The test of good story is recognisable authenticity rather than sterile veracity. And there is authenticity in the way in which this young woman finds roles in tension: pupil with believer, believer with writer, writer with pupil. Little of this could be understood at school, some only at home, some not yet by anybody - not even, for the time being, by the child. But she vaguely and persistently senses that something is beginning to hurt, and an orange will not help.

For some in her school-room the tension will be slight, and will not matter - they can be confident and relaxed enough to deal with it. But careers work must do better by people for whom deeply-embedded *habitus* will breed serious *agon*.

C Talk

Things like this are often expressed in what can be called soliloquy. We are all engaged in a more-or-less continuous process of background thinking, through which we each deal with our own version of the basic question - 'what is going on here?'. And its supplementaries: how did it get this way?', 'what is now important?', 'what can be changed?' - and what am I going to do about it?', Soliloquy is a feature of narrative: the most compelling example

begins 'To be, or not to be…'. You might call that 'action planning' - if you thought the official term does the human phenomenon any justice.

Soliloquy is a conversation with a virtual other. Gossip is the most prevalent example of addressing the basic question, and its supplementaries, with a real other.

The four careers-work-relevant signposts relate to:

9 learning:

10 culture:

11 changing minds:

12 imagination:

9 We learn through conversation

Studs Terkel shows how a taped conversation provoked a significant experience of learning. 'On one occasion,' he recalls, 'during playback, my companion murmured in wonder "I never realised I felt that way".' Telling it - being what we have already called 'a witness to our own life' - is one of the deepest ways in which we, as a species, learn.

The usefulness of telling it is the major premise of the careers interview. It is also how Jeanette's little girl learned in her classroom conversation. There may be fewer opportunities for young men and women to converse in classrooms now. If that is so it would be a serious loss.

Theodore Zeldin (1998) urges the usefulness of stories in such processes. We need more stories, he argues, to help people to see how they can live together 'as equals, with humour and self-confidence but without arrogance'. According to Jonathan Rose (2001) it was published story tellers who did that for the Victorian working classes. Stories offer 'allusions, characters, tropes, and situations' that could help people learn to make sense of their own lives. Jonathan offers countless examples. One is of a workhouse laundress struggling to improve her mind by reading a novel, and coming across a reference to *Letters of Lord Chesterfield to His Son*. In her first visit to any library she found the book:

> 'I read my first mythology. I learnt my first real history…With Lord Chesterfield I went travelling the world. I would fall asleep reading the letters, and awake around three o'clock in the morning my mind deep in the fascination of this new world, where people conversed - nor just talked…Dear, dear, Lord Chesterfield; snob or not, I owe him so much.'

It was Catherine Cookson.

In making his appeal to an appropriate literature Zeldin is not pandering to celeb-biog obsessions; he makes a more subtle point. In the past, reading stories furnished minds with the words and concepts we need to make sense of our lives.

There is widespread alarm among educationists concerning how policy pressure constrains learning conversation in school (Carnell and Lodge, 2002). We should wonder whether that pressure has also damaged careers work. We should also wonder what we can do about it.

10 Conversation is framed by culture

This is Jonathon Rose's point. He doesn't make the obvious point about accent and dialect being detectable in conversation - though that is, often enough, influential enough on life chances. He argues that the characters, the dialogue, the beliefs, the values, the feelings and allegiances expressed in stories, frame the terms and concepts in which conversation is conducted. There is more than one way in which such talk can help or hinder us in presenting self to opportunity.

Culture is that strong: a single culture can entrap; cultural diversity can liberate. This was always part of community-interaction theory. Here is a poignant commentary on that aspect of the theory. Lenny James's (2002) seems to attribute some part of the entrapment of his own people to their culture - its beliefs, feelings, allegiances ('ghetto love')…and dialogue.

> 'Ashley had the brains to be anything he chose. But he put aside his potential for a life on the street. That should hurt us, anger us, and shame our community. It does me. What hold does 'ghetto love' have on our young men that even the brightest of them can't break free of it?… Our community has been involved in two conversations, running concurrently. The first conversation has had us talking to the wider community about how we want to be treated… Then there is the second conversation, the conversation the black community has been having within itself…To say out loud that we are not happy with the way we do things might sound like betrayal…Our young men need alternative means of self-identification to the street…They are not less black if they educate themselves, or less of a man because they refuse to settle an argument with a bullet.'

Ashley is 'Asher D' of the 'Garage' band *So Solid Crew*.

I doubt that Lenny James is seeking black middle-class success stories, to provide heroes for such young men. It is true that biographies were once mostly to celebrate the heroism of the successful and influential. But that kind of writing no longer works so well for our society. Contemporary audiences want to learn as much from the disclosure of failure as from the parading of success (Evans, 1999). Good writing needs that kind of tension. And, for our purposes, this may be no bad thing.

Careers work needs more stories; but we need to *use* them more imaginatively than by parading so-called heroes. More on this later.

11 Conversation changes minds

Theodore Zeldin sees conversation as learning. Gossip is an example. So is effective therapy. The class-room should be. As should a careers interview. Here is Mary Karr's (2001) account of her maths teacher's attempt.

> 'He's telling you that you'll need math more than you know. "Actually," you say, "I intend to be a poet, sir."…"How you plan to get folks to pay you for it?" This stumps you a minute. Finally, you say, "I'll sell my books." "How much you think that'll make you?" he says…You want to say he's being unfair. But you can't quite locate the unfairness of it…You peel the bottom of one sweaty thigh up from where it's stuck to the chair and tug down your skirt…Your parents never give that concern the slightest credence. "Shit, you can do whatever you feel like, Pokey", Daddy would say, while your mother would claim "those idiots wouldn't know poetry from piss ants." Briggs waves his hand saying, "Let's drop the poet thing. It's true you don't need math to write poetry. But any other task you undertake will require a thorough grounding in mathematics."…You know better than to invite him into the various lives you've constructed for yourself - an apartment in New York, a beachcomber's hut, a Victorian mansion surrounded by a maze-like garden. Your own silence nudges you to the edge of tears…'

Tears mean feeling, and feeling might mean threat, or promise - or both. Is there a change beginning here?

If there is, daddy and mother seem not to help much. And Mary ignores Briggs's questions. But, like Stud's Terkel's contact, becoming a witness to her own life moves Mary towards a realisation of how much she cares about poetry. If that is it, it is an important change - though no more than a change in mind.

She moved on, from being a 'raggedy kid', to becoming a poet, an academic and a memoirist. Mary seems to acknowledge significance in the encounter: Briggs seems to have helped, though inadvertently.

Careers work must offer a more reliable form of help. It would be based on an understanding of what Mary can do with the help we offer.

12 Disturbance, imagination and 'moving on'

Mary is overwhelmed by unvoiced feelings. Feelings are not always taken into proper account by academics. Some academic historians deride biographers for putting feeling above logic. But historian and biographer Ben Pimlot (1998) defends biography: 'it is', he says, 'an unpredictable and picaresque adventure…

Lives themselves are always unexpected'. In life, child Mary understands the need to feel this disturbance, better than does mathematician Briggs.

In life and writing it is the non-formulaic which disturbs. Ready-made formulae reassure; but we are all disturbed by at least some part of our own stories. Learning theorist Jean Piaget's term for the learning experience describes a form of disturbance. It is, he says, 'disequalibrium' - our natural uneasiness in accommodating new knowledge. We may try, like Briggs, to neutralise the feeling by assimilation of what we find to 'what we have always known'. But then we lose the new learning, to what Antonio Damasio calls the comfort sought by core consciousness. Living-and-learning is not a comfort zone.

For an account of uneasy soliloquy, eavesdrop on Tim Lott (1997). Tim is a successful and comfortably-off publisher. Here he is, reflecting on 'some dumb instinct', which…

> '…tells me that this secret of life - the secret that someday will be revealed to me – lies, not lodged in the world itself, but in the way I make sense of it all. My thoughts feel cheap, ephemeral, unsatisfying; and I want them fleshed out…
> And there is something else. Perhaps on some level I feel that there is something in Kate [his girl friend] that disdains me. I feel sure that she loves me, but, when we are drinking with my loud friends in a loud bar…I see something in her eyes…University it must be, if I am to be properly reinvented.'

Tim is provoked into searching for some possible self in some possible future. He calls it 'dumb instinct'? Damasio would disagree about that: it is not a core, but biographical consciousness which provokes such day-dreaming. So what is it: imagination? intuition? what? (More, also, on this later.)

Some might think Tim should be grateful for what he's already got. Some careers workers might. But, if careers is to link - in any meaningful way - to education, then careers work must be able to process such restlessness - for Tim, for Mary…and for Joey.

All these stories show the importance to career of encounter, culture, allegiance, tension, change-of-mind and moving on. You will have noticed that most have more than one of these elements - almost any could be used to illustrate almost any of the elements. Of course they could: life does not sort itself into the lists and categories of analysis.

But, in all, the stories seriously outflank conventional notions of information, advice and guidance.

D Events

Our narrative man, H Porter Abbott, observes that 'as soon as we follow a subject with a verb, there is good chance we are engaged in a narrative'. Plot is a sequence of verbs. Action-driven blockbusters need little more. But good biographical material also needs a lot of nouns and adjectives, portraying 'rounded' characters who drive the plot. It all needs not only action verbs but what, elsewhere, I have called *learning* verbs (Law, 2001): understanding is the basis for sustainable action.

Readers of biography also use learning verbs. They look for a resolution of the story, but they each learn their own version of that resolution.

All of these features of plot are useful to careers work; the four signposts concern:

13 luck and learning:

14 resolving through explanation:

15 other-than-rational resolutions:

16 this and other stories:

13 There may be luck, there is unfairness, there must be learning

Luck is an event: an unforeseen, coincidental happenstance. Narrative tension is wound into situations where the character fails to notice the approach of unforeseen danger. As it sneaks up, we want to cry out 'look behind you!' - especially in pantomimes and career interviews.

Luck may be indiscriminate and unfair; but it correlates with culture. Career possibilities which - in Mary's neighbourhood - might seem to need amazing good luck, can - to the likes of Jonathan Miller - seem as natural and expected as the sun's rising. A cost which - to a successful publisher - would be an acceptable investment, would - to Joey's people - put an option so far out-of-reach that it might as well be on the moon. As political philosopher John Rawls beautifully argues, if we had any real sense of its unfairness, we would want to minimise the impact of birth-position 'luck'.

In fiction resolution is unsatisfying if it seems to depend only on luck. We would feel that Charles Dickens had cheated if there were no more to Pip's life-chances than Magwitch's gifts. Pip is a thinking kid; he knows what to do with his luck. Different people deal with luck in different ways, some better than others. In this respect, there may be some analogies between being lucky in work and in love: in both cases, experience helps us to recognise 'that's for me!' - and to know what to do about it.

That may also be why we generally find biographical writing more satisfying where resolution depends on learning, rather than luck. That is what careers work may - in part - be to help people learn how to make good use of luck.

But, most of all, it is to make luck matter less, and to make eyes-wide-open learning matter more. In this respect we cannot yet claim to have made much progress.

14 Learning as resolution

We work through the events in an episode (like those quoted above), or in a whole story, in order to reach a resolution. Resolution is a way of knowing, not just how things come out, but of understanding why they do so in this way. Career learning is the enablement of that understanding. It enables us to know what to do in our own story - moving us towards its resolution. Career-learning theory sees this understanding as being able to connect causes to effects - however fuzzily. That is why story resolutions can often be paraphrased along the lines 'so *that's* why she did it!'

A grasp of causality has survival value. We need stories to help us to see cause and effect. Story - guru H Porter Abbott takes this quality to be close-to-essential to what he calls 'narrativity'. It is the quality of a story which helps us to see events as order rather than chaos. Literary critic Andrew Rissik (1999a) makes a parallel point, characterising good biography as able to 'instruct us how to alter the future by showing us the havoc and damage wreaked by the past'.

An appreciation of the need to link causes to effects suggests one of the most useful questions in careers guidance - 'So what gave you the idea of doing that…?' Briggs should have asked it of Mary. But answering open questions relies on practice in conversational narrative. Good open questions are the most difficult to ask - and to answer. Mary didn't even try; the question was wrong. There was no resolution for her in the causes and effects that interested Briggs.

Without some feeling for how our learners seek to resolve their stories, we cannot know how to start a guidance interview, how to bring counselling to an end, or how to design progression into curriculum.

15 Rationality is not all we have

Mary senses unfairness, but can't yet get a clear fix on it. Tim finds he can act on what he calls 'instinct'. Sense and instinct - useful to career planning? We return to the question: is careers work only interested in information and rationality, or is there something else important going on here?

We already have the terms to refer to other-than-rationale ways of knowing - 'tacit learning', 'intuition' and 'imagination'. But they have not yet been much used in career thinking. Researchers Phil Hodkinson and his colleagues (1996) rightly point to the need for a new direction - using the term 'pragmatic rationalism'. But what is rational about Mary, and pragmatic about Tim?

DOTS cannot help to answer the question. Furthermore, it may not be entirely at home in the contemporary world. It is not just rational; it describes the content rather than the processes of learning:

it says nothing about the way we know things. Yet, in all of the stories quoted here we witness other-than-rational ways of knowing. Ancient rational philosopher Socrates is reported to have asserted that 'an unexamined life is not worth living'; representatives of today's cultures might retort 'an unlived life is not worth examining!'. In our society 'just-do-it' impulse and 'new-age' superstition are regarded as serious options for basing significant action.

It seems that, whether rightly and wrongly, people are searching for other-than-rational ways of dealing with their lives. We can come some way towards this need. I would limit myself to the bet that there are useful intuitions in career management. Mary and Tim have them; but we need to know more. The term 'pragmatic choice' signposts a possible new direction for that understanding of career. But we have not yet set off on the search.

For example, where does pragmatic rationalism stand in relation to tacit knowledge, to intuition and to imagination? And, for that matter, where does all of this stand in relation to culturally-learned responses - such as prejudice or superstition? And where do such learned responses stand in relation to the biologically-rooted feelings we call instinct? And does the word 'instinct' really do any justice to the heart of Tim's decision?

Biography points to non-rational ways of knowing. But we don't yet know how to describe them? How, then, will careers work be able to support and enhance them? Not by studying DOTS.

16 This and other stories

We are each at the centre of our own here-and-now story; but every plot, however heroic, is also a sub-plot for another story. You are an episode in other people's sagas, and they in yours.

Furthermore, each story has its own scale - of time and of setting. Of time: there is a story-line in Mary's few minutes of conversation, in Tim's months of deliberation, in Joey's years of self justification, and in Terence's and Asher D's generations of suffering. Of setting: the setting may be a corridor, a pub bar, a neighbourhood, a culture or the planet. However interesting biography may be in personal and local terms, Ben Pimlot's historian is right to remind biographers of the larger scale.

It is not that 'big-and-long' story is important, and 'short-and-small' is trivial; it is that each story stands in relation to others. And so each story can offer entrances and exits to others. That short-small-sad episode is not the end of everything. Nor, for that matter, is that big- bright-triumphant moment.

In all of these senses, there are very few stories which can stand alone.

If Briggs ever gets round to helping Mary, a key question may well be 'Do you have any sense of what can happen if…?' It would mean Mary opening that exit door from 'raggedy kid', to a story she had already started telling herself - of some other self in some other future.

She didn't tell Briggs. But with the right kind of help, she might have. Being able to see one's here-and-now story in the broader context of wider events, or in the alternative context of other possibilities, these possibilities open doors to both learners and helpers. And they may go against some of the grain in some counselling thinking (particularly where it emphasises the need for here-and-now immediacy and exclusive empathy with the learner). The study of narrative offers us some new thinking to do.

E Meaning

Story has meaning - whether poignant (dry your tears!), instructive (pay attention!), funny (pull yourself together!), or all three (the best of all stories!) Plot resolution usually offers a clue to meaning. But not everybody agrees with the author's intentions. The four signposts here for careers work concern:

17 meaning and facts:

18 meaning and person:

19 turning points and the crux of the matter:

20 multiple meanings:

17 Meaning is more important than fact

In some important sense it doesn't matter whether the child Jeanette Winterson wrote that essay or not. What we really want to know is why a mother's facile reaction would have begun to change a child; this is where the story's meaning might be found.

Mary Evans (1999) suggests that, because biography is increasingly concerned with private meaning, public information may actually hinder the audience. Biography-as-scholarly-research is now accompanied by biography-as-empathetic-insight (for example, in Carole Angier, 2002).

There is, of course, a risk: so important is meaning that we are prepared to maintain belief in an implausible story, in order to retain belief in its meaning. We can be quite gullible about this, especially if the meaning engages attention-grabbing issues - unhappy childhood, getting rich, being a celebrity (all three references guarantee a six-figure advance). But the primary significance of this search for meaning is not that it can mislead us (of course it can!) it is that we are somehow left hungry if we fail to find it. For Andrew Rissik (1999b) doing no more than gathering information is '…like searching a dead author's pockets and finding only keys, credit cards, cheque book and driving licence: they tell us something of the life, but not what we really want to know.' Some progress files are like that.

There is also a signpost for careers-work research here. Gathering material that can help to uncover meaning in a life is rare skill: how did Paul Willis manage to get in so many facts, yet keep us in clear sight of what they meant to Joey and each of those other lads? Research data is always sculpted, but not always with such telling authenticity.

18 Meaning as theme

H Porter Abbott (whom we have already met) offers rather simple advice on finding meaning in stories: 'Look', he says, 'for what repeats itself.'

That process of looking finds links: things that, somehow, remind you of other things in the story. The links are within and between elements of character, dialogue, plot and setting. The resonance they sound suggests a theme for a life. Such a method featured in Abraham Maslow's (1970) work (he drew on what was known of public figures). It led him to his well-used hierarchy of human needs. 'Themes' and 'needs' are not so dissonant, as concepts for the human condition. And there is some confirmation of what he argues in our short quotations; you can find people searching for 'material well-being', or 'safety', or 'attachment', or 'esteem', or 'influence', or 'discovery', or 'aesthetic' or 'self-actualising' satisfactions.

But let's not be precipitate: Abraham Maslow's is a crude analysis and certainly not beyond doubt. Biographer Ulrick O'Connor (1991) probes, by looking for the most significant clues. He uses the metaphor of 'inner sap' to locate the essence of a story. And he seeks it in a word, a gesture, an intonation, a posture… often enough some transient but compelling moment. 'No matter', he says, 'how a biographer has submerged himself in archive or interview, he should keep such incidents before the mind's eye - working from the inside out.'

In career-development thinking Mark Savickas (1995) has done more than anyone to develop the usefulness of life themes to the helping professions. He enables us to look for clues in persistent memories, recurring dreams, favourite stories, repeated phrases…Beyond a certain level of practice you don't have assiduously to search, you start spontaneously to recognise where people are most fully telling what is going on in their lives.

This way of understanding behaviour can be linked back to Antonio Damasio's neurology- based understanding. He suggests that biographical consciousness - the 'movie in the brain' - enables us to imagine a life beyond both instinctive and biographical concerns. The way we need to think in order to deal with the world, also allows us to imagine more than we have yet experienced. He claims that the clarity with which such possibilities can be incorporated into the 'movie' is why people feel that they might be prepared to risk personal fulfilment, for the sake of some more valued purpose. Jonathan Miller knows about this.

Such ideas about career development seriously undermine notions of career as solely about securing and maximising material well-being. People work for other reasons (if that were not so, there would be no able people in careers work or education). But we still need to say how contemporary work offers meaning to people's lives.

19 Turning points and crucial questions

There is, often enough in stories, a turning point. It may be no more than an encounter, a discovery, a remark, a hesitation. But it is one which catalyses a question - going to what we call 'the crux of the matter'. That question is about some element - of character, dialogue, setting or plot - which may, until now, been overlooked. But it is the key to understanding the story. It is the big moment in narrative fiction. It offers the prospect of plot resolution - you begin to see how things are coming out.

Researchers Mary Mallon and Laurie Cohen (quoting L R Cochrane) nicely illustrate the point - at the movies: 'Attempting to understand a career transition without a recognition of how the individual accounts for that particular adventure within a whole life is akin to walking in on the last scene of a movie. "Without a grasp of what came before and what is at stake, the scene is apt to seem fat and overdone. However, if one has seen the movie from the beginning, the same scene might be deeply moving, highly meaningful and entirely appropriate"'.

Our own Mary never allowed her maths teacher to ask the crucial question. And so he asked the questions he knew how to ask. Maybe we should have some sympathy with his reluctance - to press hard on the crucial question is high risk. Psychiatrist Adam Phillips sounds a dramatic parallel warning to opinionated biographers, 'the subject of a biography', he says, 'always dies in the *biographer's* way'. Whether helper or biographer, our questions, allowing only our answers, impose our meaning.

Death resolves everything. But - between now and it - who is able to help Mary, or Joey or Jeanette find the crucial question? There are plenty of people - in families, schools, cultural groups, government, commerce - ready to volunteer.

And what is it, exactly, that makes careers advisers and teachers any better at asking it? In this volume Hazel Reid (2003) raises a key issue for the use of biographical ideas in careers-work training.[1]

20 How to live with multiple meanings

Adam's warning is an acknowledgement of what is, for our purposes, a *strength* of biography. It is a strength because any sign of an author-imposed meaning can provoke an audience into critical reflection. And this is a good thing.

But to realise that good, we may need to worry less about the distinction between fact (Captain Robert Scott) and fiction (Captain James Kirk). Adam worries about biographers attributing to Robert the qualities of James. Such misattribution occurs: Mary McCarthy admitted to it: her early biography made her father more 'dashing' and herself more 'lost' than - on critical reflection - she felt was justified.

And, in some writing, the distinction between fact and fiction crumbles: some biographical writing is both - sometimes deliberately so. Recent 'lives' of Pontius Pilate, Caravaggio, Charles Dickens, A. Wainwright, Marilyn Monroe and Ronald Reagan include explicit invention. Indeed early biography and fiction were read by the same audience for much the same purpose - which was, for some people, enlightenment (Holroyd, 2002).

We must acknowledge the possibility of self deception. In one study (reported by Elizabeth Loftus and Mayranne Gray, 2002) people who had been shown phoney ads featuring 'Bugs Bunny' at *Disneyland*, came up with accounts of having met him there. They could not have: Bugs belongs to Warner Brothers.

1 This refers to the original volume in which this article was published.

We lie, we invent and we fool ourselves; but a quizzical audience need not be deceived. Terence Cave (1993) is undismayed by the trends; 'A lot of readers', he claims 'know how to commute between fiction and reality.' He explains: 'This is fashionably post-modern… the play between reality and fiction, or truth and fiction, is clearly meant to be comprehensible to a relatively wide public'. Fellow journalist Decca Aitkenhead agrees. She finds deception un-worrying because, she says, it is so easily detectable - converting 'life' into 'copy' is almost impossible to do well. And all of this helps to explain Alison Utley's (1999) claim concerning a public rejection of formulaic biography: 'there are too many, they all sound the same, they are too shrill, they cannot all be true.'

It makes biography (good and bad) a potentially powerful tool for learning-for-life. It means that, if we can't find a well-equipped scepticism among our learners, we should help them to become more quizzical. It is possible. And the thinking use of biography is a method. H Porter Abbott implies as much: we do justice to biography, he argues, not by *rejecting* the author but by educating the *reader*. And the most difficult thing a reader has to do, claims H Porter, is 'to remain in a state of uncertainty'. We are referring here to a subtle but contemporaneously necessary set of skills: knowing how to live with multiple meanings - asking what, for my purposes, can be trusted …and what can't.

People do not - cannot - always tell the truth. But this no more excludes the use of biography in practice than it does ethnography in research. All such material is the product of an ability to tell a story. And that ability is flawed - none of us do it perfectly. But the flaws are detectable, through noticing inconsistency, lack of authenticity, and an appreciation of people's search for self-justification.

In research, this is a plea for the critical use 'case study' material. Respectful appreciation is not the same as gullibility. In practice, it is a plea for helpers to help learners to question biography. For, in quizzing other people's lives, we each learn to question our own. This would be the realisation of Jonathan Rose's case; he calls it the primacy of the reader in the use of narrative - a story is useful, not for how it is told, but for how it is heard.

Which points us to the imaginative use of story in practice.

Using fewer lists, making more stories!

The people's research?

But first, a final nod in the direction of research. You may understand why I hesitate to use the term, but biography is - in a demonstrable sense - 'the people's research'. It provides a basis for thought and action which they-who-run may read - to hand in every bookshop and library.

Sharing sources with our users in developing understanding of career could usefully counter-balance the other powerful alliance in our field. The other alliance is the one between policy, commerce and academia (Philo and Miller, 2001). In our own, as in other fields, policy interests have enlisted such help to construct formulas which now dominate practice (Law, *et al*, 2002). We need an independent basis for explaining what we are doing (Law, 2003b).

Biographical material serves such purposes well: it is a practically limitless resource, which we share with our learners; and on whose behalf it can speak.

Using other people's stories to make sense of your own

We are not evolved to learn in order to raise standards, achieve targets or manifest outcomes. Taking tests and sitting exams are, for most of us, uncongenial. When the examination is completed the target may or may not be reached, but the learning is often discarded. As a species we learn for action. We remember best what seems most to be useful. For most of us, most of the time, the meaning of learning is knowing what to do about it. We are back to Irving Goffman's question: and it is the challenge to careers work - to enable learners to know 'what is going on here?' and 'what will I do about it?' (Law, 2003a).

Jonathan Rose has shown us that this is what people do with literature - use other people's stories to make sense of their own. He further suggests that a

significant sector of working-class people have used literature as a springboard for telling - and in some cases writing - their own story.

It is why gossip is so prevalent and soap operas so popular. Contemporary media are extending the scope with reflective observation -'*Big-Brother*-type 'reality-tv' shows are not all wholly driven by prurience and voyeurism (Crace, 2002).

In table 4 all of these processes would move - by one route or another - from top-left to bottom-right.

These processes suggest big extensions to current practice. They call for open and sensitive management of disclosure, enquiry, case study, real-time role play, community-based learning, formative action planning, and personal reflection (Law, *et al*, 2002). Few lists are needed here; even games and simulations offer no more than tasters to the depth and dynamics of these learning processes.

Towards the left in table 4, people are working with other people's stories - biographical material. Towards the right, on their own stories - in records and profiles. The challenge for this 'horizontal' movement is to transfer useful learning from (left) the learning setting to (right) the living use (Law, 1999).

In the upper row, people are like researchers - gathering information and sorting it into useful order.

In the lower row they become their own theorists - seeking to understand how things get to be the way they are, and how they can be changed. The challenge for this 'vertical' movement is to enable progression from basic observation to useable understanding (Law, 1996).

Jonathan Rose's view suggests that upper left is a natural starting point - where people begin to make sense of other people's experience. He is thinking about formal writing; but other people's stories also come as diary, journal, song, rap, scrapbook, album, film, video; they also come as tv soap, 'reality-tv' and cartoon; and they come, of course, as face-to-face disclosure - such as learners sometimes find in work experience and shadowing.

Portfolio development is an obvious area for development. And writing-as-therapy (Bolton, 1999) suggests ideas for one version of this process. But the methods for setting down material are wider. Writing-as-therapy is a form of disclosure (Wright and Man Cheung Chung, 2001); and, for our purposes, performance-as-learning, cartooning-as-learning and photography-as- learning are among the many methods that need to be developed (examples can be found in Career-Learning Network 2002b).

There are real possibilities here for significant new developments in contemporary careers work. And - because what is suggested is particularly appropriate

Table 4. Routes to the use of stories

	getting stories	**making a story**
enquiry (learner research)	gathering material, setting it in useful order	assembling 'the story so far'
reflection (learner theory)	pointing to key features and hunching themes and resolutions	anticipating possibilities and planning what to do

progress learning ↓

transfer learning →

to the delivery of Connexions, Education for Citizenship and life-long guidance - there is a degree of policy mandate.

What is ruled out is a straight imitation of some other person's life (even Richard Branson). The process is more subtle, more creative and more respectful of learner identity than unreflective hero worship would allow.

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On-line careers work – hit and myth

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Much of careers work is located on-line and this article examines what on-line careers work does well. That makes the internet a careers-work hit; but there are also internet myths. And the article identifies them as camouflaging what is at times no worse than a shortfall, but which can also do actual damage.

So there are issues. The article sets out evidence to show how careers work is well-equipped to deal with them. The conclusion illustrates the need for what it calls 'grasp', 'reach' and 'embodiment':

- grasp enables critical thinking in an on-line search for reliable learning
- reach connects on-line learning to off-line usefulness
- embodiment internalises on-line experience as off-line identity.

All require direct-and-personal conversation between careers workers and their clients-and-students. The article therefore significantly repositions careers work in relation to the net. And in relation to policy.

Introduction

The internet is content – what is said and shown. It is also technology – a tool that makes saying and showing possible. And it is process – an activity which engages with both. The argument here is that coverage is pretty well out of our control. And the technology is changing at such a rate that people with any kind of off-line life are in no position to keep up with it. But, when it comes to process, people need professional educators who know how to pose the questions that stir up constructive engagement with the net. Or so we're entitled to hope.

One of the most useful scene-setting analyses of the internet is suggested by Christian Fuchs and his colleagues (Fuchs, Hofkirchner, Schafranek, Raffl, Sandoval and Bichler, 2010). It is useful because it invites us to understand the internet not in terms of what it contains, nor even in terms of how it works, but in terms of the conversational process it calls on.

web-1.0 is cognitive enquiring – searching sources for off-line use

web-2.0 is interactive communicating – putting issues and seeking feedback

web-3.0 is cooperative changing – sharing, probing and challenging

Each of these is a means of communication; and every such means has, sooner or later, been captured by powerful interests. Enthusiasts for the internet claim to be exceptions to this rule. The journey from web-1.0 to -3.0 is celebrated as leading to self-propelled independence, where the net's multiple connections outflank all that corporations and governments might do to contain them. Careers work figures in that negotiation between what the enthusiasts seek and the powerful impose. It has set up sites dedicated to careers work. A comprehsive analysis (Law, 2012a[1])

1 further references to this publication are referred to here as 'the analysis'

shows that some careers work on the net has sought to contain what is done on-line inside familiar off-line use. This article argues that the internet will not be contained like that. It sets out the outflanking of careers work by the internet. Careers work does not adopt the internet, the internet adapts careers work.

On-line life

Web-1.0 carried more-or-less static pages - people used it like a library or a lecture theatre. But *FaceBook, YouTube, Second Life, Twitter, Linked-in, Skype* and *Xbox* are Web-3.0 events – not for library or lecture-theatre. This is where clients-and-students meet their friends and find new ones, where plans are hatched, alliances forged, and action rehearsed. While users were once outsiders and consumers they are now insiders and producers. We have no idea how far this can go.

The analysis finds varying degrees of this interactivity. Some expect an immediate response, others allow time for reflection. People may or may not know each other. Content may be abiding or transient. Access is increasingly portable. Tech-upgrades advance accessibility for some and retard it for others. They use a mix of numbers, words and images – variously animated. Users browse for hours and come-and-go in seconds. They find verified information and gossipy opinion. Some sites protect disclosure. Some divert user information to other interests. Sites are used for fun, shopping, indulging obsessions, carrying out research and fomenting revolution. None of these pursuits necessarily excludes any other.

The analysis also shows that educators may or may not be up with this. Unsurprisingly, they are not comfortable with the full range of its uses in their programmes. They tend to seek clearly-bounded uses that support familiar schooling activities. There are calls for educators to catch-up with technology. On the evidence of the analysis that strategy is probably futile. A different line is to characterise the need for creativity, critical thinking and learning-to-learn. That need was less urgent in the quiet library, but it is becoming imperative in the noisy forum. In this thinking the website still provides the content; and technology remains the tool; it is critical thinking that becomes the process.

Careers work on-line

The analysis shows that careers workers have taken a position similar to educators in general. They find the technology daunting. The range of careers-work activities is limited. There may not be much of an understanding of internet culture. Interest can get focussed on ready-made processes. There are also significant developments. A growing number of sites set out career-management experience in narrative terms. They mimic Web-3.0 social-networking. The need to retain attention means that an account of labour-market experience is presented as though it were reliable labour-market information. There is also a temptation to favour 'inspirational' stories – which can mean that bad experiences of work-life are edited out. It can also mean that anecdotes are treated like facts (Law, 2012b).

Career-related blogging is also gaining ground. It is a call-and-response activity: career 'experts' canvass facts, suggestions and questions; people come back with reactions, feedback and comments. The process can develop lengthy and discursive keyboarded discussion, where everybody sees everybody's. There are similarities with group discussion – like that set up in curriculum. And blogging raises familiar issues, for example concerning the assertion of self-interest by the loud and articulate – in both expert calls and user responses.

Linked-In may well be the preferred route for improving working-life prospects. It is a social-networking site which announces itself as a way for job-seekers to stay visible to potential employers and to learn from each other. It uses a combination of information and blogging formats. It also sets up on-line groups with shared interests. On-line games also figure in career-related on-line activity. They give practice in managing tasks requiring command of space, time and logic. We don't know much about careers workers following people in their navigation of the processes – whether they are raising useful questions, or learning about their students-and-clients.

The analysis shows careers workers are relying on familiar techniques – derived from comfortably familiar word-processors, data-bases, spread-sheets and calculators. Dedicated careers-work sites use Web-3.0 cautiously. But their students-and-clients are more

adventurous. And, among careers-work commentators, Michael Larbalestier (2010) distinctively points to risks. His point deserves expansion – the risks are not going to be dealt with by uncritical enthusiasm nor curmudgeonly scepticism. But they do need to be addressed. Web-3.0 is sometimes celebrated as taking people to places where nothing is singular, agreed or enduring. It is true that what you find in any web location is quickly overlaid with updating, elaboration, illustration, and contradiction. Does this multiply-linked enthusiasm strengthen people's grasp on reality – or weaken it?

Enthusiasts

An influential enthusiast is Clay Shirky (2008, 2010), characterising the net as a 'consuming, producing and sharing' activity. It can mutiply perspectives on, say, working life – and in ways which no expert source can outflank.

Enthusisasts see the net as an expanded living space where identity and options can be multiplied. We'll come back to an example of that – *Second Life*. A corrolary of the belief is that the net empowers change agency. The net-based movement *'Occupy'* is a non-violent and articulate debating movement opposing arbitrarily imposed containments. It emerges, more-or-less simultaneously, world wide. Paul Mason (2012) claims that it is unprecedented – born of a unique alignment of interests, zeitgeist, and technology. It is a career-related event, strongly supported by young graduates, whose ambitions are thwarted by the failures of policy and commerce.

Most of such optimism is Web-3.0 based. It is taking clients-and-students into territories that influence the way they see themselves, their own work, and the credibility of careers work. It is easy to see all of this as 'empowering' – people can access more material, engage in more conversations, and – it is claimed – exercise more control. And that sense of liberation may well be exhilarating for people who don't feel at-ease with experts and professionals. The net offers them more congenial ways of finding out what is going on, and figuring out what to do about it.

If people are changing the way they learn, then careers work must change the way it helps. But we need to know more.

Sceptics

Nicholas Carr (2010) points to the superficiality of the internet. His analysis includes evidence that brain plasticity can mean that tick-and-click activity may diminish concentration, persistence and resistance. That would be significant – personally-held sustained memory is where thinking is embedded in re-usable form.

Cass Sunstein (2009) signposts the net's insularity. It reaches any separate interest group, forming each into an enclave welcoming 'people-like-us'. On-line friends are often off-line mates – situated by both url and post-code. Each meeting-point celebrates its own beliefs, values and expectations – based on what is worth listening to, worth doing and worth possessing. But enclaves enclose, and enclosure can entrap.

Both sceptical voices are influential. But they do not see a deliberate intention to harm, they see collateral damage. Social networking is disclosing. And corporate interests act on the basis of disclosure – what 'people-like-you' like. They form what are called 'long-tails', which comprise many different niches each avoiding alternatives – 'people not like us'. More seriously, protective barriers are breached by corporate interests who pay for 'deep-net' searches of disclosures. There are also predatory uses of social networking – some among acquaintencies, some life-threatening. Savvy surfers are alert. But the 2012 analysis shows that habitual users are less sophisticated, they value the net for its ease-of-use, pay little heed to who operates a site, and do not probe the credibility of sources.

How does all of this fit to work-life? Work calls for reliability, as well as flexibility; it is about consideration for others, as well as self-fulfilment; it relies on understanding, but will listen to opinion; it needs sustained engagement, though there may be immediate rewards. There is no simple unravelling of the issues. But careers work needs to know how to work with students-and-clients on their use of what is easy to find, looks familiar and feels comfortable. It is an educator's job to invite people out of their comfort zones.

Web 4.0

No genuine educator wants to shackle students; but no educator can liberate students from circumstantial influence. Education can, however, enable a student for independent autonomy in any circumstance. Not all behaviour that is circumstantially free is independently autonomous.

Web-3.0 celebrates whatever liberation the enthusiasts can find. But the sceptics have a point: Web-3.0 confuses appearance and reality, plausibility and credibility, looking and seeing, believing and knowing. Movements like *Occupy* – with its use of seminars, argument and exchange-of-view – has moved beyond the enclaved and playful uses of Web-3.0. It is signally the emergence of a more rigorous and challenging use of the net.

Working with those conflicts and confusions is the stuff of education. We might, then, think of an educative movement from Web-3.0 to 4.0. The conversational process would be critical thinking – questioning, linking, internalising. Table 1 sketches in some of the elements. They are worth careers-work attention if its workers find any of the attitudes listed on the left among their students-and-clients. The table suggests how…

- on-line looking becomes **reliable** seeing
- on-line connectedness links to **wider** realities
- on-line self relates to an **embodied** identity

Table 1. People on web-3.0 – careers work on web-4.0

	3.0 experience	4.0 questioning
grasping realities	settling for immediate 'yes-no' ticks-and-clicks	engaging careful and sustained application-of-mind
	believing they know all that they need to know	facing that whatever they now know they could find something else
	valuing things with binary polarities - extremes of approval and disapproval	finding more aspects of life than at-first-sight seem obvious
	seeking simple answers from quick-fix sources	figuring out explanations and taking responsibility for action
reaching for links	acting without realising other possibilities	imagining other possible selves in other possible futures
	seeking confirmation of ready-made beliefs	learning from what is new, surprising and disturbing
	'liking' and re-visiting the familiar and undisturbing	welcoming and exploring unforeseen ways of seeing
embodying learning	taking appearance and what is easily found as reality	looking beyond appearance to realise inner life
	looking to familiar, spectacular and celebrity-iconic models	seeing that finding a quick 'like' is not knowing what to do about it
	working with sharp-and-fixed branded self-presentations	getting into self-repecting touch with their own natural bodily life

There can be a-bright-and-breeziness on Web-3.0. If well-enough protected that is fine for party-time[2]. But professional educators know that on-line devices are not just toys, they can be tools. The table maps – left-to-right – the migration of on-line virtuality into off-line reality.

Careers workers as educators

Careers work cannot be judged by how far it improves the economy or changes behaviour. It can be judged on the useful relevance of the learning it enables. What happens after that is not in careers-workers' hands. Furthermore, no professional educator can hold back technology. But all professional educators, however misleading and damaging the net can be, can enable people to make good use of it. Careers workers are needed, not to manage a content nor master a tool, but to enable a process.

Educationist Lev Vygotsky's work (1978) anticipates the task – it proposes graphic learning tools-for-learning. The role of teachers is, then, to frame learning – the writer calls it 'scaffolding' – to support a movement into progressively-enlarging learning zones. Vygotsky's work reaches beyond the enclosure that Cass Sunstein fears.

Sociologists also anticipate the management of on-line identities. Erving Goffman (1959) shows how we each take different roles in different social situations – some private, others public. And David Riesman's (1961) analysis of the cultures of identity – inherited tradition, inner life and social expectation – tells of people juggling with where they come from, where they are, and who they are with. He assembles all into a basis for autonomous action.

Sociologist Neil Selwyn (2011) extends these lines-of-thinking into on-line life. He acknowledges that the tools will forever develop, but he claims that does not equate to progress – especially where appearance loses contact with reality. He urges educators to step back from the technology and be prepared to see it as strange, and needing investigation. He is inviting us out of comfortable habits-of-mind. He suggests that the students most likely to be damaged are the least likely to realise it – with consequences for entrapment, and therefore for restricted social mobility. He concludes that we are mis-applying technological solutions to cultural and sociological problems.

But Selwyn is countering the trend. The 2012 analysis shows vocational pressures on curriculum are assessing success on a subject-by-subject basis. It reports regret concerning the failure to use interdisciplinary work, which is claimed to be more likely to develop creative change. One source comments that learning how to change things is the greatest gift that education can offer. A widely-held position is that there is more than one form of digital literacy. And, although the content and tools change, the ability to be critical in examining sources is learned for life.

A learning web

Table 1 records what optimists welcome as evoking good feelings. But it also responds to what the sceptics say goes badly. It makes good use of bad news. The 2012 analysis shows that there is no more pressing issue for careers work than grappling with the hits and myths of on-line experience. It suggests three key concepts[3], speaking of enabling a *grasp* of what is worth knowing, so that seeing can *reach* into learning for off-line living, which will lead to the *embodiment* of that learning…

1) **grasp**: getting a basis for appropriate, fulfilling and sustainable action
2) **reach**: enable learning for life in other settings, on other tasks and with other people
3) **embodiment**: becoming part of inner life – internalised as part of identity

The conclusion seriously undermines policy trends in consigning much of careers work to on-line use.

1. grasp: In his account of on-line learning Hubert Dreyfus (2009) proposes a six-stage sequencing of learning for action: practising as a 'novice', in real-life action becoming 'advanced', and then a 'beginner'; on the way to becoming 'competent', then 'proficient'; and eventually having 'mastery'. John Morgan, Ben Williamson, Tash Lee, and Keri Facer (2007) condense

2 as many joyous teachers and careers workers can testify

3 An extended account of this analysis was applied to the uses of narrative in Law, 2012b. This is a focused re-application to on-line learning. A fully-documented and illustrated account is at Law, 2012c

such thinking into a four-stage curriculum design, working from 'eliciting' data, through 'defining' the approach, on to 'making' a product, and then 'presenting' it to others.

The research-based career-learning framework (Law, 1996) is adaptable to a questioning process which parallels what both Dreyfus and Morgan and colleagues propose. It generates the questions that can move on-line looking into off-line seeing.

Table 2. Interrogating the net

sensing	finding things out	have you got enough to go on?
sifting	sorting out what is found	can you get this into any kind of useful order?
focusing	checking out what is important	are there any surprises here – things worth following up?
understanding	figuring out how it all happens	can you see how things got this way and what you can do about them?

The research-based career-learning framework (Law, 1996) is adaptable to a questioning process which parallels what both Dreyfus and Morgan and colleagues propose. It generates the questions that can move on-line looking into off-line seeing.

This is a process – not setting out information but questioning in a way which people can learn for themselves. It is critical thinking – working with questions that affect life-chances. The questions are progressive – a journey where each step relies on a preceding step. They are interactive, each question is shaped by the preceding answer. And it is learning-for-action, leading to an ability to anticipate the consequences of action. Careers workers do not need to be technical whizzes, nor experts on content. They have a process which engages that tool in sorting out that content. It is the process which gives us our hold on survival – on the savannah, on the street and on the net.

Dreyfus urges process because people need to learn to do it for themselves. The way careers workers pose questions is a model for how their students-and-clients can do it. In a process-driven programme students find the content and educators ask the questions. That method is Socratic: it invites people into the habit of questioning what they find, and developing curiosity about who does what – and why.

It is a partnership – educators and students learn from each other. There is no single authority. Client-centred counselling is an example. So is what is sometimes called 'flipped learning' in a classroom.

It needs the educator to know the students well enough to anticipate what line-of-questioning can be useful. It needs sensitivity to what people might ask and need to ask. It needs the right language – Nicki Moore and Tristram Hooley (2012) show how basic that language must sometimes be. But, most basically, such a disclosing conversation needs mutual comprehension and reciprocated trust. And that means direct-and-personal contact.

2. reach: The idea of reach poses questions about how extensively learning is connected to life. Career learning needs to be carried from where it is acquired to where it is used – knowledge is gathered in one location and used in another. If career learning is not – in this sense – transferable, then it is not working. The evidence (Law, 2012c) is that transfer requires learning to be, at source, encoded with markers signaling where in life it can be used. Where students are reminded of life in their learning, they are reminded of learning in their life.

A useful framework is role thinking, which positions a person at locations, in relationships, taking on tasks. It

includes work roles such as employee, entrepreneur and colleague. And all work roles are taken up alongside domestic, neighbourhood, citizen, and activist roles. A face-to-face conversation about the use of on-line learning can, then, be encoded by inviting off-line role-related markers – 'where can you use this?', 'who will you be with?' and 'what will you be taking on?' (Law, 2006).

A characterising feature of the internet is connectivity – linking one thing with another so that one image or idea becomes part of another domain. It migrates an on-line thought into an off-line location. However, that expansive potential is hampered by the tendency for the links to assemble into enclaves, reinforcing rather than diversifying. That tendency is most tellingly embedded where career is narrowly focused on competitive on-line moves – Web-3.0 becomes an arena for a race to win employability. Much of on-line career coaching is voiced in such terms – 'coaching' is a sporting metaphor. But, the word 'career' is etymologically bigger than that: it is a double metaphor, imaging not just a race but also a journey (Law and Stanbury, 2009). The journey metaphor is exploratory. It has greater connectivity, linking to life roles stretching from the compliantly employable to the independently reforming. All of this is work. How much of it we reach depends on what wider off-line roles and realities we take into account in our search for 'career'.

3. embodiment: The idea of 'embodiment' poses questions about the authenticity of identity. Dreyfus (2009) chooses the on-line simulation *Second Life* as the occasion for questioning how far on-line experience can represent off-line life. The website seems to do so. It offers the appearance of a total immersion in an alternative way of living. It accommodates its own characters, locations, encounters and narratives. There are resonances with career-management: visitors can deal with products, markets and academies. And they can earn income, in a currency with a dollar exchange-rate.

But Dreyfus is sceptical. The simulation conveys nothing of the risks, or commitment or shared meaning of human engagement. The ready-made menus of on-line interaction, its derived icons, and its re-invented avatars cannot convey the authenticity which comes through embodied, shared and situated encounter. Embodied experience means that posture, style, expression and proximity carry subtle and spontaneous communication. It is how we know each other, and enter another culture – and it is how another culture enters us. Dreyfus shows that that embodied contact makes what we merely say no more than part of how people learn from us – it is more complete because it places less reliance on words. Much of what happens is subliminal – scent and semiochemicals play a part. Virtuality miss-fires on all of this non-verbal signaling – we call it body language.

Off-line narrative for on-line life

Conversational questioning elicits a narrative. The where-when-who-what-how-and-why tells a story. But the story has no uncompromised heroes. Educators are sometimes over-cautious. Policy is sometimes simplistic. Net users are sometimes gullible. Net enthusiasts are sometimes enclosed. And careers workers are sometimes self-serving. Although, the internet is in many ways a careers-work hit, there are myths – camouflaging both shortfalls and damage.

Careers work is well-equipped to deal with this. The professional case for grasp, reach and embodiment substantially repositions it in relation to both internet content and internet technology. And, if it has any validity, this analysis seriously undermines claims for the dominant usefulness of on-line careers work. And that radically repositions careers work beyond the grasp, reach or embodiment of current policy.

In order to enable clients-and-students to question the hits and probe the myths of on-line living, careers workers do not need to be expert users of technological tools – cohort-by-cohort of students-and-clients will do that better on a day-by-day basis. And impartial expertise is progressively less useful in a changing world where on-line students-and-clients connect and update on a minute-by-minute basis. But nobody does better what a professional educator can do in enabling people to take on board other points-of-view, to take one thing with another, and to take nothing for granted. Or so we may hope.

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Points of Departure

Bill Law (introduced by Lyn Barham)

For this final section, Lyn Barham had the privilege of re-reading Bill's *Points of Departure* columns, and of rediscovering the man in his own voice over and over. It was a challenging task to make just this small selection, which tries to capture the skill, virtuosity, wit and incisive insights in Bill's writing.

Points of Departure: how poignant that title sounds today. Points of Departure is the title Bill chose for a column he initiated in the NICEC Journal in 1997, towards the end of his long period as editor. He continued this contribution until 2004. These shorter, topical, aptly titled columns seemed a good place to capture Bill's inimitable grasp of purpose, complexity and hope in our work.

In 1997, Bill started in song:

Sportin' life on careers work

Oh! They ain't necessarily so!
They ain't necessarily so!
These policy capers
In green and white papers,
They ain't necessarily so!

Their standards should make learning go!
Bat that ain't what seems to be so;
Because, my poor chil'un,
You're bored by the million –
What should be your friend is your foe!

They say you'll get work that you like!
D'yer think that they're taking the Mike
'Cos promise ain't yet met
So like what you can get,
Or – otherwise – get on yer bike!

Don't tell all the chil'un
That theory's a villain;
'Tain't wrong to think a thought!
What ministers want-see
As outcomes of pol-cee
Are cheap – so they're selling us short!

This is serious stuff – not a toy!
With research and some thought. And – Oh boy! –
That sure beats crude guessing,
And dim acquiescing
In government target and ploy.

I'm writing this paper to show
They ain't nessa…, ain't nessa…, ain't nessa…, ain't nessa…,
Ain't necessarily … SO!

With grateful acknowledgement to Ira Gershwin and his talented brother

And then, of course, he moved into story. In 2000 he created the 'policy' story of careers, and followed it with his own contrasting story:

Career is a story. It might go something like this:

People need reliable and neutral careers information which they can link to what they know about themselves. Much of what is most important to careers management can be listed as personal skills and occupational types. Making the link between these two forms the basis for individual choices about education, training, and employment. Each choice requires skills needed to follow it through. Communication, numeracy, the ability to co-operate with others, and the use of information and communication technology are always important because they will contribute both personal and national wealth, and – maybe – to social stability. But underlying all of this is people's need to plan and manage how they will make their career moves; and this means not only getting hold of good information, but identifying preferences, arriving at choice and a strategy for implementing it, making an effective application, presenting yourself in a positive light, and negotiating the change that will come, as and when you are successful. When people show that they can reach these targets, they are assessed as good career managers. They can learn most of what they need for this in career lessons and guidance interviews – starting at around 13-14 years of age. The biggest hang-up to career is lack of employable skill. The biggest hindrance is low educational standards and achievement.

It is an easy-to-understand and reasonably comfortable story with the elements that are not too hard to measure. This is good meta-policy. The story is abstracted from pre-Connexions DfEE publications and is, pretty well, the end-of-century policy line on good career management. It suggests what we are supposed to do. So what has been lost? A contrasting story suggests what else we might do:

People pick up most of what they know about work and self from their mates and in the neighbourhood. What they believe is expressed in images taken from the media, and the net. These convey ideas about how things are thought to work, and the best way of dealing with them. There can be a strong sense of what is not acceptable; and, for some, crime is one of several alternatives. There are feelings: about who is to be respected, who shows respect, who can be trusted, and what me-and-people-like-me need. Some of this has to do with class, gender, race, and – increasingly – age-group. Such feelings can underpin good career management, but they can also undermine it – particularly where they crystallise as stereotypes. Such feelings are primed in childhood; they are deep and often unspoken. There are also values: some are consumer-driven; but increasingly prevalent are values concerning the environment, ethnicity, fairness and the third world. Furthermore, there are attachments: people wonder how their approach to work effects friends, a partner, and the children – and grandchildren – of that attachment. More thinking people take account of the impact of their work on people they have not yet met, and some they never will meet. Both self and work change, though people may be unclear about why. But, willy-nilly, it means that a person must repeatedly assemble and re-assemble ideas about how things are, and how they work. Career learning must be renewable. The sense of risk is high; a person needs to know how to grasp where causes and effects lie and how they work. That means knowing how to get reliable information, but it also means knowing who you can trust. The biggest hang-up to career is not knowing how to change your mind. The biggest hindrance is no time and attention to work through the possibilities.

It is, of course, the same story, but with different emphases. The second account says that career is…

…not only…	…but also…
about skills	about feelings
based on information	on what it means for my life
for me	for, with, and in response to other people
learning	learning how to learn
learned in formal education 14-19	in all the early and ensuing years
for contracted work	for wider concepts of work

The 'but also…' list is where we were heading before we got so high on the policy agenda. […] Not much policy attention, until now, has been given to these developments. The explanation is probably meta-political: policy needs a readily measurable, easy-to-understand and comfortable way of understanding how career works; and the 'but also…' list is none of these. A plausible wheeze might seem more useful than such joined up and layered thinking. Policymakers must play their game as well as they can. Our game is different. We need ideas that help us do justice to our work. To allow policy ideas wholly to script that work entails a serious loss – a surrender to professional amnesia. Ideas are important. […] If we were ever to get to the point where we must speak of the embattlement of our work, the battle would be for ideas. To lose it would be to lose our professionalism. The price would be too high.

For Bill, it is not even a step from story to complexity; they stand in an intricate embrace. He showed this in *The Power of Careers-Work Complexity* in 2001, at a time when we still thought Connexions might have a bright future:

How do careers really work?

The easiest assumption to make about how careers work is that a good match between personal attributes and job characteristics leads to an effective and rewarding career. There are advantages in such thinking: it suggests the relatively simple and accountable procedures of assessment, interviewing, and planning. Indeed, it can be programmed into an expert computer system linking person to work – quickly, precisely and cheaply.

All of this would be fine, if matching were all there were to it. But matching is not the only thing that happens in career management. And it is certainly not the most basic thing.

Firstly, there are *feelings*. Working life calls up feelings, as much any aspect of life: enjoyment and boredom, reactions to other people, responses to the way working life rewards and disappoints. Such feelings belong to time and place: they may not go into a résumé or onto an application form, and it requires a very special kind of interview to elicit and process them. Computers just wouldn't understand.

Feelings are often transient, but the fleeting moment can be decisive.

Secondly there are *other people*. Much of our feeling about work is directed at other people – who help or hinder, value or reject, understand or don't.

No career is ever made in a social vacuum. Career moves relate to other people: people you identify with and respect – or hold in contempt and reject. All alert careers workers sense the force of peer pressure on their clients. […]

Which brings us, thirdly, to *culture*. Whatever else culture does, it frames beliefs about how things work and what is important. All cultures declare what men and women do, and how things came to be the way they are, what is contemptible and what – at any cost – must be preserved. And early-days experience of a culture is insidious. Beliefs survive long after experience is forgotten. Some part of your childhood

and youth has gotten inside you: its values may have become your morality, or its assumptions in your truth, or its explanations the springs to your action.

I am bound to say that Tony Blair shows clear signs of understanding this – in the contexts of both local exclusion and global fears. Because, fourthly, culture is *capital*. Phil Hodkinson and his colleagues draw heavily on the concept to convey the idea that the beliefs and values of upbringing give some people the edge in the negotiation of life chances.

Career work cannot ignore the culture of the people it seeks to help, and must respect it. But our ability to learn and re-learn means that culture need not be destiny. We can all move on.

Which takes off, fifthly, to career as *progression*. By the time some people come to guidance, much of what they have learned entraps them. Stereotypes, which are cultural phenomena, feature in this. These foundations of career can be laid in the toddler years, and hardened in group allegiances.

This is not a problem that guidance can solve. Tony is also right about this: it is a problem not only for 'education', but also for 'education' and 'education'. And for some of our most entrapped people it is going to need a lot of sensitive, imaginative and progressive work.

And that brings us to the importance, sixthly of *point of view*. Career management commonly involves a struggle – between a person's culture of origin and a changing world. Few are able wholly to reject their upbringing, but none should unquestioningly accept all that it has taught them. And there is the struggle: finding your own point of view. 'Career management' sounds pretty lame for this process. 'Career engagement' does it better justice.

And we are taking a leap beyond and matching theory – a leap of quantum proportions.

One of Valerie Bayliss's parting gifts to career work was the suggestion that the way in which we do this work should pay more attention to 'the way the brain works'. And that remark brings us, in a seventh step, to the importance of *inner life*.

Neurologist Antonio Damasio's idea of 'a movie in the brain' is useful. Inner light is a feeling-laden movie of how things are and how they change, of where I am in that scenario, and of how other people – occupying different positions – see things differently. This autobiographic facility means we need not just see ourselves as the product of past causes; we can also see ourselves as the cause of future effects. It has obvious survival value; and the greater the rate of change, the greater value.

Which brings us to an eighth level of analysis – *purposefulness*. And here evolutionary psychology responds to Valerie Bayliss's appeal. There is no survival value in searching for the meaning of life, inventing religions or dreaming of how to change the world. But, says Steven Pinker, in order to survive at all, we do need to work out how things work, to act purposefully, to imagine as yet unrealised possibilities, and to deal in trust. These are part of our finger-hold on survival, so the genes that support them survive. But, because we can do these things, we can also construct and develop value-laden work purposefulness.

It is what gives work its meaning – what Mark Savickas calls its 'theme'. It can mean (and neurologist Antonio Damasio also develops the point) that people will risk comfort and fulfilment – even survival – for the sake of some valued purpose.

The contemporary world demands that we understand that – at all levels of the labour market, in all cultures, and among the 'included' and the 'dispossessed' – people seek such meaning in their lives.

The power of complexity

Eight layers of career engagement – subtle, layered, dynamic. This is the *New Thinking* – I have argued elsewhere – that we need for *Connexions and for Education for Citizenship*. The greater the complexity we can acknowledge, then the greater the opportunity to understand how careers really work, what can go wrong, and what can be done to help. Nonetheless, some people – whose feelings are under control, whose acquaintances are helpful and who are awash with cultural capital – may see little point in opening

up the deeper questions. But for others – with no real chance to understand what's going on in their lives, who is pressurising them, why, and what the consequences might be – we must take more care, and more time, to deal with more complexity, You see the implication: the simpler conventions of careers guidance most help the people who least need help.

Song, story, complexity, and many words. Then, in 2002, Bill undertook time-travel to Paris in 1789:

What has 1789 got to do with careers work? Well, until recently it was hard to find a policy statement about careers work that did not have the word 'choice' in the title. And, suddenly, we have the word 'connections'. It seems worth thinking about.

Indeed, it has been argued by the gung-ho that guidance evolved more fully in the 'free societies' because it was about choice. But, before we get too smug about that, check out this possibility: much of what passes for decision-making in the western world is little more than impulse.

The problem for career development is not so much for making choices; it is for enabling people to recognise the possibility of making a sustainable decision. And, in careers, that confusion always involves other people: decision-making can be overwhelmed by people who seek to influence me, and whose respect I seek.

So, did the revolutionaries miss out on the social context of liberty? Certainly not. Imagine this: peasants streaming into downtown Paris, yelling 'nous avons trois priorités – liberté! liberté! et liberté!' Until some member of the awkward squad yells…

> 'Attendez vous a minute! There's no real liberté without egalité. I mean, just pensez about it: if people go around asserting liberté, with no idea of egalité, then their liberté becomes someone else's futilité! – and that can't be droit!'
>
> …'Liberté *et* egalité!'

But they are not yet at The Bastille; and as it hoves into view…

> 'Attendez vous, encore!'
>
> 'Sacré Bleu! Maintenant quoi, Henri?'
>
> 'I've been thinking: there's no egalité worth having without some feeling for other people's needs!'
>
> (In another life, Henri would have made a pretty-good careers adviser.)
>
> 'Mais Henri, do other people have needs?'
>
> 'Oui! We must show care and respect for other people – a sense of attachment to others, a respect for their humanity, a valuing of their rights…'
>
> '…Oh! you mean "fraternité"?'
>
> Well, I was trying to avoid chauvinistic language; but – if we can think of women as brothers – yes, fraternité!'

The demands are re-drafted…

> 'What do we want?'
>
> 'A society based on a thoughtful analysis of social conditions, which show that there is no worthwhile freedom – or possibility of sustainable choice – without justice; and there can be no defensible justice without some sense – on the part of each of us – of attachment to others; and this means offering due respect to other people's rights, feelings and property!'
>
> 'When do we want it?'
>
> 'Now!'

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Forthcoming events 2017-18

NICEC Events Calendar

Date and Time	Event	Place
Thursday 23 November 2017 5pm-6.30pm	*Seminar:* Career guidance for refugees (Professor Hazel Reid, Canterbury Christ Church University and NICEC Fellow)	Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston, London (Room 9)
Monday 22 January 2018 5pm-6.30pm	*Seminar:* Topic TBA	Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston, London
Wednesday 14 March 2018 5pm-6.30pm	*Seminar:* Topic TBA	Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston, London
Thursday 10 May 2018 2pm-5pm	*Network Meeting:* Theme TBA	*Venue TBA*
Monday 18 June 2018 5pm-6.30pm	*Seminar:* Topic TBA	Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston, London
Tuesday 18 September 2018 5pm-6.30pm	*Seminar:* Topic TBA	Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston, London
Thursday 22 November 2018 5pm-6.30pm	*Seminar:* Topic TBA	Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston, London
Event Costs:		
Seminars and Network Meetings: • included in membership fees for NICEC Fellows and members. • £20 for seminars and £40 for network meetings for non-members.		

Forthcoming events

CDI Training, Conference and Events Calendar

Date and Time	Event	Place
Thursday 9 November 2017	An Introduction to Careers Leadership in Schools	London
Tuesday 14 November 2017	Master Class 3: New Theories in Career Guidance	Reading
Tuesday 14 November 2017	Master Class 4: Improving Coaching and Interviewing Techniques	Reading
Wednesday 22 November 2017	The Scottish Student Conference 2017	University of the West of Scotland, Paisley
Monday 4 December - Tuesday 5 December 2017	Annual Conference 2017: Reinventing Careers - Career Development That Works for All	The St Johns Hotel, Solihull
Friday 8 December 2017	Advanced Career Guidance and Coaching Skills	Jurys Inn, Southampton
Tuesday 16 January 2018	NLP and Careers – Using Neuro Linguistic Programming (NLP) in CEIAG to Accelerate the Learning and Inform Decision Making	Doncaster
Thursday 18 January 2018	Master Class: Transforming the Careers Guidance Interview – An Effective Integrated Counselling Approach	Manchester
Thursday 18 January 2018	Master Class: Achieving a Breakthrough with the "Stuck Client" – The Art of Effective Challenging	Manchester
Webinars (free to CDI members)		
Monday 6 November 2017, 16:00 Monday 11 January 2018, 16:00 Monday 12 March 2018, 16:00	Tour around the website - Welcome to the CDI	
Thursday 9 November 2017, 16:00 Tuesday 23 January 2018, 16:00	The Quality in Careers Standard – The Benefits For Your School, Careers Department and Students	
Booking a place:		
For details, costs and booking individual or group places, visit the CDI website: www.thecdi.net/Skills-Training-Events For enquiries and to discuss your training needs, contact sarah.garratt@thecdi.net		

ABOUT THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

The Career Development Institute (CDI) is the UK-wide professional body for the career development sector. We have a rich heritage, bringing together the membership of ACEG, ACPi (UK), ICG and NAEGA to create a single voice for a diverse sector.

We have a key role to play in influencing UK skills policy as it affects those with whom career development practitioners work and a clear purpose to improve and assure the quality and availability of career development opportunities for all throughout the UK.

We have a strong and growing membership of individuals, students and affiliate organisations – all of whom subscribe to a Code of Ethics and are committed to continuous professional development. We are also the custodians of the UK Register for Career Development Professionals and the National Occupational Standards for the Career Development sector.

We have established:

- A powerful brand supported by an evolving website **www.thecdi.net**; social media (Twitter and LinkedIn) presence; and quarterly magazine *Career Matters*;
- A schedule of events and conferences based on a training needs analysis of members and an Annual Conference and Exhibition;
- A media presence with the CDI as the *expert voice* in the field; advising politicians, speaking at conferences and commenting on policy;
- The UK Career Development Awards celebrating the best in day to day practice, including *Careers Adviser/ Coach of the Year* and *Careers Teacher of the Year*;
- Business development success winning several major tenders including the National Occupational Standards and projects with the Skills Show;
- A platform for a career progression pathway for the sector.

The CDI has a critical role to play in setting standards and articulating what quality looks like for the sector. Importantly we are an awarding body, managing the Qualification in Career Guidance (Development in Scotland) and the UK Register for Career Development Professionals, which is pivotal to our ongoing quality agenda and is fast becoming recognised as the sector's equivalent to chartered status.

We are delighted to be working in partnership with NICEC on the Journal and future research-focused events in the career development sector and now have a seat on the NICEC Editorial Board.

The Journal is made available to all CDI members via our website.

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