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Promoting research and reflective practice in career development

It is widely and informally referred to as 'the NICEC journal'.

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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A life in careers: Celebrating the work of Professor A.G.Watts

Welcome to the October 2014 issue of the NICEC journal. This is a special issue to mark the work of Professor A.G. Watts (Tony) on the 'eve' of his retirement from the world of career education and counselling. The issue is, in fact, paying homage to Tony. In checking the meaning of the word in the OECD, I find 'formal public acknowledgement of feudal allegiance' – that's a bit strong maybe, but what follows is nearer my intended meaning; 'acknowledgement of superiority, dutiful reverence – to pay homage to a person and his qualities.' The breadth and depth of Tony's contribution is unmatched in the UK, Europe and internationally. To recognise this, it was important that this edition had both a national and global reach, so International Fellows of NICEC were invited to write for the journal. In addition Gideon Arulmani, also an International Fellow of NICEC, has worked with me to co-edit the content.

The intention was to reflect many, if not all, of the areas of 'careers work' that Tony has influenced over the years, from the birth of CRAC and NICEC and beyond. The result is a number of articles that do just that. Many of the invited authors wanted to know if it would be acceptable to contact Tony to confirm the content of their piece – and my response was yes, but we need to take care that we do not overburden him. However, as always, Tony was generous with his support and we have three contributions derived from interviews where Tony's knowledge has been used extensively.

We open with **Tony Watts**' own piece which provides a historical review of NICEC since its establishment in 1975. Tony takes us through the various stages of the life of NICEC and outlines the evolution that has led to its current form as a learned society. The second article is by **Ronald Sultana**. Ronald outlines the way career theory, practice and research can be informed by technocratic, hermeneutic, and emancipatory rationalities. He considers Tony Watts' analysis of the socio-political ideologies underpinning career guidance, showing how all approaches can engage with emancipatory forms of practice; thus calling for a fundamental commitment to

the promotion of social justice.

In the third article **Raimo Vuorinen** and **James Sampson** examine Tony's perspective regarding policy and practice in career guidance from a UK and global viewpoint. They synthesize key insights that Tony has gained in his career and then link these to current policy and practice initiatives. The method used to achieve the above goal included an interview with Tony and a literature review. They present 17 insights, with thoughts on implications for career guidance policy and practice. The next piece is written by **David Andrews**. David examines Tony's contribution to career education policy, theory and practice over many years; from his work with Bill Law on the DOTS framework to his promotion of the Blueprint in several countries in the present century.

The fifth article is presented by **Tristram Hooley**. Tristram uses a career case-study with Tony to explore the interface of an academic career with policy and practice. It resonates with Ronald's article in stating that for Tony, public engagement was driven by a social and political mission. Tristram says, 'Such engagement is shaped by both the institutional arrangements within which the academic is situated and the political and

organisational structures of the part of the world into which they try to intervene'. In the next piece, **Peter Plant** reminds us that, in the words of Lewin, 'There is nothing more practical than a good theory' and suggests that even more practical is a model, if it communicates well. Tony has been involved in creating a number of models, two of which are mentioned in this article. Peter discusses the current importance and implications of these models: their longevity and the influence they continue to have in the guidance field.

The penultimate offering is from **Helmut Zelloth**. Helmut has been inspired by Tony's pioneering work which explored the relationship between VET and career guidance. This relationship features traditionally ambiguous and not very clear-cut definitions. Helmut tells us that Tony's helpful distinction between career guidance 'prior to' and 'within' VET opened new perspectives for analysis. The article states that career guidance cannot serve just as an 'eye opener' to stimulate VET demand, but can also act as a 'change agent' to improve VET supply. Drawing on Tony's work, it is this potential for a reciprocal interaction between VET and career guidance that is the focus here. The **final piece** is a recorded conversation with Tony where I invited him to reflect 'on a life in careers'. It was deliberately open, without a list of questions or a prescribed structure. The intention was for Tony to look back on his many achievements in our field and to identify the ones that gave him particular pleasure. I also wanted him to look forward to the next stage in his own career/life pathway and to share some of his thoughts about a future away from his busy work schedule. What is clear is that there will be many other interests which will form an occupation (if not a career) in the time yet to come.

Through this issue of the journal, and the other events that are taking place this year, all the NICEC Fellows and Members, past and present, thank Tony for his vision, support and outstanding contribution to the sector. To conclude this editorial I am including an open letter sent by Lester Oaks, the President of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance – it says it all really.

Hazel Reid, Co-Editor with Gideon Arulmani

An open letter to Tony Watts

Dear Tony

On behalf of your colleagues in the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG), I thank you for your immense contribution to the world of careers guidance.

When I think across a wide range of disciplines: scientific, political, academic, sporting or whatever, there are very few examples of someone playing such a unique and dominant role in their field over such a long period as you have in careers guidance. You have been a trail blazer in so many respects and in particular in your work in linking the worlds of policy, research and practice. In every sense of the word, you have been an authority in this field.

You have been a member of IAEVG for as long as anyone can recall, initially under the NICEC umbrella and since 2002 as an individual in your own right. You were a founding member of the Editorial Board of our journal, The International Journal of Educational and Vocational Guidance (IJEVG) and served continuously on the Editorial Board from its creation in 1999 to the present. You have contributed many articles that have been published in the journal. You have featured as a keynote speaker and presenter at numerous IAEVG conferences.

Your role within IAEVG has been only a small, but significant, part of your overall involvement in the field of careers guidance. Your contribution to our field of endeavour has been of such sustained significance that we may never see the likes of it again. The OECD review and the subsequent establishment of the International Centre for Career Development and Public Policy (ICCDPP) stand out for me as two initiatives that have had sustained and significant impact far beyond the boundaries of the traditional careers guidance field. I am in no doubt that neither of these initiatives would have eventuated without your vision, passion and commitment.

From your IAEVG colleagues, thank you. It's been our privilege to have had you within our ranks.

With warmest personal regards

Lester

Lester Oaks
President, IAEVG
July 2014

The evolution of NICEC: A historical review

A. G. Watts

Since its establishment in 1975, NICEC has adopted three different organisational forms. From 1975 to 1992, it was a research and development organisation jointly sponsored by the Careers Research and Advisory Centre (CRAC) in Cambridge and by The Hatfield Polytechnic (later the University of Hertfordshire). Then, from 1992 to 2010, it was a research and development organisation operating as a network, initially supported by CRAC and later becoming autonomous. Finally, since 2010, it has become a learned society. This article describes in detail the first of these stages, and then outlines the organisation's subsequent evolution.

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Origins and initial structure

The establishment of NICEC in 1975 was stimulated by organisational changes within CRAC (for a more detailed account, see Smith, 2010). Set up by Adrian Bridgewater and myself in 1964 as a non-profit organisation, registered as an educational charity, CRAC was by the early 1970s engaged in publishing a growing variety of careers resources. Publishing requires risk capital, and in a competitive environment it was feared that this might endanger CRAC's survival as a charity. It was accordingly decided to establish a commercial publishing company, Hobsons Press, which would publish on behalf of CRAC, feeding back to it royalties and licence fees. There were fears, however, that in such a structure the creative energy might lie with Hobsons. It was therefore agreed to seek a parallel initiative through which CRAC's research and development activities might grow and flourish: a new institute aiming to advance the development of career guidance services in Britain through education and training programmes, and research and development work.

We felt that the appropriate structure for such an institute would be through a partnership with a higher education institution. Possibilities within Cambridge were explored, but at that time its educational activities were divided between three institutions (the University Department of Education, the Institute of Education, and Homerton College), none of which then seemed likely to provide a hospitable environment for the kind of initiative we had in mind. We had however established close links with Sir Norman Lindop, Director of The Hatfield Polytechnic, who expressed great interest in our plans. A Planning Board was accordingly set up, jointly chaired by Sir Norman and by Sir Peter Venables (Chairman of the Open University) which brokered the partnership with CRAC and the Polytechnic out of which NICEC was born.

It was Sir Peter who suggested that we should use the term 'national institute'. His contention was that if that was what we wanted to be, we should use the term: then, if we were good enough, we would become one. It was a transformational piece of advice. The Planning Board also established the structure for the new Institute, including a Council (containing representatives of CRAC and the Polytechnic plus some outsiders) to be responsible for its policy direction and good management, an Academic Committee to be responsible for the academic integrity and quality of its work, and an Advisory Panel to contain guidance practitioners and members of relevant professional bodies.

A further key element in launching the new institute was gaining the support of the Leverhulme Trust to enable Professor Donald Super to come to Cambridge for three years to establish our research programme. Donald Super was widely viewed at the time as the world's leading academic figure in the career development field. His book *The Psychology of Careers* (Super, 1957) was a key text; he also had

extensive international networks. He was a strong Anglophile, was proud that his first degree had been at Oxford, and was about to retire from his post as Professor of Psychology and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Through our Cambridge links, we secured a Fellowship for him at Wolfson College. The combination of a Cambridge base and helping to establish our new Institute proved sufficient to attract him. He was appointed as Honorary Director, with me as Executive Director (I subsequently became Director on his departure).

The initial core of NICEC was to be provided by the small Research and Development Unit for which I had been responsible within CRAC, and by new Senior Fellow appointments made by the Polytechnic. Bill Law was appointed from January 1975; Ian Thoday from January 1976 (replaced by John Miller in autumn 1977). Later, in January 1980, following the end of Donald Super's term at NICEC, the Polytechnic would appoint a third Senior Fellow, John Killeen, to be responsible for co-ordinating NICEC's research programme. In addition, arrangements were made at the outset for two staff responsible for long courses in career guidance within the Polytechnic – Tony Crowley (tutor to the vocational counselling option in the applied social studies course) and Eileen Tipper (tutor to the diploma course in careers education and guidance) – to be seconded to NICEC for a half-day a week as Associate Fellows, in return for which NICEC staff made contributions to these courses.

The other major contribution made by the Polytechnic was to provide accommodation for NICEC at Bayfordbury House, a large mansion in a beautiful setting which belonged to the Polytechnic but was too far from Hatfield to locate teaching there. This became available from September 1976. Up to that point, NICEC was located at the CRAC offices in Cambridge; thereafter, it had a dual location, with expansion based largely at Bayfordbury.

The strategy for expansion was initially based on attracting research and development grants which would enable additional staff to be recruited. The Leverhulme grant included funding for a research assistant (Jenny Kidd), and Donald Super's reputation also attracted a further research-council-funded student (Rob Ward): both were appointed Junior

Fellows, as later was Eddy Knasel, recruited with the aid of a one-year grant from the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission. In addition, from January 1977 to July 1978, Jill Hoffbrand was seconded to NICEC for two days a week to establish a Careers Education Resources Centre (to enable teachers and careers professionals to view curriculum and information resources before deciding which to acquire); when this ended, a similar arrangement was made with Hertfordshire LEA to support Barbara Pilcher for two half-days a week to maintain the centre. Then in 1978/79 two major three-year contracts were won: one for a Careers Guidance Integration Project, jointly funded by the Department for Education and Science and the European Economic Community; the other from the Schools Council to disseminate the work of its Careers Education and Guidance Project. These made it possible to recruit two further Senior Fellows (Kathryn Evans and Beryl Fawcett) and a Field Officer (John Pearman). On top of this, a one-year grant was provided by the Further Education Unit, for a review of social education, enabling Rosemary Lee to be recruited as a Research Fellow.

The result was that at its growth peak, in 1978/79, NICEC had eleven full-time and three part-time professional staff, plus administrative support staff: possibly the largest team ever assembled for such work in the UK. These were structured in three units: for training and development (schools), co-ordinated by Bill Law; for training and development (post-school), co-ordinated by John Miller; and for research, co-ordinated by Donald Super and subsequently by John Killeen. Thereafter, a succession of further research and development grants enabled some of these professional staff to be retained, and others to be brought in, including Debbie Clark and Diane Bailey. John Miller was replaced by David Ball in 1988 and then by Ruth Hawthorn in 1990.

In addition, NICEC from an early stage adopted the practice of appointing Visiting Fellows – usually academics on sabbatical. The combination of NICEC's programme and the possibility of locating themselves in Cambridge (as several of them did) proved a strong attraction, and a number of distinguished people in the career development field spent time at NICEC on this basis. These included several from the USA (Ed Herr,

Rupert Evans, Jim Sampson, John Krumboltz, Norton Grubb) and others from Australia (Pamela Weir, Col McGowan), Canada (Richard Young), Denmark (Peter Plant), France (Even Loarer), New Zealand (Alan Webster) and the UK (Gloria Goldman, Steve Murgatroyd).

In 1983/84, the Polytechnic decided to move NICEC from Bayfordbury House to the Polytechnic's Balls Park annexe in Hertford. Accommodation there was more limited. Moreover, whereas in the initial stages the contributions provided by the Polytechnic and by CRAC had been regarded as core funding, with the income derived from funded projects and fees for services being used to fund additional staff, the Polytechnic now began to require NICEC income to reduce its net expenditure (which for several years had been around double that from CRAC). Accordingly, more priority began to be given to costing the time of core staff on to projects and to working in partnership with other organisations and individuals rather than seeking to recruit more staff. The volume of activity was sustained, but in a more flexible way and with lower overhead costs.

Activities 1975-92

From an early stage, four main principles underpinned NICEC's development. First, its work should be concerned with career development on a lifelong basis, embracing all ages and all sectors. Second, it should seek to combine theory and research with policy and practice. Third, as a national institute, NICEC should seek to be international in its scope, disseminating its work to other countries but also learning from research and practices elsewhere. Finally, as an institute seeking a wide impact from a small operational base, NICEC should seek to work in an open and collaborative way with a wide variety of other organisations and individuals, on the synergistic principle that collaboration maximises effectiveness.

The initial work was concerned primarily with schools. A major activity from the outset was to seek to improve the quality of short courses in guidance skills, to complement the longer (often one-year) courses that were by then becoming established. A series of

training modules were developed, comprising flexible packages of training strategies and resources linked to particular guidance skills, ranging from interviewing to developing careers education programmes. Experienced practitioners were trained and supported to run these modules for Local Education Authorities and other organisations, as part of NICEC's 'field staff'. In addition, a *NICEC Training Bulletin* (later retitled the *NICEC Careers Education and Guidance Bulletin*), edited by Bill Law, was produced to provide a resource for others engaged in training work in this field, alongside a consultancy and course design service. The Schools Council project provided a basis for greatly extending this work, including a structure of regional co-ordinators established in partnership with other organisations.

Alongside these training and development activities, a grant from the Church of England Board of Education for a study of careers education and guidance in six schools led to the seminal publication of *Schools, Careers and Community* (Law and Watts, 1977). This included the influential DOTS model; it also explored (in collaboration with the Grubb Institute) ways of intervening with schools as organisations, in relation to their wider communities. Both became major strands of NICEC's subsequent work. The DOTS model was used, for example, in pioneering work with the Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Services on careers education in higher education (Watts, 1977a). The use of organisation development approaches in relation to career guidance, linked to the concept of 'guidance communities', was the basis of the Careers Guidance Integration Project (Evans and Law, 1984) and of further interventions not only in schools but also in colleges and other post-school organisations (some of this innovative work was later theorised by Law (1996b)).

The conceptual basis for NICEC's general work was subsequently outlined in an early statement which indicated the Institute's commitment to a developmental, learning-based concept of careers guidance based on careers education (linked to the DOTS model) and counselling. It was contended that this approach 'seems both to take best account of how people actually make career decisions and to be best adapted to a rapidly changing occupational world'. It accordingly 'seems to offer the best prospect of

simultaneously satisfying societal needs for effective deployment of manpower, and individual needs for a fulfilling working life' (NICEC, 1978).

The theoretical basis for this position was significantly developed through a weekly research seminar chaired by Donald Super, to which NICEC staff and invited guests contributed. A major theme was the debate between the developmental view of career and the sociological critique of it (Daws, 1977; Roberts, 1977). A set of papers based on these discussions was published as a major book entitled *Career Development in Britain* (Watts, Super and Kidd, 1981), which synthesised the considerable British empirical work on career development (much of it sociological in nature) and related it to the American-derived theoretical models (predominantly psychological) that had inspired NICEC's early work. Law (1981) subsequently developed 'community interaction' as a 'mid-range' theory of career development (and later built a career learning theory that significantly extended this work (Law, 1996a)). The move to seek to build stronger bridges between psychological and sociological perspectives as the theoretical foundations for the career development field was continued by John Killeen (1985).

Alongside this core theoretical work, NICEC's research and development activities also attended to a number of other themes. Three are worthy of particular attention.

The first was the major challenge posed in the late 1970s by the massive growth in unemployment in general, and of youth unemployment in particular. This led to major high-level policy debates, to which NICEC contributed (Watts, 1977b), and to a variety of government initiatives addressed to the 16-19 age-group, with the potential of supporting a period of systematic vocational exploration as well as preparation. With support from the Manpower Services Commission and the Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit, NICEC carried out a series of projects to explore this potential, including attention to 'social and life skills' (Lee, 1980), to guidance aspects of the Youth Opportunities Programme (Knasel, Watts and Kidd, 1982) and to the concept of a 'personal guidance base' (Miller, Taylor and Watts, 1983), supported by tutoring (Miller, 1982). It was also involved in examining

implications for schools (Watts, 1978b), in developing the concept of 'education for enterprise' (Watts and Moran, 1984) and in constructing curriculum materials for schools on widening concepts of work (Law and Storey, 1987). In addition, NICEC developed a manual for work with the adult unemployed, including a conceptual model that was adopted as the basis for the Government's REPLAN programme (Watts and Knasel, 1986), and carried out more fundamental conceptual work on the implications for education of unemployment, linked to different scenarios regarding the future of work (Watts, 1983a).

The second theme was concerned with the application of computer technology to career guidance. Following an evaluation of the first major interactive computer-aided careers guidance system to be developed in the UK (Watts, 1975), and subsequent reviews of the state of the art in this field (Watts, 1978a; Watts and Ballantine, 1983; Watts, 1986a), NICEC was part of a consortium commissioned by the Department of Education and Science to develop the most comprehensive and sophisticated system developed in the UK: PROSPECT (HE). In addition to providing consultancy in the development of the system, NICEC was also responsible for a formative evaluation (Watts, Kidd and Knasel, 1991), a study of its impact on organisational change (Sampson and Watts, 1992) and a feasibility study on adapting it for use with the 16-19 age-group in schools and colleges (Watts, Humphries and Pierce-Price, 1988), as well as publishing an analysis of the policy issues raised by the way in which it had been developed (Watts, 1993).

The third was concerned with demonstrating the impact of careers guidance. An initial review of the British evidence on its effectiveness (Watts and Kidd, 1978) was followed by reviews of its learning outcomes (Killeen and Kidd, 1991; Kidd and Killeen, 1992) and by a ground-breaking exploratory review, conducted in collaboration with the Policy Studies Institute, on its economic value (Killeen, White and Watts, 1992). The latter review in particular received widespread attention, particularly through the dissemination of a six-page NICEC Briefing summarising its findings. Similar NICEC Briefings were thereafter produced for other key NICEC projects.

Alongside this work, a wide variety of other development projects were carried out and books

and other publications produced. Publications related to schools included work on profiling (Law, 1984) and individual action planning (Watts, 1992b); on issues related to ethnicity (Watts and Law, 1985) and gender (Watts and Kant, 1986) in careers education; on franchising of education for adult and working life to community partners (Law, 1986) and the role of education-business partnerships (Law, 1991a); on experience-based learning about work, including work experience (Watts, 1983b; Miller, Watts and Jamieson, 1991), work shadowing (Watts, 1986b; 1988) and work simulation (Jamieson, Miller and Watts, 1988) (all in association with the School Curriculum Industry Partnership); and on the changing relationship between the Careers Service and schools (Watts, 1986c; Killeen and Van Dyck, 1991); as well as two open-learning packs on careers work (Law, Hughes and Knasel, 1991) and on co-ordinating careers work (Law, 1991b). Work on higher education included a paper on strategic planning and performance measurement for higher education careers services (Watts and Sampson, 1989) and a review of careers education elements of the Enterprise in Higher Education programme (Watts and Hawthorn, 1992). Work on adult guidance included a rationale and conceptual framework for analysing adult guidance provision (Watts, 1980a), a 'state of the art' survey of current provision (Watts, 1980b), research into the potential demand for adult guidance services (Killeen, 1986; 1989), an examination of the place of guidance in relation to open learning (Bailey, 1987) and a system for monitoring guidance agencies at local level (Hawthorn et al, 1991). Broader policy studies included an exploration of the implications of 'new right' policies for careers guidance (Watts, 1991). More theoretical research studies included studies of young people's occupational decision-making (Kidd, 1984a; 1984b), of work values and work salience (Kidd and Knasel, 1980; Knasel, Super and Kidd, 1981), and of vocational maturity (Super and Kidd, 1979; Ward, 1982) and career adaptability (Super and Knasel, 1981).

Finally, NICEC also carried out a number of international studies of career guidance services and systems. These included studies of career guidance under apartheid in South Africa (Watts, 1980c) and of the 'lifetime employment system' in Japan (Watts, 1985), as well as of careers guidance in a developing country, Malaysia (Watts, 1978c), and in Sweden (Watts, 1981), plus a study of school-community

links in the USA (Law, 1982). They also included a comparative study of the relationship between career guidance and the school curriculum in six countries for UNESCO (Watts and Ferreira Marques, 1978), a review of career guidance services for young people in the 12 member-states of the European Community for the European Commission (Watts, Dartois and Plant, 1988) and a study of the occupational profiles of vocational counsellors in EC member-countries for CEDEFOP (Watts, 1992a; for the UK component of this study, see Hawthorn and Butcher, 1992).

Alongside its own research work, NICEC maintained – initially in partnership with the national Foundation for Educational Research – a *Register of Research in Educational and Vocational Guidance*. This provided a regularly updated listing of ongoing research, to which any interested organisations and individuals could subscribe. NICEC also contributed to a series of strategic initiatives in the career guidance field, including the Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling (SCAC) (this included editing its report on counselling at work (Watts, 1977c)), the Standing Conference of Associations for Guidance in Educational Settings (SCAGES) (which I co-chaired with Stephen McNair of UDACE), and the Education for Enterprise Network and Entrain (a consortium given a large contract by the Manpower Service Commission to incorporate enterprise elements into the Youth Training Scheme) (both of which I chaired).

In addition, through its links with CRAC's Conference Office, NICEC organised a number of strategic national conferences, often linked with exploring new potential areas of NICEC work or disseminating existing work. Often these led to publications based on the proceedings. Examples included career development in companies and organisations (1978; 1982), the relationship between schools, the Youth Opportunities Programme and the New Training Initiative (Watts, 1982), education for enterprise (Watts and Moran, 1984), guidance and educational change (Watts, 1990), and a European conference on computers in careers guidance which was jointly planned with, and included an innovative teleconferencing link with, a parallel conference in the USA (Watts, 1989).

Evolution

The partnership between CRAC and The Hatfield Polytechnic had provided a strong and fruitful basis for NICEC's work for 17 years. By 1992, however, the Polytechnic's priorities were changing, and with growing pressures on its resources, it indicated that it would require NICEC to move rapidly towards covering all its costs. It was accordingly decided that it would be best to terminate the partnership and to restructure NICEC as a network organisation supported by CRAC, with links with the University of London, Institute of Education. An important role in planning and implementing this transition was played by a Transitional Advisory Committee chaired by Sir Christopher Ball, previously Chair of the NICEC Council.

Under the new arrangements, Ruth Hawthorn moved to the Institute of Education as a Research Fellow, and the substantial NICEC research library was moved there too; it was also thenceforth used as the location for our Fellows' meetings and research seminars. I became a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Policy Studies at the Institute, but remained a CRAC employee, based at the CRAC offices in Cambridge. John Killeen remained at the Polytechnic as a member of its teaching staff, but also continued to be a NICEC Fellow to support his research work. Bill Law became a self-employed consultant.

In addition, invitations were extended to a number of other individuals with established reputations for research and development work in the field of careers education and guidance to become NICEC Fellows and Associates. The Fellows were gradually extended to include – for varying periods of time – people working in schools (David Andrews, Anthony Barnes, Jill Hoffbrand, Barbara McGowan), in further education (Jackie Sadler), in higher education (Val Butcher, Arti Kumar, Aminder Nijjar, Phil McCash, Rob Ward), in adult guidance (Judy Alloway, Geoff Ford, Lesley Haughton, Heather Jackson, Stephen McNair), in work organisations (Wendy Hirsh, Charles Jackson) and with other or more general interests (Lyn Barham, Helen Colley, Leigh Henderson, Allister McGowan, Rachel Mulvey, Mary Munro, Marcus Offer, Hazel Reid, Andrea Spurling). Some had institutional affiliations; most were self-employed. In addition, a number of overseas individuals with whom NICEC had maintained close links were invited to become International Fellows.

To underpin the new arrangements, a Statement of Intent on Quality was produced to define a way of working for the members of the network, as well as assuring quality to external contractors. The core principles included a commitment to:

- The improvement and development of high-quality career education and guidance provision for all age-groups and in all sectors.

- Social equity as an underlying principle for career education and guidance; equal opportunities in the provision of career education and guidance and in NICEC's own working practices.

- Valuing a diversity of professional and stakeholder perspectives, drawing on external expertise where necessary.

- Informing policy development.

- Disseminating the outcomes of its work as widely as possible (subject to client confidentiality agreements), and in clear, relevant and accessible forms (through reports, other publications, conferences and workshops), to researchers, policy-makers and practitioners.

The Statement also indicated that members of the NICEC Network sought to:

- Combine local, national and international perspectives, wherever appropriate.

- Set their work in particular sectors of career education and guidance provision within a lifelong context.

- Set realistic goals and targets at the outset of the work to be undertaken, and deliver agreed work on time.

- Develop robust, well-thought-through ideas, grounded appropriately in theory and research.

- Support policy-makers and practitioners in the implementation of these ideas.

Finally, the Statement indicated that to ensure these standards, NICEC had adopted the following practices:

- A rigorous procedure to be followed in electing individuals to become Fellows of NICEC,

including a review by the existing Fellows of a formal application, plus an interview with the Director and at least one other Fellow.

● Regular meetings of NICEC Fellows to review their work and to share their knowledge and understanding.

● Fellows undertaking to submit drafts of project proposals and project reports to at least one other Fellow not involved in the project, to ensure that they met the specified standards.

CRAC was available as a grant-holder where one was required; it was left open, however, for Fellows to report other work as NICEC work where they so wished. On this basis, an expansion took place in the extent, range and visibility of the work with which NICEC was associated. This was reflected in an increase in the number of NICEC Briefings and Project Reports.

An important additional development was the initiation of a series of 24-hour Policy Consultations. The basic model was to invite a group of 15-25 people to work together from lunch to lunch, with some pre-reading, and with a strong process designed to immerse participants in the issues, and then – on the morning of the second day – to identify some conclusions and recommendations for action. Eighteen such events were held between 1994 and 2001. Most were commissioned by Government Departments in relation to emerging areas of policy which related to guidance services or had guidance implications. These included the National Record of Achievement, Government lifetime learning strategies, the Third Age, Individual Learning Accounts, and the University for Industry. Two 'home international' consultations provided opportunities for guidance developments in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland to be compared and contrasted. Other topics covered included career-related learning in primary schools, guidance in further education, adult guidance strategies, the role of trade unions in guidance provision, progression in careers education across different sectors, the relationship between career guidance and financial guidance, the use of ICT in the new Connexions Service, constructs of work used in career guidance, and developing a research culture in career education and guidance. Each was followed by a short Conference Briefing, usually written by a NICEC

Fellow, summarising the issues and recommendations. Several of the consultations had significant impact on subsequent policy and practice.

Alongside the Policy Consultations, two larger 'Cutting Edge' conferences were held on research and innovative practice in managing and developing careers across the life-span, in 2000 and 2003. Planned by a group including all the major guidance professional associations, with funding from Government and other sponsors, each brought together around a hundred researchers and innovative practitioners.

Another important development was a grant from the Esmée Fairbairn Trust to enable five present and past NICEC Fellows to synthesise NICEC's work up to this point as a core text for researchers, policy-makers and practitioners. Entitled *Rethinking Careers Education and Guidance: Theory, Policy and Practice* (Watts, Law, Killeen, Kidd and Hawthorn, 1996), it, in important respects, complemented the 1981 volume (Watts, Super and Kidd, 1981): whereas the earlier book had focused largely on the process of career development, the new one focused on interventions in that process. It included four chapters on theory, six on provision (in schools, further and adult education, higher education, work organisations, the Careers Service, and other sources), five on practice (interviews, curriculum, experience-based learning, recording achievement and action planning, and use of computers), three on development (staff development, organisational development, and evaluation) and three on policy (socio-political ideologies, international perspectives, and public policy).

In 1997 the University of Derby decided to establish a Centre for Guidance Studies. I was appointed Visiting Professor, and close links were established between NICEC and the new Centre under its Director, Deirdre Hughes (for a history of the origins and subsequent development of the Centre, see Hyde, 2014). In the light of pressures on library space at the University of London, Institute of Education, the bulk of the NICEC library was moved to Derby in 1998. The links with the Institute of Education gradually weakened, and finally ended in 2005.

In 2000 a new NICEC journal was launched, entitled *Career Research and Development*. Edited by Anthony Barnes, it was designed to occupy the middle ground

between the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* (with which NICEC had been strongly involved since its inception) and practitioner journals. It replaced the *NICEC Careers Education and Guidance Bulletin*.

I retired as Director of NICEC in 2001 (though continuing as a Fellow) and was succeeded by Malcolm Maguire. Following his departure in 2005, Ruth Hawthorn took on the position of Acting Director until March 2006. At this point, CRAC appointed a new Chief Executive, Jeffrey Defries, who initially combined that role with being Director of NICEC. David Andrews took on a new role as Chair of NICEC, being succeeded by Allister McGowan at the end of 2006. NICEC was now established legally as a subsidiary company of CRAC, with its governance entrusted to a Board of Directors appointed largely by the NICEC Fellows. CRAC acted as the grant-holder for external NICEC contracts when required, and also provided administrative support. In 2010, however, CRAC decided to downsize and indicated that it could no longer support NICEC.

At this point, the Fellows decided to transmute NICEC to become a learned society for reflective practitioners in the broad field of career education, career guidance/counselling and career development. This would include individuals whose primary role relates to research, policy, consultancy, scholarship, curriculum development, delivery or management. NICEC would seek to foster dialogue and innovation between these areas through events, networking, publications and projects. It would no longer, however, seek to tender for externally-funded projects. This enabled Fellowship invitations to be extended to a number of people based in universities and other research organisations who might previously have experienced a conflict of interest in being a Fellow of an organisation that might be competing for research contracts with their own institution. On this basis, Fellowships were offered to and accepted by a number of other well-established individuals in the career development field, including Jane Artess, John Arnold, Laurie Cohen, Audrey Collin, Tristram Hooley, Kate Mackenzie-Davey, Rosemary McLean, Marian Morris, Claire Nix, Henrietta O'Connor, Janet Sheath, Michelle Stewart, David Winter and Julia Yates. In addition, the word 'Careers' in its title was replaced by 'Career' (in recognition of the notion that an individual has only

one career, representing their lifelong pathway through learning and work). At the time of writing, in early 2014, NICEC comprises 27 Fellows, 10 International Fellows, 4 Emeritus Fellows and a number of other members (who receive the NICEC journal and can attend seminars).

Conclusion

NICEC has evolved through a number of different forms, responding to its changing environment. It has never been a conventional organisation. Indeed, for most of its history it was not a separate legal entity, but rather an activity first of its two parent organisations and later of one of them. At the same time, it has developed and maintained a strong sense of identity. Its fluidity has enabled it to be more organic than mechanistic in nature, able to manage innovation and adapt to change (Burns and Stalker, 1961).

In retrospect, the period during which NICEC operated as a network organisation can be seen as a bridging phase in NICEC's evolution from dependency to autonomy, and from a research and development organisation to a learned society. The concept of a network organisation was a hybrid: more formal than a network; more flexible than an organisation. The issue of whether it was an organisation operating as a network, or a network presenting itself as an organisation, was creatively ambiguous.

In many respects NICEC as it has evolved can be viewed as an interesting example of a 'career community' as defined by Parker, Arthur and Inkson (2004): a social structure that provides career support, sense-making and learning to its members, transcending the boundaries of any single organisation. The concept of a learned society maintains this notion, but also links it to promoting academic engagement connected to a particular professional area of work: in this case, careers work.

In evolving as it has, NICEC has managed its survival, has fulfilled the intentions with which it was established, and has enabled its new form to build upon the foundations laid in the earlier phases of its existence.

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Rousseau's chains: Striving for greater social justice through emancipatory career guidance

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Drawing on a typology proposed by social philosopher Jürgen Habermas, this article outlines the way career theory, practice and research can be informed by technocratic, hermeneutic, and emancipatory rationalities. The paper builds on this typology by considering Tony Watts' analysis of the socio-political ideologies underpinning career guidance, showing how, despite the in-built tendency for some models to be more socially reproductive in scope, all approaches can engage with emancipatory forms of practice. The paper echoes Watts' observation that career practitioners cannot avoid the inherently normative and political nature of their interventions in people's lives, a fact that calls for a fundamental commitment to promoting social justice.

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Introduction

'Man is born free', the French philosopher Rousseau (1762) famously declared, 'but everywhere he is in chains'. In many ways, the unfinished and on-going project of the Enlightenment, of which Rousseau, with all his contradictions, was one of its most eminent exponents, is that of breaking as many of the chains of 'unfreedom' that limit humanity's never-ending search for transcendence. The Frankfurt School philosophers, and 'critical theorists' who have inspired themselves from the writing of the likes of Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse, have argued that the Enlightenment dream of expanding the freedoms of wo/men across the globe is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of our species: a thirst for emancipation from ignorance, from debilitating social traditions and structures that reproduce and reinforce privilege, and from all sorts of injustice (Held, 1980).

Events in the 'short' 20th century (Hobsbawm, 1994)—not least two world wars and economic models that have depleted the earth's resources and brought it to the brink of environmental collapse—have seriously questioned the 'grand narrative' of science and progress that replaced earlier grand narratives of religion and redemption. And yet, despite the prevailing political cynicism that marks the 21st century, reflected in contemporary social theory that revels in 'post-modern' deconstructions (in contrast to reconstructions) of power (Best and Kellner, 1997), the search for emancipation goes on, and we are far from 'the end of history' (Fukuyama, 1992). Indeed, rarely have we seen, in living memory, such mass mobilisation, starting from the ex-Soviet countries in 1989, the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa in 1991, the anti-globalisation 'occupy Wall Street' movements following the banking and financial debacle of 2008, and the uprisings against home-grown (but often foreign-aided and abetted) dictators across the Arab world in 2010. While post-modern, post-Enlightenment thinkers may very well be right when they argue that 'grand narratives' of freedom spawned by the Enlightenment—including communism and liberal democracy, for instance—often give rise to dystopias, yet the common history of humankind can be read as the constant, unrelenting search for greater freedoms, and from emancipation from all sorts of dominating and exploitative relationships (Marx, in Tucker, 1978).

That striving for increased and fairer access to improved life chances—the 'goodies' of life that include, among other, decent living standards, meaningful work, access to quality health and

educational services, autonomy in charting a life course, respect and status within a community of equals—has been an important motivating factor leading to the development of a number of social practices and institutions that have the potential of facilitating humanity's quest for emancipation. Mass education (and schools), health services (and hospitals), democratic governance (and political parties) are examples of such services that have found institutional expression over the past two hundred years or so. None of these are perfect, and all can be turned into instruments of oppression rather than of liberation.

In this paper, I will argue that 20th century forms of career education and guidance can be considered in a similar light: in other words, as one of the social practices, and institutionalised services, that arose from the same logic and spirit of the Enlightenment, and which, like its 'siblings', has a bright side, but also a darker side as well (Israel, 2009). This article furthermore engages in a constant 'conversation' with one of Tony Watts' most cited papers—one that I regularly use with my students and which I often dig into for inspiration—where he considers socio-political ideologies in guidance (1996a). I argue that deeper awareness of the latter could help us better realise the emancipatory potential in our activities with fellow citizens, in a range of different life contexts.

Images of career education and guidance

Drawing once again on the intellectual traditions of critical social theorists, we can distinguish at least three 'images' that can help us make better sense of the relationships between career education and guidance on the one hand, and social justice on the other. Habermas (1971; Finlayson, 2005), the latest exponent of the previously mentioned Frankfurt School of philosophers and sociologists, provides us with a useful typology: he argues that human action responds to three different interests or 'rationalities', namely technocratic, hermeneutic and emancipatory.

Technocratic rationality is mainly concerned with instrumental control and manipulation of one's environment, where the values of efficiency, prediction and outcomes dominate, and where means are subordinated to the ends sought. *Hermeneutic rationality* highlights human beings' interest in communication, social interaction, and interpretation—the intersubjective 'playfulness' in securing and extending possibilities of understanding oneself and others in the conduct of life. *Emancipatory rationality* addresses mankind's propensity for self-reflection and self-knowledge, the ability to see one's biography as a result of a confluence of internal and external factors that can limit options, a realisation that can be liberatory when such factors are not considered outside human control (i.e. 'reified'), but rather amenable to action that expands our possibilities for self-expression and self-fulfilment.

Each of these rationalities expresses facets of human cognitive interests or learning domains, and all are anchored in what Habermas argues are species-specific (i.e. anthropological) activities rooted in different aspects of social existence, i.e. work, interaction, and power. Habermas moreover contends that each rationality expresses a different type of scientific inquiry, i.e., mode of discovering knowledge and whether the knowledge claims can be warranted. Briefly, technocratic rationality underpins empirical-analytic sciences using hypothetical-deductive theories (e.g. physics, chemistry, biology, engineering, etc.); hermeneutic rationality is expressed by such disciplines as law, history, literature and aesthetics; and emancipatory rationality drives much of critical science, including feminist theory, psychoanalysis, ideology critique and so on.

Habermas is therefore not excluding one form of rationality from the rest—a point that, as we shall see, is relevant to my consideration of the political orientations of career work. He does however take pains to argue that not all human endeavours should be reduced to, or 'colonised' by, the logic of 'positivism', where it is only that which can be measured, controlled, and manipulated that matters, and where a means-ends rationality prevails, at the cost of normative considerations of what it means to be 'human' (Young, 1990).

My contention is that Habermas' typology, especially when read against the background of some of Watts' lifetime work on career guidance, provides us with

a useful set of insights when it comes to considering our field from a social justice perspective. In the first instance, developments in career guidance over the years (as, for instance, categorised by Kidd, 1996; and Arulmani et al, 2014, among others), have, in my view, tended to be inspired by the different rationalities outlined by Habermas—a point which, drawing and adapting from Tinning (1992), I attempt to represent visually in Table 1:

Table 1: Mapping career guidance approaches against Habermas' typology

Type of human interest	Kind of knowledge	Research methods	Career guidance approaches
Technocratic (prediction)	Instrumental (causal explanation)	Positivistic Sciences (empirical-analytic methods)	• Trait-factor • Person-Environment fit • Testing
Hermaneutic (interpretation & understanding)	Practical (understanding)	Interpretive Research (hermeneutic methods)	• Person-centred • Developmental • Life-design • Narrative
Emancipation (criticism & liberation)	Emancipation (reflection)	Critical social sciences (critical theory methods)	• Critical psychodynamic • Opportunity structure • Careership • Advocacy

Trait-factor/person-environment fit approaches, together with other kindred, more sophisticated, but nevertheless equally positivist-oriented models that give testing, prediction, and numerical modelling of occupational futures pride of place, can be said to be closely related to technocratic forms of thinking, and of being. Person-centred, developmental, humanistic approaches, whose most recent expression is the 'life-design' movement (Savickas et al, 2009), rely much more on the communicative 'performance' between counsellor and counselee, where the issue of interpretive construction (and reconstruction) of one's life narrative (Reid and West, 2011), seen almost as a literary 'text', clearly resonates with hermeneutic rationality as previously described.

Critical considerations of the way career education and guidance can serve as yet another instrument to reproduce rather than challenge inequalities, have led to approaches that strive to 'conscientise' citizens about the way societies constrain futures (see Blustein et al, 2005; and Juntunen et al, 2013 for an overview), and limit the very 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004). Such approaches are motivated by an emancipatory rationality that seeks to help citizens 'penetrate' (Willis, 1977) and 'decode' the way social arrangements work in favour of some groups and against others. This 'conscientisation' is accompanied by the mobilisation of resources—including collective social action—to wrest power and enhance capacity for self-determination, to expand 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1997) thus breaking, or at least weakening, more of the 'chains' of unfreedom referred to at the start of this article.

Emancipatory career education and guidance

In his consideration of the socio-political ideologies in guidance, Watts (1996a) makes a number of points that, read against Habermas' typology, I would like to engage with and develop further. First, Watts argues that career guidance is inevitably political:

> Careers education and guidance is a profoundly political process. It operates at the interface between the individual and society, between self

and opportunity, between aspiration and realism. It facilitates the allocation of life chances. Within a society in which such life chances are unequally distributed, it faces the issue of whether it serves to reinforce such inequalities or to reduce them.

(Watts, 1996a: 225)

Career practitioners, who would see their task from a merely technocratic or even 'humanistic' point of view, thus ignoring the political implications of their work, can inadvertently reinforce and reproduce inequalities—and indeed often do so. In his paper, Watts acknowledges that, 'at the level of conscious intentionality' most practitioners 'focus on the individual, which … is the natural focus of attention at the point of guidance intervention' (1996a: 228). However he provides a number of examples to show how career-related issues that clients explore with their counsellors are often deeply implicated in, and determined by, broader structures of power based on class, gender, and/or ethnic affiliation. Counsellor response will vary, and can be more (or less) emancipatory, enabling and empowering in scope depending on deeply held—possibly even unexamined—political values and commitments.

The impact of such political orientations works across the whole profession, and not just at the point of encounter with individual clients. Indeed, in another paper, Watts (1999) highlights the way different socio-political regimes, inspired by diverse ideologies, have historically used career guidance—or ignored it—in an effort to either democratise power, or, on the contrary, to block its circulation and keep it within the hands of a select few, as in the case of South Africa under apartheid rule (Watts, 1980). Ultimately, career workers—be they policy-makers, practitioners or researchers—cannot avoid taking a position. Watts (1996a: 226) hammers this point home: 'guidance can be a form of social reform; it can also be a form of social control. There are important choices to be made.'

What Watts helpfully does here is to remind us that career guidance, like many of the social practices and institutions that emerged and took shape after the Enlightenment, can end up having 'reproductive' rather than 'transformative' or 'emancipatory' outcomes. This

'dark side' of the 'children of the Enlightenment' has indeed been a major concern for critical social theory for the past several decades—and indeed has led to some important debates with Habermas, who is seen as the staunchest defender of the Enlightenment, which he considers as the unfinished project of modernity (Passerin d'Entrèves and Benhabib, 1997).

Pierre Bourdieu (2006)—who Yair (2009) calls 'the last musketeer of the French Revolution', has provided us with a whole arsenal of concepts and tools that help us to see how bourgeois schooling, rather than serving as an instrument of social mobility and fulfilling the promise of the French revolutionaries for 'egalité', actually imposes a 'cultural arbitrary' that recognises and rewards only certain types of 'habituses'; perpetrating 'symbolic violence' on those from modest backgrounds who learn that they are 'ignorant', and who therefore end up experiencing the chains surreptitiously imposed by society as self-imposed. Schooling thus ends up being an instrument of social reproduction, furtively but as effectively reflecting the feudal custom of social inheritance of privilege from one generation to the next (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000). Similar dynamics and processes can be observed at work in career guidance interventions (Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2008).

Similarly, even if drawing on different philosophic traditions and using a distinctive range of methodologies, Michel Foucault (1984) brilliantly showed how the factory, the school, the prison, and the mental asylum participate not only in the same panoptic architectural design, but also in the same underpinning desire to surveil, discipline and punish, where constructions of the self are constrained by state power and discourses, best seen as techniques deployed to position individuals and groups in particular ways. Drawing on Foucauldian perspectives, McIlveen and Patton (2006), for instance, provide us with a critical account of career guidance that draws on Foucauldian perspectives, where career and other forms of counselling are considered, in some contexts and under certain conditions, as an example of society's 'confessional technologies' that can insidiously reinforce control.

Post-colonial, post-structural, post-modern, and post-feminist theories (e.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffen,

1995; Gamble, 2006) have deepened and broadened our understanding of power, leading to a better appreciation of its ubiquity, that it is probably incorrect to think of it as a zero-sum game where some have all and others have none, that techniques of power are many and varied and can be deployed in all sorts of ways, and that the exercise of power always breeds resistance.

Such critical perspectives, that problematise the assumption that career guidance necessarily serves the best interests of all citizens, invite us to revisit the issues raised by Watts in his discussion of the socio-political ideologies informing career guidance: *in which way/s does career education and guidance participate in the deployment of power, and on whose behalf, towards which ends?* Here one may be tempted to come to a simple, but probably simplistic conclusion, namely that career education and guidance, as an institutionalised social practice, will tend to be reproductive (in the Bourdieusian sense) if career counsellors conceive their work from a technocratic or even hermeneutic rationality perspective, and are more likely to be transformative if their main inspiration comes from a social reconstructionist, emancipatory view of their profession.

In previous considerations of the relationship between career education and guidance and social justice, I have tended to argue very much along these lines (Sultana, 2014a, b). Indeed, both technocratic and hermeneutic approaches can easily lead to situations where individuals are seen independently from the social forces, economic structures, and cultural traditions that shape their lives in particular ways. While the former is more likely to encourage individuals to adapt and cope and fit in, and the latter to discursively project and construct a 'self' as part of an overall project of life design, both risk failing to place the issue of power—and hence of justice—as a central concern in their relationships with clients.

In contrast, power and justice are at the heart of emancipatory forms of career education and guidance, which give pride of place to raising consciousness, to uncovering structures and patterns of injustice, to providing citizens with the tools to resist, contest, and transform, and to working on the behalf of clients through all sorts of advocacy. Emancipatory career

guidance is also more likely to acknowledge (and contest) the enormous impact that neo-liberalism wields as the 'master discourse' of our times, moulding as it does our understanding of selves in relation to others, of justice and fairness, of what it means to be human and what to value, and of how to deploy our capacities as workers.

While there is some truth in this portrayal of the different political 'instincts' that drive the three streams of career guidance practice, as characterised in this article and following the useful heuristic typology provided by Habermas, I suspect that it is both epistemologically and politically/strategically more astute to argue that *all* career guidance approaches *can* (and I would add, *should*) be imbued with an emancipatory spirit. This, in some ways, echoes Watts' conclusion that, at the point of contact with clients, counsellors need to be both political and pragmatic, and it is the 'professional task of the guidance practitioner to identify what is morally and pragmatically appropriate in particular contexts' (Watts, 1996a: 232).

It is instructive to delve more deeply into this political-yet-pragmatic approach that Watts argues for, and which is actually a leitmotif of his life work, and in doing so to also explore in some more detail my claim that an emancipatory tenor can inform different career guidance approaches. My experience with critics of career guidance who hail from the left and who, somewhat like me, are more prone to adopt what Watts (1996a) identifies as a radical (as against a conservative, liberal, or progressive) political stance, is that they are generally dismissive of ameliorative efforts that focus on advancing individual goals and improving individual lifechances, without addressing the broader social and economic structures that limit those lifechances in the first place. They are also more prone to indulge in career-guidance bashing, made by what Watts (1996a: 226) refers to as 'brief visitors to the field, who are concerned with pointing out the gulf between its liberal rhetoric and what they see as being its conservative reality'. Such views tend to portray even the most well meaning career guidance practitioner, researcher and policy maker as a colluder with power, and as ultimately betraying the interests of the very same people s/he claims to be working for.

These portrayals are often quite cutting and demoralising, often leading the 'stayers' in the field—who, to paraphrase Marx, are doing the best they can under circumstances not of their own making and trying to address issues that are much larger than them—to wonder whether they are in fact acting ethically. As a respondent to a paper I wrote recently noted, with frustration verging on anger, chafing at what is often rightly perceived as an arrogant claim to an exclusivity of wisdom and virtue on the part of armchair critics:

> Much of my social justice work has been (quietly) directed at resolving some of the disadvantages experienced by [persons] of low SES [Social Economic Status], rural, and remote backgrounds, including indigenous [groups]. When I managed my […] career service I established an organisation unit for student equity, a very large scholarship program for disadvantaged students, and career education resources for non-traditional students. I believe that one does not have to be a member of the left-leaning critical 'commentariat' to do good social justice work […] In my experience […] all that the left-leaning commentariat do well is whinge about the misery of others' woes and opine how things ought to be according to their moral standards. They feather their own academic nests with publications telling from on moral high, how the rest of the world, we plods, should be and how the government should run our lives according to their high moral standards.

While I think that there is still the place for radical critiques of the kind that trigger the reaction above—and indeed one could argue that they are even more essential as the fundamentalist 'grand narrative' of neoliberalism strives to tighten its technocratic hold over ever larger swathes of our lives—it is important also to avoid an eschatological discourse that sees social justice as a pre-ordained goal that is attained once and for all, according to a set formula, rather than as a 'project-in-process', constantly to be fought for and over, and constantly to be defined and redefined in specific contexts. This understanding of social justice, as proposed by Amartya Sen (2008) among others,

opens up the possibility of a more democratic and equal partnership between academics, researchers, policy makers and practitioners of good will, who will strive to mobilise and pool intellectual and practical resources to work in the best interest of citizens.

The emphasis here is on the notion of 'good will', which is not to be equated with a sloppy, uninformed, ideologically neutered stance, but rather with astute and critically aware commitment not just to empathy, but also to empowerment and emancipation as well. In this more inclusive, pragmatically realist but also ethically and politically informed standpoint, it is the principled counsellor who, together with his/her client/s, strives to identify which interpretation of life stories, which reading of events, and which course of action could be most enabling, and most empowering—not from the point of view of a privatised individual, but rather, as in Rousseau's *Social Contract,* as a responsible citizen where freedom is regained inside social organisation.

Thus, a career counsellor working with unemployed clients in a Public Employment Service (PES) may be constrained to focus rather more on placing clients irrespective of their long-term career development interests, and to help them cope, fit, and go through the hoops and hurdles required by workfare regimes—without, however, this impeding him or her from working with individuals and groups in order to deepen the understanding that unemployment is often caused by the very way our economies are structured under late capitalism; that while much can be done to improve one's chances, the state of unemployment is not an indictment of their value as human beings, or of their innate qualities or adopted lifestyles. Indeed, PES staff with a thirst for social justice will often develop contacts with employers, using their networks and social capital to make up for the often-isolated situation that their clients find themselves in. All this might not look revolutionary or system transforming, but there is a significant difference here from a PES employee who opts to be the embodiment of a 'bums-off-seats' policy, works with the assumption that people are unemployed largely due to their own deficits, and fails to appreciate the way contemporary economies and labour markets too often work in ways that increase private profit at the expense of the public good.

Similarly with client-centred forms of career guidance, and the more recent narrative turn in the profession, where life-design approaches see the 'self' as a project rather than as a 'given', and career identities to be 'constructed' rather than 'discovered'. Here, too, a career counsellor informed by an emancipatory rationality and a critical spirit would try to see the links between the client's narratives on the one hand, and the 'grand narrative' that shapes, informs, and constrains the plots that our life story can follow. The political in the personal will in this way be more explicitly acknowledged, addressed and worked with, much in the same way that Paolo Freire (1970), one of the world's foremost critical educators whose approach to adult education is in perfect syntony with the Frankfurt School referred to earlier, would have wanted. Freire is indeed the person who gave us the concepts of 'consientização' (conscientisation), of 'problem-posing' and 'problematising' dialogic educational encounters, and the notion of 'hinged themes', whereby broader, systemic issues are 'hinged' onto the life stories and narratives produced by, in the case of career counselling, the 'clients'.

This, of course, opens up a multitude of opportunities to help each other understand how structures of prejudice in relation to class, gender, ethnicity, beliefs, sexual orientation, age, and dis/ability come together to not only shape the kinds of stories we tell ourselves, but also how such stories 'tell us', i.e. how such socially-produced narratives tell the stories of our lives, putting us, as it were, 'in our place'.

Conclusion

My approach to the challenging question of the transformative capacity of career education and guidance—a question that, as I have shown, emerges from and connects with Watts' depiction of socio-political ideologies, and indeed from much of his life's work—is therefore inclusive and open-ended, acknowledging that a variety of approaches, reflecting the theoretical and personal propensities of those who work with them, and the range of contexts, situations and clients in which they are deployed. What seems to me to be crucial, however, is that whatever approach is adopted, the political is not divorced from the personal, given the profound conviction,

which I share with Watts, that the personal *is* political, and the political is inextricable from what is often experienced as deeply and uniquely personal. Watts (1996a) articulates this by arguing for the bringing together of the insights from psychology (with its tendency to focus mainly on individuals) with those from economics and sociology (with their explicit focus on groups, structures, and social contexts)— thus enhancing the profession's potential of being of authentic service to citizens in relation to their efforts to construct a meaningful life, in which work plays a significant if not central part.

From the perspective of critical career counselling, then, the offer of guidance services cannot be touted as a set of competences that are expertly mobilised in a social vacuum. Neither does this skill set constitute a theoretical approach that can be deployed, irrespective of continent, condition, or context. It is well nigh a truism, and hopefully a fact that hardly needs recalling, that theories are steeped in the worldviews of those who articulate them, and that in career counselling, the mainstream theories still have, as their assumed clients, white, middle class males in western industrialised and urban societies (Sultana, 2011). In contrast, Appadurai (2007: 168) reminds us that barely 20% of the world's population 'have the privilege of choosing among career options, examining their options critically, establishing educational preferences, placing bets on different knowledge paths, and changing careers as a consequence of their capacity to benefit from high-end knowledge about knowledge.'

Such statements serve as a timely reminder that the task of emancipatory career guidance services, how we conceive of our work, how we theorise it and practice it, needs to be reimagined and reinvented in the different contexts that take into account the many intersections between the global and the local, the systemic and the endemic, the larger picture and the specificity of the presenting challenge. Habermas' claim that the project of the Enlightenment is far from complete, and that the desire for instilling more socially just contexts that enable the flourishing of human capacities has been far from satiated, drives all of us in the career guidance field to carefully consider the options that Watts calls our attention to, and to seriously engage with the demanding yet vital task of breaking free of Rousseau's chains.

Notes

1. I owe this notion of linking personal narratives to the 'grand narrative' to Professor Torfi H. Tulinius, an expert in Icelandic sagas at the University of Iceland—though both of us agree that the notion of 'grand narrative' remains problematic.

2. Here we are not raising the question of the extent to which work is meaningful, the increasing demise, for many, of access to 'decent work', and whether the very notion of a 'career' has become an anachronism (see Sennett, 1998; Bauman, 2001)—a theme that is raised in a number of publications by Watts (e.g. 1983, 1996b, 1998).

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Policy and practice in career guidance: The perspectives of Professor Tony Watts

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This article examines the perspectives of Professor Tony Watts regarding policy and practice in career guidance from a UK and global perspective. The goal of this article is to synthesise key insights that Tony has gained in his career and then link these insights to current policy and practice initiatives. The method used to achieve the above goal included an interview with Tony and a literature review. 17 insights are presented, with thoughts on implications for career guidance policy and practice.

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Introduction

In a career spanning over 40 years, Tony Watts has blended research, policy, practice, and advocacy in career guidance in an effort to improve the quality of life in communities and nations by helping individuals, practitioners, and policy makers maximise the lifelong career management skills of citizens. One of Tony's best characteristics is being firmly grounded in what we have leaned from the past and present, whilst keeping an eye on the various futures we might achieve. The goal of this article is to synthesise key insights that Tony has gained in his career and then link these insights to current policy and practice initiatives. What better way to celebrate the contributions of a motivated and talented professional than to link what he has learned to current developments in our field.

Method

The method used to achieve the above goal included an interview with Tony and a literature review. It was decided that an interview would be the most effective tool for Tony to articulate his experience and resulting insights. Draft interview questions were prepared to provide a stimulus to elicit Tony's insights about career guidance policy and practice. After some minor revisions, the following interview questions were agreed upon:

1) What were the similarities and differences in promoting improved career guidance policy and career services in various countries?

2) What was the relative influence of national, cultural, ethnic, racial, theoretical, and economic factors in the development of career guidance policy and the delivery of career services?

3) What were the factors that supported and inhibited effective career guidance policy development and implementation?

4) What factors in the future will likely shape the nature and effectiveness of career guidance policy?

A ninety-minute video interview was completed on 11 February 2014. The audio from the interview was transcribed and key experiences and resulting insights were identified in the transcription. Tony edited the key experiences and insights for accuracy and clarity.

These experiences and insights are included in numbered paragraphs in this article (1-17).

A literature review was then completed to identity current and planned career guidance policy and practice that illustrated or amplified Tony's insights. The main portion of this article presents these seventeen insights and related career guidance initiatives. The article concludes with some thoughts on future career guidance policy and practice.

Insights and related career guidance initiatives

One of the key elements of Tony's work is his contribution to international cross-national reviews of career guidance systems. Examples of this kind of more systematic and comparative approaches were already included in the analyses of career services to young people in the European Union Member States (Watts et al, 1987; Watts et al, 1988); and a subsequent review of all-age services (Watts et al, 1994). These were complemented by more specific studies of guidance services for different user groups (Watts et al, 2010; Watts and Van Esbroeck, 1998).

A major change in the range of the cross-national reviews coincided with a growing international interest in the relationship with career guidance in the beginning of 2000s. Instead of focusing on particular age groups, themes or different sectors, the international reviews adopted a broader perspective on how guidance can contribute to national lifelong learning goals throughout the lifespan in different levels of education, in public employment services, in workplaces, and other community settings (OECD 2004).

Cross-national reviews of career guidance

1 Comparative studies are valuable, looking at the same phenomena across different countries. They can help us to see the range of different forms that lifelong guidance practice and policy development can take and how this concept means different things in different counties, linked to their stage of economic development, the nature of their socio-political systems and cultures, and the institutional structure of their education and employment systems.

2 International organisations such as OECD can have influence on lifelong guidance practice and policy development because of their authority and the quality of their technical work. What they do is to provide a mirror through which a country can look at itself.

3 There is a need to develop a tradition of policy studies to look at lifelong guidance policy development in its own right.

In the field of career guidance, comparative studies are challenging because guidance systems and policies are usually embedded in education, training and employment policies emerging from local historical, cultural, political and economic realities. In spite of these different starting points, a broad set of challenges for explicit policies for career guidance has been set by a substantial series of cross-national reviews by international organisations (Watts, 2008). Tony contributed actively in the development of this new type of working methodology which was applied in the OECD review on Career Guidance Policies in 2004. The methodology consists of four stages: a questionnaire, a country visit, a country report and an analytical synthesis report and by 2014 it has been applied in a total of 55 countries (Watts, this volume).

The key rationale for international policy interest in career guidance services and the international policy reviews, is that career guidance represents a public good as well as private good. Tony has emphasised that career guidance services are both the object and instrument of public policy. Based on the evidence in a number of analyses of national guidance systems, he concludes that the beneficiaries of guidance are multiple and career guidance services contribute to three broad categories of public goals and issues: learning goals, labour market goals, and social equity goals.

4 In the end, lifelong guidance is concerned with the relationship between individuals and the society of which they are part. It is also about change: helping individuals to drive change in their own lives, within a changing society. So it has to work with the richness of cultural tradition but also with the dynamics of modernisation and globalisation: it has to be positioned between these. If it doesn't, it won't work and won't have impact.

5 Guidance is about individual change and development within the social structure and how individuals contribute to their families and to the wider society. Therefore it is about helping individuals to understand the forces around them which have

potential for change and development. In the end it is about helping individuals to develop their personal careers in a social context.

6 We need to put the learner at the centre and seek to help them to develop their career management skills and be more competent in using these skills.

Paradigm shift in the concept of career and career guidance

A second rationale for policy interest in career guidance provision is the paradigm shift in the concept of career and its implications for career guidance provision. Tony has referred to this shift as a 'careerquake' where a career is not chosen; it is constructed through a series of choices people make throughout their lives and how they progress both in learning and work (Watts, 1996a). When the focus of career development is linked to lifelong learning it moves the focus from structures and institutions to the individual learner and the promotion of lifelong career management skills (Watts et al, 2010).

7 Career guidance is a lubricant of systems, helping individuals to navigate systems and exert the sense of agency which energises systems and makes them work. It is particularly concerned with helping individuals to manage transitions across systems, which is why it tends to fall between systems: one of the reasons why it is often difficult to address in policy terms. A number of structural mechanisms, qualifications frameworks for example, are also concerned with the interface between the education and training system and the labour market, and making these structures more flexible; but these too don't work unless individuals are able to navigate and activate the frameworks. In the end, career guidance is a way of addressing some of the most important issues about the relationships between individuals and systems.

8 Values are critical in career guidance: we don't talk about them enough.

Brokering the needs of the individual and the society

Guidance can perform a significant role in raising the aspirations of individuals from different backgrounds, making them aware of opportunities and supporting them to enter such opportunities. Tony views guidance as a brokerage between individual needs and societal needs addressing both individual rights and responsibilities within a societal context (Watts, 1996b). In order to do this in an ethical and quality manner, a broad understanding of the environment is required.

9 International evidence can be applied to national level policy development. There is a distinction between identifying evidence to review a policy that is believed to be correct, versus analysing evidence to determine which policy would be most appropriate given current circumstances and needs.

10 When working in another country it is crucial to pay attention to the cultural dimension and to be open to learning and reframing your own thinking rather than simply exporting ideas and systems from your own culture.

Demand for career guidance in low and middle income countries

The issue of demand for career guidance services in low and middle-income countries has been acknowledged in the international reviews. The arguments which support career guidance as a policy in its own right in more developed countries, can be applied and have a positive impact also in low and middle-income countries (Watts and Fretwell 2004; ILO, 2006). However, the international reviews have shown that the current predominant career guidance models and existing patterns in leadership and policy making in Western countries, do not constitute an effective system which would respond to all challenges that these countries face; especially in the areas for education and labour market reforms as a result of global economic developments In addition, the priority given to lifelong guidance policy has previously

been low in these countries. The sustainability of international and bilateral donor-driven support needs to be guaranteed by sufficient attention to local context and home-gown career guidance development (European Training Foundation, 2009).

11   One of the things about writing is that it forces you to read, to ask questions, and to conclude what you think.

12   The paper I did about career guidance under apartheid was a very important experience for me. I learned so much from that visit. It was one of the most intense experiences of my life. I was asked to give some lectures at the University of Cape Town. It was under the academic boycott, so I shouldn't have gone. But it was always a country I was very interested in, for political reasons, and I wanted to go there to find out for myself. I said to the British Council that I would do it but only if I had a chance to travel and talk with people before giving my lectures. I planned my programme very carefully: I had several friends who told me where I should go and who I should talk to. At that time, there were four key parts of the political system: the white areas, the bantustans, the urban townships, and the shanty towns where the workers were living illegally with their families – illegally because the white areas wanted their labour but not their families. I visited all four. I met hardly any white South Africans who had done this. I learned so much about the importance of political systems, economic development and culture to career guidance provision, because South Africa was so varied in all these respects. It was a rich country and a poor country. It was a black country and a white country. It was a country which aspired to liberal Western values but then denied them to most of its people. All the issues were there and I learned so much, not least about the political nature of career development.

Contribution of International Symposia on Career Development and Public Policies

Between the years 1999-2011, seven International Symposia on Career Development and Public Policies

have been designed to foster effective communication between the career guidance profession and policy-makers (Hiebert and Bezanson, 2000). The symposia have brought together interested parties from all continents to share experiences in the development of national strategies for career development and to establish networks through which experiences have been exchanged on a continuing basis. The symposia have core design features which include the designation of a country team which is responsible for preparation of a country report prior to the event. The country reports and subsequent table discussions during the symposia are synthesised and the conclusions are fed back for approval by the national delegations.

One of the outcomes of the symposia has been strong international co-operation in creating a stronger evidence base, especially on impact measurement which could be communicated to policy-makers.

13   It is important for guidance professional bodies to maintain contact with policy makers and to indicate how career guidance can contribute to key policy issues as they arise.

14   There is a lot of evidence on the impact of guidance activities but it is a matter of what you regard as evidence. Qualitative evidence is as important and valid as quantitative evidence.

15   Lifelong guidance policy studies need to be analytical and as strongly evidence-based as possible. The writing style needs to be different for policy-makers and for an academic audience. It is important to do both and they can help each other.

Examples of this can be seen in the OECD review and the subsequent handbook for policy makers where a set of common reference points are established which can used for policy learning. There is a need to develop a system of policies that can be supported by conducting research studies which are analytically strong enough to have impact and can be legitimated. There is a strong need to create evidence where research becomes a lobbying tool.

16   In the future, technology is going to drive change in this field as it has always done in

recent times. It is crucial that the field stays up with, and ahead of, the changes in technology. Technology doesn't replace careers professionals but it enables them to do some things they couldn't do before and other things better than they could do before. We have to show how technology can be effectively linked with human agency. It will never adequately replace human agency but it can enormously enhance and extend what can be done. Career practitioners can no longer act as the source of all wisdom. They know that what they say can be checked on the internet and they have to involve and respect their clients in a different way than before.

Information and communication technology in guidance

An area of particular interest to Tony has been the use of information and communication technology (ICT) in guidance. He has been following the process from the growth of computer databases and computer-aided guidance systems through the evolution of the Internet towards analyses of technology as an agent for strategic change. He has had an active role in European conferences on computers and emerging technology in career guidance: in Brussels (1985), Cambridge (1989), Nürnberg (1992), Dublin (1996), Gothenburg (2001) and in Riga (2009). The focus of attention in these conferences has changed due to the evolution of technology, but the core underlying issue has remained much the same. Since the first conference in Brussels in 1985, he suggested that ICT could be seen in three ways: as a tool, as an alternative, or as an agent of change (Watts, 1986; Watts 1996c). He sees this still as the remaining key policy issue. Dramatic technological changes increase the potential of ICT for transforming the nature of guidance services and the ways in which they are delivered. Recent research stresses the ability of career practitioners to take advantage of, to be innovative with, and to fashion novel career service delivery formats with online technologies (e.g. Hooley et al, 2010a, 2010b; Watts, 2010).

17 The increased need for guidance on a lifelong basis means that there is a strong case for expanding services. But how do we do that,

at a time when there are also great pressures to restrict public spending? Technology can enable cost-effective solutions in terms of access and quality. In addition, though, the argument that career guidance is a public good does not necessarily mean that governments should pay for everything. There is also a market for guidance services and this is a key policy issue for the future. In the OECD review we argued that governments have three roles in relation to the market: to grow the market, to quality-assure the market and to compensate for market failure. Governments could, for example, support the development of a brand linked to quality and could then encourage private- as well as public-sector services to meet the quality standards attached to that brand. They could then promote the brand as a way of building access to a public good, but incorporating the market and other people paying for at least some of it. I don't think any country has yet adequately grappled with this issue.

Recommendations on the development and implementation of future career guidance policy and career services

Some of the notions presented by Tony can be identified in the design and implementation of the International Symposia on Career Development and Public Policies, as well as within the structured European co-operation in the lifelong guidance practice and policy development since mid-1980s. Tony was a member of the European Commission Lifelong Guidance Expert Group which met between 2002 and 2007 and after that he has been working as an expert consultant of the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN). The ELGPN aims to assist the European Union (EU) Member States and the European Commission in developing European co-operation on lifelong guidance in both the education and the employment sectors. Tony has contributed to the working methodology of the Network and how to stimulate innovation and convergence through pooling of ideas on mutual problems and solutions; testing of ideas and innovation; showcasing of good practice;

and streamlining practical operations and services by sharing insights across different countries.

Drawing from the national experiences the Network has developed concrete tools, such as the European Resource Kit for policy makers (European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network, 2012) to help policy-makers and other stakeholders to review existing lifelong guidance provision within their country or region, and to identify issues requiring attention and gaps that need to be filled, drawing from practices in other European countries. The style of writing includes evidence from academic research, but it is also aimed at generating dialogue between practitioners, academics and policy makers.

In line with Tony's recommendations mentioned earlier, this process can be broken down to a continuous policy improvement cycle with the following sequences: translation and customisation of the jointly developed tools; facilitation of the national policy development with the help of structured tools; sharing the experiences in mutual policy learning events by means of common reference points and, finally, drawing joint reflections for future national development or to feed the European level policy discourse. The ELGPN members have reported that participation in the Network has enriched their awareness of possible responses to common challenges and given fresh perspectives into their national guidance provision (ELGPN, 2012).

When expanding the guidance services towards a coherent brand, guidance has to be examined both as an integrated entity and part of a broader social context. A national lifelong guidance can be described in three main dimensions: as a *policy*, as an *activity* of individual organisations or networked services (sometimes in collaborative contracts between the public administration and the private and voluntary sectors), and as an individual *process*. Lifelong guidance provision is directed by official documents such as laws, decrees and plans, as well as unofficial traditions. As citizens progress in constructing their life or career, they may look for services from several professional groups or service providers. Effective policies for lifelong guidance and consistent service provision therefore need to involve relevant ministries, authorities and stakeholders in all the three levels (ELGPN, 2012).

Conclusion

While the seventeen experiences and insights contributed by Tony in this article represent only a small sample of his contributions to the field, these insights show the breadth and depth of topics he has considered, including (a) cross-national reviews of career guidance, (b) changes in the concept of career and career guidance, (c) balancing the needs of the individual and the society, (d) the demand for career guidance in low and middle income countries, (e) the use of international symposia as a policy development tool, and (f) the evolving information and communication technology in guidance. Probably most important, these insights help us to focus our efforts in theory, research, practice, and policy where they will do the most good. It will be helpful to return to these insights from time to time to reflect on the ways in which our field changes and the ways in which it remains the same.

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Careers education: Tony's legacy

David Andrews

Tony Watts is probably best known for his role as Director of NICEC from 1975 to 2001, and for his work as an international policy expert on careers guidance, but in 1973, prior to establishing NICEC, Tony was Head of the Research and Development Unit at CRAC and he published one of the first articles setting out a suggested list of objectives for a careers education programme. This article examines his contribution to careers education policy, theory and practice over the 40 years that followed, from his work with Bill Law on the DOTS framework to his promotion of the Blueprint in several countries in the present century.

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Introduction

'Careers education' is a relatively new addition to educational jargon.

(Law, B. and Watts, A. G. (1977) *Schools, Careers and Community,* 1)

This first sentence of the book which introduced the DOTS framework to the world of careers was written 37 years ago. Today careers education is a familiar term, not only in the UK but across the globe. It is, however, still open to different interpretations and what it describes is often given different labels in different settings. There is also no universal consensus about the position of careers education in educational policy and practice. This article examines Tony Watts's contribution to the development of the concept of careers education and its implementation in policy and practice. Tony has made sure that it has stayed on the agenda for the past four decades: it is the responsibility of present and future researchers and practitioners to learn from his legacy and ensure that not only is the

term understood, but also that educational policy and practice embrace its key role in equipping individuals to plan, construct and manage fulfilling careers.

Contemporaries of Tony, and those who were his students (I include myself here, as Tony was an occasional lecturer on the Postgraduate Diploma in Careers Education and Guidance at Hatfield Polytechnic that I completed in 1983), will read the article to check whether the author's record accords with their recollections, in the same way that we are drawn towards travel articles about places we have already visited; but the benefit of placing this article in the journal is that it will remain accessible to future generations of careers professionals who will build on Tony's legacy.

In researching this article, it has not always been easy to differentiate between work that can be attributed specifically to Tony and work that was accomplished individually and collaboratively with and by his colleagues within NICEC. While that presents a challenge for academic accuracy, it is at the same time a tribute to Tony's capacity for fostering and encouraging the work of others, both within NICEC and the wider community of careers workers. In the article, therefore, I will examine Tony's particular contributions to the development of careers education, his role in supporting the work of others and his tireless efforts in promoting careers education.

Pre-NICEC

In 1964 Tony was one of two co-founders of CRAC, the other being Adrian Bridgewater. In its early days the emphasis of CRAC's mission was on providing careers information but even at that point it also saw a role in disseminating the best teaching and guidance practice (Smith, 2010). One of Tony's first acts in supporting careers education in schools took place

during his temporary absence from CRAC, studying for an M.Phil at the University of York from 1967 to 1970. While at York, Tony attended a meeting held at Derwent College in the autumn of 1968 which was to lead to the founding, in March of the following year, of the National Association of Careers Teachers (NACT), later to become the National Association of Careers and Guidance Teachers (NACGT) and then the Association for Careers Education and Guidance (ACEG): before joining with three other careers professional associations to form the Career Development Institute (CDI) in April 2013. Ray Heppell, careers teacher at a boys' grammar school in South Shields, had written a letter to the CRAC journal suggesting the formation of an association to bring careers teachers together. The meeting to explore this idea further was held at the University of York and Tony played an important role 'behind the scenes' in encouraging Ray and others in their ambition, which led to the inaugural conference of the NACT at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge.

Tony returned to CRAC in 1970 to head up a new Research and Development Unit. Around this time there was a significant increase in classroom-based careers education and schools needed new materials. CRAC editors worked with the Research and Development Unit to produce the *Bull's Eye* series that was launched in 1972. Written by Tony Crowley, a careers officer in Hertfordshire, the first three titles were *Choosing a Job*, *Finding a Job* and *Starting a Job*. Later examples of curriculum materials, developed and published by CRAC, included the *Decide for Yourself* series by Bill Law, then of Reading University, and the *Deciding* programme, adapted from American materials that Tony came across during a Travel Fellowship in 1972 and produced in collaboration with David Elsom, then a careers teacher in Hertfordshire. David was later to become Vice Principal at Long Road Sixth Form College in Cambridge and for many years a director of CRAC's flagship 'Admissions to HE' conference.

The 1973 CRAC annual report refers to careers education as a 'subject which can justly demand time in the curriculum'. It was in this year that Tony set out a structure for careers education (Watts, 1973). He linked the growth in careers education to the increasing interest and application in careers

guidance practice of developmental theories and the use of counselling skills. As he was to explain later, if individuals were to take greater responsibility for making career decisions rather than being passively dependent on the advice of 'an expert', then they would need a conceptual vocabulary and a set of decision-making skills to draw upon (Watts, 1996). Careers education is based on a premise that such understanding and skills can be facilitated, and perhaps accelerated, by programmes of deliberate intervention. This would not need to be undertaken in individual one-to-one counselling sessions: it could be done more economically, and possibly more effectively, in groups in classroom settings. In defining the concept of careers education, Tony suggested four basic objectives, which are worth quoting in full.

1. To help pupils to acquire vocabulary and knowledge for distinguishing: occupations; non-occupational roles, e.g. family and leisure roles; educational alternatives; personal characteristics, e.g. aptitudes, interests, values.

2. To help pupils to develop a knowledge of their own strengths and weaknesses, and to understand the relationship of these characteristics to: occupational choices; choices of non-occupational roles; educational choices.

3. To help pupils to develop effective decision-making strategies and the skills for carrying them out.

4. To prepare pupils for the transition to their post-school environment and for the personal adjustment that will be required.

(Watts, 1973: 7-8)

Tony acknowledges that this scheme is adapted from earlier work in the USA (Herr and Cramer, 1972) and in the UK (Hayes and Hopson, 1971) but here we see the origins of the four elements that were later to become known as the DOTS framework. In the same chapter Tony identifies five main approaches to organising careers education in the curriculum, which remain broadly familiar today: through traditional school subjects; through social studies; through humanities, social education and moral education; as a course of careers education; as part of a course of personal, social and careers education, which may be delivered in tutorial time.

The DOTS framework

Law and Watts (1977) is frequently cited in bibliographies and lists of references as the source of the DOTS framework. Although this is technically correct as it was the first publication to list the four components of careers education as *opportunity awareness*, *self awareness*, *decision-learning* and *transition-learning*, the fundamental framework had been proposed at least four years earlier, as discussed in the previous section. It is also worth placing on record that the label 'DOTS framework' is not referred to in the book (Law and Watts, 1977) that introduced what has become the most widely known and used framework for careers education in many countries. It was only later that someone thought about re-arranging the four elements into an order that produced an easily remembered acronym. When I was first introduced to the framework, in 1981 by one of the authors, Bill Law, another lecturer on the diploma course at Hatfield Polytechnic, they were called 'the NICEC objectives', which was highly appropriate as they were presented as part of one of the first NICEC projects.

NICEC was established in 1975, with Tony Watts as Executive Director and Bill Law as Senior Fellow. One of its first commissions, in 1975-76, was 'Approaches to Careers Education in Schools', funded by the Church of England Board of Education. Although the book that resulted from the project is frequently cited, the detail of the project is less familiar. This article provides an opportunity to summarise briefly this pivotal piece of work.

The Church of England Board of Education was interested in an approach to education which embraced the whole person and prepared him, or her, effectively for finding his, or her, roles in society. In early 1975 it set up a Careers Education Working Party to consider how careers education in schools could be encouraged. As a first step the group carried out a statistical survey but they then felt that it was important to supplement this with some case studies of particular schools; to reveal in greater depth what they were doing and to shed some light on the dynamics that underlaid the facts and figures. NICEC was commissioned to carry out a project in two parts; firstly, descriptive surveys of careers education in six

schools; then two consultations with school senior managers, guidance staff, parents, careers officers, employers, trade unionists and former students.

Much of the book is taken up with the detailed descriptions of the careers education and guidance provision in each of the six schools. Where the findings are tabulated the various activities are classified under the now familiar four headings of opportunity awareness, self awareness, decision-learning and transition learning. Contrary to many people's belief, this framework is not an outcome of the project. As we have seen, it existed prior to the project and was used as a framework to analyse the findings. The particular contribution of the project was to refine the four basic objectives set out by Tony four years previously, and to introduce easily remembered labels for the four elements. However, although the framework was used as a reviewing tool in the project, it has since become widely adopted as a planning tool. It is testimony to its strength that the four elements of the DOTS framework have formed the basis for every careers education framework that has been published in England since 1977, even if this has not been acknowledged by the authors of those frameworks (see HMI, 1988; NCC, 1990; SCAA, 1995; QCA 1999; DfES, 2003; DCSF, 2010; ACEG, 2012). The four elements have also influenced the development of careers education frameworks in other countries within and outside the UK and are clearly recognisable in the Blueprint for careers (Haché, Redekopp and Jarvis, 2006), developed originally in Canada and adopted and adapted by Australia and several other countries.

With all the attention that the DOTS framework has received over the years, other parts of the project have been largely overlooked. The two consultations examined a range of issues concerned with the position of careers education in relation to the school and its wider community. The conclusions include a very useful four-stage developmental model for approaches to careers work in schools which deserves to be re-visited. Each of the four stages is divided into two sub-stages as follows:

- Information: 'cardboard box'; clerical
- Interview: advice; counselling
- Curricular: occupational education; careers education

- Integrated: school guidance; community guidance.

Bill Law later used a further development of this model as a basis for designing the open-learning material he wrote for the professional development of careers teachers (DES, 1990), but many of the other issues raised in this latter part of the book have not been picked up in subsequent work to any great extent.

Bill has always been concerned about the eagerness with which people have used what was designed essentially as an analytical framework for reviewing existing curricular programmes, as a prescriptive planning tool. He also identified the limitation of the framework, in that it relates only to the *content* of careers education, and not to the *process*. Eventually Bill went on to develop his career learning theory (Law, 1996), which introduced the concept of progression in career learning.

From careers education in schools to careers education in other settings

Tony's early work on careers education was based in the context of secondary schools and in the first decade or so of NICEC he continued to undertake projects in the sector but, as NICEC grew and new Fellows and Associates joined the organisation, Tony also took on the role, as Director, of supporting the work of colleagues. In these years it was Bill Law that took forward most of NICEC's work on careers education in schools and in later years other Fellows worked with Bill, and separately, on school-based projects. The research and development moved beyond secondary schools to include, at first colleges of further education and then primary schools. Tony's role became one of bringing people together and offering support and encouragement. At the same time he explored the application of the concept of careers education, originally developed in schools, in other settings.

In the same year that the DOTS framework was introduced he used the four objectives to analyse careers education activities in higher education (Watts,

1977). Tony maintained his interest in careers work in the HE sector and later worked with another NICEC Fellow, Ruth Hawthorn, on a two-year project to evaluate aspects of the Enterprise in Higher Education Programme (Hawthorn and Watts, 1992). Some of the origins of the current work on employability in universities can be traced back to this research. Continuing the theme of exploring careers education in settings that other NICEC Fellows were not working in, Tony also turned his attention to careers work for adults. Again using the DOTS framework to analyse the content of courses run for adults by educational and careers guidance services, he identified that several of those courses had a clear careers education function (Watts, 1980).

While venturing into areas that other NICEC Fellows were not working in, Tony retained his interest in careers education in schools. In 1983 he edited a book on work experience in schools, in which he argued that work experience is an experiential component of careers education, enabling an interplay between self-awareness and opportunity awareness and helping to prepare pupils for the transition into work (Watts, 1983a). The rising levels of unemployment at the beginning of the 1980s led Tony to examine the implications of unemployment for education in schools in general and for careers education in particular. When considering several different scenarios, he raised the question whether the role of schools is simply to prepare pupils for their place in society or whether it should also include equipping them with the knowledge, understanding and skills to help shape the future of society (Watts, 1983b). He suggested that the school curriculum might be developed to include something that he called 'future studies'. This is an issue we in England would do well to return to now, 30 years on, when our school curriculum seems to be regressing to an age where the focus was on transmitting large bodies of facts about the past.

From the 1980s Tony developed the international dimension to his work and in the early 1990s he contributed to a comprehensive review of careers education provision in European countries. The review (Watts et al, 1994) found that careers education programmes had been growing in many parts of Europe, but were organised in different ways. In more recent times Tony's work has concentrated on

guidance systems and policy across the world, but throughout this time he has continued to promote the importance of careers education alongside access to careers guidance and counselling. He returned to the provision of careers education in schools in 2000, in a presentation to an international conference in Paris. He argued that, while we have a clear understanding that careers education and programmes are now widespread across Europe, such programmes have yet to become embedded and effective. He went on to identify six underlying issues that needed to be addressed: timing; content; method; models of delivery; progression; and assessment (Watts, 2001). His examination of each of those issues provides a useful template for the work that still needs to be done.

Tony's legacy

Tony has given notice that he intends to retire from all professional work at the end of 2014, after half a century of careers work. What is his legacy to careers education?

It is stating the obvious to say that we have a wealth of research reports, journal articles and books to draw upon. He has given us a conceptual framework on which to base our work. He introduced us to the main objectives of careers education and this definition has stood the test of time. We know what we are talking about. The labels may change: Tony himself dropped the 's' from careers education around the turn of the century and started to use instead the term career education, reflecting the idea that individuals have one career that they construct, rather than several careers from which they choose. The term career learning is preferred in the FE and skills sector, career-related learning in primary schools and career management skills in several other countries, but there is a broad consensus around the overall concept. That is not to say that we will not continue to refine the framework. It has been argued, for example, that what we mean by career *education* could be more accurately described as career *training*, i.e. equipping individuals with a set of skills to manage their careers. I have argued that career education should be extended beyond learning *for* career to learning *about* career (Andrews, 2011).

But Tony has given us much more than a widely accepted definition. He has reminded us that career

education is still not fully embedded in schools and other settings, and he has provided a template for addressing the issues that need attention if all individuals are to have access to the career education they need and deserve. In a recent conversation with Tony he said that theories and concepts do not date but policies and practice do. We will need to continually revisit these issues of implementation. We have the tools to do this. I will illustrate with one small example of the interplay between policy, practice and theory. In England the current government has removed from schools the statutory duty to include careers education in the curriculum. The Department for Education is placing greater emphasis on employers visiting schools to give talks to pupils (DfE, 2014). There is a danger that the curricular stage of the development of careers work in schools in the four-stage model set out by Bill Law and Tony (*ibid*) will be confined to the first of their two sub-stages, namely *occupational education*, and not include opportunities for students to examine their personal attributes, interests and values and to develop decision-making and transition skills. Returning to the theory will help to address these issues of policy and practice.

The other important part of Tony's legacy is that there are now, across the globe, many researchers and practitioners who have been influenced by his work, his passion and his commitment to the cause. It is up to us and those that follow to take career education forward.

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'We wanted to change that particular part of the world': the role of academics in the career development field, learning from the career of Tony Watts

Tristram Hooley

This article uses a career case-study with Tony Watts to explore the interface of an academic career with policy and practice. It finds that, in Tony's case, public engagement was driven by a social and political mission. Such engagement is shaped by both the institutional arrangements within which the academic is situated and the political and organisational structures of the part of the world into which they try to intervene. While it is difficult to generalise from a single case, the article concludes by suggesting some key themes which academics may wish to attend to in navigating these issues of engagement and the nature of academic roles.

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Introduction

Since 1975 a core value of NICEC has been the idea that research and intellectual enquiry can play an important role in the field of career development. However, the role of academics is often conceptualised by both politicians and practitioners in a narrow way around the concept of 'evidence'. This can position policy-makers and practitioners as 'those who do', and academics as 'those who check it works'. For those of us who undertake this kind of work, such a conception is likely to be viewed as much too limiting. However, the role of academics, researchers and intellectuals in the career development field has hardly been theorised at all. While there is broader literature looking at academics' roles and more generally at the role of intellectuals in society (e.g., Posner, 2003;

Cummings, 2005; Collins, 2011) there is little thinking specific to our field.

This article seeks to explore these issues through a case-study of Tony Watts' career. This offers a useful way of looking at the issue of academic engagement with wider social and political forces. Career describes how individuals live within their society; a career case-study examines the individual through the lens of their working life. In this particular case, the case-study recognises that the role of 'academic' is an occupational category and that an academic career results from the intersection of individual characteristics and decisions with the institutional, historical and political context.

Tony Watts requires little introduction to readers of the NICEC Journal. He has played a leading role in the career development field for 50 years, along the way founding or co-founding CRAC, NICEC, the British Journal of Guidance and Counselling and the International Centre for Guidance Studies. Those interested in finding out more about the development of these institutions are well served by a range of recently published histories (Smith, 2010; Hyde, 2014; Watts, 2014a; 2014b). This article will use his career case-study to explore a range of key themes in Tony's career, rather than viewing it chronologically. In particular, it will use Tony's experience to examine the tensions that exist within an academic role and the different ways in which such roles can interface with policy and practice. The article will draw on Tony's reflections to explore issues which others may encounter in different contexts.

The rest of this article is largely composed of an 'idealised' record of a conversation that took place between the author (Tristram) and Tony Watts (Tony) in Derby on Wednesday 26 November 2014. The conversation is 'idealised' in three ways: (1) the transcript has been edited to be read rather than heard; (2) it has been reorganised to highlight key themes within the constraints of a short journal article; and (3) Tony has been asked to review the article and adjust the transcript to aid clarity.

The role of the academic

Academics can take a range of different roles and adopt a number of different attitudes. Tony's work includes attention to public policy and is addressed to a wide audience and motivated by a 'social mission'. In this respect, Tony's reflections on the role of an academic help to illuminate what a 'public' or 'socially engaged' intellectual looks like, as well as highlighting some of the tensions in this role. In his particular case, it came from a wider range of career roots:

Tony: When I was an undergraduate at Cambridge, I had three or four different career ideas and actually I've used all of them in my career. A career is not necessarily about choosing between alternatives: it can also be about identifying themes and then finding ways of combining them. I was interested in doing a PhD in history, in journalism, and in publishing: all linked to activities I'd been involved with as a student. I'd also done a year of school teaching, which I'd really liked and thought I might go back to. But I thought I wouldn't be a good researcher or teacher if I'd been in education all my life. So I wanted to go out into the wider world, for a while at least. There was also a bit about wanting to do something socially worthwhile: I'd been involved with a student group running holidays for refugee children.

What I did was to work for a publishing company which happened to publish careers books. Then Adrian [Bridgewater] and I started talking, saying that this was an interesting and important field in which much more needed to be done. So we started talking about setting up a non-profit organisation, which is what became CRAC.

Then I started reading and to realise that this was actually quite complicated. I read Donald Super's (1957) *Psychology of Careers*, Peter Daws' (1968) *A Good Start in Life*, Martin Katz' (1963) *Decisions and Values* and others, and I thought: this is really intellectually interesting. So I started to think that I wanted to do something that was more serious, for which I needed additional intellectual tools. So I thought: I've got to go back to university.

Tristram: The idea that 'I need a bit more theory or I need a process of thinking about things': that isn't something that people who are running organisations often think.

Tony: I think that I felt I needed a chance to do some serious reading and thinking. Helping to run CRAC was very demanding: reading was always on the edge. So as much as anything, going back to university was about getting some space.

One of the core values that emerges as Tony discusses his career is the centrality of reading to his conception of what an academic's distinctive role is. Broad reading, in and beyond your discipline, provides you with a strong intellectual foundation and an understanding of how your work can build upon the work of others.

Tony: I'm constantly aware of the narrowness of my reading. I try to read broadly and I try to raid whatever is available. I have read a lot, but not as much as I would have liked. If you put career at the heart of what you are concerned with, it touches so much. It's in the end about the relationship between the individual and the wider society. There are massive bodies of theory which discuss this and I feel I have touched the surface of much of it.

Alongside the centrality of reading, writing also has a parallel place within Tony's conception of academic practice:

Tony: Writing is the core, because once you've written something you know what you know, and

you've got something that you can work off. Until you've written it, there's nothing of substance there. Once there's something down on paper, once you've got that, then you've got a basis on which to engage in activities that can influence action.

Reading and writing are central to the practice of many academics, but Tony has also been willing to get involved in a much wider range of activities including public communication of ideas, journalism and supporting lobbying. It is clear that Tony was not simply building an academic career, but pursuing wider goals:

Tony: I think in the end it comes down to a social mission. It was the social mission that we started CRAC with: that people making choices and developing their careers is really important, both for their lives and for the wider society. No-one was doing anything very serious about this. We wanted to change that particular part of the world. So rather than being an academic who starts with an academic career and then thinks about how can I have an impact, I started from the other end: thinking about wanting to make a difference, but then realising that it needed strong intellectual foundations. I've always thought: 'How do we develop this field of human activity and provide it with strong intellectual roots?'

Tony is clear that the way in which he was thinking and developing his career emerged out of a milieu of like-minded people. He is describing what it is to be a public academic, but also part of a movement for change. The existence of such a movement clearly provided a helpful context for the development of his own approach to being a publicly engaged academic:

Tony: In the seventies there were a number of people around who I had lots of conversations with, including Peter Daws, Barrie Hopson, Bill Law and others. They all influenced me a lot and we shared a lot in common. We all thought that it was important: that it was intellectually interesting, but we all wanted to do something. I think that the way we developed the organisational structures at that time and the way our own careers have evolved have all been about that.

The influence of context

One of the unusual features of Tony's academic career is that he has pursued it largely from outside universities. He has been variously based in CRAC, NICEC and OECD and more recently as a self-employed consultant, with Visiting Professorships at Derby and Canterbury Christ Church. This has provided him with a different context from many other academics. It is clear that this context shaped Tony's career and the forms that his academic work took:

Tristram: When you went to York to do an MPhil, was the idea always to go back to CRAC?

Tony: Well, Adrian and I argued a lot, but we never fell out: we kept conversing. When you've started an organisation, you can take it any way you want. I wanted to come back, but in a research and development role. So we set up a research role within CRAC. It was a very privileged position.

Tristram: So, why did you decide not to seek a university post?

Tony: I never really thought about it. There weren't that many places that I could have pursued what I was interested in. I suppose the main place was the Counselling and Career Development Unit at Leeds. I used to go there a lot while I was at York and I knew Barrie Hopson and John Hayes well, but I don't think I ever thought this was somewhere I would go.

I think there are advantages to not being fully in a university. I don't think that I ever envied the administrative apparatus or the narrow reward systems of a university. But I very much admire and want to be part of the broad aspiration of the university and its place in society.

So I liked the idea of being based outside, but having a foot inside. That is the way we set up NICEC: in partnership with a university. As it happened, it was with a polytechnic (Hatfield) which subsequently became a university (Hertfordshire), and later with the University of London's Institute of Education. So we had the benefits of being in a university, with its status

and its values, but also through CRAC the benefits of greater independence and exposure to other influences.

Tristram: I think that it is worth probing this idea of 'independence' a bit more. I don't feel that the university constrains what I think about very much, but it potentially can constrain how you operationalise those thoughts and channels them into particular types of output.

Tony: I think that's an important point. NICEC wasn't set up to just be a research institute: it was also a development and training unit. I thought it was important that we published in academic journals, but this wasn't the only measure. Ironically it was about impact, which is what universities are under pressure to be about now. We certainly produced lots of outputs aimed at practitioners. We also tried to use our resources to build infrastructures that would develop practice.

It is clear that the institution of the university exerts a range of influences on the shape and nature of academic activity. Tony managed to find ways to manage and mitigate these influences by balancing his engagement with and reliance on universities, with a range of other institutions and paymasters:

Tony: I had a peculiar, distinctive route which it is not very easy to replicate and turn into a model. It is linked to thinking about the role of an academic as a public intellectual and questioning how far universities support the development of those kind of roles. Universities are based on a set of values about providing a space where there can be some intellectual thinking and an engagement with civil society. However, at the same time the nature of government funding, inter-institutional competition and the growth of managerialism have made some of that more difficult. The things that now matter in an academic career can drive you in a different sort of direction.

It's all about finding spaces to work in. That's what career is ideally about: about people finding spaces where they can use their talents and do something they believe in. But in order to get that space you've also got to do something that is related to some wider

social purposes, for which people are prepared to pay. The space is never uncontaminated. But if you keep a sense of what you are trying to do, you can find the best spaces you can and try to manage those spaces.

Engaging with practice

A challenge for theorists in a field like career development is that ideas are operationalised by a wide range of practitioners operating in diverse contexts. However, within these constraints Tony feels he has had an impact on practice:

Tony: I think that we were part of changing the way in which careers work was thought of, moving it from a matching process to a learning process. A lot of that was based on the work we did. It did change the field. The concept of career education came from that thinking.

Tony is clear that his role is not simply to theorise and disseminate theory, but rather to engage in dialogue with practitioners:

Tony: A lot of the work I've done has been trying to learn from practice, to conceptualise it and contextualise it in a way that can then enhance practice. What you are trying to do is to find out what people are doing, how they are doing it, and some of the issues and tensions that need to be addressed. If you can do this in a reasonably clear and coherent fashion, then practitioners find that useful. They feel they understand some of their dilemmas better, and can resolve them better, because someone from outside has given them a kind of clarifying mirror.

So then you feed it back. You write and give seminars and lectures. I think that is how it works: it's an iterative process. Professional networks and associations are very important in supporting this process, thereby stimulating better work and innovation: helping people to do things in ways that they haven't done before.

Engaging with policy

Tony has become known as a key commentator on career guidance policy. In recent years in the UK this has included forensic critiques of government policy, recently raising the possibility that 'false dawns' are leading to a 'bleak sunset' for the careers sector (Watts, 2013). However, he remains optimistic. He is also keen to explain that this form of critique is not the only way in which academics can seek to influence policy:

Tony: I always used to go and see civil servants to look for opportunities and to find out what was going on. What were the new issues? At that time it was not about critiquing government policy, but rather about linking what we were doing with policy priorities as they emerged. The NICEC Policy Consultations were about that.

For example, when the Manpower Services Commission was first set up I met with Geoffrey Holland [senior civil servant]. He brought together a lot of creative, innovative people to address youth unemployment. I and others pressed for guidance to be part of this programme and we got funding to design what should be done: research projects, but also developing materials and training people. That was the kind of relationship that we had in those days. We were influencing policy, but it wasn't from the basis of critique. It was identifying problems and helping to solve them, so also finding new spaces to work in.

However, this kind of relationship was dependent on a particular configuration of political power, including able and authoritative civil servants who respected specialist expertise:

Tristram: When I read about the 1960s and 1970s the civil servants are often portrayed as a patrician establishment. Yet what you are describing is very open government, where they are using you to help them think and to access wider civil society. My experience now is that the policy formation process is much more difficult to influence.

Tony: I think that's right. The big change was the rise of the special advisers and the consultancy companies

who basically go in on the Government's terms and tell them what they want to hear and charge big bucks for what they do. They have taken over much of the space that organisations like NICEC occupied. Civil servants have been weakened and don't have the confidence and authority they had. Government is more ideologically driven, more targeted and more controlled.

These shifts in the policy formation process can result in academics being positioned outside the process. This results in a more limited role, often confined to critique:

Tony: Now politicians like Gove come in with half-baked ideas and civil servants have to kowtow to them. That has implications for people like us: we get pushed into this critique role which is not a very comfortable or constructive place to be, but that is sometimes all that's left if you want to retain your integrity.

My critique work started with the 'new right' under Thatcher (Watts, 1991; 1995). But at that time there was a tolerance of plurality, and the range of government agencies provided continued spaces to work in – even though some of our work on unemployment engaged directly with its political as well as economic causes (Watts, 1983; Watts and Knasel, 1985).

The change started with Connexions. I worked in the way that I had always worked, talking to civil servants and Ministers, but I lost access. So I published a critique (Watts, 2001), which in retrospect proved right but had no effect at the time.

Alongside this critique role, Tony also explored a range of other approaches to influencing policy in more challenging times. One was to try and position career development as a major policy theme which was capable of engaging with the big policy concerns of government. In a series of papers (Watts, 1994; 1996; 1998) he made the argument that career guidance was a public good and that it should be central to the formation of public policy:

It reduces drop-outs from education and training, and mismatches in the labour market. It offers

benefits to education and training providers, increasing the effectiveness of their provision by linking learners to programmes which meet their needs. It offers benefits to employers, by helping employees to come forward whose talents and motivations meet the employer's requirements. And it offers benefits to governments, in two ways: by fostering efficiency in the allocation and use of human resources, and by fostering social equity in access to educational and vocational opportunities (Watts, 1998: 5).

Through Tony's work at the OECD (2004), European Commission and World Bank, this position has received influential official endorsement internationally. Alongside this he also played more political roles within the UK in supporting the lobbying of governing and opposition parties, and in the convening of civil society around both the immediate concerns of the careers sector and the broader idea of career as a public-policy theme. His role in the development of the Guidance Council (Alloway, 2009) and the Careers Sector Strategic Alliance provide notable examples. However, engaging in this kind of political activity does raise issues for an academic:

Tony: There are tensions between trying to play a political role and continuing to be an academic. You have to try to retain some degree of detachment and respect for evidence. Sometimes when things become polarised you have to make a decision about where you stand and what your primary allegiance is. That was ultimately why – with Heather Jackson – I resigned from the National Careers Council in 2013: I felt I could not accede to the collusive position the Council was adopting, and the way the process was being managed. It was one of the most difficult and controversial decisions I ever had to make, but I am clear that it was the right one.

If you are trying to build an academic position, you've got to retain credibility based on integrity. You've got no power: all you've got is the authority of your distinctive voice and the fact that you can claim it to be based on evidence and reasoned argument. You can't allow that to be compromised, because as soon as you do, you lose your voice. You can play

other roles but you have to be clear that if being an academic is your primary role, then the other roles have to be reconcilable with it, and in the end subordinate to it.

Conclusions

Tony is a successful public intellectual; however, we should be cautious about extrapolating his career as a model for ours. Tony's career began in the 1960s and 1970s when career development was emerging as a field and when the relationships between politicians, civil servants and academics were different to now. Nonetheless, it is still possible to extract a number of principles that Tony adheres to and which have continued relevance for future generations of academics.

Tony's career has been built around a strong social and political mission. A motivation to change a part of the world has underpinned his enthusiasm and his wish to participate in the political process. The willingness to knock on doors, to build relationships and institutions and to address a wide range of audiences has been critical in this attempt to make a difference. However, Tony's story also highlights tensions between political and academic activity.

Such tensions can perhaps be theorised by viewing academics as participants in a pluralist civil society. Academic engagement is not simply a process of one-way 'knowledge transfer', but rather an attempt to engage in dialogue with other stakeholders in civil society. Where this has worked for Tony, it has been a long-term and iterative process.

A number of key academic values of integrity, expertise and reflexivity underpin successful participation in the public sphere. Alongside these values sits an ability to understand the distinctiveness of your role and to balance the expectations of a range of institutions.

Studying the careers of others offers us a powerful tool for reflecting on our own career. As Tony retires from the career development field to move into the next phase of his career, it offers us an opportunity to learn from his experience. There is much that we might learn about values, integrity, and approaches to

engaging with policy and practice. However, in all of this the reality of a career case study reminds us that while we make our own careers, we rarely make them totally in the circumstances of our own choosing.

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Beyond DOTS: Theory and model development

Peter Plant

There is nothing more practical than a good theory. And even more practical is a model, if it communicates well. Tony Watts has been involved in creating a number of models, two of which are mentioned here: the DOTS model and a socio-political model, dealing with dimensions of society/individual and change/status quo. This article discusses the current importance and implications of these models: they have had a long life and a strong impact on the guidance field. As has Tony Watts.

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DOTS

Social and learning aspects of career guidance and career education have continuously come to the forefront in Tony Watts' writings and philosophy. Such examples include the DOTS model (Law and Watts, 1977: 8-10), 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 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 DOTS approach reaches back through the history of career guidance. It has some resonance with Frank Parsons' (1909) three-stage model, in particular in relation to the S, the O, and the D of DOTS:

- First, a clear understanding of yourself, aptitudes, abilities, interests, resources, limitations, and other qualities **(S)**

- Second, a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensations, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work **(O)**

- Third, true reasoning of the relations of these two groups of facts **(D)**

(Parsons, 1909)

The original DOTS model, however, has shown its vigorous and long-lasting nature in being developed into a career learning model by one of its creators, Bill Law. 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; Reid, 2000). This adds a strong learning dimension to DOTS: it is a learning taxonomy, as illustrated in Figure 1).
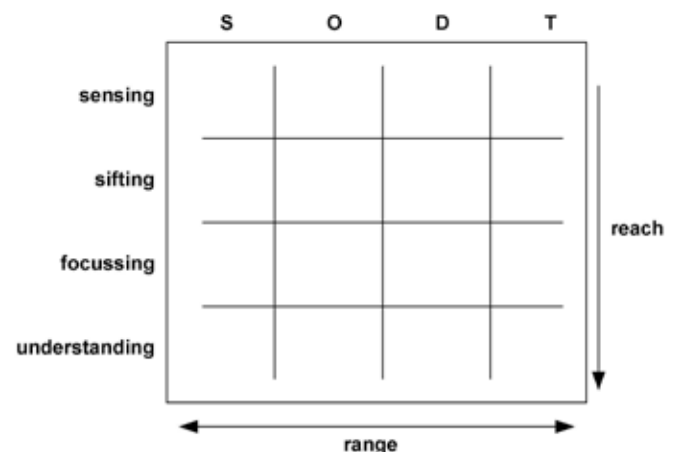

Fig 1: New Dots (Law, 2000)

The learning aspects of career guidance and career education have been carried forward to this day, in several forms. One obvious example is the Blueprint for Life-Work Design which builds on the idea of learning career development competences. Originally from the USA, this taxonomy has now been adopted in Canada and Australia (Blueprint 2006; 2012), where it serves as a common framework for career development work across these vast countries. Even though the Canadian version comprises 44 items, it is clearly inspired by the learning aspects of the DOTS model.

Moreover, on a European level, the EU points to the need for everyone to develop Career Management Skills (CMS), which is the contemporary concept for career learning, both in schools and among adults. Does this presuppose that everyone has a career? The EU thinking is precisely that: we all develop careers, i.e., life trajectories, life stories, as our lives unfold. Thus the career concept reflects a life-wide approach, rather than a traditional hierarchical way of thinking. In post-modern societies we must all manage our careers: this is the message. And we need skills to perform this task: '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 in these approaches: the areas of self, opportunities, transition, and decisions are all reflected here. In short, the DOTS model has inspired a range of different scholars and policy makers to clarify the aims and aspects of career education and career guidance in a learning perspective. This may seem a mainstream point in 2014, but this was by no means the case in 1977, where more prescriptive trait/factor theories and practices were used in guidance, along with interview check lists such as Rodger's seven point plan (Rodger, 1952).

One further example of the robust and versatile nature of the DOTS model can be found in this illustration (Fig 2, retraced from www.wiley-vch.e-bookshelf.de), which puts Planned Happenstance (Mitchell, Levin and Krumboltz, 1999) at the centre of career development, adding a number of supplementing elements to the original four DOTS, a 'DOTS Plus Model':
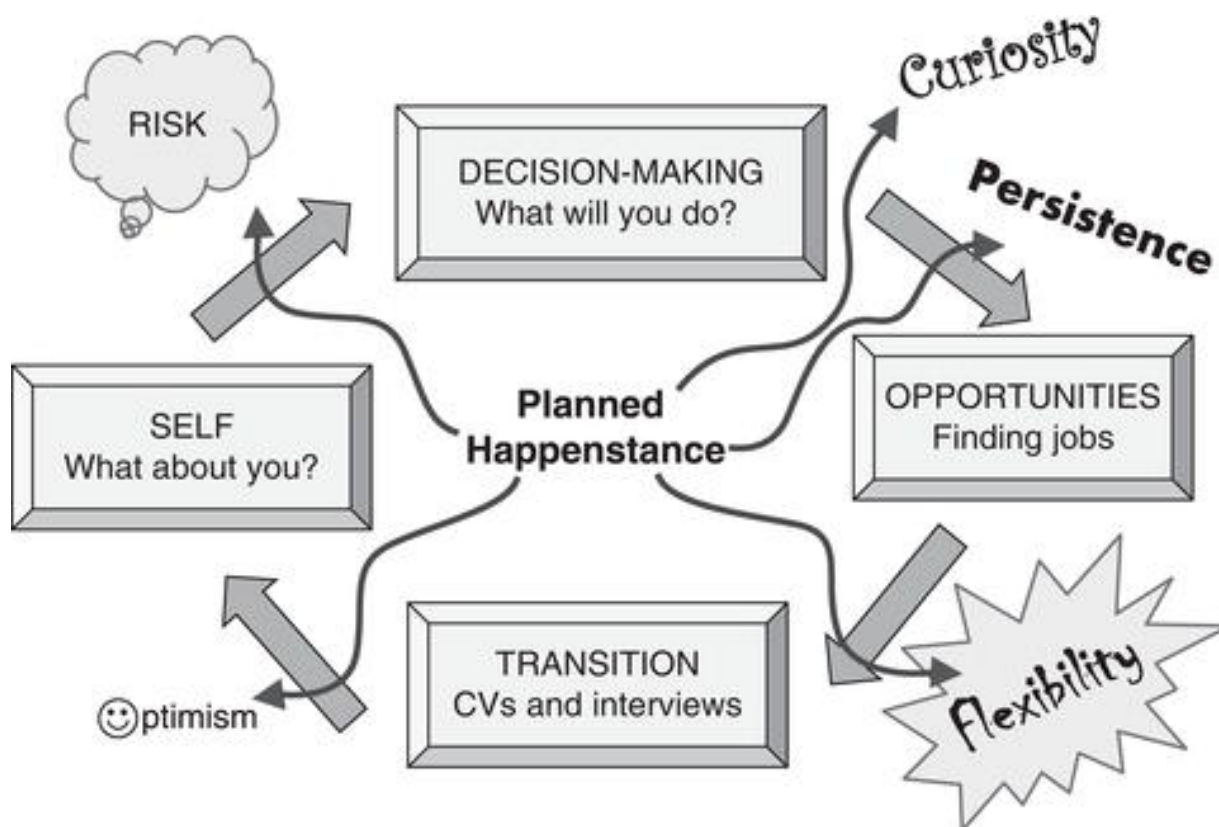

Fig 2: DOTS plus

A critique concerning the implicit liberal free-choice thinking which may be seen to form the backdrop of the DOTS approach (in 'making decisions' for example) can be found in the argument that career decisions are not just made. On the contrary, they are heavily restricted by the opportunities at hand, in particular by the local occupational and educational opportunities (Roberts, 1977). We do not choose careers, in fact we are chosen by the local opportunities, by our social capital, by our gender, by class (Colley, 2004). Moreover, collective narratives about 'the likes of us' limit our scope, as strongly depicted by Willis (1977) in his research on 'the lads' in the British context. All these factors confine and define choices. Such critique points to the importance of considering societal facets of careers work. This leads to another highly influential Watts model: one which deals with the socio-political aspects.

Socio-political model

One further example of a highly influential theoretical model in career guidance by Tony Watts is the socio-political model (Watts and Herr, 1976; Watts, 1996), which highlights four approaches to career education and guidance: with a focus on (a) society or the individual, and (b) on change or status quo. In this model, Tony Watts sets up two axes, based on the focus of the intervention (Fig 3).

Fig 3: Socio-political model

	Focus on society	Focus on the individual
Change	Radical (social change)	Progressive (individual change)
Status Quo	Conservative (social control)	Liberal (non-directive)

This model points to the importance of distinguishing between four approaches:

Liberal: Guidance that is focused on the individual and pursues a non-directive approach. Individuals are supported to make decisions, but their decision making is not challenged.

Conservative: Guidance that serves the current needs of society e.g., matching the labour force to the needs of the market. The process of guidance is about steering people into places that they can be socially and economically useful. Adapting to the present conditions is a key concept.

Progressive: Guidance that encourages and supports individuals to exceed the role that they and those around them might have envisaged. This might involve challenging their self-image.

Radical: Guidance that encourages individuals to challenge the social and economic conditions which constrain their choices, i.e., to move people to change the very social fabric of which they are a part.

Some policy documents aim at balancing the individual-societal issues, and Tony Watts has often stated that guidance is both a private and a public good. It is the invisible hand of Adam Smith (1776) made flesh. Tony Watts has argued that:

In principle, career development could be viewed (not only by economic liberals) as a classic case of Adam Smith's famous dictum that individuals encouraged to pursue their own interests are led by an 'invisible hand' to promote an end that is no part of their intention – the public interest – and to do so more effectually than when they intend to promote it. In this sense, career development services could represent Smith's 'invisible hand' made flesh. Their role is to not to determine what individuals should do, but to ensure that their decisions are well-informed (in terms of, among other things, the needs of the labour market) and well-thought-through. (Watts, 2003)

In times, however, where guidance is increasingly part of other policy areas, it has been forced into a social control role in some European countries such as, for example, in. the home country of the author of these lines, Denmark (Plant and Thomsen, 2012). In such cases, this four-fold model is more than just helpful for analytic purposes: it is an instrument to help practitioners and scholars formulate alternatives to what in policy terms is presented under the 'There Is No Alternative' heading, i.e., more control, guidance with built-in sanctions, compulsory planning, compulsory educational readiness screening, etc., which are now part of guidance routines. There are

always alternatives, however, as the model depicts so clearly in its four boxes. In this context, discourse analysis approaches may expand the message of this socio-political model. Carol Bacchi (2009), for example, asks the simple, but crucial question: 'What is the Problem Represented to be?' (known as the WPR approach). The point is that policy makers will phrase societal problems in particular ways which will fit to the solutions at hand. Guidance is one such solution…. to a number of societal challenges (unemployment, illiteracy, early school leaving, etc). These challenges are phrased and shaped in particular ways for guidance to fit as the obvious solution to problems, which guidance, ironically, may not be in a position to solve. Thus, guidance is linked to solving particular societal problems in particular ways within a particular political mindset. The socio-political model helps scholars and policy makers to untangle and challenge these links.

Although guidance is often seen as a key catalyst for supporting lifelong learning agendas, contributing to workforce development through workforce preparation, adaptability and reintegration programmes, outreach guidance services, and educational drop-out (or even push-out) programmes, this four-fold model also points to some of the difficulties in creating a balance between two important roles of guidance. One role is that of enhancing economic growth, global labour market competitiveness and flexibility, and on the other hand, another role is reflected in the social inclusion agenda, where guidance has a societal compensation role to play, even to the degree as serving as the Trojan Horse within the very systems and institutions which produce educational drop-out and labour market failures (Plant, 2005). Here a radical approach may be needed to change the systems and institutions, but the guidance practitioners may find themselves in, or may confine themselves to, a conservative, social control role.

A model is a model: Conclusion

A model is a simplification. It aims at reducing complexity. In doing so, it provides an overview of a complex area at a glimpse, and, simultaneously, it runs the risk of being simplistic. This is the delicate balance. The map is not the road itself. But the true

sign of a robust model is that it is both concrete and adaptable, and easy and clear to communicate. This latter point is of crucial importance in careers work, both in practical, in policy, and in research terms. More often than not guidance workers and scholars will find themselves in situations where they need to define career education and career guidance to people who have only vague ideas about the concept of guidance. In such situations, and in more scholarly work, a clear and robust model is worth more than many words.

Increasingly, career guidance and career education are part of wider policy areas (youth, employment, social inclusion, sustainable development, etc). This why theory and model development is crucial to critical thinking: practice and policy-making need to be challenged on the basis of theoretical underpinning. Models are important in this context: they communicate.

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Career guidance for Vocational Education and Training (VET)

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This paper has been inspired by Tony Watts' pioneering work which explored the relationship between VET and career guidance. This relationship features traditionally ambiguous and not very clear-cut definitions. His helpful distinction between career guidance 'prior to' and 'within' VET opened new perspectives for analysis. Career guidance cannot only serve as an 'eye opener' to stimulate VET demand, but also as a 'change agent' to improve VET supply. However, career guidance has come under attack for being 'VET-blind' and has been criticised for being inadequately sensitive to VET. Similarly VET needs to consider the relevance of career guidance. It is this potential for a reciprocal interaction between VET and career guidance that this paper focuses on.

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Historical linkages between career guidance and VET

From a policy perspective, in particular from the European Union (EU), career guidance and VET have a long history of linkages, dating back to the Treaty of Rome in 1975, to the founding of the EU agencies European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop) in 1975 and the European Training Foundation (ETF) in1994, up to the EU Copenhagen Process in VET launched in 2002; and subsequent processes in which career guidance has been a key strand. However, these linkages seem to have largely remained at a generic level. Academic research on these linkages as well as lead practice examples that could demonstrate a positive and effective relationship between career guidance and VET, have been rare or even missing in the past.

It is to the credit of Professor Tony Watts who in the last decade continuously insisted on further research into this topic, also calling upon international agencies (i.e., OECD) to pay more attention to the 'underexplored' relationship between career guidance and VET. His two background papers for the OECD reviews on initial and post-secondary VET (Watts, 2009 and 2011; OECD, 2010), and his contribution to the UNESCO World Report on TVET (Watts, 2013) are milestones in the further exploration of this relationship and a key contribution to move this topic higher on the international agenda. Moreover, the useful distinction between 'career guidance prior to VET' and 'career guidance within VET', introduced by him opened up new perspectives to analyse this relationship. It also inspired the author of this paper to elaborate on various dimensions of the interface between VET and career guidance (Zelloth, 2014a) and to draw practical recommendations for policymakers, project designers and implementers in VET and career guidance (Zelloth, 2014b). This current paper builds largely upon the findings of the latter two publications.

Another credit goes to the VET policy making community in some countries, as well as to various international donors (surprisingly less so to the career guidance community) that started to pay more attention to career guidance in relation to VET in recent years. This is true for both developed and developing countries as the selected examples in following sections show. The starting point for this increased attention to career guidance frequently was triggered by policy challenges to tackle significant skills gaps in the labour market and to increase attractiveness and participation in VET at national levels. At times such endeavours have been driven by

the desire that career guidance is part of a 'promotion' package for VET.

'Natural' linkages between career guidance and VET

If we look at the functions and principles of VET many of these are closely related to inherent features of career guidance, some are almost like positive, 'natural linkages', others appear like negative 'artificial disconnects'. Overall a strong interface can be observed which provides good arguments for strengthening career guidance in relation to VET. The various dimensions of the interface between career guidance and VET include the following:

The neglected relationship.

The a-priori assumption that the career guidance concept of 'choices' is less relevant for VET (because choices have been already made, or because there are no choices as students are 'streamed' into VET due to lower academic performance) is probably the main reason why the overall relationship has never fully developed or even a 'negative relationship' exists. As a result, in many countries students from VET pathways receive significantly less career guidance than students in general education pathways. This is the case for many OECD countries (OECD, 2004a) as well as EU neighbouring countries (Zelloth, 2009a). Moreover, career guidance practitioners often spend substantial time in preparing students to choose and compete for higher education (OECD, 2004a), which tends to crowd-out potential activities related to VET pathways and careers. This 'color blindness' of career guidance practice may impute to career guidance the tendency of a bias that favors general/academic pathways over vocational education.

The 'avoidance' relationship.

VET, like career guidance, has a problem of growth, but for different reasons. VET mainly because of low image and prestige, career guidance, in particular in relation to VET, rather due to questionable relevance and unstable policy priorities. This can be true in a context where there is a need to expand, for example from a low level to a higher level of provision, but also in a

context in which a high level of provision should be at least maintained. Moreover, VET often attracts (or channels) students from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds, which exacerbates the image problem of VET. The negative image of VET coupled with the class issue may have led career guidance, psychologically speaking, to a conscious attempt or unconscious behaviour, to avoid getting in touch or identifying with VET too closely. At the very least leading perhaps to not doing enough to tackle stereotypes and wrong perceptions that exist about VET. This is a personal view worthy of further exploration, as well as examining why more attention is being paid to VET recently. Sultana (2006), for example, has argued that career guidance as a language or form of socially constructed interaction is fundamentally a white and middle-class practice that needs to be re-conceptualised if it is to be meaningful for VET.

The underexplored relationship.

Even in research, international policy reviews and related tools the potential and nature of the relationship between career guidance and VET has remained underexplored. The examples range from the OECD and World Bank reviews on career guidance (2004b), the Handbook for policy makers (OECD and European Commission, 2004b) and an international literature review (Hughes and Gration, 2009) on the impact of career guidance; which all miss the opportunity to sufficiently refer to or to elaborate on the subject of VET. This evident omission, for whatever reasons, mirrors the above mentioned negligence, as well as reveals a blind spot in global research and analysis and the possibility of institutional bias.

The linguistic relationship.

Both career guidance and VET are characterised by a pluralism of terms that describe their areas, but often have in common a semantic denominator (e.g., 'vocational'), as in many countries the predominant term for career guidance is still 'vocational guidance'; or 'career', (in the USA, for example, VET was changed to 'Career and technical education'). Watts (2013) even notes that the relationship has been 'obfuscated by semantic confusion'. Paradoxically, this confirms the linguistic linkages between the two.

The vocational, occupational and qualifications interface.

Ultimately, occupations and 'vocational development' (Super, 1957) are at the heart of both career guidance and VET. While VET pathways lead to many (if not most) but not all occupations and qualifications, career guidance is supposed to be able to provide information and guidance on all occupations and related qualifications. This substantial overlap in scope is proof and reason enough for a close and enhanced relationship between the two.

The labour market and world of work interface.

Both career guidance and VET are called to be oriented towards the world of work and to take into account the needs of the labour market. Both, however, are imperfect in doing so. VET is constantly criticised and challenged by employers to meet ever-changing labour market demands. And career guidance too is dealing with moving targets. It is permanently challenged to find a difficult balance between individual demands and the available career options in the labour market, and the realities of the world of work. Therefore, a stronger 'alliance' between the two could help both sides to become more effective.

The policy relationship.

The good news is that both topics have undoubtedly moved up the international (i.e., EU, OECD, UNESCO, ILO) and national policy agendas in the last decade (Zelloth, 2012). Career guidance and VET have in common a certain policy rhetoric on their respective importance which appears to be increasingly inter-connected. The EU Communication on VET (European Commission, 2010) recommends that career guidance needs to be redirected from a testing, to a (work) tasting approach, and therefore should provide young people with an opportunity to get acquainted with different vocational trades and career possibilities. Although implementation challenges remain and the relationship remains underdeveloped, there are clear signs of increasing mutual attention between VET and career guidance. This is true for a number of developed as well as developing countries around the world as demonstrated by emerging policies and practices described in the following section.

A trend towards career guidance for VET?

While a few countries with well-developed career guidance systems already include career guidance in VET (e.g., Finland, the Netherlands, Austria) or are strengthening such relationships (e.g. UK, Hungary on apprenticeships) a similar trend to support learners in relation to VET (both prior and within) can be witnessed also in countries with less developed career guidance services.

One approach to achieve this is to strengthen the policy framework and governance of career guidance. Under this category falls Jordan which adopted in 2011 a career guidance strategy specifically targeting the VET sector (Zelloth, 2011). Among the activities that aim to make a difference are the piloting of career centres in vocational training institutions and community colleges, establishing a career guidance unit in the VET Council, building education-industry partnerships and a VET image campaign for parents and teachers. Similarly in Sri Lanka, the draft National Human Resources and Employment Strategy recommends to establish a National Career Guidance Council linked to all VET institutes. It states that effective career guidance is needed for VET programmes to become preferred options for youth. Current career guidance services and capacities at schools are judged as inadequate due to the lack of understanding of the world of work by career guidance teachers (Government of Sri Lanka, 2011).

Other countries opted for an approach focused on piloting and up-scaling of career guidance initiatives in VET, coupled with methodological development support. For example, for the first time in 2013, Armenia started to gradually introduce career centres in VET schools and is evaluating this experience for potential expansion to other schools. A methodological guide for career guidance staff was developed, aiming to support teaching staff in their new function as career guidance practitioners.

In Egypt, where a strategic approach to career guidance as well as basic guidance services in the country have been traditionally missing, different bottom-up or donor-supported initiatives emerged

as a result and started to mushroom in the field of VET. These can be found in various types and levels of VET programmes, for example in school-based VET, in alternance[1] training as well as in apprenticeships (see table 1). The main policy challenge is to integrate these initiatives into the VET system and to make a strategic decision based on which approach of career guidance works best in the local context. This could tackle fragmentation as well as avoid the proliferation of contradicting approaches to career guidance which might confuse the 'clients' and are less effective at the end.

Table 1 – Examples of emerging career guidance initiatives in VET settings in Egypt

Career guidance in apprenticeship (dual system)

Career guidance became an integrated activity to support a major pilot and innovation in the Egyptian VET system in the frame of a German funded VET project on 'dual system'. Career guidance supporting the dual system involves each year, an awareness campaign in the community and preparatory schools, special meetings with parents to explain the new approach in training, an exploratory interview with applicants, presentation of three or four different trades, visits to companies of the trainees' choice as well as a final assessment and decision on a target job, a qualification path and a training contract. These stages involve career advisors, training providers, companies' representatives, Ministry of Education, local apprenticeship offices (RUDS – Regional Units for the Dual System), applicants and parents.

Career guidance in alternance training

The EU supported VET reform programme in Egypt (2008-2013, second phase starting in 2014) has among other activities, piloting an alternance model in selected occupations in VET schools and vocational training centres. During the project it has added a career guidance dimension due to some difficulties in recruitment of trainees. The principles and activities in career guidance are quite similar to the MKI project mentioned above. In addition, local teams for career guidance were established and trained in each location where the pilot took place, a co-operation protocol on career guidance was signed with the Ministry of Manpower and Migration and manuals for career guidance in several sectors (i.e., ready-made garments, industrial engineering, food processing industries, woodworking and furniture industries, building and construction materials) were developed to support the work of those involved in career guidance (Zelloth, 2009b).

Career Centres in VET schools

Following a survey undertaken by the ILO (International Labour Organisation) survey on 'school-to-work transition', Egyptian youth expressed the need to have improved access to better information on job opportunities, including career guidance, job search techniques and better understanding of the requirements in the private sector. To achieve a more effective and quicker school-to-work transition, the 'Career guidance for youth employment' project was set up, supported by the Italian Cooperation for Development and the ILO. Apart from career guidance staff in public employment services, the ongoing project targets VET teachers in selected schools and technical institutions who have been trained in career guidance and counselling. The initiative 'TAWGIH – Your guide to the future' brings together VET schools with employers and workers' organisations, youth associations and civil society working with youth (ILO, 2011).

Despite the promising developments of increased mutual attention between VET and career guidance, it needs to be said that career guidance services remain weakly developed in relation to VET overall, and that various barriers and stereotypes concerning VET careers continue to have an impact on the educational and occupational choices and pathways in both developed and developing countries.

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1 Alternance is an established term in VET and means alternating learning periods in school and an enterprise; the period spent in the enterprise is usually much shorter than in apprenticeships; for example a 2+1 VET system (first two years in school and last one in enterprise as China introduced recently) is not an apprenticeship but alternance.

Career guidance 'prior to VET' and 'within VET'

This distinction introduced by Tony Watts helps to shed further light on the relationship between VET and career guidance and the different functions career guidance can have towards VET. Although career guidance 'prior to VET' and 'within VET' may be considered equally important, the provision prior to VET is more vital as it can influence uptake and access to VET at a major cross road in the individual's life ('to be or not to be *in* VET'). Career guidance at the early stages of schooling that pays better attention to VET careers and also does more to counteract VET stereotypes, can contribute to raise the social attractiveness of VET. In short: serving as an 'eye-opener', career guidance could stimulate VET demand. In turn, career guidance within VET can be a change agent to improve VET supply. If available, it can help to improve the internal and external efficiency of VET, in terms of better matching specialisations within VET pathways, improving quality of learning and mobility in VET and supporting a smoother transition from VET to work. Watts (2009, 2013) stressed that career guidance is relevant to quality and effectiveness of VET. He also added the dimension of occupational flexibility and transferability of learning. In this context, even a third perspective may be introduced to the discussion, namely 'post-VET' career guidance, which could have the function to facilitate return to VET learning for several reasons (e.g., upgrading skills, gaining new qualifications, increasing employability, preparing for new jobs, tackling unemployment).

In summary, career guidance could have at least a triple role vis-à-vis VET (Zelloth, 2010): (a) a turning point role (mainly prior to VET); (b) a supporting role (mainly within VET); and (c) an empowerment role (prior, within and post-TVET). And there are multiple key transition points related to VET that call for career guidance support and justify a closer relationship.

Can career guidance be 'for VET' or not?

Career guidance may be trapped in a kind of prisoner dilemma when it comes to conflicting tensions between specific public policy demand on the one hand and the holy impartiality principle on the other. If public policy suggests career guidance services should pay more attention to VET pathways and VET careers, a key question is, can such services still be considered 'impartial' or if the 'Rubicon' has been crossed? Would career guidance lose its innocence (if there was any), neutrality and credibility by deliberately supporting VET career options? Such questions may be best responded to by other questions. Can it be taken for granted that career guidance practice has always been impartial, and that it always takes into account the full range of opportunities and all information that exists when assisting individuals? Though a good training programme for practitioners might help to reflect upon potential bias, can users of career guidance services trust that practitioners are not biased themselves? For example, towards certain opportunities that are current mainstream thinking or trendy in society or that are closer to their educational background, which for most practitioners might not be VET? For example, general education and higher education instead of VET, white collar instead of blue collar jobs, or desk work instead of manual work (Zelloth, 2014a)? If this were the case – and Watts confirms that there is evidence of such bias in favour of general education options at the expense of VET options in a number of countries – would then a correction or 'counter-bias' be necessary or even justified? Lately also the impartiality principle has been contested by some guidance researchers in relation to 'green guidance' and sustainability issues (Barham, Irving, Manley and Plant, 2014).

7 'Golden Rules' for renewing the relationship

Concluding, it is safe to say that VET and career guidance necessarily need each other and both entities could gain important benefits from enhanced cooperation. Policymakers and policy designers in both VET and career guidance are well advised to look at the manifold interfaces between the two areas and to pay special attention to the following 'golden rules', which may contribute to renewing and making the relationship more effective:

Rule 1: Healthy relationships are never one-way streets and are always based on proper dialogue.

Mutual efforts are needed to improve the current situation.

Rule 2: Career guidance needs to become more 'VET-sensitive' or 'VET-friendly' and to do a better job regarding information and advice on VET opportunities. This requires career guidance to cross its comfort zone and to be strong enough to 'swim' and advise against societal mainstream options, perceptions and stereotypes.

Rule 3: VET systems need to better consider, involve and integrate career guidance. VET should also choose the right mix among the possible career guidance models and intervention modalities. Awareness raising on the key functions career guidance can have for VET attractiveness, efficiency and effectiveness is critical for VET policy makers and implementers.

Rule 4: The move from the old to the new paradigms of career guidance (pedagogical instead of psychological approach) and VET (demand instead of supply driven) will support convergence between the two areas. At the point where both new paradigma will meet, career guidance could make an important contribution to VET.

Rule 5: Future national and international reviews on VET, as well as on career guidance, need to improve ways of taking into account respective needs and links between the two areas in their analytical frameworks and survey questionnaires.

Rule 6: Career guidance professionals should come from different backgrounds. In particular a better balance between academic and vocational backgrounds is needed and in any case they should have experience of the world of work.

Rule 7: Practical support and related tools are needed for both policymakers and practitioners to be able to capitalise on the potentials of the relationship. One option is to develop guidelines on policies for career guidance and VET. Another option could be a Resource Kit for career guidance staff in order to increase awareness of VET pathways and careers, and to provide methodological support how to counteract societal stereotypes about VET.

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Reflections on a life in careers: 'A kind of search' – A conversation with Tony Watts and Hazel Reid

Gideon Arulmani (ed.) and Ankita Srivastav (trans.)

Tony Watts: In terms of structuring our discussion, I think I may just cluster things: nationally, internationally and then if you like intellectually. I think it is getting more back on to…a kind of search.

Hazel Reid: Yes indeed…when you look back at what you have done, what are some of the aspects of your work that give you a kind of buzz?

Tony: Starting nationally, I suppose I came into this because I wanted to improve the quality of the help available to people when they make decisions about their lives. It seemed very simple when we started CRAC, but it is actually quite complex which is why it became really interesting and why we started NICEC. Many of the things which I have been really proud of being involved in have been working across boundaries. I have always been interested in what has been happening within sectors like schools and higher education, and I have done a lot of work in various sectors. But I have also always tried to work across sectors and also across the interfaces between practice, theory and policy. So, nationally, I have been involved with a number of initiatives trying to develop some structures, so that dialogues across these boundaries could take place and energies could be harnessed to get synergies flowing.

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Going way back, the Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling was about that. Initiated by Hans Hoxter, it was extremely interesting and quite creative for a while at least. I think all these things have their time. So for a while they are very fertile and very creative and then things move on. SCAC was an interface between all the different areas of counselling, including career guidance. I chaired the Counselling in Work Settings group, and was involved in other ways too. So that was one. Then there was SCAGES (Standing Conference of Associations for Guidance in Educational Settings), which Stephen McNair and I co-chaired and which was the first major attempt to get the different guidance associations to work together. The Guidance Council was a bigger initiative, with a much wider range of organisations: I was closely involved in supporting Sir Christopher Ball in establishing that and again I think we did some terrific work. Currently we have the CSSA (Careers Sector Stakeholders Alliance) which is trying to do some of the work that the Guidance Council would have done, but with no resources apart from the voluntary work of Keith Herrmann and others. I am very proud to have been involved in these various initiatives. They are not easy things to do. All have been dependent so much on harnessing the energies of a range of individuals and organisations. So it's about finding people who are committed and interested in working together to do things they couldn't do on their own. So I think there is a kind of

thread there that is partly cross-sectoral, partly cross-professional and partly across interfaces between practice and policy and research and theory.

CRAC and NICEC too, I have been really proud of and pleased at being involved with some wonderful people. We've had to work through some problems, but on the whole we've worked together very well and done some influential work: it has been terrific. And now it's different, with NICEC evolving into a learned society, and looking very viable in its new role. Any organization nowadays that wants to survive must be willing to change and that has been done very well. So I am really proud of being involved with all of that. More recently I've been involved a lot with the University of Derby and I think again that is looking very good. I really admire Tristram Hooley and the work he has been doing since taking over at Derby. So while I am interested in my own work, I am also interested in developing infrastructures which can bring people together to do worthwhile work.

Hazel: And what is perhaps more than a national contribution, the book by Watts et al in 1996, was a real milestone for those of us who were training people in Career Education, Guidance and Counselling…

Tony: Well, thank you. I am so glad we did it, when we did, because it seemed the right time. When I thought about it, I realised that between us we had covered pretty much everything, but we had not brought it together and we really needed to do so while we were all together. John Killeen died a few years later, and Jenny Kidd became ill, so it was the right time to do it. We were lucky because through Sir Christopher Ball and his contacts we got a grant to support the work. We were all very busy, with demanding income targets, but we were able to pay for the time we spent on our meetings and the writing of the book, which is a very privileged situation to be in. The voices of each of the five of us are quite audible in their own ways, but you can see how we all benefited from our conversations – and in fact, of course, we had worked together for many years as well. There are different instruments at play but they are harmonized. In many ways it complements the book on *Career Development in Britain* which we did some years before, to bring together the work we did when Donald

Super was with us, based on the same principle. That book was concerned with how people develop their careers, and the 1996 book was how we intervene in that process. So for me those two large pieces of work stand as quite important in the sense of bringing together lots of threads and I think that was a good thing to do.

Hazel: And it was important that it was a UK text, because most of the literature was not.

Tony: Yes, I think we were very clear that we wanted a focus on the UK, but we also hoped that it would be of interest to people in other countries and indeed it was. For example Peter Plant translated quite a lot of it for Denmark, and other people have found it helpful. So a lot of the ideas were written within an international frame, but we were also clear we were designing it primarily to support development in the UK.

Hazel: And UK authors I think…

Tony: That's true. Well it was NICEC people or those who had worked with NICEC for a long period of time…so yes, it was UK authors. Of course we drew on international material as well. But the fact that we were all from the UK gave the book a coherence that I think it might not have had otherwise. Different books have different purposes. The book I have recently been working on with Gideon and Anuradha Bakshi and Fred Leong, for example, I think is different because it is designed for a much broader, international audience. That is not easy but I think it's very well worth doing. What we did in the 1996 book was a bit different.

Hazel: What about the international work? What comes to mind, without analysing it too much?

Tony: No, not analysing! I have worked in a lot of countries and when you work in a country you get to know it better and it is far more interesting than looking at a few cathedrals or art galleries, nice though that is. So I'm not a very good tourist! One of the things which I felt was important right from the beginning was to write something after these trips. So I was invited to give some lectures in Malaysia and I thought if I have to write something, that'll force me

to find out something about Malaysia. I will start on it before I go, through reading, and then try to learn while I am there. I think that's a great discipline, I've done it quite a bit. I always think that you don't know what you think until you have written it. I've been lucky to have lots of opportunities like that. Donald Super was very helpful in opening some doors. I've worked quite a lot with international organizations: Council of Europe, OECD, UNESCO, World Bank. I've also worked a lot with the European Commission and its agencies, and that's been terrific because I'm a fervent believer in the idea of Europe. I've been involved with the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network since its inception, and also with the complementary series of International Symposia on Career Development and Public Policy. I think working with people from different countries is incredibly rich. The OECD has intellectually been the best of the organizations to work with, because its influence lies in the quality of its ideas and its technical work. The others are much more political organisations. OECD is a bit more like a university in some ways, so I've always really enjoyed working with OECD.

I've also always found it particularly interesting to work in 'developing' and middle-income countries because you have to think about how these ideas stand up in societies which are so incredibly diverse in terms of economic development, social structure, culture and other ways. You have to address some fundamental assumptions which we take for granted in the UK, and there is a lot that can be learnt from that. For example, I learnt an awful lot about the informal economies, which have always fascinated me. We don't talk about them, we don't even use the term much here, yet so many of our issues are linked with the informal economies. I learnt that from working in 'developing' economies where the informal economies are enormously important. So much work is managed within the hidden economy on a cash basis, or through exchange, or in communal and family structures. Gideon in India has written some terrific stuff on culture and belief systems. And I have learnt a lot about all this working with Ronald Sultana. So I've worked with some really good people and that has enormously enriched me.

Hazel: I wonder what your view is in terms of what we do in career guidance and counselling in the West

and how that fits or doesn't fit with what we might call collective societies?

Tony: I've always been very interested in trying to see career guidance in terms not just of atomistic individuals, but of individuals within families or wider communities. Employment and self-employment are an important part of career, because they produce income, based on meeting the needs of other people. I see this as being a modern form of the social contract, through which we do work for other people that leads to income, which we can then use in whatever ways we wish. Some may develop their own identity and their own mission in life through their paid work, and some do this in other parts of their life. I have always thought of career as being about learning and work, both broadly defined. Work is not just employment: it's also self-employment and also all the work we all do in our households and communities. I learnt that from working in developing countries and I think this is very relevant to us as well. We are increasingly at risk of seeing individuals as being atomistic units, focused on personal advancement at the expense of others. Values matter. Career guidance can help clarify those values. I think values should lie at the core of career decision making and of interventions in that process.

Hazel: Setting aside all the not so good things that are happening in the UK at the moment, there is a shift that we are experiencing within NICEC and elsewhere, towards Career Coaching. If you looked forward to how things might develop, what's your view about the separation or combination of different types of careers work?

Tony: I see coaching as focusing on learning how to do things. It pays more attention to behaviours and perhaps less to reflective processes of decision making. We could have a longer conversation about this, but I think coaching has much to offer. But we have always to look at the social, structural issues as well. In the end it is not just about individuals making and implementing decisions based on their own personalities, but also engaging with the society around them, including the labour market but also wider social realities. So philosophically, I have always thought we must take a multidisciplinary approach. This field tends to be dominated by psychology, understandably and probably rightly, but it shouldn't be totally so, because

in the end it is about helping individuals in relation to the wider society, so sociology is relevant too, as is economics in terms of the labour market. Much can be learnt as well from literature and from history. I think we have often been a bit narrow in the way we think and I have always enjoyed working with people who can work outside these boundaries.

Technology of course is massively important in terms of future interventions. However, we must continue to adopt an approach which is concerned with using technology for humane purposes, rather than thinking of technology as replacing human interventions. There are still huge issues here; becoming even more complex now with social media.

Hazel: I know Tony that you have said from the end of this year you won't be engaging in this sector as much. So what is next? What is on your horizon?

Tony: I will be 72 this year. I have loved working in this sector, but I would rather end while I still feel reasonably competent. I have got many other things which I enjoy doing and now I have got to a point where I have realized that I slightly resent reading yet another research article or another policy document, when I could be reading a great novel or history. I realise my time is running out, as it does for all of us, and I would rather give more time to other things while I still can. To family and lots of lovely friends. Early music and cricket are huge passions of mine. Cambridge is an amazing place to live, with so much wonderful music and intellectual stimulation of all kinds. I am very interested in politics and history. There is so much going on. I have had one or two friends saying 'I don't think you will be able to retire'. I am determined to prove them wrong! I think I can do this. But it is not easy. It is a big career decision, and not an easy one to make. I have made so many friends through my work in this field and I have always found it absolutely fascinating and I am very committed to it and I want to see it get better. But I feel I have done my bit. Now I want in the final years of my life, to do smaller things. I have agreed to take over as editor of the Handel News [Handel, the composer], which is the newsletter of the Friends of the London Handel Festival, and to run a U3A [University of the Third Age] class on Handel operas and oratorios. I love Handel to bits. But I don't want to take on many

commitments. I think really what I want to do, is not do so much. I want to have more time for reading, watching cricket, listening to music, and spending time with grandchildren, other family and friends. All my life, I have been a doer. Now I think I am at a stage where I am more interested in *being* rather than *doing* and finding out how that can work!

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References:

Watts, A.G., Law, B., Killeen, J., Kidd, J.M. and Hawthorn, R. (1996) *Rethinking Careers Education and Guidance: Theory, Policy and Practice*, London: Routledge.

Watts, A.G., Super, D.E. and Kidd, J.M. (eds.) (1981) *Career Development in Britain*, Cambridge: CRAC/Hobsons.

Acknowledgements

Call for papers | Forthcoming NICEC events

Call for papers:

Journal of the National Institute for Career Education and Counselling, April 2015 Issue

Theme: The Future of Career Development

There has always been a strong international dimension to the work of NICEC and this has recently been underlined with the appointment of new international fellows. More broadly, internationalisation is a growing feature of careers work in many contexts. Accordingly, papers are invited on any international perspective including but not confined to:

- Change and/or stability in the labour market
- The organisation, management or marketing of career support services
- Emerging policy, corporate and/or governmental issues
- Expanding and/ or innovative services and areas of activity
- Social justice, critical pedagogical and/or emancipatory practices
- The role of learning in career development support
- New tools, technologies and models
- Fresh critical perspectives
- New case studies and other empirical work

- The relationship with career development theories
- Innovation in the training and education of career development professionals
- The future of career development as it relates to one or more of the following sectors:
  - Talent management and career development services primarily in workplace settings (e.g. career coaching, HR, outplacement)
  - Career education in educational settings (e.g. schools, further education and skills institutions, higher education)
  - Career development work with young people in any context
  - Career development work with adults in any context

Informal expressions of interest: 31st October 2014
Full draft articles: 30th December 2014
Final articles: 31st January 2015

Contact the editor, Phil McCash: **p.t.mccash@warwick.ac.uk**

Forthcoming events:

Wednesday, 26th Nov 2014 | 5pm – 6.30pm
Seminar: **Do primary school children's career aspirations matter?** *Professor Eirini Flouri (London Institute of Education)*   Location: Hamilton House, London
Wednesday, 21st January 2015 | 5pm – 6.30pm
Seminar: **TBA**   Location: Hamilton House, London
Thursday, 19th March 2015 | 2pm - 5pm
Network Meeting: **TBA**   Location: Hamilton House, London
Monday, 11th May 2015 | 5pm - 6.30pm
Seminar: **TBA**   Location: Hamilton House, London
Tuesday, 23rd June 2015 | 5pm - 6.30pm
Seminar: **TBA**   Location: Hamilton House, London

Costs: included in membership fees for NICEC Fellows and members. Seminars are charged at £20 and network meetings at £40 for non-members.

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 will be distributed to all CDI members twice a year – with the April and October edition of *Career Matters*.

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