Career and Career Guidance in the Nordic Countries

Erik Hagaseth Haug, Tristram Hooley, Jaana Kettunen and Rie Thomsen (Eds.)

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Career Development
Connecting Theory and Practice

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1. SETTING NORDIC CAREER GUIDANCE IN CONTEXT

ABSTRACT

The introduction to this volume discusses the importance of situating career and career guidance in context. It makes a connection to wider research and writing that challenges the idea that career theory can be global and universal and argues that there is a need for attention to local context and culture. It then moves on to set the scene for a volume focusing on the Nordic countries, by defining the 'Nordic' and exploring key features of the region including the Nordic welfare model and the history of collaborations in career guidance across the region. It proposes the four 'COs' of Nordic career guidance (context, community, co-construction and collaboration) before outlining the structure of the volume and looking to the future.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'career' is a powerful one when we are seeking to understand societies and how people live in them. Career describes individuals' paths through life, learning and work, it describes how the individual interfaces with social institutions including the education system, employers, civil society and the state. Because our careers are socially and culturally embedded it matters where they are enacted. This book will explore what kind of context the Nordic region offers for the pursuit of career, how the development of careers are supported in welfare societies and how career guidance is enacted in this context.

The book adopts a democratic definition of career. It argues that everyone has a career and contests definitions of career which are hierarchical, linear and exclusively focused on paid work. Careers can be pursued in many ways, both consciously and unconsciously, but careers can only happen in a context. In this sense the concept of 'career' is a tool of psycho-social analysis. It helps us to understand how individuals interact with society, how they engage with and move between institutions and how such relationships are integrated into identity as well how they influence the socio-political context.

Such a theoretical definition of career might not be immediately recognisable to the average citizen of Oslo, Odense or Oulu. As Bakke (Chapter 2) describes, the

concept of career has a chequered history within the Nordic realm. Career can be seen as being infused with individualistic, hierarchical and neoliberal attitudes (Hooley, Sultana, & Thomsen, 2018) that are troubling to the Nordic self-image. Climbing the career ladder, especially if you leave others on the ground as you ascend, does not seem very Nordic. The satirical Jante's law (Sandemose, 1999[1933], p. 66), which is supposed to characterise the Nordic relationship between the individual and the community begins with 'you shall not believe that you are anything' and goes on to command that 'you shall not believe you are good for anything'. While many have critiqued how far Jante's law provides a viable summary of Nordic culture (e.g. Trotter, 2015) it is clear that some Nordic values (egalitarianism, collectivity and a moral and political commitment to the welfare state) sit in tension with ideas of career as a project of the self (Grey, 1994) and individuals as aspirational and agentic 'life designers' (Savickas, 2012).

The concept of career does not have a single and all-encompassing definition. Rather it functions as what Bergmo-Prvulovic (2018, p. 151) describes as a 'bridging object framed by conflicting perspectives'. The contributors to this volume all bring their definitions of career. They also describe how policy makers in the Nordic countries bring alternative definitions, educators and career professionals bring other perspectives and citizens still more. In this blizzard of contestation the current volume will seek to explore the value of thinking about career more overtly within a Nordic context, both in theoretical terms and through the social practice of career guidance.

Defining Career Guidance

Career guidance describes a wide body of educational, counselling and active labour market interventions which seek to support individuals with their careers. While such activities adopt various terminologies in different countries (career counselling, career education, career development, work-related learning and so on), a recognisable body of policy and practice can be found in this area across the world (e.g. OECD, 2004; Watts, 2014; Zelloth, 2009). Within the five Nordic countries there is a strong tradition of career guidance which the current volume will address and explore. In terms of research in career guidance, the Nordic countries have followed slightly different, yet complimentary paths (Plant, 2003). The balance between studies in guidance based on sociology, psychology, and even ethnology and philosophy varies according to the research focus and tradition of each of the Nordic countries (e.g. Haug et al., 2019b; Plant, 2003).

In the Nordic languages, different terms are used to describe the concept of career guidance. These include karrierabágádallan (Sami), uraohjaus, urasuunnittelun ohjaus, opinto-ohjaus, oppilaanohjaus (Finland), náms- og starfsráðgjöf (Iceland) and aqqutissiuussineq (Greenland). Furthermore, the word veiledning (Norwegian), vägledning (Swedish), vejledning (Danish) or vegleiðing (Faroese) is similar across much of the region with the etymology of the word meaning 'leading the way'.

A recent article (Haug et al., 2019b) argues that the understanding of career guidance found in the research literature from the Nordic countries between 2003 and 2016 broadly coincides with the definition of educational and vocational guidance stated in the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN) Glossary (2014). There, educational guidance is defined as 'helping an individual to reflect on personal educational issues and experiences and to make appropriate educational choices', and vocational guidance is defined as 'help for individuals to make choices about education, training and employment' (ELGPN, 2014).

Until recently career guidance in the Nordic countries has been concerned with supporting people to make career decisions, but there has been a continuing and increasing focus on what citizens learn from taking part in career guidance and career education.

The ELGPN definition (2014) builds on a variety of definitions of career guidance that have been proposed in the theoretical and policy literature. In this volume we have utilised Hooley et al.'s (2018, p. 20) definition because it foregrounds the social and collective aspects of career guidance in a way that aligns well with the way that the field has developed in the Nordic countries.

> Career guidance supports individuals and groups to discover more about work, leisure and learning and to consider their place in the world and plan for their future. Key to this is developing individual and community capacity to analyse and problematiise assumptions and power relations, to network and build solidarity and to create new and shared opportunities. It empowers individuals and groups to struggle within the world as it is and to imagine the world as it could be.
>
> Career guidance can take a wide range of forms and draws on diverse theoretical traditions. But at its heart it is a purposeful learning opportunity which supports individuals and groups to consider and reconsider work, leisure and learning in the light of new information and experiences and to take both individual and collective action as a result of this.

As we will see in this volume, within the Nordic countries career guidance takes many forms and is addressed to many different groups. This includes young people, those in work, facing unemployment, moving in and out of education, refugees and those moving into retirement. The volume will also explore the relationship between policy and practice and how this is central to the nature of Nordic career guidance.

Putting Career and Career Guidance in Context

Most research on career guidance does not explicitly locate itself geographically (Alexander & Hooley, 2018). Career theories are often advanced as universally applicable. However, such claims to universality have been challenged from a variety of perspectives including the geographical (e.g. Alexander, 2018; Thomsen, 2012), the cultural (e.g. Arulmani, 2016; Sultana, 2017b) and the epistemic (Haug,

Chapter 14; Ribeiro & Fonçatti, 2018). Such critiques highlight the differences between places, cultures and ways of knowing and observe that the experience of developing one's career, or of helping others to develop their career is not the same for everyone and in every place. Given this, we should view the globalist, universalising urges within career theory sceptically.

Sultana (2017a) responded to these challenges with the publication of *Career guidance and livelihood planning across the Mediterranean*. In this he explores how career guidance 'acquires diverse meanings in different cultures, institutional traditions, and economic realities' (Sultana, 2017a, p. 4). Sultana takes the Mediterranean as his focus, exploring how career guidance shifts and changes across the countries around and adjacent to the Mediterranean. He argues that the context is important both in coming up with a meaningful understanding of how people experience their careers, and in creating forms of career guidance that are meaningful and relevant within the context.

Sultana (2017a) and the other authors in his volume on the Mediterranean demonstrate that career guidance is not a fixed thing that sits unproblematically in a context. Rather as it travels across national boundaries it acts upon and is acted upon by the context that it travels to. In some cases, it arrives as a form of soft power seeking to transform systems and subjectivities into forms that are favourable to those who are introducing career guidance (see Kjærgård, Chapter 6). Plant and Thomsen (2011) have referred to this as social control in a velvet glove in their discussion of the development of the Danish youth career guidance system. In others, it is reimagined within the new context and transformed into something locally relevant. Elsewhere Ribeiro and Fonçatti (2018) have described this process of the cultural integration of career guidance as recognising the interplay between globally and locally produced ways of thinking. On one hand there are top-down 'globalised localisms' which take a local phenomenon, such as career guidance, and impose it in contexts across the globe. On the other hand, there are bottom up 'localised globalisms' which rethink and remake phenomenon in ways that fit with the local context. Sultana's work (2017a) on the Mediterranean shows that both of these processes are evident.

The growing tradition of writing that is foregrounding context, is suggestive of a major new paradigm for research in career guidance, which the current volume responds to. We need to move away from viewing career guidance as a global universal and focus on how it interacts with specific contexts, cultures, places and people. In response to this we offer a volume that explores these issues from the perspective of our context in the Nordic states. We hope that others will pick up this project and propose future volumes and studies that address other parts of the world. However, this should not be viewed as a project which will be finished once we all have a bookshelf complete with a series of books on *Career guidance in … South East Asia … Australasia … Central America* and so on. Rather we seek to support a paradigm shift which changes the way in which we see what career is, how it is enacted and reshapes what career guidance is understood to be. The focus on context

requires us to view career and career guidance as embedded practices, to recognise and report on the geographic, cultural, political and organisational context in which they are found, to acknowledge that people interact with career guidance and that this interaction changes the nature of practice and to embrace the need to localise our theories and thinking.

This volume is a contribution to this broader paradigmatic shift. In it we bring together discussions about career and career guidance that take place in the Nordic countries. We have encouraged authors to view their contributions within this specifically Nordic framing and to explore how the phenomenon that they are describing interact with the Nordic. Given this it is important to now explore what is meant by the term 'Nordic' and to consider how well that can serve as a summary of the context within which career guidance operates in this part of the world.

DEFINING THE NORDIC

At its most basic 'Nordic' is a geographical category that describes an area in Northern Europe and the Northern Atlantic comprising Denmark, Sweden, and Norway as well as Finland to the east and Iceland in the Atlantic. The Nordic region also includes the self-governing areas of Åland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands. The region is the home of two indigenous people; the Greelandic Inuits and the Sami in the Northern parts of Finland, Sweden and Norway. Linguistically, Swedish, Norweigian, Danish, Faroese and Icelandic have a common term "Norden", "Norður" (the North) for the region that reinforces the geographical basis of the region and highlights its position within global geography.

The association of different countries and areas with the Nordic is an historical category which describes the inter-related histories of the countries which are categorised by various forms of conquest, union and federation as well as looser forms of treaty, partnership and co-operation (Archer & Joenniemi, 2017; Tägil, 1995).

In addition to, and as a result of, the geographical and historical components that comprise the Nordic, the countries in the region also share a number of cultural features including shared folklore and folk history, Protestantism, linguistic similarities (excepting Finish, Greenlandic/Kalaallisut and the Sami languages), leisure activities especially out-door and physical activities (e.g. walking and skiing) and cultural values e.g. egalitarianism and collectivism (Gradén, 2016; Grendstad, 2001).

The region also shares political institutions, most notably the Nordic council formed in 1952 and the Nordic council of ministers formed in 1971, which formalise the Nordic into a political relationship (Strang, 2015). In addition, the Sámi Parliamentary Council (SPC) founded in 2000 provides another fora for cross-border co-operation which brings together the Sámi parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden. These political arrangements are echoed in multiple forms of cross-Nordic collaboration that exist across a wide variety of policy areas.

These forms of cross-border collaboration are underpinned by similar, although far from identical political systems and ideologies. The ideological similarity of what is sometimes referred to as the 'Nordic model' eases collaboration across the region as it creates a situation where there are similar institutions and approaches to policy across different countries. Key features of the 'Nordic model' include mixed economies, social democratic politics, high levels of taxation, welfare provision and a commitment to gender equality, social cohesion and limiting income inequality and differences between social classes (Marklund, 2017; Ryner, 2007).

It is important to recognise the multi-faceted way in which the category of the Nordic is comprised as the geographical, historical, cultural, political and ideological elements all interact in both explicit and implicit ways. Various writers have argued that the idea of the Nordic has emerged in a purposeful way which serves the aims of both internal social cohesion and the development of soft power in the world (Browning, 2007; Marklund, 2017). The concept of Nordic 'exceptionalism' has its origins in nineteenth century nationalism but became globally important during the Cold War. At that time the idea that the Nordic countries were different from the rest of the world (supporting peace and internationalism, bridging East and West whilst supporting the global South, and taking a middle way between capitalism and communism) could all be viewed as a claim to greater rationality and the idea that these states were better than the rest of the world and offered a model that others should follow (Browning, 2007). The idea of Nordic 'exceptionalism' therefore makes use of both meanings of the word (both 'different from' and 'better than').

Hvid and Falkum (2019) quote the Deputy Director of Employment, Labour and Social Affairs at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) who said 'Whether you look at unemployment, employment, income, equality, social security, or the quality of the working environment, the Nordic countries are at the top of the international rankings'. This means that other states, national administrations and global organisations are interested in examining the different elements of the Nordic model in detail (e.g. Hooley, Chapter 3). This book considers career guidance as an important element of the Nordic model and gives a rich and detailed insight into the different approaches, practices, tools, systems and more conceptual ways of thinking about career and career guidance that can be found in the Nordic countries.

Since the Cold War, Nordic exceptionalism has had to be remade to take account of the loss of the Cold War context; the increasing neoliberalisation of the Nordic model; and the challenge to the region's progressive liberalism that has come from growth of the populist right (Dahl, 2012; Jungar & Jupskås, 2014; Mjøset, 2011). This new brand of 'Nordicity' retains political components but is also strongly cultural in nature. Andersen, Kjeldgaard, Lindberg and Östberg (2019) argue that it is characterised by a 'complex brandscape' (p. 214) comprised of a series of carefully balanced tensions such as: modernity/Norse mythology; egalitarian inclusiveness/ luxury designer brands; gendered fashion/gender reflexivity and equality; and

ethnocentrism/multi-culturalism. But, as Marklund's (2017) discussion of the representation of the Nordic in Monocle magazine demonstrates, the collection of, at times contradictory, images that comprise this supra-national brand remain highly seductive internationally. In this sense Nordicity has become an ambiguous but still powerful and positive signifier. The Nordic is desirable, it suggests much, but it can be difficult to pin down.

Despite their many similarities it is important to recognise that there are big differences between the different Nordic states and areas. While there is much that unites the region, it is far from homogeneous. The Nordic region includes large cosmopolitan cities as well as some of the most remote and isolated areas on the planet. Some states have benefitted from access to valuable natural resources, while others have not. The region is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, although the extent of such diversity varies by state. States have also taken different positions on key geopolitical issues including membership of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Politically, social democracy has remained dominant in Sweden whilst most of the rest of the Nordic states have experienced a range of right-wing governments. We will explore this diversity further throughout the volume.

THE NORDIC WELFARE MODEL

The Nordic Welfare model describes both a particular set of policies and an abstract ideal. While it is enacted differently across the Nordic region authors also agree on its similarities. Most prominently is a high level of public spending on welfare which offers citizens a range of benefits including low cost full time professional day-care, free primary, secondary and tertiary education, free health insurance, subsidised dental care, and low cost elder-care. A key principle of these systems is that of universalism, meaning that in theory at least, all citizens can access all services (Greve, 2007). Greve (2007, p. 45) labels this 'the Scandinavian, Socialdemocratic, Keynesian model' noting that in this system the state is largely responsible for organising and financing the welfare state.

The Nordic model describes an approach to government that goes beyond the provision of generous universal benefits. Another key feature is the system of collective bargaining covering most of the private as well as the public labour market (Nielson, 2016). This is accompanied by a system of voluntary unemployment insurance run by the trade unions but subsidised by the state with a relatively high level of unemployment benefits (the so-called flexicurity system) which is designed to compensates for the absence of strong job security for individual employees. The Nordic model enables a high level of labour market mobility to be combined with a high level of employment (including high levels of employment for women and young people) (Greve, 2007; Nielson, 2016). A key desired outcome from the welfare system is the engagement of the populace with work and the development of human capital (see Bakke, Chapter 2).

Career guidance sits in the middle of several key elements of the Nordic welfare state. It lives within the public employment services where it is asked to support individuals to maximise their employability and remain within the labour market. Since the 1990s, these services have increasingly adopted 'active labour market policy' shifting the focus from the provision of welfare to unemployed people and towards conditional 'workfare' policies which link labour market participation to the entitlement to benefits (Kvist & Grace, 2011). Integrating career guidance into such active labour market policies can be problematic as it requires careers professionals to balance the development aspirations of the field with the elements of compulsion and social control (Darmon & Perez, 2011).

Career guidance is also central to youth services and particularly to services that seek to reengage young people in education and training who are currently not working or studying. As has already been discussed the Nordic model places a high value on labour market participation and consequently includes public services to ensure that young people experience a smooth transition from education to the labour market (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2015). The increasing focus on active labour market policy as a key component of the Nordic model extends to young people through the delivery of services, including career guidance, which are designed to channel young people back into the labour market through guidance, education and training.

Finally, it is important to recognise that the Nordic education system is at the centre of the Nordic welfare model (Antikainen, 2006; Prøitz & Aasen, 2017). As this book will show career guidance is deeply embedded into the Nordic education system and serves a number of key functions including helping individuals to manage their way around the system and facilitating their transition into work.

CAREER GUIDANCE AND COLLABORATION IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

The Nordic countries have a long history of collaborating on career guidance practice and policies. There has also been cross-Nordic collaboration between academic programmes with responsibility for training career professionals and in relation to research and evidence in the field.

The Nordic career guidance associations have organised themselves in Nordiska förbundet för studie- och yrkesvägledning [the Nordic Union for Study and Career Guidance] (NFSY). This body allows for the sharing of challenges and insights among the Nordic countries.

The Nordic Council of Ministers has played an important role in establishing and financing cross national collaboration, networks and projects in the field of career guidance. Nordiskt nätverk för vuxnas lärande [the Nordic Network for Adult Learning] (NVL) was established in 2005 by the Nordic Council of Ministers who continue to finance the network. NVL has hosted a thematic group on adult career guidance. This group aims to put the development of career competences for adults on the agenda and support meaningful transition in education and work. NVL has published reports on various aspects of career guidance in the Nordic countries.

These include papers discussing expected outputs/outcomes of guidance services for adults in the Nordic countries (Vuorinen & Leino, 2009), career guidance and the validation of prior learning (NVL, 2015); the coordination of guidance provision across the region (NVL, 2017); and, in collaboration with the ELGPN, a paper focusing on Career Management Skills (CMS) and exploring their value to the Nordic countries (Thomsen, 2014).

Another network supported by the Nordic Council of Ministers through Nordplus is VALA which is a network of career counselling and guidance programs at higher education institutions in the Nordic and Baltic countries. The aim of VALA is to increase professionalisation and strengthen ties and co-operation between higher education institutions offering academic education in career guidance. VALA supports student and teacher mobility and hosts a summer school in ICT and guidance at the University of Jyväskyla in Finland (see Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard, & Kardal, Chapter 11) and, as of 2020, another summer school in social justice and career guidance at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences. VALA has mapped ten career guidance and counselling programmes in Denmark, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden against the curriculum model developed by the Network for Innovation in Career Guidance and Counselling in Europe (NICE) (Andreassen, Einarsdóttir, Lerkkanen, Thomsen, & Wikstrand, 2019). The results show that all NICE core competences are represented in the curricula of the universities involved in the education of career professionals across the Nordic region. However, there is greater focus in some programmes on developing competences for individual career guidance, than on developing competences for working at organisational and societal levels.

Recently in 2019 the Nordic countries have established the Nordic Research Network on Transitions, Career and Guidance (NoRNet). The aim of the network is to increase research collaboration among the Nordic countries and to support international collaboration on research topics. There is also a working group which is seeking to develop a Nordic journal of career guidance.

THE FOUR COS OF CAREER GUIDANCE IN NORDIC COUNTRIES

In this section of the chapter we draw together some of the key insights from the other chapters in the book to provide an overarching characterisation of Nordic career guidance. We have described this characterisation as the four 'COs' of Nordic career guidance (context, community, co-construction and collaboration). The four COs provide a description of the key values and approaches that underpin career guidance in the Nordic countries.

As with any model or typology describing a complex social phenomenon that exists across multiple countries it is important to guard against simplifying differences within and across countries. The Nordic countries do not have a single approach to career and career guidance. This volume provides detail on all of the countries and highlights the different sectors and approaches that exist within each. However, it is

hoped that the four COs can act as an organising framework for thinking about key concerns, trends and approaches within the field in the Nordic countries.

The four COs are:

- the acknowledgement of career and career guidance as embedded in *context*;
- *community* as important resource for career guidance;
- *co-construction* as the defining professional approach to career guidance; and
- *collaboration* between policy, research and practice across the Nordic countries as the usual way in which career guidance is developed and managed.

Context

We began this chapter with a discussion of the importance of context in understanding career and career guidance. Careers and career guidance emerge from context, they are at once psychological and social operating at the interface of the individual and society (Collin, 1997). Career guidance within the Nordic countries actively recognises the importance of context when helping people to develop their careers.

The need to recognise the Nordic context and to create a version of career guidance that is nationally and locally relevant is built into the heart of thinking about career guidance in the region. This means that practitioners and policymakers have been careful about importing international theories and models. Einarsdóttir, Björnsdóttir, and Lerkkanen (Chapter 12) explore the tension inherent in borrowing good ideas from other countries whilst attending to the local context in their chapter on career assessment instruments. They argue that emic approaches need to be used to validate instruments that may have originated in other cultures. This is illustrative of a wider urge to embedd career guidance practices within the Nordic context.

Other chapters in this book also pick up the importance of attending closely to the context within which career guidance is practiced and using this to inform its design and delivery. Alexander, Holm, Hansen, and Vahl (Chapter 5) show how career guidance needs to be adapted for the unique contexts in the Faroe Isles and Greenland, Vilhjálmsdóttir (Chapter 10) traces the way that the Icelandic career guidance profession emerged as part of a careful balancing of national and international influences and Fredriksen (Chapter 21) explores how practice needs to develop in response to the changed context of work with migrants.

As well as insisting that career guidance is embedded in Nordic cultures and contexts, there is also an interest in actively incorporating aspects of this context into the kinds of career guidance that are offered. Career guidance in the Nordic countries therefore actively recognises the importance of context and encourages individuals to notice the specific places and cultures in which they are pursuing their careers.

The way that context is recognised in careers work includes activities that allow for young people to experience education programmes and work before making choices to pursue them. This kind of experiential learning is central to the theories and approaches that underpin Nordic guidance (see Thomsen, 2014). This is

exemplified in Chapter 17, where Skovhus and Thomsen identify taster programmes as a central component of career guidance activities for young people in schools across the Nordic region. Røise's contribution in Chapter 18 also highlights the way that learning about context through practical experiences is central to career education curricula in Norway. The provision of relevant labour market information as a key component of career guidance in the Nordic countries provides another example of career guidance actively fostering engagement with context (Alexander et al., Chapter 5; Launikari, Ahlroos, Hagen, & Stefánsdóttir, Chapter 13).

Community

The second CO focuses on community as an important resource for career building. Nordic career guidance questions individualistic approaches and recognises that careers are built with others rather than alone. Individuals pursue their careers alongside others and as part of various kinds of community and collective. In response to this Nordic career guidance seeks to help people to develop collective responses to challenges and opportunities as well as individual responses.

The focus on community is exemplified by the 'career guidance in communities' approach which was developed in Denmark by Thomsen, Skovhus, and Buhl (2013). The aim of this model is to inspire practitioners and professionals to leave their offices and to bring career guidance into communities that might not identify or engage with it in the first instance. Whereas individualised approaches to career guidance encourage people to look within themselves to develop their careers, the community focused approaches found in the Nordic countries support individuals to draw on wider social and community resources. People and their careers are viewed as being part of the collective rather than atomised. Individuals' are encouraged to use the resources that they have in the communities that they are already part of and supported to build bridges with new communities e.g. through involving local business communities in career education activities (see Mordal, Buland, & Mathiesen, Chapter 16).

Community based approaches can be seen in Chapter 21 where Fredriksen describes the development of a collective approach to the career counselling of refugees and immigrants arriving in Norway. In this example, career guidance is trying to both encourage the refugees to make use of their family and community resources as well as building bridges into wider Nordic society.

Another community-based approach is described in Chapter 22 by Thomsen, Rasmussen and Mariager-Anderson who explore the career guidance offered by trade unions. Trade unions provide an important form of community that brings together workers and provide a connection between individual career development and social and economic policy. The case study shows how, in addition to more traditional face-to-face conversations and group dialogues, career guidance practitioners are involved in interventions that support collective actions to build better career opportunities through structural and political work.

Co-Construction

The third CO is co-construction which describes the way in which the Nordic career professional interacts with individuals in a non-hierarchical way and encourages people to work together and support each other. The idea of co-constructive career guidance challenges the idea of the professional as the repository of all of the answers and recognises that individuals are the experts in their own careers. Within such a conception, the role of the career professional is to support, facilitate and offer new frames of reference for career issues.

These kinds of progressive non-hierarchical forms of practice are closely aligned to the Nordic values that we have discussed earlier in the chapter. Political and cultural beliefs in democratic, egalitarian and non-hierarchical societies manifest in the practice of career guidance in the region. Recent years have seen these approaches come more to the fore with an increased interest in group guidance methodologies, career guidance in communities (Thomsen, 2012), career guidance in social media (Kettunen, 2017), listening to the voices of users more carefully in the development of career guidance services (Plant & Haug, 2018) and network building as way of bringing people together, facilitating sharing processes and establishing supportive environments that can endure beyond the initial intervention.

The idea of co-construction within the wider career guidance literature is typically focused on the relationship that practitioners build with their clients in counselling environments (e.g. Brott, 2016; Maree & Di Fabio, 2018) or their students in group and educational settings (Cohen-Scali & Pouyaud, 2019; Kuijpers & Meijers, 2017). This kind of non-hierarchal practice is an important aspect of Nordic career guidance. However, the Nordic conception of co-construction goes beyond this to recognise the need to co-construct systems and policies and to co-design the service itself.

Within the Nordic states it is common to include stakeholders and users in the development of policy as is illustrated in the example of the National Dialogue Forum in Denmark (Jensen, Chapter 8). A strong example of co-construction at the level of service design can be found in the Finnish One-Stop Guidance Centres discussed by Kettunen and Felt in Chapter 20. The development of the One-Stop Guidance Centres used the 4P approach (private-public-people-partnership) (Ng, Wong, & Wong, 2013) to involve service users in the design and development of the centres. The 4P approach values bottom-up participatory strategies and places user engagement at the centre of service design.

Kettunen et al. (Chapter 11) expand the idea of co-construction to 'co-careering'. They highlight that the integration of modern technologies in career services has created a shift in guidance locus from being supplier-driven and bound by time and space to user-driven and happening everywhere and all the time (Kettunen, Sampson, & Vuorinen, 2015). As a concept co-careering refers to online space where shared expertise and meaningful co-construction of career issues take place among community members (Kettunen, 2017). The practitioner is no longer in control of the process, but is now a participant in a process. Barnes, La Gro, and Watts (2010)

described this shift as a progression from career guidance being led by the provider to it being led by the user. Furthermore, it is a way to think about the kind of stance that professionals need to take in engaging in and contributing to this kind of co-constructive approach within the online environment.

Collaboration

Finally, Nordic guidance is defined by a range of collaborative relationships that exist within the field. Guidance exists as a collaboration between multiple actors. Policymakers set the framework for it to happen, researchers shape and evaluate it, practitioners operationalise it and innovate, and clients and learners participate in it. This multi-actor nature of career guidance applies to its operation in all countries and parts of the world, although it is often ignored in academic commentaries on the field. What is distinctive about the Nordic career guidance field is that the contributions of the variety of actors are acknowledged and the relationship between the actors is characterised by collaboration and co-operation. Furthermore, this collaboration rests on the ideal of democratisation of both knowledge production and policymaking processes in the career guidance field.

In Chapter 8, Jensen looks at the introduction of guidance reforms in Denmark over the last twenty years. He argues that when these reforms worked best there were strong collaborative mechanisms available through the National Dialogue Forum and a clear relationship between policy, practice and research.

Finland also has a long history of good collaboration between the educational and employment sector regarding career guidance. In Chapter 9, Toni and Vuorinen describe the developments in lifelong guidance in Finland and provide an example of cross-ministerial collaboration and collaborations between national and regional government. So far, this has resulted in the One-Stop Guidance Centre model described in Chapter 20 by Kettunen and Felt, which reflects the ideas of New Public Governance (Osborn, 2010) and has a strong focus on collaboration and horizontal ties between individuals and agencies.

Recent developments in Norway have also showcased the close collaboration between research, policy and practice in relation to the development of a national framework for quality in career guidance. Kompetence Norge (Skills Norway) has facilitated a process of collaboration that steps up the usual approach to policy development through consultative processes. Through seminars involving three subject groups with practitioners from different sectors, researchers and policy makers from different organisations have worked together to develop a national quality framework for career guidance across all sectors. So far, this has resulted in a national report on four key themes, quality, ethics, competence standards and career learning (Haug et al., 2019a).

Poulsen and Buland (Chapter 15) explore an approach to collaboration between teachers, careers professionals and researchers and supported by trade unions and employers. They describe a process of developing career education activities and

recommendations through the facilitation of research circles. Poulsen and Buland analyse the development of practice through research circles as a process of co-generative learning and argue that this approach is rooted in the Nordic tradition of participatory action research.

Another important dimension of Nordic collaboration is the collaboration between actors in different Nordic countries. Cross-Nordic collaborations are illustrated by Kettunen et al. (Chapter 11). This chapter discusses an international course that has been jointly developed by practitioners and researchers from a range of Nordic countries to increase career practitioners' capacity in ICT (Kettunen, 2017). Other chapters in this volume (e.g. Chapters 4, 5, 12, 13 and 15) also demonstrate the lively culture of cross-Nordic collaboration that exists.

ABOUT THE VOLUME

Content of the Volume

The book is structured in three parts which follow this introductory chapter. Part 1 discusses the systems and policies that are used to organise career guidance across the Nordic region. Part 2 focuses on the profession, professional development and practitioner competences. Part 3 explores the range of practices that can be found in the Nordic countries.

Part 1 begins with Bakke's discussion, in Chapter 2, of the way in which the concept of career fits into the Nordic context. She argues that work, and therefore career, are central concerns in the Nordic model and Nordic culture, and that welfare is organised to ensure maximum participation in work and equal access to employment. In Chapter 3, Hooley explores the way in which those outside of the Nordic region see Nordic work, education and career guidance. Chapter 4, focuses on the issue of gender and gender equality, with Schulstok and Wikstrand examining how different ideas about gender politics across the region shape career thinking and career guidance. In Chapter 5, Alexander, Holm, Hansen and Motzfeldt Vahl focus on the development of career guidance in the self-governing Nordic regions of the Faroe Isles and Greenland. In Chapter 6, Kjærgård uses Foucault's analytical tools to explore and examine the development of career guidance historically and contextually. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 look at policy developments in different Nordic countries. Lovén, Jensen and Toni and Vuorinen respectively describe the policy environments for career guidance in Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

Part 2 focuses on the career guidance profession. It begins, in Chapter 10, with Vilhjámsdóttir's history of the Icelandic guidance profession. She outlines four key elements of the history of guidance in Iceland, describing them as international co-operation, policy and legislation, the professional association and the education and training of school counsellors. Vilhjámsdóttir, argues that these four elements are needed in the making of a guidance profession in a small country like Iceland. In Chapter 11, Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard and Kardal describe the development of

a cross-Nordic course designed to engage professionals in the use of information communication technologies (ICT) in guidance and counselling. In Chapter 12, the use of career assessments in the Nordic countries is discussed by Einarsdóttir, Björnsdóttir and Lerkkanen. Chapter 13, sees Launikari, Ahlroos, Hagen and Stefánsdóttir discuss how Nordic guidance professionals can support the international mobility of learners. In Chapter 14, Haug argues that there are many different ways to understand quality in career guidance in Norwegian schools. Part 2 finishes with a chapter from Poulsen and Buland (Chapter 15) where they discuss how collaborative research processes can facilitate professional learning and development in career guidance and counselling.

The final part focuses on the range of different practices that comprise career guidance across the Nordic countries. In Chapter 16, Mordal, Buland and Mathiesen present the findings from an exploratory study of career guidance and career learning in primary schools in Norway. Chapters 17 and 18 continue to focus on schools, first with Skovhus and Thomsen exploring the participation of lower secondary students in taster programmes in Denmark and then with Røise discussing the rationale underpinning the curriculum in the Norwegian subject Educational Choice. In Chapter 19, Jochumsen, describes the challenges of the digital transformation of analogue career guidance tools and examines how they are used. Chapter 20 sees Kettunen and Felt describe Finnish efforts to introduce and expand the service model known as the 'one stop guidance centre' as a tool for youth guarantee implementation. In Chapter 21, Fredriksen addresses the need for a more collective approach to the career counselling of refugees and immigrants arriving in the Nordic countries. In Chapter 22, Thomsen, Mariager-Anderson and Rasmussen examine the role of career guidance provided by trade unions for their members and the ways in which this guidance contributes to people's plans for and access to funds for competence development, adult education and further training. In the last chapter of the book (Chapter 23), Bakke, Barham and Plant argue that older people have distinctive career guidance needs. Drawing on research with Norwegian women they identify the characteristics of older people and their largely unmet guidance needs.

Using This Volume

This volume shares insights from the Nordic countries with everyone who takes an interest in developing practice, policy and research in career guidance. Career guidance has been a central component of Nordic welfare societies for many decades and the authors of the chapters in this volume offer insight into the organisation, policy and practice in the Nordic countries. We have pulled some insights together and used them to coin the four CO's of career guidance which we hope can act as an organising framework for thinking about key concerns within the field in the Nordic countries and beyond and as such make a contribution to the wider international community of career development for inspiration, discussion, critique and development.

We hope that the volume will be useful to policymakers, researchers, students and practitioners in the Nordic countries. The research presented in this book reveals the Nordic states to be a natural laboratory for career guidance where multiple initiatives and experiments are being tried alongside longstanding practices and approaches. We have already discussed the strong tradition of cross-Nordic collaboration that exists in the careers field, we believe that this is one of the region's strengths, and hope that the material presented here can support this tradition of mutual learning and collaboration.

We also hope that this book will be of interest to those outside of the Nordic countries. Although this book is inspired by a need to recognise the local and cultural specificity of career and career guidance, we are also strongly internationalist in our approach. The book hopefully shows that the Nordic region has much to offer the wider world of career guidance, but we are also keen to learn from other places and engage in ongoing cooperation and sharing. The volume challenges the idea that a single theory or practice can be implemented across the world and champions the idea that a recognition of the cultural, political, economic and educational context is essential to underpin effective career guidance. We hope that this inspires ongoing dialogue between those interested in career guidance across the world and fosters a spirit of mutual, non-hierarchical sharing, co-operation and inspiration.

BUILDING ON THE PRESENT, SHAPING THE FUTURE

Before we finish this introduction, we would like to briefly look to the future of Nordic career guidance. To do this we want to reflect on discussions that we had with a wide range of experts at a workshop we organised on career guidance in the Nordic countries at the IAEVG conference in Göteborg in 2018. The workshop brought together around 50 participants from the Nordic countries and beyond to engage in dialogue about the past, present and future of Nordic guidance.

Participants described the landscape of career guidance in their countries and it became evident that the Nordic countries are all at different stages in the policy cycle. Some are witnessing increased interest in career guidance, others decreased interest. They also described a range of weaknesses in policy and provision across the Nordic countries. Participants reported that policy initiatives are often poorly implemented and rarely evaluated. They noted that national career guidance systems are rarely lifelong and tend to be organised on a sectoral basis and targeted at different age groups. They also bemoaned the fact the Nordic countries were often reluctant to promote innovative and successful career guidance initiatives internationally.

Workshop participants were clear that lifelong guidance should be seen as central to Nordic states' strategies on lifelong learning, labour force development and social equity. At the heart of such strategies should be high quality career guidance professionals and a common language that supports this profession to work cross-sectorally. They also emphasised the importance of building on the tradition of community, professional and user participation in the development of policy and

practice. Finally, the participants also discussed the importance of building on and extending the tradition of trans-Nordic co-operation on career guidance.

The chapters presented in this book build on and extend the description of the problems and opportunities that we identified in the IAEVG workshop. It is not a manifesto and we do not aim to present a set of 'demands'. However, we believe that the evidence presented here suggests that high quality, lifelong guidance should be at the heart of the Nordic model. There is much to be celebrated in the forms of career guidance that already exist in the Nordic countries and which we have summarise through the four COs. But, as we look to the future, we would hope that career guidance becomes more centrally embedded into policy and that policy support for the field across the region becomes more consistent and less prone to the whims of different governments. Career and career guidance needs to be viewed as a lifelong, cross-sectoral endeavour built on professionalism and evidence. All stakeholders should be involved in the design and development of career guidance services and practitioners, policymakers and researchers should be in the habit of sharing ideas with their colleagues across the region and beyond. This kind of vision of the future of guidance would require a big shift in policy and practice. The Nordic countries provide an ideal environment for such a shift to take place.

We hope that this book will be a step forwards into this future by stimulating dialogue, collaboration and debate across the Nordic countries and beyond.

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PART 1

CAREER GUIDANCE POLICY AND SYSTEMS

INGRID BÅRDSDATTER BAKKE

2. THE 'IDEA OF CAREER' AND 'A WELFARE STATE OF MIND'

On the Nordic Model for Welfare and Career

ABSTRACT

While they are independent states, the Nordic countries have common features. As well as democracy and a mixed economy, a key feature is their social democratic welfare states, often referred to as the 'Nordic model' where equality and universalism have guided policymaking. The model and Nordic culture are closely connected. In this chapter, I argue that work, and therefore career, are central concerns in the Nordic model and Nordic culture, and that welfare is organised to ensure maximum participation in work and equal access to employment. I then explore how the centrality of work frames the concept of 'career'.

INTRODUCTION

The ideology of the social democratic welfare model that underpins the Nordic political economy shapes the relationship between the people and the state and informs thinking about the nature of career in the Nordic countries. Career is often considered to operate in the interface between the individual and the state and so career is a key place where this uniquely Nordic relationship unfolds and develops.

PUTTING NORDIC INTO PERSPECTIVE

Jalava (2013, p. 258) cautions that 'whoever enters the domain of historical and historiographical regions should be aware of venturing into a vague and oscillating space, which offers no steady ground under one's feet'. Keeping this in mind I will proceed with care as I attempt to put the concept of *Nordic* into perspective.

The Nordic countries of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland have, as is discussed throughout this book, obvious similarities that often make it useful to consider them together. But, the heterogeneity of the Nordic countries, their different cultures, different 'styles' and national characteristics are evident with a closer look. The ambiguity of the cross-regional identity co-existing with clear national differences comes from a history of interaction and interdependence, but also one

of conflict and striving for domination, distinctiveness and independence (Berntzen, 2017).

A part of the story of the Nordic is that the countries have been joined together under various constellations, starting with the Kalmar union in 1397. These constellations were characterised by various degrees of voluntariness, dependency and duration, but they resulted in a tight network of economic, social, cultural and political exchange since the Early Middle Ages (Jalava, 2013).

The way in which this history has been written has served a range of narrative purposes, often supporting the distinctiveness of the nation-states rather than highlighting the intertwined history of the region (Berger, 2016). For example, in light of a romantic nationalism and an emancipatory ideology, the new Norwegian nation state created after the ending of the unions with Denmark and later Sweden, nurtured, developed and remembered what was considered uniquely Norwegian (Bakke, 2018) at the cost of the history of Danish rule, commonly referred to as the 'Dark Ages' (Berger, 2016).

This period of co-dependency ended with the dissolving of the formal unions between Norway and Denmark in 1814, and later the dissolution of Norway's subsequent union with Sweden in 1905, the unions between Finland and Russia in 1917 and Denmark and Iceland in 1944. It was from this point, that the Nordic region became five separate and independent countries, with the addition of the self-governed territories of the Faroe Islands, Åland and Greenland (Berntzen, 2017; Alexander, Holm, Hansen, & Motzfeldt Vahl, Chapter 5, this volume). Important concerns for these new states were cultural, economic and ideological nation building and solidifying the institutions and systems needed to operate the state. For these five countries, the high level of activity in legislative work was concurrent, and happened under the influence of major international events. Common for all countries was the ideological influence from Germany, which had introduced large-scale social insurance schemes during the 1880s. This inspired the Nordic states to develop and pass similar laws. The similarities in the outcome of the nation-building processes of the respective Nordic countries were a consequence of the concurrent timing rather than because of a shared Nordic agenda (Alestalo, Hort, & Kuhlne, 2009).

However, the common history, the common situation of being states in development, and geographical similarities due to being situated in the global north did serve as a basis for a sense of community. Even though Nordicity as a meso-regional identity was built into what it meant to be a Dane, Swede, Norwegian, Finn or Icelander rather than being an overall concept, there was a clear Nordic identity in the region. This identity can be understood as commonality and Nordic-*ness*. Allied to these cultural and ideological elements of Nordicity was a more pragmatic understanding of the benefit of cooperation and coordination in matters posing similar or common challenges (Jalava, 2013).

The need for cooperation led to the establishment of the Nordic council as an inter-parliamentary body, the joint labor market and the harmonisation of social security

laws in the fifties. This, and the co-occurrence of similar innovative legislation gave the Nordic countries status as the 'avant-garde of modernity' in the period from ca 1945 to ca 1990. This was partly an intentional, ideological strategy, demarcating the Nordic as different from Europe: a democratic, protestant, progressive and egalitarian North against a catholic, conservative and capitalist Europe, as well as the communist eastern bloc (Jalava, 2013). This was intended to serve as a mobilising vision and to engender cohesion (Ryner, 2007).

Marklund (2017) argues that since the 1950s, the Nordic countries have been actively building a 'brand' as a base for cultural diplomacy, taking advantage of positive international interest in their economic and social policies and ability to combine the interests of capital and labour in a democratic and efficient way (see Hooley, Chapter 3, this volume). The book *Freedom and Welfare* (Nelson, 1953) published by the Nordic council addressed current trends, issues and policies of the Nordic countries at this time, establishing the welfare state as the common ground for Nordic cultural diplomacy, and a key part of the external image and the common Nordic identity. At the same time, the Nordic countries competed for attention, especially from the US (Marklund, 2017), and chose different strategies for international cooperation, with Norway and Iceland not entering the European union, and Sweden and Finland not entering NATO (Iso-Markku, 2018).

In other words, as well as being a description of tangible co-operation between real countries, the concept of 'Nordic' is also a phenomenon of discourse constructed and reproduced to serve diverse purposes. As such, the geographically specific set of structures that comprise the Nordic region create a socio-spatial unit where the everyday life of citizens are influenced in concrete ways (Jalava, 2013) by the policies and practices of the governments, and cross-national ideology. The identity of Nordic is, in other words, both pragmatic and ideological.

In the following sections in this chapter, I will focus on the Nordic model for welfare as a cross-national Nordic feature and important to the 'avant-garde' of the Nordic countries. I will look at the conceptual connections between Nordic welfare as an ideology and career as concept. The rationale for doing this is that in addition to being a type of government, welfare model ideology is a set of beliefs, values and opinions about how the state should work and what it should do for society. In that respect, because of the pervasiveness of the model, the ideological base is also a part of a shared culture, where culture can be understood as 'the collective programming of the mind distinguishing the members of one group or category from others' (Hofstede, 1984, p. 21). In that respect, the collective programming from the Nordic welfare model make up a part of the social structures influencing the lives of the Nordic population.

THE CONTEXT OF THE NORDIC MODEL FOR WELFARE

One assumption about culture as collective programming, is that it works as tacit, internalised knowledge. For Nordic citizens, understanding the Nordic model and

expressing the specifics of it can be difficult, as it is just 'there', fostering implicit expectations about how systems work after generations of experience with them (Dølvik, 2007). The Nordic model can be thought of as constituting a cultural field in a Bourdieusian understanding of culture (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2010), a playing ground defined by a certain system and a certain set of rules: the doxa. The process of internalising the doxa and the system, and the actor's behaviour navigating this field, is understood through Bourdieu's analytical tools as the development of the habitus. In the following sections, I will look at research on the Nordic welfare model to clarify what it is, how the cultural field is constituted and how the doxa operate in order to influence habitus, particularly as this relates to individuals' understandings of career.

The various local specificities of what is considered the Nordic model for welfare makes the concept 'broad, vague and ambiguous' (Alestalo et al., 2009, p. 2). Kvist, Fritzell, Hvinden, and Kangas (2012) would even claim that there is no generally accepted definition of welfare. But, while I recognise a level of conceptual ambiguity, I believe that it is helpful to adopt Johansson's (2001) definition of welfare as having command over the resources required to live a good or decent life. More specifically, it can be defined as having what one feels is needed 'in terms of money, possessions, knowledge, psychological and physical energy, social relations, security and so on by means of which the individual can control and consciously direct her conditions of life' (Johansson, 1970, p. 25, as cited in Kvist et al., 2012, p. 2).

An individual's standard of living, and hence the concept of welfare, is multidimensional. 'What is needed' will vary, and is dependent on both individual and context, but the concepts of welfare relate to the experience of not having to struggle to experience a sense of security and comfort. It is a complex mosaic made up of many factors that are easy to recognise but not as easy to directly define, as they are explicitly actor oriented, interrelated, non-comparable, and variable (Fritzell & Lundberg, 2007). Individuals' appraisals of material and intangible resources will vary, and collective resources will be important in different phases of one's life. Even more importantly, as actors operate in contexts and systems, conditions will promote or constrain individual agency variably among different groups, for instance stratifying them by socioeconomic factors.

The influence of politics on these enabling or constraining factors and how they are present in peoples' lives make them an issue of politics and ideology, for instance policies emphasising equal opportunities and equal access to education and welfare rights (Kvist et al., 2012). In an overall pattern of welfare, governmental policies and systems play an important role, and social factors like cultural influence, history, socioeconomic factors, urbanity, rurality, and societal players like organisations, unions and employers as well as the individual itself, co-determine patterns of welfare. 'What is needed' is not the same for the have and the have-nots, those in a job or in education, people living in an urban context or on the northern coast. Similarly, in the Nordic countries, the welfare model and the ideology underlying it will only be one factor in the complexity that make up a nation's character.

The welfare model concerns the extent to which politics influences these factors by systematically affecting the living conditions of citizens. It is important to note that models and ideologies as used in this article are understood as conceptual frameworks, to analyse and organise ideas. Weberian ideal types, abstractions that describe the most prominent features of a case, and how these ideal models describe the actual living context can always be contested (Ryner, 2007).

However, the extent to which states do or do not assume responsibility and give support for a citizen's level of wellbeing is considered one of the defining features of welfare states. Welfare states are not necessarily designed, but rather emerge from political debate and compromise and through the struggles of a range of different social actors. The recognition that welfare states are politically and culturally situated helps to explain the differences that exist between the Nordic countries which all espouse that they have a 'Nordic welfare state'.

One important distinction between welfare regimes highlighted by Esping-Andersen (1990) is how far they let economic markets operate and how far they are planned and managed directly by government. Esping-Andersen (1990) defined three clusters of welfare states, and argued that to do this, it is important to 'begin with a set of criteria that define their role in society' (p. 32). All the three modes of welfare operate in the tripartite relationship between the state, the market and the family, but balance their importance or responsibility for the welfare of individuals in different ways (Fritzell & Lundberg, 2007).

Esping-Andersen's (1990) first cluster of welfare states is the 'liberal' welfare state, typified by means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers and social insurance plans which mainly support the low-income, working class and state dependents. US, Canada and Australia are archetypical examples. Entitlement is associated with stigma, and the *less* needy can benefit from private but subsidised, market-based welfare schemes. This type of welfare encourages a market economy, and results in further stratification of social classes.

The second cluster is the 'conservative, corporatist' welfare state. This is exemplified by Austria, France, Germany and Italy and has traditionally not been preoccupied with market efficiency and commodification. Redistribution has not been an issue, as rights have traditionally been attached to status and class, for example by being entirely income based. As these regimes have developed under strong influence from the church, welfare benefits emphasise traditional family values. Support of women's status as workers through day care and similar family services is limited, and the state 'will only interfere when the family's capacity to service its members is exhausted' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 27).

The third cluster is called the 'social democratic' type, and it is here we find the Nordic countries (Alestalo et al., 2009). The dominant force behind social reform was social democracy, and in these countries, the principles of universalism and decommodification of social rights would include all citizens in the states' welfare regimes. The social democrats opposed the idea of differences between classes and dualism between market and state, and emphasised equality 'of the highest standard'

(Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 27). Services and benefits would have to accommodate both the high standards of the middle class and guarantee the same quality of rights to the workers, for example by ensuring a relatively generous minimum benefit as basis, and calculate additional benefits based on past income.

Like the German welfare model, the objective of policies was to render social citizenship entitlements compatible with economic stability and international economic competitiveness (Ryner, 2007). However, in the German model the strategy was to continue class stratification to maintain social order (Esping-Andersen, 2009). For the regimes in the social democratic cluster, a levelling between societal classes is another important ideological principle with government and legislation in the fields of employment, education, healthcare and social matters frequently aimed at securing equal rights and opportunities.

By ensuring free education, universally affordable healthcare, family benefits and a comprehensive system of social security covering the loss of income during unemployment, sickness and retirement, the Nordic countries are considered progressive and work to reduce inequalities in individuals' chances to find a job, form a family and excel in society (Alestalo et al., 2009; Antikainen, 2006; Kvist et al., 2012). In that sense, in the Nordic model the states have assumed a higher degree of responsibility for individual welfare than in other clusters (Fritzell & Lundberg, 2007) For example, in addition to equality, Alestalo et al. (2009, pp. 2–4) summarise the main characteristics of the Nordic model as stateness and universalism.

Stateness concerns the notion that the state is present in most, if not all welfare arrangements, and thus in individuals' lives. Compared to the liberal and the conservative welfare states, the Nordic states extend into the spheres of the market and the family. For instance for families, the low cost and easy access to care for children and elderly, makes it possible for women to work. Stateness implies a closer relationship between the people and the state.

Universalism implies that services and benefits cover all, as an important realisation was that the risk of injuries and precariousness is also universal. Universalism is a central idea in the social democratic project. Equality complements universalism as welfare schemes are designed to provide equal opportunities and access to welfare for all. In the example of parental benefits, equality is affected because gender differences will play less of a role in the economics of the family, when both men and women can qualify for parental leave and benefits. However, outcomes might be different, as benefits are calculated on the basis of past income.

As such, in the welfare model, non-poverty means not only sustaining a basic standard of living and as such diminishing the worry about money, but it is also about the ability to function, make choices and fulfil individual potential – as in wanting both fulltime employment *and* family. This means that instead of securing sustenance by minimum measures when problems arise, the focus is on prevention through social investment (Kvist et al., 2012).

THE CENTRALITY OF WORK

In addition to equality, stateness and universalism as main characteristics of the Nordic welfare states, Fritzell and Lundberg (2007) argue that the countries implementing the Nordic model have a commitment to full employment. An important dimension in the understanding of the Nordic welfare model's role in citizens' lives is the emphasis that is placed on supporting individuals' ability to *work*. Active labour market policies, generous benefit levels, high quality public care services for children and older people, high taxation and low poverty rates (p. 3) are connected by the master idea of guaranteeing access to employment. It can be argued, that the level of social investment in the Nordic countries is underpinned by the fact that societal structures exist to ensure that everyone, regardless of where, when and by who one is born, can access employment. Equality does not necessarily mean similar outcomes, such as prestigious jobs and high salaries for everyone. Rather people are offered equal opportunities, underpinned by forms of social support, to work towards the individual goal of having 'what one feels is needed' and to gain access to this through paid employment. Non-poverty thus means more than having eliminated worries about money. Looking back to Johansson's (2001) definition of welfare, the goal of the welfare state is not to *give* the individual these things, but to make sure that individuals will be able to secure them for themselves through work. Realising individual potential, by gaining knowledge, experiencing social integration, security of life and property, recreation, culture, and political resources is available to Nordic citizens through work.

Benefits and support come in bundles, designed to address the complexity of peoples' lives whilst ensuring access to work. An example is offered by looking at paid parental leave (see Wikstrand & Schulstok, Chapter 4, this volume). Although the impact of this policy is contested (Dahl, Loken, Mogstad, & Salvanes, 2016), it aims to make it easier to combine work and family (Meagher & Szebehely, 2011). When this policy is combined with subsidised childcare and the payment of child benefits following parental leave, the incentive to continue working is strong for parents. Similarly, the state provision of care for disabled people and older people lifts the responsibility from individuals and allows them to continue working. The centrality of work is also demonstrated by the way in which unemployment benefits are paired with active labour market policies (Cort, Thomsen, & Mariager-Anderson, 2015) and made conditional on participation in activities designed to speed up the transition back to work, where non-compliance can lead to harsh sanctions (Kvist et al., 2012). Within the Nordic model work is not just incentivised, it is expected. Being out of work is conceived as a problem for both the jobless person, and for society at large.

Taking advantage of the benefits of the system implies a psycho-social contract that will most often mean having contributed to it by having had taxable income, meaning that individuals are expected to pay back what they have received and pay forward what they are going to get (Kvist et al., 2012). In social research, the

principle of exchange between the individual and the system in the Nordic countries has been coined collective individualism (Hernes & Hippe, 2007). Hernes and Hippe provide an explanation for the seemingly contradictory relationship between the individual and context in the Norwegian welfare system. Research on culture states that Norwegians are individualists, but the political settlement enshrined in the welfare state suggests a collective orientation. The concept of collective individualism recognises that fulfilling individual potential is possible because there is a collective system in place providing individual opportunities for all in the community. This is a system that all individuals must support and contribute to in order to keep it going, realising that their contribution will let other individuals take advantage of the system in ways that may never be relevant or possible for themselves. These individuals will later contribute and in turn make it possible for other people to take advantage of the system in ways that will support their individual journey. Hence, the collectivism denotes the idea that all individuals contribute to a collective package of opportunity and security that may not benefit them directly and that they will not be able to take full advantage of, but that nevertheless is available for the individual when it is appropriate. To engage in and support such a structure, have been suggested to foster citizenship (Ryner, 2007).

The welfare system is dependent on as high as possible participation in the work force. The quote from Esping-Andersen (1990, p. 28) stating that in the social democratic welfare society 'all benefit: all are dependent, and all will presumably feel obliged to pay' summarises a positive vision of universalism where the wealthy middle class will pay its share both to contribute to the common good, but also to receive benefits from the system. But this quote can also be viewed more negatively as describing a system where dependency and obligation means that you *are* obliged to pay in order to be able to depend on the system. So while Kvist et al. (2012) states that the Nordic populations 'share a passion for work', the question is rather: is it possible to choose not to work?

NORDICITY, WORK AND CAREER

I have argued that the Nordic countries share a culture which is intertwined with a cross-country policy theme which can be described as the Nordic welfare model. This context provides Nordic citizens with a high level of security, though it is something they have to work for. In this section I will turn to the issue of career and explore how this context frames thinking about career.

A key definitional question concerns the relationship between work and career, and the respective understanding of work and career. Career is a word and a concept that throughout the history of its discourse has been understood differently and carried diverse meanings, it is a question that has not been resolved and probably never will. Although this may not be a problem, it is still a challenge that the concept bear different meanings in different contexts.

For example, in an exploration of the understanding of the career concept in Norway (Bakke, 2018), I argued that the Norwegian working culture can be seen as emphasising community values to such an extent that career, if viewed as an individualistic upwards movement in a hierarchy, can seem alien. I argued that this is why the word career, or 'karriere' in Norwegian, has not been used to denote normal, standard, lateral trajectories in any education and any work, but have rather been reserved for people in professions where upwards mobility is key. The twist in the story however, is that Norwegian stakeholders and policymakers absorbed OECD's (2002) recommendation to make career guidance the primary framework for lifelong learning and guidance in Norway. Furthermore, a recent green paper advising on policy developments in career guidance in Norway in the years to come (NOU 2016:7, 2016) recommended that activities within the field of vocational and educational guidance should be denoted by the word career.

The term 'career' does not have the same connotations in all Nordic countries (see Chapter 1, the Introduction to this volume). For example, Swedish career guidance professionals have been called 'karriärvägledare' since the seventies (Plant, 2007). Nevertheless, it is important to understand the relationship between understandings of career and the importance of work in Nordic culture. The centrality of work, and its endorsement in culture and policy, make it important to explore the relationship between career and Nordic working culture.

Definitions of career have varied from being a sequence of work-related experiences to being progression in work, from being about just paid work to being about both education, work and life roles, from being structurally bound to fluid and boundaryless, from being determined by the organisation or by the drive of the individual. Metaphors to describe career have been equally diverse, describing how they are experienced; e.g. as role, or a good or bad fit (Inkson, 2004). Law's (2009) distinction between metaphors of career as a race or as a journey sums up the two poles around which understandings of career can be organised. Where career is seen as a race, people set their course, grit their teeth, compete and are challenged, they overcome obstacles and look for possibilities to get ahead. Where career is seen as a journey they can explore, perhaps divert and take a detour, where the experiences on route and the people they travel with are more important than where they end up. Neither of them is more right, because people prefer different things, but in the words of Law (2009), the understanding of the career as a race is the more dominant metaphor. And as Thomsen (2014) points out when writing about career management skills from a Nordic perspective, the understanding of career as progress up a hierarchy is the most common understanding outside of professional use.

As I have argued above, within Nordicity work is a central part of the culture, it is the means by which citizens participate in society and prove their worth. Work is part of the social contract, in the words of Watts (2016, p. 330), where citizens 'agree to devote a substantial part of (their) time to wider social purposes' in return for income for them to spend as preferred. To Watts (2016), (paid) work is only a part

of career and he champions a broader conception where career is viewed as lifelong progression in learning and work. As such, the concept of career encompasses work but is not defined by it. It includes the idea that while work can release human potential in itself there is more to life than just work, and humans have great potential that lies *outside* the realm of work. This is also why career is a democratic concept and should be for all.

Understanding career in relation to the Nordic welfare state and the social contract it implies, where states assume the responsibility of providing a safety net for their members who are viewed as active, engaged participatory citizens (Sultana, 2011), means that whether it is a race or a journey, the individual is interacting with the welfare system throughout. From birth, through healthcare and childcare, through schooling and education, through employment, taxes and labor market politics ensuring paid parental leave, sickness and unemployment benefits, to old age through pension and geriatric care. As these benefits and services are universal, they can be factored in, both as planned and un-planned turning points like education, job-shifts, family planning etc, regardless of income. If career is to be understood as a journey through life, education and work, then the Nordic career is a journey where the individual is in a continuing transactional relationship with the state.

Individuals' careers within the Nordic context are therefore defined at least in part by their ability to navigate the welfare state and to integrate it into their career journeys. As such, the Nordic welfare state constitutes a cultural field within which individuals have to operate. Within this cultural field, a strong commitment to paid work is central to habitus. Work is both a moral imperative and a strong external expectation and both of these aspects influence conceptions of career, when it encompasses work. Successful careers are therefore not simply about extracting benefits from the system but rather about working within the doxa of what is acceptable in terms of making contributions on one side and drawing on it on the other.

Universalism and egalitarianism implies that contrary to liberal or conservative welfare models, the social democratic model ensures equal rights across socioeconomic stratification, meaning that both low earners and high earners can benefit from the same system. Being able to secure career opportunities for upwards mobility and higher income to finance starting a family, saving for periods of job insecurity, financing children's' education or your own retirement is to a lesser extent a pressing issue. The choice of job to maximise career prospects, which is central to neoliberal understandings of career, is less important in the Nordic context because participation and contributions made from all levels of the employment structure give equal rights and access to the social insurances.

The idea that the centrality of work in Nordicity makes occupational choice a less important part of career sounds like a paradox, but it reframes career as something different and less individualistic. The social contract implies that there is no individual self-determination without solidarity (Sultana, 2011). Career is from a Nordic perspective a democratic concept and the social contract is foregrounded.

This influences the nature of career guidance and individuals' career management strategies. While developing individuals' employability to access the high-level positions and win in the career race can be an individual preference it cannot define career. The welfare state ensures that quality of life is not dependent on getting a well-paid job, and so career can be pursued as a journey and the race can be left to the ones that find it amusing.

CONCLUSION

Some researchers claim that the fall of the Nordic welfare state is imminent (Baeten, Berg, & Lund Hansen, 2015). The economic recessions and the growth of neoliberalism as dominant economic and political ideology over the last decades have brought with it changes in the policies of the Nordic welfare states. Commodification, private insurances and less generous benefits and services have developed, to the point where some ask whether the welfare systems that exist can still be described as the Nordic model (Knutsen, 2017). As such, it might be conceived as naïve to be singing the praise of the Nordic welfare model at this time.

Similarly, the contention that the world of work is changing dramatically and fundamentally in the face of globalisation and technological development is a recurring theme. Practitioners, researchers and policymakers concerned with career face the question of how to respond to this change. There is a worry that automation will replace low skilled jobs, and that the future of work and employment belongs to the highly educated, flexible, resourceful and innovative worker, creating further distance between those who do well and those who do not. There is also a worry that career guidance will exacerbate these differences by responsibilising career actors (Hooley, 2018). These prospects are unsettling, and as the Nordic model is dependent on a high level of participation in the work force, the systems will struggle to sustain themselves if employment drops – even if the ideology of the Nordic model continues to withstand the pressures of neoliberalism.

At the same time however, the Nordic countries' high scores on various international measures of life quality, equality and welfare combined with a steady growth in GDP, gives other writers reason to conclude that generous and comprehensive welfare regimes are still viable, the proof of this is self-evident by their continued existence in neoliberal times (Dølvik, 2007). A similar point can be made about the future of work, how the power of continuity and slow change, combined with human hesitation because of undeclared ethical questions and lack of resources to implement radical changes slows the process down (Hooley, 2018). In other words, discussing career issues related to the context at hand and being cautiously prepared for change could be argued to be a fruitful approach.

The Nordic welfare states represent a cultural field within which career is enacted, defined by decades of stateness, universalism, egalitarianism, co-dependencies and critically by the centrality of work. They are also supported by Nordic cultural values which emphasise equality and citizenship. These values are lasting and provide a

backdrop for further discussion of a democratic career concept. Nordicity reframes career conversations in ways that do not draw so heavily on the responsibilising and individualising notions that have characterised the careers field in many other countries (Hooley, Sultana, & Thomsen, 2018), In this respect, a Nordic concept of career has something to offer in the discussion of new conceptualisations of career and career guidance. In the discussion of the open and dynamic concept of life-career, Irving (2018) calls for deeper understandings and insights into how careers that are liberated from economic discourses and market relations in the construction of human value, social inclusion and cohesion actually function. There is also a conceptual link to collective forms of career guidance, where the collective come together, in what could be argued is a transactional process of learning, support and debate about the role of work, leisure and learning that support conscientisation and develop citizenship and community resources alongside the careers of individuals (Hooley et al., 2018). Research on collective forms of career guidance and a democratic career concept, and how they come together in theory and practice (Thomsen, 2012) has opened up a new field of enquiry. Exploring how this concern with community and collective guidance connects with the ideology of Nordicity is a venue for further research.

Whether collective or individual, career guidance itself can be said to be a part of the scaffold provided by the welfare state in the Nordic countries (Plant, 2007). Welfare states' concern with supporting their citizens in navigating the employment structure and negotiating the complexity of career and life by designing and implementing different systems for career guidance in school, education, employment and the welfare structure, can be viewed as one form of stateness. The guidance professionals' role is partly determined by the goal and ideology of the welfare regime. While career professionals and interested readers who have studied career guidance and theory realise that the career concept of today includes more than the individualistically driven and achievement oriented hierarchical career, this might not be the case for the people provision is intended for (see Thomsen, Mariager-Anderson, & Rasmussen, Chapter 22, this volume). Emphasising that career is a democratic concept that encompasses *all* citizens is important, as states intervening in individual's lives to shape their careers can be deeply problematic if career is understood in hierarchical and racing terms. Career counselling can be a vehicle for fostering citizenship by encouraging participation in society and community, and career-counselling practitioners can be agents of social change (Thomsen, 2012).

In summary, the Nordic context offers an ideal laboratory for rethinking and recontextualising career theories and exploring how they can inform practice. This chapter has sought to explore the cultural field of Nordicity and show how it can inform the concept of career. The rest of the book will help to delineate the Nordic field of career guidance further in the light of this and explore what it is, and what it can be.

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TRISTRAM HOOLEY

3. PINING FOR THE FJORDS

International Perceptions of Nordic Work, Education and Career Guidance

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores the way in which Nordic work, education and career guidance are seen by those outside of the Nordic region. It draws on an online survey of international informants which gathered respondents' opinions about the Nordic countries. It finds that respondents are overwhelmingly positive about the Nordic countries, even though they do not claim to be particularly informed about these countries. They report that on average the Nordic countries are better places to work, study and receive career guidance than their own countries. The chapter makes the argument that the way that the brand of 'Nordicity' has been disseminated internationally can account for at least some of this international perception. While the 'Nordic' has become a powerful and positive signifier, it is an ambiguous one onto which the international community can project their own meanings and use to serve their own political ends.

INTRODUCTION

I write this chapter as an admiring interloper into the Nordic world. Born in England, I did not visit a Nordic country until I was around 40 years old. However, before I ever set foot in a Nordic country I had formed a strong sense of the region. This was influenced by the regions' popular culture (from the Nordic noir that has come to dominate television and literature to music ranging from Abba to Norwegian black metal) and material culture (from knitwear to Nokia to Ikea and Volvo). It was also influenced by my knowledge of the politics of the countries, the Nordic welfare model and, as an educational researcher, my awareness of the 'world leading' Nordic education system, and particularly the Finnish 'miracle' of outstanding performance in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Simola, 2005). In my imagination the Nordic served as a utopian other which at once offered cultural richness and sophistication and a political and economic system inoculated against the worst excesses of neoliberalism.

My naïve enthusiasm for the Nordic countries remains largely intact, although it has been somewhat tempered as I have become more informed over the last five years. During this time, I have begun to travel and work more and more in the

region. I remain an outsider in these societies, hamstrung by my monolingualism, but frequent visits to the region, employment at a Norwegian university and the regular need to engage with the Nordic brand of organisational and state bureaucracy has increased my insights into the culture and operation of these countries. I am also blessed to be able to call on the insights of an array of Nordic friends and colleagues who have helped me to understand and decode my experiences.

This chapter focuses on how those living beyond the Nordic region perceive the region in relation to work, learning and career guidance. It explores how career guidance within the countries is seen, but also how the wider educational and employment system is perceived. In many ways it can be viewed as an attempt to figure out if my perspectives on the Nordic countries are shared by others.

DEFINING THE NORDIC AND NORDICITY

The Introduction to this volume made the argument that 'the Nordic' is a complex category which it is important to interrogate when exploring social and political phenomenon within the Nordic states. 'The Nordic' concept has geographical, historical, cultural, political and ideological components and inevitably with such a complex category there is disagreement about what it means (see Haug, Hooley, Kettunen, & Thomsen, Chapter 1, this volume; Bakke, Chapter 2, this volume). The process of contesting the meaning of the concept of 'the Nordic' or 'Nordicity' has considerable implications. Petersen (2011, p. 47) talks about a 'Nordic epistemic community' which shares a common set of starting points for discussion and debates about the nature and future of the Nordic region. Within the Nordic countries arguments about what constitutes the 'Nordic model' are an important site on which political debate is conducted (Ryner, 2007). Nordicity also serves as a justification for close collaboration between the Nordic states and frames the nature of that collaboration and the way in which it can be negotiated and changed (Strang, 2015).

This chapter is going to move away from considering the Nordic as an internal category within the Nordic states and explore what it means externally to those outside of the region. The Nordic states are globally important as models for public policy and culture. Some writers have argued that the development and propagation of the idea of 'Nordic exceptionalism', the idea that the Nordic states are better than other states and that they offer a model which other states should follow, has been a conscious strategy of branding, communication and the exercise of soft power by the Nordic states (Andersen, Kjeldgaard, Lindberg, & Östberg, 2019; Browning, 2007; Marklund, 2017).

For outsiders to the region, Nordicity has become an appealing idea (Ekstrand, 2018). It suggests much, but is often light on specifics. Andersen et al.'s (2019, p. 214) characterisation of Nordicity as a 'complex brandscape' is helpful as it shows how multiple, and often contradictory, concepts, both political and cultural are associated with the signifier of the Nordic.

Despite the complex array of meanings associated with 'the Nordic' it continues to exert a powerful influence on politics and public policy outside of the Nordic countries (Jakobsen, 2009; Marklund, 2017; Witoszek & Midttun, 2018). This is true in a variety of spheres, but for the purpose of this chapter it is worth noting the fact that other countries are often drawn to borrow policies and practices from Nordic counties in the field of education (Cardona López, Nordfjell, Gaini, & Heikkinen, 2018; Chung, 2016; Teresevičienė, Trepulė, & Trečiokienė, 2018). For example, on the Department for Education (DfE) website in England, Finland is the third most commonly mentioned European Union (EU) or Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) country (total 41 countries).[1] Sweden is the 11th, Norway and Denmark the 15th and 16th and Iceland the 20th. Taken together the Nordic countries comprise 18% of all EU and OECD references made on the DfE website.

In summary, this study is framed by the international appeal of the Nordic. This appeal is personal to the author but has also been observed far more widely by commentators on marketing and branding and on politics, public policy and ideology. Within the field of education, the Nordic 'brand' is an important influence on international policy and practice. The study builds on this literature to explore whether such Nordophillia also extends to international perspectives on Nordic career and career guidance.

ABOUT THE STUDY

To explore the issues already discussed relating to the perceptions of Nordic countries and the pervasiveness of Nordicity I conducted an online survey which examined how people outside of the Nordic countries perceived work, the education system and career guidance within the Nordic countries.

The study explores the perspectives of people living outside of the Nordic countries. As will be seen, most of the participants had very limited engagement with the Nordic countries and often had unreliable perceptions about what the situation was within these countries. The purpose of this study is to explore and describe these external perspectives rather than to judge their accuracy. The rest of this book provides extensive insights into career and career guidance in the Nordic countries. This chapter seeks to capture how the Nordic career guidance systems are perceived from a distance and through the distorting prism of international representations of Nordicity.

I developed the survey in Microsoft Word and sought initial feedback from three Nordic experts in career guidance. Following this I revised the survey and put it into Snap Survey.[2] I then trialled a pilot version of the survey with two careers professionals and three researchers. I then revised the survey and sent it out for further review. This time I received feedback from four careers professionals, one teacher and one researcher.

The survey was then launched and left open between November 2018 and March 2019. Responses were collected from participants in online fora associated with career and career guidance and through an email and social media campaign by the author. In total 300 responses were gathered.

I cleaned the data to remove responses with a substantial amount of missing data, those where respondents had not given permission for their data to be used and any test responses. I also removed 33 responses that were submitted by respondents from the Nordic countries. This resulted in a total of 184 valid responses from respondents in non-Nordic countries.

Responses were received from a total of 27 countries. However, most countries only submitted a small number of responses. For analytical purposes the sample was divided into four categories (UK, US & Canada, EU (non-UK) and others). The sample was dominated by responses from the UK as can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Responses by country

Country	Number of responses
UK	114
EU (non-UK and non-Nordic)	34
US & Canada	19
Others	12

Respondents were generally highly qualified with 71% having a postgraduate degree or higher. Around half (52%) described themselves as careers professionals with another quarter (28%) saying that they were not career professionals but did help others with their career in their work. I have explored the variation in results by country and profession and although there are some differences, the limited sample sizes make it difficult to draw any robust conclusions about whether country or profession are driving how positive respondents are about the Nordic countries. However, it would be valuable to retain these questions if the survey was repeated with a larger sample. Were I to repeat the survey I would also add an additional demographic question asking about participants' political orientation as I hypothesise this might be a significant factor.

The nature and size of the sample means that no claim can be made for the wider representativeness of these findings. It would be possible to repeat this with other samples and to find very different results. However, the results are both interesting and provide evidence of clear patterns. Given this, they are worthy of discussion and I would be keen to repeat the survey, or to have others do so with more precisely specified and representative samples.

The survey began with a section asking participants how engaged they were with the Nordic countries. It asked them whether they had read about any of the

countries, visited them, visited them for work or study or lived in them. They were also asked for their proficiency in any of the Nordic languages. They rated their language proficiency on a four-point scale: not at all (0); not well (1); well (2); or very well (3).

Respondents were then asked a series of questions about what it would be like to work, study or access career guidance in the Nordic countries. They were offered the same five point scale for each area with the following options: is much better than in my country (5); is a little better than in my country (4); is about the same as in my country (3); is a little worse than in my country (2); is much worse than in my country (1).

The data contained four open ended qualitative questions. These were as follows:

- What is the best thing you've heard or seen about career guidance in the Nordic countries? (67 responses)
- What is the worst thing you've heard or seen about career guidance in the Nordic countries? (41 responses)
- Do you have any other impressions of Nordic career guidance that you would like to share? (40 responses)
- Any other comments? (30 responses)

These data were analysed together using content analysis (Stemler, 2001) and inductively coded in Excel. A code book was created which comprised of seven main themes, each with a series of sub-themes: values (5 sub-themes); the state (4); work (6); education (5); career guidance (7); professionalism (5); and migrants (3).

RESULTS

Engagement

The average participant reported that they had read about two Nordic countries (average 2.26 countries) and visited one Nordic country (1.20). They were unlikely to have visited any of the Nordic countries for work (0.35) or study (0.05) or to have had a job (0.05) in any of these countries.

Respondents' Nordic language skills were generally very weak with the average score for each of the languages as follows: Danish (0.05 on a scale from 0 to 3); Finnish (0.04); Icelandic (0.03); Norwegian (0.08); and Swedish (0.11). At least 90% of the respondents reported that they had no language skills at all in each of the languages.

The questions around engagement in Nordic countries and languages were then summed to create a single score summarising Nordic engagement. This was then transformed into a score between 1–100. In order to score the maximum score of 100 respondents would have had to have lived and worked in all of the Nordic countries and speak all of the Nordic languages very well. Respondents were all in the lower half of the potential engagement score, with scores ranging between 0 and 50 with a mean of 10.64. In summary then, the majority of the sample reported very limited

engagement with the Nordic countries and almost none had a substantial engagement with the countries on which they were offering their opinions.

The lack of clear experience of the Nordic countries did not mean that respondents had nothing to draw on when rating the region. However, in some cases while the sources of information used may have been enough to provide a general impression of the country, they offered limited insights about the details of education and employment policy. One example is offered by the following comment:

> My first impressions come from watching Borgen on TV which portrays an equal, fair society full of well-educated professionals. I also have a Swedish female friend who is strongly focused on her career and against any gender stereotypes.

Results from the survey must be understood in this context. Respondents are generally working from a limited base of information and experiences about the Nordic countries. Consequently, many judgements should be viewed as a best guess by respondents about what the system in the Nordic countries is likely to be like rather than based on clear evidence. Such impressionistic responses are useful in judging how Nordic career and career guidance is seen internationally by non-specialists in the region.

Work

Respondents were asked a series of questions about what it would be like to work in the Nordic countries. The questions addressed standard of living, work-life balance, unemployment benefits, trade union membership and equality and diversity. Table 3.2 sets out the mean responses that respondents gave to these questions.

Table 3.2. Mean responses to questions about work (1 = much worse than in my country/ 3 = about the same as in my country/ 5 = much better than in my country)

In the Nordic countries my chance of	Mean response
Having a good standard of living	4.47
Having a good working life	4.27
Being well paid	4.10
Being able to find good work as a woman	4.08
Being able to access good benefits if I was out of work	4.07
Joining a trade union that is recognised by my employer	3.74
Being successful in self-employment	3.45
Finding a job	3.42
Being able to find good work as an immigrant	3.42

Taken together it is noticeable that on average respondents reported that working life in the Nordic countries is better in every sense than their own countries. They believed that Nordic countries are better places to live and work in for everyone. It is important to stress that these perspectives are subjective and not necessarily based on clear evidence. Various mechanisms exist to make more objective, albeit still contestable, judgements on the relative quality of life, work, education and career guidance in the Nordic countries and how they compare to the rest of the world e.g. the OECD's Better Life Index.[3] The purpose of this chapter is to capture subjective perceptions rather than to assess them against more objective measures.

The quantitative data was further illuminated by the responses to the qualitative questions. Data that addressed work was coded to the following codes: decent work (4 responses); workplace career development (3); low unemployment (2); family friendly (1); precarity (1); and over qualification (1). In general, this backed up the findings of the quantitative data.

> It seems that there is a priority for personal development and happiness along with career progression e.g. work/life balance.

> Striving to keep employees happy and healthy regardless of position within the company. Making the place of work a comfortable and happy environment.

> I am also of the impression that employers take a more active role in employee development and engagement than in the UK. As I understand that in Sweden, employee representation in company management structures is well-embedded and follows the approach indicated by organisations like the ILO. Employers are also active in secondary school management structures (I understand).

Although there were some dissenting voices which suggested that 'many people are over-qualified for the jobs available' and raised the issue of 'temporary contracts' and 'redundancy' these were generally running against a depiction of Nordic working life as both financially lucrative and respectful of a good work life balance.

There was some limited discussion of the idea that this level of access to the good life might not always be extended to the migrant populations within the Nordic countries. Respondents discussed what support existed for this population (6) with one noting that 'I understand there are challenges in meeting the needs of immigrant populations' while another had heard more positive feedback, 'I have heard positive reports about research programmes focusing on how career practitioners can support refugees'. Other respondents noted that migrants faced discrimination and racism (2) with one reporting that, 'I heard a Radio 4 programme criticising integration of Muslim groups in Sweden'. Others highlighted the challenges of various language issues (2). However, given the current importance of migration issues to Nordic politics (Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2016), they were only raised by a small minority of observers, with 46% feeling that the Nordic countries were better place to work as a migrant than their own country and only 17% feeling that they were worse.

Learning

Respondents also answered questions on whether they felt that the Nordic countries were a better place to learn in than their own countries. These questions address the quality of education, the experience of being in education and the quality of vocational and higher education. Table 3.3 sets out the mean responses that they gave to these questions.

Table 3.3. Mean responses to questions about learning (1 = much worse than in my country/ 3 = about the same as in my country/ 5 = much better than in my country)

In the Nordic countries my chance of	*Mean response*
Getting a good education	4.18
Enjoying my time in education	4.12
Getting good vocational and technical education	4.03
Going to a good university	3.74

Just as with work, respondents reported that on average they felt that every aspect of education, that they were questioned about, was better in the Nordic states than it was in their countries.

Again, the qualitative data provides further illumination as to why they felt this way. Respondents reported that the education system in the Nordic countries was learner centred (5); that there was a strong education system (3) which included a commitment to both early years provision (2) and lifelong learning (3). Some also argued that it was well aligned with the employment system, saying 'I am also of the impression that employers take a more active role in employee development and engagement than in the UK'. The following two quotes provide good examples of how the Nordic education systems are seen by respondents and how they believe that career guidance is integrated into these systems.

> My impression of Nordic countries is that overall, education is more concerned with well-being and 'holistic' development than in the UK, and much less target-driven. Career guidance in these countries may reflect a more student/ person centred approach, and a more consistent linkage between education with eventual work life.

> The Finnish education system has been praised for being exemplary I believe, so I would think that this might include their careers guidance services to pupils. I think the system is less academic focused so perhaps the emphasis on developing students' emotional wellbeing would include guidance counselling.

The idea of a 'holistic', 'learner centred' system which is attentive to the wellbeing of the individual learner rather than being metric driven perhaps explains why

people were convinced that not only would they get a better education, they would also enjoy themselves more whilst in education.

Career Guidance

Finally, I asked respondents to reflect on how career guidance in their countries compared to that in the Nordic countries. These questions addressed access to career guidance and the professionalism of the career guidance workforce. Table 3.4 sets out the mean responses that they gave to these questions.

Table 3.4. Mean responses to questions about career guidance (1 = much worse than in my country/ 3 = about the same as in my country/ 5 = much better than in my country)

In the Nordic countries my chance of	Mean response
Getting good career guidance while I'm in the education system	3.97
Getting good career guidance during periods of unemployment	3.97
Getting good career guidance while I'm at work	3.87
Being given guidance by a qualified professional	3.80

As with the other categories the perception of Nordic career guidance is overwhelmingly positive, albeit a little less resoundingly so than some of the better scoring elements of the work and learning dimensions. On average respondents believe that in the Nordic countries they are more likely to get good career guidance in education, employment and during periods of unemployment. They also believe that this is more likely to be given by a qualified professional. Once again it is worth stressing the fact that the picture of Nordic career guidance described in this chapter does not necessarily align with the reality. It is based on international perceptions of the situation that are often based on very limited actual engagement with Nordic career guidance.

The qualitative data provides further illumination about respondents' understanding of career guidance in the Nordic countries. A large proportion of the qualitative comments (22 in total) were focused on the issue of gaining access to career guidance. In general, these comments about access were positive, for example 'I think that there is a much greater focus on the whole society and ensuring that everyone can access quality guidance at all stages of their career'. However, there were also a minority who raised concerns about access e.g. highlighting limited provision in higher education or raising concerns about accessing career guidance in the more rural and remote areas of the Nordic region.

Career guidance in the Nordic region was viewed as being well established (8), and strongly embedded in the education system (12), one respondent praised 'the way in which careers guidance is incorporated into the education system. It is taught from an early age and feels like it's embedded as a principle of lifelong learning'.

Respondents also reported that Nordic career guidance was highly professionalised. Noting that staff were likely to be appropriately trained and qualified (15) and that services were likely to be delivered in a professional way (6). Some also noted that that working within the profession conferred high status (8) and good pay and conditions (2). As one respondent summarised:

> I think it's astounding, how Norway is currently setting up a guidance system based on specialised training for career counsellors and high-quality standards. My impression from the other countries, especially Sweden, Denmark and Finland is that career services are relatively well funded, and that professionals have good training and are interested in continuous further education and quality development.

Career guidance in the Nordic countries is also seen to be innovative (10), with several respondents commenting on e-guidance and on innovations in community focused guidance. It was also viewed as being underpinned by a strong evidence base (7) and built on a humanistic and person-centred ethos (7).

> Nordic career guidance appears to be a reflection of a 'Nordic way of life' rather than a distinct set of policies and procedures. My impression of Nordic career guidance therefore is that it is individual needs-based, but that individuals are seen as part of their communities and social networks. This appears to contrast with the more individualised, competitive paradigm that underlies career guidance in the UK and North America.

The idea that Nordic career guidance is underpinned by different values from that found in the English speaking world is an interesting idea which aligns to some extent with thinking that is found across the Nordic countries (as described in the 'four COs' set out by Haug et al., Chapter 1, this volume). The data suggests that this difference is perceived by some respondents from outside of the country and generally viewed positively.

Broader Understandings of the Nordic Counties

The qualitative data provides us with further context to this overwhelmingly positive understanding of career and career guidance in the Nordic states. Away from the specifics of education and employment policy the region was seen as being egalitarian (5), committed to the wellbeing of its citizens (4), and characterised by fairness (3) and a social democratic political consensus (3).

> My image of Nordic countries is a society where social inequalities as regards to gender, socioeconomic status, and origin are weaker than elsewhere in the world. Career guidance is part of this socially performant system and therefore inspiring.

This is sometimes contrasted with respondents' own context for the purpose of critique. As one respondent describes it 'they [the Nordic states] are more egalitarian than Great Britain. Great Britain is still riddled with snobbery', while another argues that it is different political parties and ideologies that account for the fact that the Nordic countries are better places to live and work in; 'the key to their success seems to be a lack of Tories in the Nordic countries'.

Policy in the Nordic states is seen as being committed to the welfare state (3) and underpinned by forms of social partnership (3). This means that there is a commitment to funding public services, including career guidance, well (14) and that there is strong public policy support for career guidance (12). Such support for career guidance is seen as being part of the Nordic welfare state and as something that is, as one respondent noted, 'closely linked to government strategy'.

DISCUSSION

The findings suggest that those outside of the Nordic countries (at least as far as this can be inferred from my sample) are overwhelmingly positive about work, learning and career guidance within the Nordic countries. The Nordic is viewed as a utopian other where the problems faced in domestic policy and practice have been solved. People live happy lives, get paid well and enjoy good work/life balance. Education is widely available and built on humanistic values that respondents feel are absent from their own system. Career guidance is widely available and delivered by well qualified, well respected and well-paid professionals. Things are perceived as being better in the Nordic countries, and as 'exceptional'.

I began this chapter by confessing to be a fan of all things Nordic, but I'm not blind to its faults and limitations. There are no shortage of people who are keen to write about the 'dark side of the Nordic model' and highlight the less frequently noticed traditions of authoritarianism and ethno-nationalism that can be found within Nordic culture (Cocozza & Hort, 2011; Keskinen, Tuori, Irni, & Mulinari, 2016; Ugelvik, 2011). Even for those who are enamoured with the 'Nordic model' there are deep concerns that this model is under-attack from both neoliberalism and the rise of the populist right as well as questions about whether the model still endures (Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006; Bergholm & Bieler, 2013; Kvist & Greve, 2011). Finally, as this book shows, the practice of career guidance in the Nordic countries is complex and contested, with policy support for services and professionalism often waxing and waning as in other countries.

None of these criticisms or qualifications undermine the value of looking to career guidance in the Nordic countries. There is, as this volume shows, much in the region than other countries can learn from. However, the presumption of 'Nordic exceptionalism' without a clear understanding of the context and subtleties of policies and practices in these countries is of limited use for those seeking to borrow policies and practices.

The perception that respondents in this study have of education, employment and career guidance in the Nordic countries can be viewed in many ways as a Derridean signifier which has become untethered from any meaningful centre (Derrida, 1970). The current volume is intended to address this by providing a detailed and critical account of practice in the Nordic countries. However, at present participants are more likely to be engaged in free play with the terminology of the Nordic and the ideas that it suggests without being able to lock these ideas onto any empirical facts.

The overt international self-branding efforts pursued by Nordic states since at least the 1950s began the process of, narrowing the concept of Nordicity until it came to signify a superficial version of the politics and culture of these societies (Marklund, 2017). More recent battles between centre left and centre right parties over the legal right to associate themselves with the, now trademarked, concept of the 'Nordic model' have extended this. The Nordic is something that everyone wants to own, but meaning is deferred down a chain of signifiers which stretch out past social democracy, skiing and Borgen on into the far north where they become increasingly indistinct.

Actors in other countries then, can seize on these Nordic signifiers in ways that are meaningful to them and which serve their ends. The Nordic signifier confers power far more than it confers meaning and so it is turned to political ends. The respondents in my survey are keen to use the Nordic to highlight the limitations of the policy and cultural context in which their practice operates.

CONCLUSIONS

The Nordic exerts a powerful influence on the popular imagination outside of the Nordic countries. This influence goes well beyond the focus of this book, but is also keenly felt with respect to education and employment policy in general and career guidance in particular.

In general, the Nordic is viewed positively with respondents to the survey arguing that work, learning and career guidance are all better in the Nordic. However, the brand of 'Nordicity' is a loosely defined signifier which is often associated with chains of other signifiers (e.g. modernity, social democracy, the welfare state, and good design) which can also be difficult to define. Respondents were not relaying their experience of the particularity of any Nordic countries that they had visited or studied, rather they were wielding the signifier of 'Nordicity' as part of a utopian imagination of a 'better place' and an implied critique of their own context.

Given the importance of the Nordic as an international signifier in career guidance policy and practice, the work collected together in the current volume is of critical importance. If this can enrich wider understanding of how career guidance is practiced within the Nordic countries, it might also have the effect of strengthening the quality of debate about the value and practice of career guidance in other parts of the world.

NOTES

[1] Department for Education website is available at https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-education. The analysis was conducted on the 20th May 2019 and used the 'advanced search option to specified 'Department for Education within the organisation box. All EU and OECD were searched for.

[2] Snap Survey is a commercial survey tool. Further information about the tool is available at https://www.snapsurveys.com/

[3] The OECD Better Life Index is available at http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org

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TORILD SCHULSTOK AND FRIDA WIKSTRAND

4. GENDER EQUALITY AND CAREER GUIDANCE IN A NORDIC CONTEXT

ABSTRACT

In this chapter we explore how the question of gender equality in the Nordic countries is connected with career guidance. The Nordic welfare states are generally considered to take on a higher degree of responsibility for reducing inequalities than other state forms. Despite gender equality being high on the agenda, we argue that the underlying strong ideology of individual free career choice creates a dilemma for career practitioners on how to approach the issue of gender guidance. We argue that career guidance should take an intersectional perspective and use the examples of Norway and Sweden to highlight the importance of policy goals being followed up with concrete measures.

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality has been an important political issue in the Nordic countries since the middle of the 20th century (Eydal et al., 2015). Throughout the Nordic region political decisions have been taken to ensure that families can balance and combine working life and domestic responsibilities (Öun, 2014). As a result of such legislation, the Nordic countries have the highest level of female participation in the labour market in the world and a well-developed self-image of being gender equal (Martinsson, Griffin, & Nygren, 2016). From the 1960s onwards there have been a growing number of women in the labour market, both due to the feminist movement and the lack of labour, with women seen as a labour reserve (Hirdman, 2001). From an outside perspective, the Nordic countries are often identified as a utopia with respect to gender equality and are placed highly in various gender equality rankings (Castro-Garcia & Pazos-Moran, 2016; Green, 2015; Lister, 2009; Hooley, Chapter 3, this volume; Martinsson et al., 2016).

Historically the focus of gender equality has been on women's careers and their ability to balance working life with the responsibilities of childcare and other domestic chores (e.g. Ellingsæter, 2016). The focus has now shifted to the gender division of labour and the engagement of men in domestic and care work (e.g. Brandth & Kvande, 2016; Reisel & Teigen, 2014). Other important questions are boy's underachievement in school and girls over representation in higher education

(Lahelma, 2014; Zimmerman, 2018) and the consequences of these educational disparities throughout the life course (NOU, 2019:3).

Career guidance practitioners, particularly in schools, are often pointed at by interest groups and by governments as being important in solving the gender division of labour (e.g. Meld. St nr. 7, 2015–2016; SOU, 2015:50). The way career guidance personnel engage with this question varies between different professionals, schools and countries in the Nordic region (Mathiesen, Buland, & Bungum, 2010; Skolinspektionen, 2013).

Our position and theoretical grounding is based on an understanding of gender as something socially constructed and constituted, something that is *done* rather than something that *is* (Connell, 2004; Lykke, 2009). We can not escape the underlying dualistic view on gender, but our ambition is to visualise and problematise this view. The gender dichotomy constructs the expectations on individuals based on assumptions of their biological gender (Connell, 2004). Since this is the way that the statistics are reported in the Nordic countries, we have to discuss both gender as biology and gender as social construct. Nordic gender equality policies are based on this dualistic view of gender, and on the norm of families with two parents, a mother and a father (Martinsson et al., 2016).

To discuss gender we also take into account that gender does not necessarily affect peoples' position in society by itself, categories such as social background, ethnicity, functionality, sexuality, identity, age and religion are also important for understanding power structures effect on peoples life (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005; Røysum, 2016). We therefore take intersectionality as an analytical perspective, emphasise the relational aspect of gender rather than the individual and draw on the theoretical viewpoint that politics and legislation matters for what is seen as possible by individuals and for constructing and changing social norms in society (Bromseth & Darj, 2010; Wikstrand, 2019).

UNDERSTANDING THE "NORDIC GENDER EQUALITY MODEL"

How a country deals with gender equality has a significant and direct impact on how the labour market is organised (e.g. Halrynjo & Teigen, 2016). An understanding of gender equality (and inequality) is therefore of importance for the field of career guidance. All of the Nordic countries share a sense of fulfilment in these matters and possess a self-image of being pioneers in gender equality. Sweden passed its first law on gender equality in 1939 (NIKK, 2018). The Finns was the first country in the world to grant women full political rights in 1906 (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2019). Iceland has been in the spotlight recently for implementing an equal pay standard (described as *certified equality*) (Wagner, 2018). The Norwegians take pride in being the first country worldwide to enforce the fathers' quota, which ensures that men take some paternity leave, in 1993 (Kitterød & Halrynjo, 2019, and Denmark can boast that it has the highest day-care coverage for young children

(Eydal & Rostgaard, 2011). These are only some examples of Nordic policies that have contributed to the strong gender equal identity and self-image in our region.

Nevertheless, there are still challenges to deal with. The gender pay gap remains (Holst, 2016; Magnusson & Nermo, 2014), women are more likely than men to work part time (Öun, 2014; Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2018) and we are still facing a care deficit, meaning that much care work is either unpaid or poorly payed (Boye, 2014). The Nordic countries also have a clear gender division of labour (e.g. Reisel, 2014). Men dominate STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) occupations and women are over-represented in HEED (Health care, Elementary Education, and Domestic) (Tellhed, Bäckström, & Björklund, 2017). Tasks coded as STEM are viewed as masculine, while tasks coded as HEED are viewed as feminine (Wajcman, 1991). In recent years, we have seen a movement towards more women in formerly masculine coded areas such as medicine and law. Yet within these occupations there is still an internal gender division of labour, often referred to as *the glass ceiling*, where men tend to proceed in their careers into managerial positions more easily than women (SOU 2015:50; Teigen, 2014; Wikstrand, 2011). One question addressed has been about women's participation on company boards and top leadership position (Teigen, 2015). A 40–60 % balance between the sexes is the number identified by policymakers as 'gender mainstreaming' (Sjöstedt, Landén, & Olofsdotter, 2016). Different occupations have different pay, influence and power in society and a gender balanced labour market is often recognised to provide the best use of talents, to lead to higher profits and provide a better work environment (Reisel & Teigel, 2014; SOU 2015:50).

Nancy Fraser (1994) has argued that a modern welfare state should recognise the complexity of gender equality. It is situated between equality and equity, between treating women and men exactly the same and the assumption that one gender should be treated differently because they are different. Fraser (1994) argues that neither of these ways of looking at gender have a significantly impact, since they do not address exploitation in society. Furthermore, she argues for the need to rethink gender equality through the principles of antipoverty, antiexploitation, income equality; leisure-time equality; equality of respect, anti-marginalisation and anti-androcentrism. From these ways of looking at gender equality Fraser argues for a deconstruction and reconstruction of how we understand gender and how we code gender (Fraser, 1994).

While Fraser (1994) asked 'can we really look to the state to befriend women in male-dominated, racist, late-capitalist societies?", Hernes (1987) claims that the Nordic countries with their state forms are well equipped to reduce inequalities and transform themselves into gender equal societies. She describes three main aspects of gender equality that are used as arguments in policies and politics.

1. The right of the individual – connected to human rights and the ideal that men and women have equal rights to participate in society, without any concerns about consequences.

2. Resources in society – focus on the added (often economic) value of having both men and women participating in society and the workforce.
3. Redistribution of power in society – men and women are assumed to have different experiences, values and interest. Equal participation is therefore necessary to ensure both groups interest.

Hernes argues that the second aspect, resources and economics, also referred to as the *economic equity dimension* (Teigen & Skjeie, 2017), represents a more fragile base for gender equality (Hernes, 1987). Historically this has been a strong argument for women's participation in the labour market (Hirdman, 1999) and can be seen in a recent report from the OECD (2018), that highlights how the Nordic approach to gender equality has resulted in growth in GDP per capita of between 10% and 20%. Hernes first and third point are related to what Teigen and Skjeie (2017) portray as the *democratic parity dimension* – a focus on factors like gender balance in political decision making, equal of opportunity structures within civil society, and equal rights to vote and hold office.

GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

The issue of gender equality in the Nordic countries has long tradition starting in the 19th century. Gender equality is not just a labour market issue or question of access to democratic representation but is also concerned with individual's relationships and family lives. The first parental leave insurance that gave fathers the right to leave when a baby was borne was introduced in all Nordic countries in 1970's and 1980's. The idea that private life is important for gender equality was stressed by the women's movement in 1960's and 1970's. In some of the Nordic countries this is still something that is left out of policies as shown in Table 4.1.

If we examine the five Nordic countries official gender equality goals and identified prioritised areas, a slightly different take on gender equality and family policies becomes visible. We will here present these goals, obtained from the website Nordic Information on Gender (NIKK, 2018).

The table above shows the different gender equality goals in the Nordic countries for 2016–2019. The Danish focus is on rights and freedom of the individual and better utilisation of recourses and competences. This can be related to Hernes (1987) resource argument. This focus has meant that in Denmark the argument for earmarked paternity leave would affect the free choice of families and is therefore not possible (nikk.no, 2018). Data from the Gender Equality Index (GEI),[1] reveals that Denmark, although well above EU average, has a relatively low scores for democratic parity compared the two other Nordic EU member countries (Finland and Sweden).

Sweden and Iceland are the two countries that address equal power based the principle of democratic parity and addressing Hernes' first and third point. Sweden is the only country that addresses the equal distribution of household and care work. The other countries equality goals are to be found some place in between these

Table 4.1. Gender equality goals in the Nordic countries nikk.no (2018-05-22)

Country	Gender equality goals
Denmark	• Rights and freedom for the individual • Better utilisation of resources and talents • Global gender equality measures
Finland	• Promotion of gender equality in the labour market and the workplace • Supporting people's ability to combine paid work with family life and parenthood • Promotion of gender equality in education and sport • Reduction of violence against women and violence in intimate relationships • Improvement of men's wellbeing and health • Promotion of gender equality through political decision-making.
Iceland	• Equality in political administration • Gender and power – representation in politics • Equality in the labour market including addressing the gender pay gap • Addressing gender-based violence • Equality in the education system • Addressing issues of gender equality for men
Norway	The gender equality policies aims to ensure equal opportunities and the freedom to make choices, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, functional ability and sexual orientation, among all people. Gender equality is emphasised in areas such as: • Childcaring and education • Employment • Protection against violence and violations • The business world • Health • International contribution to gender equality
Sweden	The overarching goal is to enable women and men to have equal power to shape society and their own lives. To achieve this goal, women and men must have the same rights, opportunities and responsibilities in all areas of life. • Equal distribution of power and influence • Economic gender equality • Gender equality in health and healthcare • Gender equality within education • Equal distribution of unpaid household and care work • Men's violence against women must stop

two ways of addressing the question of gender equality. The countries equality goals have consequences for how gender is addressed in relation to, for example, career guidance in the government's policy texts on career guidance in schools and throughout the life course.

As the main focus in the Nordic countries has been on women's entry into STEM and the professionalisation of female coded occupations, some women's advances have been at the expense of others (Dahl, 2004). Using Frasers (1994) principles of gender equalities, Dahl argues that a focus on the professionalisation of home-helpers in terms of pay has occurred at the same time as the state uses neoliberal discourses and management principles to reduce their work to simple and measurable tasks. The implications may be that the positive changes in pay are merely superficial and there will not be a recognition of their work.

In various initiatives from the governments and other stakeholders in Sweden and Norway, career practitioners are pointed at as the group to fix the problem (Meld. St nr. 7 2015–2016:13; SOU, 2015:50; SOU, 2015:97). A key question has been how career guidance could be organised to effectively challenge assumptions about gender and work. An interesting point is that career guidance itself, as an occupational field, appears to have become massively gendered, with a considerably female dominance.

GENDER EQUALITY AND CAREER GUIDANCE

In this part we turn our focal point more specifically to career guidance and aim to describe how gender and gender equality is affecting career guidance in research, policy and guidelines for career practitioners. We will look closer into Norway and Sweden as examples of similar, but distinct approaches.

In Research and Theory

There has been a lot of research and theory development which addresses gender across a range of disciplines e.g. gender studies, sociology, political science, psychology and pedagogics. Such research shows how gender is an important factor in career decision-making. Boys and girls, men and women make career decisions that are gender stereotyped (e.g. Reisel & Teigen, 2014). Therefore, it is interesting that the question of gender has been visible in career theory as a question about women's different and problematic careers (e.g. Blustein, 2015). Male careers are viewed as a norm, for example in the International Handbook of Career Guidance (Athanasou & Van Esbroeck, 2008). Bimrose (2008) writes an interesting and important text on 'Guidance for girls and women'. The placement of the chapter, in the part that addresses problematic careers such as migration and disadvantaged social backgrounds, shows that women's careers are seen as different to the normal (male) career. It is notable that there is no chapter in this handbook on 'Guidance for boys and men'. From a Nordic perspective, where women have the world's highest labour market participation (Green, 2015), it makes little sense to talk about women's careers as problematic.

Career development theories will generally reflect the dominant target groups in the fixed point in time in which they are created (Bimrose, McMahon, & Watson,

2019). Historically, most of the influential career theorist have been men, leaving white, middle class males as the particular group of interest (Bluestein, 2015). Gottfredson is perhaps the most well-known exception from the last century. Her theory of circumscription and compromise recognises gender as a crucial influence on career development (Bimrose et al., 2019; Gottfredson, 2005). The growing prevalence of women in the workforce, lead eventually to an increase of career theory concerned with women`s career development. But as some researchers have suggested, the somewhat limited scope seemed to continue with a focus on primarily young, urban and well-educated women (Bimrose et al., 2019). Comparing women's participation in the labour force together with care responsibilities between different countries, Bimrose, McMahon, and Watson (2015) conclude that geography matters and that we need an intersectional approach which examines the privileges and disadvantages of all women. Bimrose et al. (2019) suggest that some emerging career theories, might due to their more holistic, contextual and less rigid nature, be better suited to deal with issues of gender in the world of careers, eg. Bluestein's the psychology of working (Blustein, 2006), the systems theory framework of career development (Patton & McMahon, 2014) and the chaos theory of career development (Pryor & Bright, 2011).

NORWAY AND SWEDEN – TWO DIFFERENT APPROACHES?

Gender-equality in a country is influenced by how the concept of gender equality is perceived, understood and debated in public (Teigen & Wangerud, 2009). Research has shown some differences in how gender equality is discussed and framed in the Nordic countries (Borchorst, Christensen, & Siim, 2012; Dahlerup, 2002; Teigen & Wangerud, 2009). In a comparative discourse analysis, Borchorst et al. (2002) identified a variation in the dominant main discourses in Scandinavia. In Norway a discourse on gender differences has been apparent, whereas in Sweden a discourse on women's subordination has been higher on the agenda, and in Denmark the focus has predominantly been on empowerment and freedom of choice. Dahlerup (2002) found, after analysing political discourses in Sweden and Denmark, that gender equality was significantly more politicised in Sweden with feminism as a clearly outspoken ideal among most political parties. Teigen and Wangerud (2009) conclude in their analysis that while the discourse on gender equality in Norway seems to be rooted in a strong belief in the steady linear process of harmonious development, Sweden takes on a more radical approach in the public debate where discussions around power systems, political insufficiencies and conflicts are more prominent.

An interesting question is how these different discourses together with the formal goals presented in Table 4.1 are reflected in career guidance policies and practice in each country. Using Norway and Sweden as two examples, two slightly different approaches emerge.

From a policy perspective in both Norway and Sweden the ambition on gender equality, especially regarding economic equity and available resources, is undoubtedly

high. A variety of governmental white papers (Meld. St nr. 7 (2015–2016), Meld. St nr. 20 (2012–2013), NOU, 2011:18, 2012:15, 2019:3; SOU 2015:50, 2015:97) have been produced in the last decade to pinpoint and enhance measures to cope with the issue of gender segregation in the labour marked.

However, as a specific career guidance topic the picture is less clear. In both countries career guidance responsibility to address gender equality issues is written into school laws (Skolverket, 2013; Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2009). School counselling and career guidance are positioned to play an important role to help youth to making educational choices regardless of gender (Meld. St nr. 7, 2015–2016, p. 13; Skolverket, 2013). Beyond this there are differences between the countries.

We argue that the Norwegian belief that *this will progress nicely on its own* (Teigen & Wangerud, 2009) contributes to the lack of a clear focus on gender in guidance strategy in Norway. Research reveals (Haugum, Mathiesen, Buland, & Carlsson, 2016; Mathisen et al., 2010) that the Norwegian schools generally have not put much effort into making action plans to address gender equality issues. Mathisen et al. (2010) concludes that gender perspectives have a relatively peripheral place in the schools, amongst the counsellors, the teachers and the management. This study, followed by more recent studies on school counsellors (Buland et al., 2011; Buland, Mathiesen, & Mordal, 2014; Haugum et al., 2016) confirms that gender perspectives are rarely acknowledged in guidance work with Norwegian youth. With the exceptions of a few enthusiasts, the majority of the counsellors report that they find it difficult to approach this topic. In many ways they lack the tools and meaningful approaches on how to do it (Schulstok & Svoen, 2014).

In Sweden, a more radical approach (Teigen & Wangerud, 2009), has pushed the development on one step further. The national agency for education (Skolverket) has produced a series of guidance for schools. In the advice for work with career guidance in schools the legislation on gender equality is made more explicit and responsibilities clarified. For example, the schools have a responsibility to provide career guidance for pupils and to make sure that children's vocational and educational choices are not affected by 'gender, social background or culture' (Skolverket, 2013).

Research conducted in 2013 in 32 schools found that gender stereotyped career choices were seen as a big problem, but that counsellors did not feel that they had tools to work with the issue (Skolinspektionen Rapport, 2013:5). This knowledge resulted in an initiative from the National Agency for Education in Sweden to promote a course in gender aware career guidance in 2013 which developed into a new approach to guidance (norm criticism) (Wikstrand & Lindberg, 2015). Norm criticism was introduced to help students to understand power structures through examining norms in societies. There was also a shift from only talking about gender stereotypes to a more intersectional understanding of power structures, including social background, race, age, religion, functionality and sexuality and how these intervenes. Norm criticism aims to visualise taken for granted norms and show how breaking the norms excludes people and ways of living from education, work and

other institutions (Wikstrand, 2019). Wikstrand and Lindberg (2015) wrote a book distributed to all headmasters in the country by the national agency for education in Sweden. Questions addressed in the book include the culture of masculinity (e.g. 'too cool for school') and the way in which gender and class stereotypes shape engagement with occupations.

CAREER GUIDANCE IN BETWEEN GENDER EQUALITY GOALS AND FORMATION OF THE FREE WILL

> Our country has not yet engaged its daughters. Thousands of forces are not in use. (Collett, 1868)

Since those words were written, we have come a long way in the Nordic region. Gender equality is largely taken for granted, so are women's careers. It is men's careers, and what Lahelma (2014) refers to as the boys' discourse, that are presently in focus, as men underachieve in schools and are underrepresented in higher education. What we need to keep in mind, is that a narrow focus on gender only, might lead us to ignore socioeconomic background, migration and other categories important to understand peoples transitions throughout life. It is important to take an intersectional stand on gender to understand and work with people in transitions.

One challenge in Norway and Sweden is that most career counsellors meet the students for individual guidance first in the eighth or ninth grade. These interviews need to contain so much and it could be seen as encroachment to challenge individuals' view on gender (Bueland et al., 2014; Loven, 2000). As Haug (Chapter 14, this volume) discusses the ideology of career guidance in a Nordic context is focused on the individual with the individual viewed as capable of making free choices. Challenging individuals' gender norms and assumptions can be seen as challenging the idea of free will. The common understanding amongst the practitioners is that their clients must make their own independent choices and this may contribute to a general hesitation and refusal to bring forward gender perspectives, unless the clients themselves problematise the issue (Mathisen et al., 2010).

How the welfare system supports gender equality and the opportunity to combine family life with working life shapes how families in the Nordic countries organise their everyday life and their careers. For the field of career guidance it is therefore of importance to examine closer how career logic unfolds within the Nordic family-friendly work model. Family-friendly policies have contributed to the high numbers of females in the Nordic workforce, and made careers more available to women. Yet we should also be aware of the challenges that come along. As Halrynjo (2017) argues, the rules of family-friendliness rest upon the notion of collective rights, protection, legal absence and reduced demands on achievement and performance. The rules of career, however, tend to favour the productive, dedicated, visible and non-stop worker who is competing in a strongly individualised competition. In

receiving the well-intentioned and highly needed support, parents, mostly mothers, then face the constant risk of becoming 'the replaceable worker' and failing to meet the expectations of the career world (Halrynjo, 2017).

The different Nordic countries have different gender equality goals. Denmark stresses free choices for families while Sweden seeks to redistribute power in the private sphere as well as in public sphere. The point is that there is not one way to view or to work for gender equality in the Nordic countries. The disparities are partly due to what is viable in the different countries, partly on which political parties govern. Hernes three arguments for gender equality visualise that there is not one rationality that underpins gender equality in the Nordic region. If we compare Hernes (1987) aspects of gender equality only Sweden and now Iceland have gender equality goals that seek to reconstruct gender norms. These countries also apply to Frasers point about how we understand and code gender. The attention to the gender division of labour in the Nordic countries and the lack of competences within STEM and HEED relate to the idea of gender equality for economic reasons. This argument urges career guidance workers to try to get young people to aspire to occupations that challenges gender norms. But as the career guidance ideology in the Nordic countries is not to influence the clients, most career guidance workers find themselves in a dilemma when talking about the gender division of labour.

The idea that individuals have a free choice is strongly situated within career guidance. This paradox between the desire to validate and support individual choice and a recognition of structural inequality is buried in the ideology of career guidance in the Nordic states. The Swedish and Icelandic gender equality goals emphasise the redistribution of power and seek to reconstruct notions of masculinity and femininity. This approach shifts the focus from trying to get girls into STEM occupations and boys into HEED occupations towards trying to visualise and challenge the gender division of labour through pedagogics and norm critique (Kumashiro, 2009; Wikstrand, 2019).

Guidance approaches based on constructivism and social constructionism have traditionally been recognised as suitable for dealing with gender equality issues, due to their narrative focus and its ability to bring contextual and cultural elements to the table (Bimrose et al., 2019). We need, however, to be aware of the potential danger of the emphasis on personal agency in these approaches and the risk that career practitioners lose sight of structural and systemic barriers to career (Bimrose et al., 2019). The development of norm critique as a guidance approach offers one way to address these issues that is worth exploring further across the Nordic region.

NOTE

[1] GEI is monitored by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). The aim is to map country variation within the EU regarding gender equality outcomes on a variety of variables such as work, money, knowledge, time, power, health, violence against women and intersecting inequalities (Teigen & Skjeie, 2017).

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ROSIE ALEXANDER, ANNA-ELISABETH HOLM,
DEIRDRE HANSEN AND KISTÂRA MOTZFELDT VAHL

5. CAREER GUIDANCE IN NORDIC SELF GOVERNING REGIONS

Opportunties and Challenges

ABSTRACT

The Nordic self-governing regions (the Faroe Islands, Greenland and the Åland Islands) pose a specific context for careers guidance policy and practice. Characterised by their island topographies, small populations and historically minoritised languages, these regions have in recent years gained greater autonomy over their domestic affairs. As a result steps have been taken towards developing domestic careers guidance policy and practice suitable for their own territories. In this chapter case studies of two of these regions will be presented – Greenland and the Faroes – in order to explore the specific challenges and opportunities facing these communities. With both regions historically subordinate to the Danish crown, these communities have a shared inheritance in terms of education, economic and careers policy, and they also face shared challenges in terms of their distinctive labour markets, language contexts and concerns with migration. However, as this chapter will show the specific manifestation of these challenges, and responses to these challenges has differed between the communities. The findings demonstrate how the communities of Greenland and the Faroe Islands are developing approaches to careers guidance policy and practice which draw from existing Nordic approaches, and benefit substantially from Nordic co-operation, but which also challenge and develop their Nordic and specifically Danish inheritances to create distinctive new models.

INTRODUCTION: NORDIC SELF-GOVERNING REGIONS

The Nordic self-governing regions are distinctive within the Nordic region in terms of career guidance policy and practice, because their growing autonomy has resulted in a drive to create *new* territory-specific policy and systems. Historically, the three self-governing regions have different relationships with the wider Nordic context. The Åland Islands, situated in the Gulf of Bothnia, historically belong to Finland, but are Swedish speaking. Greenland (situated between the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans) and the Faroes (situated in the North Atlantic) are both historically part of

the Danish realm. All three regions are now identified as self-governing regions, with differing levels of autonomy in terms of their domestic affairs. The Nordic context of these regions is established not only through their historical relationships to the countries of Denmark, Finland and Sweden, but also through membership of the Nordic Council, with the Faroes and Åland joining in 1970 and Greenland 1984. Indeed, their influence within the Council has grown since the 'Åland Document' was adopted by the Ministers for Nordic co-operation in 2007 (Nordic Council, n.d., 2007). Through the Nordic Council the territories are engaged in various Nordic initiatives and co-operations.

A key consideration in creating new systems and policies for careers guidance concerns the specific needs of the areas these systems serve. In this respect the context of the self-governing regions have some key features – most notably their island topographies, small populations and particular language contexts. These create specific labour market, education and cultural contexts, all of which can affect the career development experiences of individuals and potential policy and practice responses (Alexander & Hooley, 2018). In this chapter the experiences of two of the Nordic self-governing regions will be explored – Greenland and the Faroes. Comparing these two case studies is instructive, because both share a historical and on-going relationship with Denmark, and in many ways share cultural and political influences which are Danish. However, through exploring the case studies it is possible to show how the specific needs of these communities vary, as do the trajectories they are taking towards moving beyond their Danish inheritances and developing their own career guidance systems. This chapter will begin by exploring some of the contextual influences on career guidance in Greenland and the Faroe Islands, before moving on to considering case studies of the careers guidance systems in these territories and finishing with a discussion of the careers guidance practice and policy implications.

GREENLAND AND THE FAROE ISLANDS: CONTEXT

Both Greenland and the Faroe Islands are island communities. The Faroe Islands are a small North Atlantic archipelago situated about halfway between Iceland, Norway and Scotland, with a total area of about 1,400 square kilometres. Greenland is classified as the world's largest island, having a total area of 2,127,600 square kilometres and covering an area of three climatic zones: high-arctic, low-arctic and sub-arctic. Despite differences in landmass, the populations of the areas are similar with a population in the Faroes of just over 51,000 and around 56,000 in Greenland.

A very significant difference between the Faroe Islands and Greenland stems from the relative connectedness of the communities within these regions. In the Faroe Islands about 85% of the islands are well connected with roads, tunnels, bridges and subsea tunnels, while more peripheral areas are connected with ferries and
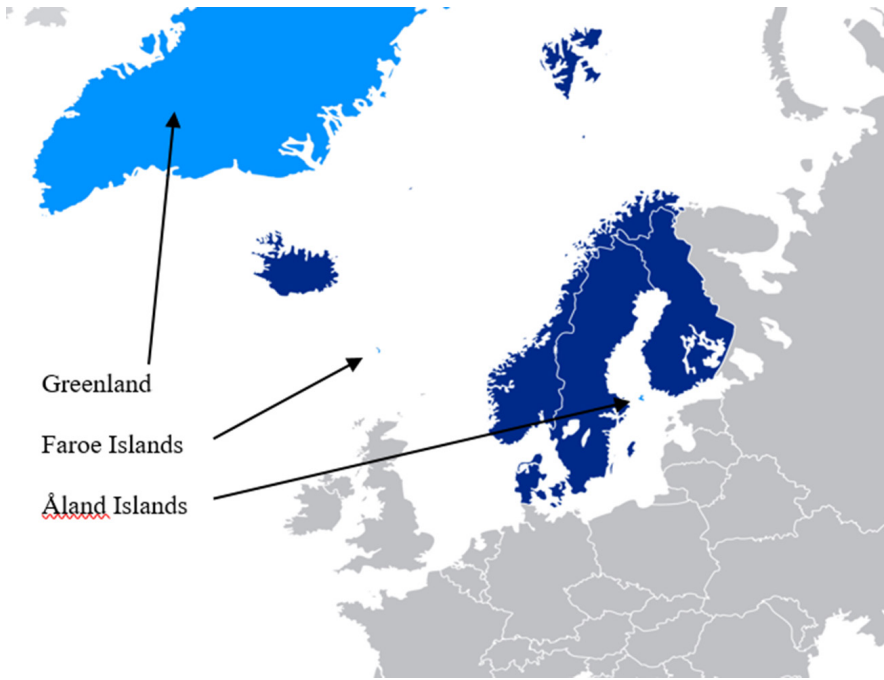
Figure 5.1. Members of the Nordic Council (by S. Solberg J., available from https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Location_Nordic_Council.svg, under license CC BY-SA 3.0, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en)

helicopters (Føroya Landsstýri, 2018). In Greenland, there are five municipalities, each with a regional main city, however there are no roads between the cities, with settlements only connected by sea and air traffic and digital communications. As a result, in Greenland some of the settlements could be said to be 'islands' within a larger island.

In common with other island communities, the sea has a very significant impact on the economy and culture of both Greenland and the Faroes (Alexander, 2016; Hayfield, Olavsson, & Patursson, 2016; Hayward, 2012). The Faroese economy is still largely reliant on the fishing industry (including aquaculture), although there has been some diversification in recent times (Føroya Landsstýri, 2018). In Greenland, historically seal hunting formed a significant part of the economy, and although this has declined in recent years, fishing more broadly remains very significant, and fish is the main export of the country (Statistics Greenland, 2018b). Being small, island economies can be vulnerable to economic fluctuations, and classically for island economies 'flexible specialisation is the watchword': being responsive and

capitalising on opportunities as they arise, especially those potentials arising from global connectivity (King, 2009, p. 58). As with other island areas, both territories have pursued some diversification in industry in recent years, with tourism a notable growth industry for both regions.

Migration is also a key feature of island communities (King, 2009), typically with emigration of young people due to the small labour markets of island communities and limited ability to provide a full range of higher education (Sultana, 2006). In the Faroes and Greenland the influence of migration – both emigration and immigration is also acute, and a much larger concern than in other Nordic countries. In other Nordic countries (apart from Norway) the proportions of young people leaving their home countries for educational purposes is below 5%, while this figure in the Faroe Islands has been above 60% for some decades (Reistrup & á Rógvi, 2012), and in Greenland recent figures show that 40% of higher education students leave Greenland to study elsewhere (Statistics Greenland, 2018a). In Iceland the figure is 25% but the vast majority of these return to Iceland after completing their education.

The education system is a significant influence in terms of the career and migration routes of young people. In both Greenland and the Faroe Islands education more or less follows the Danish system. One of the key differences to the Danish system in the Faroes is that Faroese is the main spoken medium of education at all levels, including higher education. However, when reaching upper-secondary education about 80% of teaching materials are in Danish (Johannesarson, 2018). In Greenland the language context is more complex with Greenlandic having three main varieties which are all quite distinct from one another. In schools, children are taught Central West Greenlandic, as well as Danish, and some English. Developing fluency in multiple languages is a central part of the education system in both regions, and this fluency is also necessary for potential migration to other communities on completion of formal education.

In other remote and rural contexts research has demonstrated that through engagement with the education system young people can 'learn to leave' their communities (Corbett, 2007). The use of a language and the inheritance of a system from 'elsewhere' is one way that in Greenland and the Faroes young people may learn to look beyond their communities for educational and employment opportunities. In addition, experiences of physical mobility are built into the education system, with students from more remote parts of Greenland and the Faroe Islands having to leave their home areas in order to access upper secondary schools.

Higher education is available at the University of Greenland and the University of the Faroes, and these institutions have been instrumental in increasing the range of courses available to students who wish to stay in their communities. However, there remain many professions that it is impossible to train for within the islands, meaning that young people pursing certain options including medicine, dentistry, art, foreign languages and some engineering specialisations, have to leave. In addition, there is a strong tradition of going elsewhere for higher education, and as a result both

territories see large numbers of young people leave every year for the purposes of study. Out-migration of young people is also supported by funding systems, which mean that higher education is free of charge in Denmark and other Nordic countries, and costs of living are covered through the Danish government's support for students. The information service 'Info Norden' provided through the Nordic Council of Ministers also provides information and support to students to move to other Nordic countries for the purposes of study or work. The Greenlandic and Faroese governments also offer funding for students who wish to study outside of the Nordic region and provide additional annual travel grants for students to return home. Despite the funding available for study elsewhere, Denmark remains the most common destination due to historical connections, the language context and the social context (with students often having family or friends in Denmark).

The movements of young people show some differences between the Faroes and Greenland. Although out migration of young people in both communities remains a concern, recent figures from the Faroes indicate a reverse trend with the majority of those returning to the islands being young Faroese-born couples with children (Sólstein, 2018). In Greenland net-outmigration remains high, with 1,209 immigrants in 2017 and 2,580 out-migrants. In recent years, there has been significant immigration of highly educated younger Danish people who come with professional skills that are needed (for example doctors, dentists, teachers, engineers etc). These migrants are often responding to labour market needs and leave Greenland after a short working period. There is a saying amongst the locals that the young Danish teachers in the 'gymnasium' (upper secondary schools) are 'pædagogikum ryttere', which means riders who come to Greenland merely to get their professional teacher training, staying for two or three years before returning to Denmark. This is significant especially given the context where many young Greenlandic students who choose to study in Denmark and gain professional skills choose not to return.

Migration in Greenland and the Faroes is also significant for adult workers. Economic fluctuations in small economies with a reliance on sea-based industries, has meant that historically migration patterns related to employment have varied greatly. Examples include some periods of high emigration from the Faroes linked with fluctuations in the fishing industry (Føroya Landsstýri, 2013) and high levels of immigration in the 1950s and 60s in Greenland when the country was industrialising. Within Greenland, supporting internal migration in order to meet labour market needs remains a priority and adults are able to apply for funding to enable them to move around Greenland in order to access work. It is notable that in both communities, the structure of the labour market is highly differentiated by gender. Within the fishery highly skilled technical jobs are mostly male, and fish processing work is mostly female, and this has a knock-on impact in terms of the rest of the economy. In the Faroes Hayfield et al. (2016) have noted that between 75–92% of employees in care, cleaning, health, sales and food production are female, and between 97–99% of employees in electronics, construction, transport and fisheries are male

(see also Hayfield, 2018; Hovgaard, 2015). Migration patterns therefore also show some impacts of gender, with immigration to Greenland in the 1950s and 60s for example being largely Danish men (Langgård, 1995) with some men later marrying Greenlandic women and settling down. In the Faroes, high levels of emigration by women in the past has been balanced in part by an immigration of women from other parts of the world. Indeed, in the last couple of decades the islands have experienced an increase in in-migration with people coming from different parts of the world, notably from Asia, Eastern Europe and Africa (Hagstova Føroya, 2011).

GREENLAND AND THE FAROE ISLANDS: CAREERS GUIDANCE

Having considered some of the contextual factors within Greenland and the Faroe Islands, this section looks specifically at the career guidance policy and practice context and developments in these communities. This is presented as a case study of each region.

The Faroe Islands: Career Guidance and Counselling

In the Faroe Islands, career guidance was first introduced in upper-secondary education in 1974 with the establishment of a two-year higher preparatory course (HF), mainly aimed at adults who wanted to prepare for further or higher education (Róin, 2018), and was later offered in all upper-secondary schools, in secondary education, vocational education and higher education (Holm, 2014). The early guidance practitioners, who were teachers, did not have access to any education and training, but participated in events in Denmark that were organised for practitioners in upper-secondary education. In 1989, leading guidance practitioners in the Faroes formed a Guidance Association, (Vegleiðarafelagið), and The Ministry of Education offered a six-week training course for practitioners, based on a Danish model. The first group completed this basic training in 1991 (Róin, 2018), but following this only occasional modules from the course have been offered.

In 2013 a significant step towards creating a specifically Faroese guidance system was achieved when an MA degree in careers guidance was launched at the University of the Faroe Islands. This came about after nearly two decades of advocacy work by practitioners who saw the growing need for competence development and professionalisation of the field. Until this point careers guidance was referred to as 'vegleiðing' in Faroese (similar to the Danish vejledning), while the new course introduced the terminology of 'Career Guidance and Counselling' (CGC) to the region. The development and planning for the MA was undertaken by a university based working group, with assistance provided by a coordinator from Iceland, who was instrumental in designing a programme acceptable to all stakeholders. The Faroese Guidance Association also provided a central contribution. Drawing on the wide-ranging expertise of the inter-Nordic VALA network, which is a network of

career guidance and counselling programmes at higher education institutions in the Nordic and Baltic countries, it was possible to offer a full MA programme on a part-time basis to Faroese guidance practitioners. From the outset, the aim was to create a nationally coordinated lifelong guidance system through the development of the MA. Through the course students have worked on topics that are relevant to establishing a Faroese approach to career management skills and guidance. These include developing a needs analysis among stakeholders, and a jointly developed strategy for lifelong guidance in the Faroes. The strategy was built on local needs identified by practitioners and stakeholders, on expertise developed through the dissertation topics of the students (which were targeted on key issues), and on evidence from research and good practice. The European resource kit for lifelong guidance policy development from the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN, 2012) was used as the basis of the strategy development. The strategy proposal was handed to relevant ministries and stakeholders at a conference about lifelong guidance and ICT in guidance in Tórshavn in 2017.

Although careers guidance has mainly been offered within the formal education system in the Faroes, there have been a few exceptions. Until 2010, there was an adult guidance service in Tórshavn, the capital, which offered guidance to people outside the education system a few hours a week. Another exception was the establishment of the International Office (Altjóða Skrivstovan), originally intended to provide guidance to school leavers who wanted to pursue higher education outside of the Nordic region. The most recent and innovative initiative is a part-time lifelong guidance service offered at the Distance Education Centre (Fjarnám) in the northern municipality of Klaksvík. This innovation is part of a movement in the guidance community in the Faroe Islands, building on the work of the MA course and proposed strategy, to establish a nationally coordinated lifelong guidance service for the whole island community (Hansen, 2017).

Greenland: Career Guidance and Counselling

In Greenland, careers guidance first appeared in legislation in 1982, which required careers guidance to be provided in primary schools and through municipality offices through the labour office. This legislation made coordination a requirement between educational and vocational career counselling and careers guidance provided for citizens generally. However, in practice careers guidance provision was conducted differently in different areas, and the guidance counsellors did not have a common education as counsellors. In 2000 the importance of collective education for careers and education counsellors was recognised and a basic career counselling education course (Vejledergrunduddannelsen) was funded. In 2011, the Department of Education further recognised the importance of a national overview of career and educational guidance in Greenland, and a review of provision was ordered (Jessing, 2011). This review led to new legislation and the development of a National Centre for Guidance (vejledning).

In addition to provision in the education system, careers guidance in Greenland is also provided in Majoriaq centres. There are 17 Majoriaq centres in Greenland with one centre in each town. The centres provide career guidance and support for young people and adults to upgrade their qualifications. Historically, Majoriaq centres were established in a period (1980–1990) where there were many young people who did not finish primary school and therefore needed some documents to evidence their basic education and skills. The Majoriaq centres provide support for studying general subjects such as Greenlandic, Danish, English and Maths and allow individuals to get a completion document for compulsory education.

In addition to careers guidance services, and in recognition of the, sometimes acute, social challenges in Greenland, school students and everyone who attends a Majoriaq centre has access to psychological and social assistance through the "Studenterrådgivningen", which is a student guidance service. This system is inspired by the Danish system, but whereas in Denmark it started as an NGO, in Greenland the system is embedded in policy and has official funding – demonstrating the recognition of the importance of this service.

The National Centre for Guidance was established in 2014 and is the responsibility of the Education Department of the Naalakkersuisut (n.d.) (The Government of Greenland). The Centre was established in order to coordinate all the career guidance services in different places including the education system and the Majoriaq centres. The Centre is also responsible for educating career guidance counsellors. The education provided uses a Danish curriculum, with resources also primarily in Danish (although one of the educators is Greenlandic speaking). In 2011, the review of career guidance in Greenland made a number of recommendations, one of which was to consider aligning the education provision to diploma or master's level (Jessing, 2011). However, this recommendation has not yet been taken forward.

Because of the geographic size of Greenland and the difficulties of transportation between communities, there is a risk that some careers guidance counsellors could be quite professionally isolated (Vahl, 2018). Therefore, the Centre for National Career Guidance arranges several regional network meetings for practitioners every year in cooperation with local careers guidance institutions, as well as organising a national conference every second year. The National Centre for Guidance is also the host organisation for the Nordic Network for Adult Learning NVL (NVL, 2017a).

DISCUSSION: CAREER GUIDANCE PRACTICE

The communities of the Faroe Islands and Greenland share many key issues in terms of their context: they have small and distinctive economies with a reliance on sea-based industries, a minoritised language context, embedded experiences of migration, and an education system which is largely based on Danish models. However, there are also significant differences between the communities, in areas such as connectivity between communities, the language context, relationships with

Denmark, and trends in migration. Although these contexts share some similarity with other island communities in the Nordic region (of which there are thousands), and with other rural or remote areas in the Nordic region (see for example Bakke, 2018), these communities are distinct because of their capacity to develop their own careers guidance policy and practice, rather than being governed by policy and practice determined by mainland or urban areas. In this section, the impact of context on the practice of careers guidance is considered, establishing a clear need for context-specific systems and policy.

A key impact on practice is that the distinctive nature of the economies of these regions means that for careers practitioners it is vitally important that they have a strong, detailed understanding of the specific nature of the local labour market. However, given the importance of flexibility and responsiveness in island economies, and the relatively small labour markets, a culture of careers guidance which fosters individuals' capacity for adaptability and flexibility is also likely to be important – resourcing individuals to have 'chameleon careers' in Sultana's terminology (Sultana, 2006). The need for flexibility is particularly acute in a minoritised language context, such as Greenland or the Faroes, where the capacity to bring in labour through immigration may be limited, with some professional roles requiring functional literacy in Faroese or Greenlandic (and often Danish too). However, in Greenland where the diversity of Inuit languages is immense in practice many immigrants from Denmark can remain monolingual and as such there may be fewer barriers to immigration, although potentially some additional barriers in terms of integration of migrants (Langgård, 1992).

In terms of resourcing individual flexibility, all-age careers guidance services are vital, and it is no surprise that the existence of the Majoriaq centres in Greenland recognise the value of adult guidance, as does the development of adult guidance services through Fjarnám in the Faroe Islands. Indeed, the practitioner groups in both the Faroes and Greenland, view such services as vital, and have a clear vision of lifelong guidance services that are holistic, cross-sectoral and nationally coordinated. Such services are not widely available in other Nordic countries (NVL, 2017b) despite the fact that calls for lifelong guidance services are apparent across the region. However, the need for such services is perhaps more acute in the self-governing regions, and given that these regions are currently thinking about and designing their own systems, there is considerable potential for the development of new models that are suitable for their contexts.

With mobility a key feature of the lived experience of people in the Faroes and Greenland both in terms of work and educational transition (Hovgaard & Kristiansen, 2008), migration must necessarily become a key concern for careers professionals. Given that the migration literature also shows that the ability to migrate (mobility capital) is not evenly distributed among individuals (Corbett, 2007; King, 2009), consideration of different forms of mobility capital (e.g. financial resources, educational qualifications, social connections, fluency in multiple languages) is an

important part of careers services (Alexander, 2018; Alexander & Hooley, 2018). Practical implications for advisers are that as well as an in-depth understanding of the local economy, careers professionals require significant knowledge of international education and career systems. International knowledge includes Denmark certainly, but increasingly as the colonial ties to Denmark loosen, and international study to nations outside of the Nordic countries is also supported, this knowledge comprises other European and global nations. The importance of guidance for international mobility is clear when we consider that in the Faroes an International Office was set up specifically to provide guidance to school leavers who wanted to pursue higher education outside of the Nordic region.

Mobility, including the different capacities of individuals to migrate, and the challenges of immigration into different language contexts also raises important questions about ethical practice within careers provision in these communities, and more widely equalities and social justice issues. Within the Nordic context, arguably equality and social justice are strong social values and ensuring everyone has the ability to pursue the paths they wish is a strongly held value. The existence of generous funding in the Faroes and Greenland to enable young people to pursue Higher Education study elsewhere is part of this commitment to social equity. Nordic initiatives such as the information service 'Info Norden', and wider European initiatives such as the Euroguidance network (which supports guidance practitioners in 34 European countries and specifically aims to raise awareness of the value of international mobility), are also specifically designed to reinforce and support mobility. However, facilitating mobility through the provision of finance potentially overlooks the importance of other forms of resource in mobility decisions, including social and familial background, and issues of identity in how young people relate to their communities and the choices they make (Bakke, 2018). To truly enable individuals to have equal access to pathways outside of their communities would require additional focus on these other forms of resources. Further there are challenging social justice issues around the facilitation of movement when 'what is good for the individual may be in tension with the needs of society' (Hooley & Sultana, 2016, p. 4). This is particularly clear in Greenland where young people leave to train in professions that may be needed in the community, but then choose to stay away, potentially leaving the community depleted, and instead Greenland experiences a steady throughput of young Danish professionals. How careers services and professionals address issues of inequality in mobility, and balance the needs of individuals and communities is a key challenge in these areas.

Other ethical and professional challenges may come from meeting issues of multiple disadvantage created through migration patterns and embedded structural issues – for example working with immigrant women to the Faroe Islands, who are potentially multiply disadvantaged by their gender, and the language context which can require functional literacy in two additional languages: Faroese and Danish (Holm, O'Rourke, & Danson, 2019). Issues of social integration are also an

important theme, particularly in terms of immigrant populations to the Faroe Islands, and more broadly in terms of the domestic population in Greenland where some communities experience significant geographical isolation and social challenges. Ensuring additional support for social integration is important, and it is notable that such support is available through the Majoriaq centres in Greenland.

DISCUSSION: CAREER GUIDANCE POLICY

Despite the specificity of the context of Greenland and the Faroes, the establishment of careers guidance policy and practice within these communities has been heavily influenced by Danish approaches. Education for careers professionals has traditionally been based on Danish curricula, using Danish materials, and often, Danish educators. Indeed, in both communities it is still the case that even where careers guidance may be delivered in Greenlandic or Faroese, the majority of careers resources are written in Danish. Drawing on Sultana's (2006) observation of the challenges of importing careers resources to small states, it is clear here that there are potentially challenges around the relevance of Danish materials and frameworks to Faroese and Greenlandic contexts – how far for example do these materials take account of the specificity of the labour market, and the importance of migration in these contexts?

Developing an approach to careers guidance policy and practice, which is distinctly Faroese or Greenlandic is not just important for meeting the specific needs of the communities, but also as part of establishing the autonomy and identity of the Faroes and Greenland in their own right. Indeed work in other communities has explored the potential of developing careers guidance frameworks as part of an emancipatory process, which incorporate and account for specific cultural contexts – for example in New Zealand incorporating Maori culture, and in Hong Kong incorporating Chinese culture (Luk Fong, 2005; Miller, 2012). The question of cultural identity is a complex and challenging one, and the development of appropriate policy is likely to differ between regions. In Greenland, with a strong Inuit culture, and with contemporary critics of Greenlandic education noting a clash between Inuit and European culture (Egede, 2016), there may be particular value in exploring models that take Inuit culture into account. Addressing what a 'good life' looks like for individuals in Inuit communities and providing appropriate guidance is also important to address issues of social integration – with Flora (2007) noting that some Greenlandic young people in remote areas find it difficult to identify a value in education when they do not see any purpose to education in their own communities and do not see it as a way to have a quality of life.

The importance of policy extends beyond just career guidance policy, to areas such as education, labour market, economy and language policy. The interrelation of these areas of policy is a key theme in these areas in terms of structuring the opportunities individuals in these territories have. So, for example, how the

administrations in the future balance supporting international mobility for education, and also support the development of their local universities is likely to significantly influence the options available for young people and the choices they make. The role of language policy is also key as the extent of support for competence in Danish and / or English for young people and adults will affect how possible it is to travel for study and employment. Similarly, the extent of support for adult immigrants in terms of learning Greenlandic, Faroese and Danish will impact on the ability of these individuals to secure appropriate work. In both communities the significance of language learning is recognised – for example in Greenland an organisation (Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik) has been set up to provide language education (including Greenlandic, Danish and English) to adults using technology to allow all adults to improve their language skills. However, fully recognising the impact of language policy is important and there have been calls for more pro-active policy initiatives to embed and maximise valuable human resources (Brown & Danson, 2008). Considering adult immigrants particularly, policy initiatives need to straddle several areas including language education, recognition of prior qualifications and lifelong guidance systems.

Although recognising the wider policy context is important, considering careers guidance policy specifically three important themes in the process of policy development can be identified – the role of co-operation, education, and innovation. These are discussed further below.

Co-operation between Nordic nations has been central to the development of Faroese and Greenlandic careers guidance policy. Representatives from both communities have actively participated in Nordic networks, working groups and conferences, especially through the Nordic Network for Adult Learning (NVL), which supports Nordic cooperation in careers guidance from a lifelong learning perspective, and more recently through the VALA network. In particular an NVL working group was formed in 2015 which focused on guidance provision in the three self-governing countries, Greenland, Åland and the Faroe Islands (NVL, 2016, 2017a). This group has organised two regional conferences so far, one in the Åland Islands in 2016 and one in the Faroe Islands in 2017. These international collaborations have helped to strengthen the guidance associations within the territories, allowing international expertise to be utilised by local practitioners. In addition, a key strength of these small territories is the close connection between practice 'on the ground', and policy development, with practitioners' groups actively involved in influencing local policy makers and leveraging the expertise of the international guidance community. A further important point to note is given the specific ethical and contextual challenges of delivering guidance in these communities, practitioner networking between the self-governing regions, and between practitioners within each region itself, has also been important as a way of developing and supporting professional practice.

A particularly strong example of collaboration is the development of the Masters programme in Career Guidance in the Faroes, which utilised expertise from across

the Nordic regions – the programme was led from Iceland with expertise drawn from Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Faroes. This collaborative approach to developing careers education is an excellent example of how the Faroese approach to guidance is seeking to draw from and align to careers guidance policy, practice and education in other parts of the Nordic world, while also establishing its own unique approach. Co-operating in the development of educational provision has also been instrumental in the development of a national strategy for careers guidance and counselling in the Faroes. This highlights the significant potential of training, and specifically higher education and research provision, in terms of wider policy and practice innovation, and it is therefore no surprise that the development of Masters level education has also been proposed in Greenland.

Innovation is also a key feature in the development of Greenlandic and Faroese approaches to careers guidance policy and practice. A good example of this is the special emphasis within the NVL working group for the self-governing regions on exploring how ICT in guidance can widen access to guidance (see also Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard, & Kardal, Chapter 11, this volume). The importance of ICT innovations in these communities recognises that although Greenland and the Faroes are 'small' territories (in terms of population), they are not homogenous, and not all communities are equally accessible. Finding ways to address issues of geography through ICT innovation is both a practical solution for these communities and also demonstrates how despite being small, these communities are at the forefront of developing solutions which may be of benefit to other larger communities. This accords well with the findings within the island studies literature of the value of small communities and particularly island communities as sites of innovation (Baldacchino, 2007). A particularly exciting possibility for future innovation is the development of an approach to careers guidance policy and practice in the Faroes which seeks to build on the existing Masters programme to develop a three-fold approach whereby careers education, careers research, and careers policy making are all developed alongside each other. There have been discussions in the community about developing this model into a globally unique training programme for guidance counsellors which could be organised like a research hospital. The development of practice would take place in real context with the dual aim to (1) develop consistent and coherent lifelong guidance services for the citizens in the Faroe Islands in accordance to the local conditions and jointly agreed policy priorities, and (2) to produce academic results in co-operation with international experts.

CONCLUSION: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Danish models and approaches have traditionally heavily influenced careers guidance policy and practice in the Faroes and Greenland. As this chapter has demonstrated developing models of practice and policy which are distinctively Faroese or Greenlandic is important in order to address the context-specific needs and

circumstances of these communities, as well as part of establishing an autonomous identity. In developing new approaches to careers guidance policy and practice, the importance of co-operation with other Nordic countries, the co-operation of local practitioners, development of education programmes, and a focus on innovation have been emphasised as key features. The Faroese development of Masters level training for careers guidance practitioners drawing on collaboration from across the Nordic region is particularly notable; as is the way that this educational provision was connected to developing appropriate models of practice and policy within the community. Alongside the development of territory-specific approaches to careers guidance, this chapter has shown how guidance policy exists in close interrelation to broader education and language policy, as well as more widely to economic policy, and how these need to be considered together. A further significant conclusion is how a lifelong approach to guidance is vital for these communities, allowing the management of individual career flexibility, wider economic flexibility of a small economy, and supporting incoming workers operating within a minoritised language context.

As the case studies show, Faroese and Greenlandic models of careers guidance policy and practice are emerging. In the future, there is a need to progress further with embedding the training of careers guidance practitioners – in Greenland such educational provision is only just emerging, and in the Faroes the Masters in Careers Guidance has only run for one cohort of students so far. In addition, in both communities there is a need to further reinforce and establish appropriate careers guidance policy, recognising its interrelation with (and importance to) other aspects of policy, including economic, education and language policy. The strength of the careers guidance community within both the Faroes and Greenland, and the support of the wider Nordic careers guidance networks have been essential in supporting the development of Faroese and Greenlandic models so far, and it is likely that these factors will remain significant in developing the models still further.

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ROGER KJÆRGÅRD

6. CAREER GUIDANCE AND THE PRODUCTION OF SUBJECTIVITY

ABSTRACT

Using Foucault's analytical tools this chapter explores the development of career guidance historically and contextually and examines how it is imbued with different ideologies, discourses and forms of power to produce subjectivity. The chapter identifies the emergence of five discourses and related productions of subjectivity and places these in the context of the development of guidance in Norway. These are described as the philanthropic, industrial, welfare state, neoliberal and knowledge society discourses. Finally, Nordic counter discourses are explored. The chapter argues that career guidance in Norway has a political function, that it produces forms of subjectivity and acts as a governing technology.

CAREER GUIDANCE OECD AND EU

Career guidance is often presented as both a public policy tool and as a service to the individual (Sultana, 2004). This has resulted in a range of different discourses about the importance and purpose of career guidance. This chapter focuses on examining these different discourses in relation to career guidance policy in Norway. In addition to domestic traditions of career guidance, Norway's approach to career guidance and the discourses that are used in policy have been influenced over a number of decades by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2004, 2014) and the European Union (EU) (European Commission, 2004, 2008; OECD, 2004, 2014). It is therefore important to explore the ideas of these international organisations when examining Norwegian career guidance.

In Europe, the EU and the OECD have shaped the definition of career guidance and developed a range of policy rationales for its use. The EU, in its 2004 resolution, states: 'High quality guidance provision throughout life is a key component of education, training and employability strategies to attain the strategic goal of Europe becoming the world's most dynamic knowledge based society by 2010' (European Commission, 2004, p. 3). In 2004 the OECD defined career guidance in the following way:

> Career guidance refers to services and activities intended to assist individuals, of any age and at any point throughout their lives, to make educational, training and occupational choices and to manage their careers … The activities may

take place on an individual or group basis, and may be face-to-face or at a distance (including help lines and web-based services). They include career information provision (in print, ICT-based and other forms), assessment and self-assessment tools, counseling interviews, career education programmes (to help individuals develop their self awareness, opportunity awareness, and career management skills), taster programmes (to sample options before choosing them), work search programmes, and transition services. (OECD, 2004, p. 11)

The OECD's definition is both concrete and comprehensive. It is concrete in that career guidance deals with questions related to education and work. It says what career guidance consists of and states that its aim is to contribute to the lifelong development of the individual's career. The OECD concretises career guidance by discussing it in terms of its relationships with context, the activities that are undertaken as part of career guidance and by pointing out the importance of self-management techniques. The EU, focuses on discourses of the knowledge society and of global competitiveness, by linking career guidance to 'employability' and career management skills (CMS) (European Commission, 2004). At the same time, we see that the OECD emphasises the notion of the informed, self- and labour market-aware subject as the imagined recipient of career guidance. The EU and OECD documents imply that the practice of career guidance is primarily based in economic, psychological and pedagogical knowledge. Career guidance thus emerges with a heterogeneous identity.

In order to show that career guidance has not always been justified in the ways that OECD and EU have argued, this chapter will consider the historical and contextual background in Norway which gave birth to modern career guidance when it was established in the early 1900s. The analysis draws on Michel Foucault's analytical framework.

FOUCAULT'S ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS

Michel Foucault (1926–1984) is known for his controversial and provocative analyses of how modern man has understood himself and how this understanding is always connected to interventions of power (Mik-Meyer & Villadsen, 2007). Foucault's analyses of discourse and power, inspired by the field of post-structuralism, shift the focus from 'essence to constitutive process'(Søndergaard, 2000), or from an ontological standpoint to an epistemological one (Foucault, 1973). Foucault provides critical perspectives and concepts which this chapter will use; these include discourse, power and the production of subjectivity. This chapter will show that career guidance can be understood as a historically and contextually conditioned 'control practice' tied to the educational and labour market arenas (Kjærgård, 2012).

Foucault's (1973) definition of discourse is a broad; it involves more than speech, writing or text. Objects and subjects are viewed as the product of discursive practices and non-verbal realities such as practices and institutional frameworks that embody discourses. This framework allows us to explore how institutional procedures as power technologies that can be are used to control humans (Mik-Meyer & Villadsen, 2007). This chapter uses Foucault's framework to examine how career guidance is increasingly justified by arguments derived from economic, juridical, psychological and pedagogical knowledge and further argues that career guidance has the potential to function as a governing technology.

THE PHILANTROPIC AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND THE MORAL SUBJECT

In many European countries at the end of the 18th century, there was a conflict between strict state regulation and Enlightenment beliefs in freedom and economic liberalism. The French Revolution (1789–1799) was a period of radical, social, political and economic upheavals that shook the rest of Europe (Kropotkin, 1909). In Norway at the beginning of the 19th century, state pietism was challenged internally by the Enlightenment priesthood. Demands for greater freedom emerged, not least because of the bourgeoisie´s privileged position vis-à-vis the farmers. The absolute monarchy´s authority was challenged by a rationalistic Christian counterculture influenced by the Haugean movement. Kristian Lofthus and Hans Nielsen Hauge emerge as two central actors who, separately, lead the movement for agricultural reform in the 19th century in Norway. Alnæs (1997) writes that they attacked systematic control from above and the role of senior state officials, as well as emotionally appealing to people's sense of justice and religious needs. In this context, Hans Nielsen Hauge is a prominent representative of the pastoral power that emerged during the Enlightenment in the fields of education and employment. They focused on worldly matters, were ethically pragmatic and worked for social liberation and access to public education. Thus, Haugenism can be regarded as the beginning of the philanthropic movement in Norway that worked for a national Enlightment. Haugenism also emerged as a pastoral power that sought to consolidate ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, as well as individual independence, self-determination and moral responsibility (Alnæs, 1997).

In parallel with developments in Norway, a progressive movement emerged in the USA. Frank Parsons (1854–1908), often considered as the founder of modern career guidance (Jones, 1994), belonged to the US progressive movement (Zytowski, 2001). He saw career guidance as a social instrument, but also as an individual service that created active citizenship, hope, solidarity and harmony. He viewed career guidance as a tool for social justice in a society where the divide between the rich and the poor was widening (Davis, 1914; Riis, 1890).

'Work and Spirit', or a religious discourse of work was a central feature of this philanthropic endeavour (Savickas, 2008, p. 99). This voluntary, friendly and informal guidance, however, developed into a programme that stressed the building of character, self-discipline, morality and responsibility (Super, 1929). Both in Norway and in the USA the focus on individual moral and ethical awareness in career guidance was anchored in a religious discourse. Work was regarded as a mission and terms such as 'calling' or 'vocation' were used. The individual's 'inner' moral response or will was decisive for 'coming to the right place' – 'Each one who listens with a responsive heart may hear the call to service' (Davis, 1914, p. 65). The truthful and rational evaluation of occupation presented here is based in both ethics and knowledge and individuals are offered the help of an expert in making this choice. During this philanthropic and progressive period career guidance emerged as a social instrument anchored in a religious discourse with a focus on moral and ethical subjectivity.

INDUSTRALISATION, PSYCHOMETRICS AND THE ADAPTABLE SUBJECT

The philantrophic and progressive movement with their focus on the moral subject, were at the end of the 19th century challenged by an increased confidence in scientific objectivity. Industrial growth and huge demographic changes gave birth to the first Vocational Bureau in Norway in 1897 (Arbeidsdirektoratet, 2006). Psychometrics now entered the scene as a scientific foundation for career guidance, and we see the development of scientifically orientated discourses within the field of career guidance which distances itself from 'mere speculation' by employing scientific, experimental psychology (Plant, 2009). It now became important to isolate mental and physical features so that they could be measured. The subject's features were differentiated and objectified so that they could be worked on and adjustments made to match the individual to the demands of the workplace (ibid). In Sweden, Mattsson (1984) states that it is also possible to see a connection between the interest in differential psychology and the specific psychotechnics of the emerging industrial society. The increasing division between manual and mental work corresponds, according to Mattsson (1984), with a growing interest in the differential psychology that provides scientific justification for this division. The traditional differentiations based on birth or rank and explained by theology are now replaced by a scientifically rooted rationality and discourse.

In the Norwegian context, the scope of application is related to recruitment and education within craft apprentices. In 1925, the Oslo Vocational School conducts the first psychotechnical tests, and there is specific testing of applicants for programmes for typesetters, printers and metalworkers (Knoff, 1994). In this period of industrialisation the turn to the use of psychometrics constructs the ideal subject as someone who is adaptable to the need of the industry and workplaces.

THE WELFARE STATE, SECURITY MECHANISM AND JUDICIAL SUBJECT POSITIONS

Following the Second World War welfare state thinking became the key discourse that was used to discuss career guidance. Economic growth, social and financial security and equal rights for the citizens became the state's governance thinking. The citizen´s needs and rights became central, and the authorities built the welfare state by constructing a number of new safety mechanisms that are understood as providing comprehensive and universal care (Foucault, 2008). Social security laws and other welfare benefits provide citizens with lifelong safety mechanisms (see Bakke, Chapter 2, this volume). The state's universalist philosophy was justified in terms of the discourse of 'scientific knowledge'. The idea of the unitary school system (*enhetsskolen*) in Norway, that Sverdrup espoused at the end of the 19th century, is now firmly established in the public education discourse (Sverdrup, 1884). Citizens' rights and needs are now secured through state intervention and care. We can see the contours where the ideal of the welfare state seeks to merge the collective societal culture with Christian love and humanity (Dean, 2010).

Rapid technological developments demand more specialisation, however, and in the post-war years it becomes a declared aim to create an educational system that is adapted to this more specialised labour market. Education and economic growth become part of the political agenda, and gain a political acceptance (Baune, 2007).

In 1957 a career orientation service for young people was established within the compulsory education system and became part of the welfare state´s care apparatus (Kjærgård, 2012). The career guidance discourse which emerged from careers work with adults was anchored in psychology and this now met a new discourse that was based in developmental and differential psychology.

In this welfare state period a universal care discourse is dominant. The citizen's needs and rights become the central subject positions, along with the welfare state's focus on economic growth, equal rights, social and financial security.

HUMAN CAPITAL, NEOLIBERALISM AND THE ECONOMIC SUBJECT

At the end of the 20th century we see that Frank Parsons' vision of career guidance as a means of bringing about an ideal society characterised by co-operation, participation and fraternity is now almost completely replaced by neoliberal discourses in which career guidance is described as an important tool for strengthening individual competence in education, and work within an economic competition discourse.

This can be identified in Norwegian educational policy documents from the 1980s and 1990s as a new discursive tension where education and economic growth are more closely linked. In official reports on higher education such as With knowledge and will] (NOU 1988:28, 1988) and From Vision to Action (St.meld.

nr. 40, 1990–1991) we see the emergence of an economic and social discourse, often described as 'human capital' which is very explicit in the following statement: 'As with investment in other forms of capital, investment in knowledge capital means that incurring immediate costs will result in future gains' (St.meld.nr. 40, 1990–1991, p. 13) (Authors own translation). Education becomes an economic tool for an economic society and its competitiveness, development, wealth, welfare and destiny. People are considered in terms of their functions as consumers and employees. The individual characteristics that are favoured are the ability to make adjustments to market demands: creativity, adaptability, flexibility and the ability to acquire new knowledge and use the latest technology.

Different forms of evaluation and individualised development plans are now introduced into the public provision of career guidance. These often take the form of self-evaluation questionnaires, or what Foucault (Foucault, Martin, Gutman, & Hutton, 1988) describes as self-governing techniques, which provide both control and self-improvement measures.

Slogans such as 'the active pupil', 'the flexible worker', 'change preparedness', 'responsibility for one's own learning' and 'guidance-ready' are concepts that transfer power, choice, responsibility and evaluation from society to the individual, from teacher to pupil, from career advisor to the individual, from career centres to their users and from institutions to individuals. Conversations, logs, files and confidentiality between pupil, teacher and advisor can in this way be regarded as tools in the individualisation strategies that create neoliberal subjects (Kjærgård, 2012). The individual is now put under pressure; he puts himself under pressure and is viewed as ever changeable in the economic discourse.

The subject can be shaped into becoming the steward of a vast array of self-technologies and forms of self-control administered through demands for knowledge and flexibility and through their own personal morality. We can see the emergence of discourses that stress the importance of being an adaptable, useful and economic subject. In line with Bengtsson (2011), career management skills are now presented as both a strategic idea and a management technology. Firstly, the construction of career planning skills is made possible through the discourse on career planning where one's own career planning is linked to self-management and entrepreneurship. This is in line with what Rose (1998) describes as being both an active and calculating subject, one who acts and calculates in order to become a better individual. Secondly, career management skills now deal with taking responsibility for one's own career. As a control technology, career management skills involve the creation of an individual who is active, competitive, autonomous and morally responsible.

In this period a discourse emerged that is focused on economic competitiveness and within which the idea of individual competence is emphasised. Human capital and knowledge capital become central ideologies, and career management skills become a technology through which this economic subjectivity is produced.

THE KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY, CAREER MANAGEMENT SKILLS AND
THE COMPETENCE SUBJECT

In Norway, materials such as 'Min utviklingsplan' [My development plan] (Røyland, 2011), 'Sjef I eget liv' [Boss in his own life] (Papirbredden karrieresenter, 2014), 'Karrierelæring for unge' [Career management skills-CMS] (Seville, 2017) (authors translation) are introduced into career guidance activities. They all focus on the development of career management skills, which we might also see in Foucauldian terms as self-governing technologies. This focus on career management skills is also visible in the Europeans Commission's (2008) resolution on lifelong guidance.

> Career management skills play a decisive role in empowering people to become involved in shaping their learning, training and integration pathways and their careers. Such skills, which should be maintained throughout life, are based on key competences, in particular 'learning to learn', social and civic competences – including intercultural competences – and a sense of initiative and entrepreneurship. (European Commission, 2008, p. 8)

In contemporary Norwegian political discourse, the notion of career comprises both the creation and management of one's career. Management is a term that was first employed in business life and in management theory and was understood as referring to resource allocation and output control. In the 1990s, however, there was a shift within career management theories from a focus on the level of the organisation to a focus on the individual (Bengtsson, 2011). This meant that the concept of 'career' became interesting for new fields such as career development theory and political strategies for public education and public career guidance.

Lifelong learning, lifelong guidance and career planning skills are now open-ended activities and people are subjectified as managers of their careers throughout the course of their lives.

Career management skills are now linked to specific and virtually pre-defined competences such as 'learning to learn'. These skills are acquired through various transitional phases in life and not through a specific training programme linked to a life phase. The EU resolution of 2008 also emphasises '[…] being able to evaluate oneself, knowing oneself and being able to describe the competences one has acquired in formal, informal and non-formal education settings' (European Commission, 2008, p. 8). Through linking self-knowledge to life's multiplicity of learning arenas, competence is here made personal.

Within the discourse of the knowledge economy we see a clear focus on skills and competences in career guidance. Norway's membership of the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN), has contributed to a focus on CMS in Norwegian contexts (Thomsen, 2014). The OECD has also had a great influence on the fact that in 2016 Norway got the first Official Norwegian Report (NOU 2016:7) on career guidance in Norway. Several academic articles and books on career education are

written, both from a Nordic and Norwegian perspective (Haug, 2018; Svendsrud, 2015; Thomsen, 2014). In practice in Norway, we also see an increased focus on career education and career competence. At the secondary school there is also established a compulsory subject about Educational Choice (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015) (see Røise, Chapter 18, this volume).

This focus on the knowledge economy, learning and competence results in the emergence of a discursive shift in the understanding or focus of career guidance in Norway. In the OECD's (2004) definition the focus was on helping the individual to make career choices and manage his/her career through a range of activities and contexts. The emerging focus is even stronger on supporting individuals in developing specific competencies to manage their careers and the focus is worldwide, as it is also found in a number of so-called national ´blueprints´: USA, National Career Development Guidelines (1989), Canada, 'Blueprint for Life/Work Designs' (1996); Australia; Blueprint for Career Development (2001); Scotland, Career Management Skills Framework for Scotland (2012). The purpose of these initiatives is to create frameworks for a broad understanding of career guidance, where it does not solely deal with the choice of education and career, but also promotes and establishes the conditions for the learning and acquisition of career competencies (Thomsen, 2014).

According to Hooley, Watts, Sultana, and Neary (2013), these documents are the result of a series of political initiatives that build career competencies upon a learning paradigm. Thus, individual responsibility is strengthened, also in the Norwegian context.

Norsk Karriereverktøy (The Norwegian Career Tool) (Svendsrud, 2011) has a specific focus on career competence inspired by the Australian Blueprint for Career Development (Australian Government, 2001). And in 2019, a national quality framework is out for consultation. This quality framework has a clear focus on career learning and career competence. This quality framework does not operate with pre-defined and normative learning goals, but has developed a model called '*Career learning in context*' (Haug et al., 2019). This approach is inspired by other frameworks which use dichotomies such as 'positive uncertainty' and 'planned happenstance' (Gelatt & Gelatt, 2003; Krumboltz, 2009) amongst others. This might be a sign of emerging counter discourses in career guidance.

NORDIC COUNTER DISCOURSES

In the Nordic countries we now see emerging discourses challenging the 'approaches drawing on human capital theory' and individualism, that have been present in relation to career guidance. Pre-defined and goal-oriented career competencies with concrete learning goals are challenged by counter-discourses that make use of methods associated with holistic, collectivistic and narrative approaches.

Discourses that challenge the growing individualisation of career guidance can be found in the methodological field. Thomsen (2012) criticises the tendency for

career guidance to individualise societal issues, and her research has examined, from a participant perspective, how participants can move the guidance process from a private to a community focus, and how individual conversations can be transformed into more collective experiences. Valgreen (2013), provide examples of how life narratives can contribute to creating meaningful and coherent perspectives in lifelong career planning and development.

Kettunen (2017) is also challenging the individualisation within career guidance when she is introducing co-careering. Co-careering refers to shared expertise and meaningful co-construction on career issues that emerge and take place with and among community members (Haug, Hooley, Kettunen, & Thomsen, Chapter 1, this volume; Kettunen, 2017, p. 47; Kettunen, Sampson, & Vuorinen, 2015).

Neoliberal discourses are also challenged by discourses and methods that are value-based. Plant (2014) has argued for 'green guidance'. He questions one-dimensional economic thinking and market principles and makes the case for an ecological awareness. Plant argues that the field of career guidance must challenge the paradigm that solely focuses on economic growth (Plant, 2014). He also claims that a Western middle-class mindset has clearly left its mark on the development of career theory and career guidance.

Finally a clear counter-discourse to the neoliberal discourse in career guidance can be observed internationally, for example in the work of Hooley, Sultana and Thomsen (2018) who focus on career guidance's role in social justice and emphasise learning and emancipation.

We are now in a period where Nordic researchers are challenging the dominant economic discourse drawing on human capital and individualisation. The different counter-discourses show that career guidance, to be relevant to the needs of people, has to be more than a technology for economic subjectivity.

CAREER GUIDANCE; A HETEROGENEOUS IDENTITY

This chapter has traced the discursive shifts that have taken place from the time of the establishment of modern career guidance, rooted in social work and philanthropy in an ethos of egalitarianism, solidarity, citizenship and harmony, to the dominant political and economic discourses of the 21st century. Within Nordic countries we can observe a multitude of different discourses which are influencing career guidance and seeking to make it relevant to a diverse society.

The shifts in discourse that career guidance has gone through can be understood as belonging to five different societal periods. Yet, these discourses are all continuing to fight for hegemony and being challenged by new discourses that are emerging in Norway and other Nordic countries. As a result career guidance emerges with a heterogeneous identity, imbued by different ideologies influenced by economic, psychological, juridical and pedagogical discourses.

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ANDERS LOVÉN

7. SWEDISH CAREER GUIDANCE

History, Development and Dilemmas

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this chapter is to give a descriptive and analytical overview of Swedish career guidance, its development, present situation, dilemmas and challenges. I start by giving a picture of what characterises Swedish career guidance, more specifically its' aims and organisation. Thereafter I will present a short description of the history and development of career guidance. The next section will focus on how career guidance has been evaluated and perceived by various and different interest groups and what goals it has achieved. Finally, I will reflect on Swedish career guidance and discuss its future.

THE CONTEXT FOR CAREER GUIDANCE IN SWEDEN

In Sweden there is a longstanding consensus in politics concerning the positive effects of career guidance. This means that, despite economic cuts, career guidance has received a relatively steady allocation of funds over time. Various stakeholders, mainly politicians and representatives of trade and industry, have however on occasion criticised career guidance for not taking sufficient account of developments in the labour market and considering how skills can be matched to labour market opportunities (Stenberg, 2016; Svenskt näringsliv, 2016). In recent years there has been growing criticism of career guidance for failing to successfully match individuals to areas of skills shortage (OECD, 2016).

In order to better understand the Swedish career guidance system, one should also consider that Sweden has an official administration tradition that differs from many countries, even our Nordic neighbours (Statskontoret, 2000:20A). In Sweden, the departments or ministries are relatively small and are to a certain extent populated by civil servants appointed by the political parties that form the government. Under the ministries there are so called central government offices or departments consisting of non-political officials, whose task is inter alia to interpret and implement various policy decisions. This means that, for example, under the Ministry of Education there is a large organization called the Swedish National Agency for Education (in Swedish, Skolverket), which provide instructions, interpretation and commentary

on policy documents. Furthermore, they produce materials to help teachers and organise conferences.

Career guidance is seen as part of the welfare state, which means that state and local authorities finance the main part of the activities in education including career guidance and career education. Non-governmental activities, mainly aimed at adults, take place partly through trade unions (see Thomsen, Mariager-Anderson, & Rasmussen, Chapter 22, this volume) and, to a lesser extent, are delivered by private actors. Within the public employment service there are also some forms of guidance.

During the late 1980s, there was a radical change in the system of Swedish education. The new policy emphasised deregulation and decentralisation from central authorities to local authorities. The result was that a number of decisions regarding education were placed in the hands of the local authorities and the curriculum was more goal oriented than in the past. Today, in 2019, local authorities have a very strong and independent position as an employer of all school staff and also have responsibility for implementing the curriculum. However, the state still has a range of different control and evaluation instruments. The most important of these are the Swedish National Agency for Education and the School Inspectorate, which examine education in communities and schools and if necessary, require the local authorities to make changes (Trumberg, 2011).

Another change in the school system in the last decade is the strong emphasis on the concept of freedom of choice particularly in relation to educational choices. It means that for many young students the range of alternative possibilities have increased especially in the transition to upper secondary school. In the big cities there could be more than 1000 alternatives to choose from. Part of the concept of freedom of choice is linked to the emergence of independent, mainly private schools, and the right of students to apply for any upper secondary school without any geographical limitation (Trumberg, 2011). Parallel to this development the marketing of schools has increased significantly (Lundahl, 2014). Another change is an increased number of students applying for upper secondary school. In 2017 98% of students from secondary school applied to upper secondary school. As a result of these changes there is an increasing need for students to acquire, interpret and understand information about education programmes (SOU, 2019:4).

THE AIMS OF CAREER GUIDANCE IN SWEDEN

In Sweden, career guidance in the educational sector can be defined either broadly or narrowly (Lindh, 1997; Skolinspektionen, 2013; Skolverket, 2013). This division is now generally accepted by both career practitioners and teachers. In a newly published official report from the government these two concepts are replaced with the terms individual guidance and general guidance. The meaning of the concepts are however the same as before (SOU, 2019:4).

Career guidance in a broad sense (general guidance) refers to all of the activities aimed at students preparing and planning for their future. These activities include

career education, contact with working life, teacher-student interviews, information-giving, internet-based material, fairs concerning upper secondary schools, labour market days and workplace visits.

Career guidance in a narrow (individual) sense refers to the activities that career specialists are primarily responsible for. These are mainly different types of interviews carried out individually or in groups. Group guidance has been included in the narrow guidance because it had traditionally been done by career counsellors.

The general recommendations regarding career guidance describe it as a process where the students gradually develop their self-awareness and their knowledge of the surrounding society, particularly their knowledge of education, professions and the labour market. (General Recommendations, Skolverket, 2013). The concept of 'career management skills' (Sultana, 2012) has become an increasingly well used concept to describe the skills and knowledge that an individual should have in order to make 'well-informed choices'.

The curriculum specifies that the school should inform and counsel the students prior to them making decisions about their future education and vocational orientation. It also suggests that schools should pay special attention to opportunities for students with disabilities and support teachers' educational and vocational guidance efforts. (Lgr11, p. 17).

The National Agency for Education provides a more detailed description of how the work of career guidance can be conducted in their general recommendations. The aim is to satisfy the students' needs for educational and vocational guidance and this can, according to the recommendations, take place through three different interventions; career interviews, teaching and information giving. The former is the counsellor's sole responsibility, while teaching and information giving are shared responsibilities for both counsellors and teachers.

CAREER GUIDANCE IN THE COMPULSORY SCHOOL

A review of the development of career guidance, irrespective of the country described, often ends up in a tension between the needs of the individual and society's demands and opportunities (Watts, 1980). This has been the case in Sweden with different emphasis depending on the values and approaches of different time periods. From the 1900s until the 1950s, the goals emphasised the needs of society, but gradually the needs of the individual have increased in importance. The attitude towards career guidance in the first half of the 20th century is summarised by a governmental school investigation from 1940 which subordinates the needs of the individual to society.

> More important than the individual's right to the desired education is society's need that workforces in various fields are filled in an appropriate way. (Lovén, 2015b, p. 135)

It was not until the introduction of the nine-year compulsory school in the early 1960s that a clearer individual need was raised in curricula and other policy

documents (Lovén, 2015b). Today, as mentioned, the concept freedom of choice has a strong position in politics as well as in the eyes of the public. Unlike many other countries, in Sweden, upper secondary school is a combined school form that covers both vocational and academic education.

The first guidance specialists within the Swedish school system were called vocational choice teachers and were social sciences teachers with a short further education in educational and vocational guidance. They worked within the 9-year-old compulsory school especially in grade 6–9. In the early 1970s a new system of so called SYO-consultants (SYO = study and vocational orientation), later called educational and vocational counsellors, was introduced in the education sector. Gradually the system of vocational choice teachers was abolished. The SYO consultants had and still have a three-year academic education, on a bachelor level. They worked in the 9-year compulsory schools primarily with students in grade 6 to 9, in upper secondary schools and in adult education.

Today it is this organisation that applies to the above-mentioned school levels. Since the beginning of the 1960s career guidance in a broad sense has been emphasised in every curriculum concerning the compulsory school. The message has been and still is that questions about education, working life and students' choice of future should be included in the schools' teaching and in all school subjects often called career teaching (NICE, 2016). Also work experience, so called 'pryo' (practical vocational orientation) was mandatory according to the curriculum. In the curriculum from 1994 and 2011 the requirement for working life experience disappeared, but several schools kept this activity. Recently the Swedish Parliament once again has decided on mandatory practical work experience. This must include at least two weeks in year eight or nine.

Compensatory Guidance

In the objectives formulated in the 1970s, there was also a strong emphasis on the so-called compensatory mode of work, aimed primarily at those students who, for various reasons, did not succeed in the school system. The idea was that career guidance would compensate for those shortcomings, but it did not clarify how this should happen. Lundahl and Nilsson (2009) summarise these ambitions.

> They [the career counsellors] were expected to compensate for social, gender-related and geographical obstacles to the career choice process, and to provide a counterweight to influences (from media, friends and other factors) that could limit or bias young people's educational and vocational choices. They were also required to develop contacts with industry and other organisations related to working life. Against this background it was hardly surprising that several evaluations in the 1980s gave discouraging results and concluded that study and vocational guidance had not lived up to expectations. (Lundahl & Nilsson, 2009, p. 29)

The authors above also described the difficulties of living up to these high goals. In the beginning of the 1980s other researchers also pointed out the problem with these excessive goals and expectations (e.g. Franke-Wikberg & Jonsson, 1981). In the subsequent curricula from 1990 onwards, the number of regulations and rules greatly decreased, partly as a result of the transfer of responsibility to the local authorities as mentioned earlier. Today the Swedish objectives still emphasise the importance of broadening the perspectives but in only one short sentence: Everyone working in school should 'contribute to the student's choice of study and career choice not being restricted by gender or social or cultural background' (Lgr11, part 2.6, author's translation).

Overall the goal formulations in policy documents were shortened and now more briefly written;

> … that the school should strive for each student to acquire sufficient knowledge and experience to make well-informed choices of continuing education and vocational training. (Lpo94, p. 10, author's translation)

Responsibility for this endeavour would rest on all those who worked in school. (The National Agency for Education, 2009). This recurring theme of everyone's responsibility for matters relating to the link between school and working life has, been part of all curricula and other documents since the beginning of the 1960s.

ADULT CAREER GUIDANCE – LESS DEVELOPED AND RESEARCHED

Adult career guidance in Sweden is characterised by a different perspective from career guidance with young people. Adults who seek guidance usually have a more complex life situation. Guidance may have to address people's family situation, economics and lack of clarity about their futures. This requires adults to be supported to reflect on multiple levels. The term lifelong guidance is often used to describe how the individual's choice can affect the whole life situation. In some cases, adult career guidance deals with the specific turning points which the individual faces. This may include dismissal from work, some kind of injury related to work or any kind of obstacles that limits the individual's scope of action (Hallqvist, 2015). However, the turning point can be extended due to a difficult labour market or the individual's need to complete education or acquire other skills. Such guidance may then extend over a longer period of time and be focused on creating a trustworthy and cooperative relationship with the client.

Adult guidance in Sweden is often linked to adult education of different kinds. The local authorities, which mainly finances the activities, employs both private and locally governed educational institutions. Even in the employment offices, different forms of education are sometimes linked to rehabilitation and/or transition activities.

Adult guidance has been researched to a lesser extent than guidance in the secondary and upper secondary schools. One explanation may be that the state has

invested more resources in youth education, especially in the field of educational and vocational guidance.

Swedish employment offices have had a strong position in terms of adult guidance. However, guidance within the employment offices has been considerably weaker since the 1980s. Before that vocational counsellors had a respectable position and their own in-service training (see e.g. Vestin, 1991). Most often, career guidance has been discussed in connection with transition and rehabilitation for jobseekers, but has been labelled with different occupational titles rather than career guidance. Throughout the years these different occupational titles have been named employment officers, advisors, administrators and coaches.

In 2018 the employment office published a new national strategy for career guidance (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2018). The overarching goal is that individuals should get good conditions to deal with career related questions. The same year a political compromise between several political parties made an agreement that the employment offices should be partly privatised next year. How this will be achieved and what implications it will be clearer in the autumn of 2019.

Even in universities and colleges, career guidance as a profession has had a less strong position until the 1990s. Often, the counsellors were subject specialists who chose to work with career guidance. Eventually, however, the number of counsellors with an education in career guidance has increased strongly, and today there are several universities which have developed career centres which have a broad and multifaceted career service.

THE PROFESSION

As part of their professional development career counsellors, especially in the educational sector, have since the 1970s strived for clarifying their professional working field and tried to describe their working responsibilities in a more structured way. Some of these were listed in a more detailed way in early documents from school authorities (see, for example, Aktuellt från Skolöverstyrelsen 72/73:55). The discussion of the professionalisation of counsellors was earlier and still is concerned with the question how career counsellors differ from other similar professional groups. In other words; what can career counsellors do that other groups cannot? During the 1980s, the counsellors increasingly focused on the narrow guidance (Fransson, 2001; Lovén, 2000), partly due to the difficulty of implementing career guidance in the broader understanding. During this time, interests in models and methods of personal guidance increased, both through the publication of method books, and through a comprehensive and extended career guidance education, a three year bachelor education. Today the need for a certification of career counsellors is high on the agenda both in the counsellors' trade unions and their interest groups.

EVALUATIONS OF SWEDISH CAREER GUIDANCE

In the following section I will present some of the evaluations concerning career guidance. Many of them, independent of time, have similar results especially concerning broad career guidance.

Broad Guidance: Everybody's Responsibility – Nobody's Responsibility.

As early as the late 1970s, the first evaluations showed that the goals for career guidance had little impact in school practice and that they were largely unknown to school leaders and teachers (Åsemar, 1985).

During the 1980s and 1990s several studies were published, (Borhagen & Lovén, 1989; Henrysson, 1994; Skolverket, 1997) which showed that the idea of everyone taking responsibility for career guidance in schools did not result in a substantial impact on daily teaching.

During the 21st century other investigations and research projects (National Agency for Education, 2005; Lundahl & Nilsson, 2010; SOU, 2002:120) were conducted and came to similar conclusions to the earlier studies. Skolinspektionen (2013) also concluded that in spite of the guidelines in curriculum many schools did not work proactively to counteract the limitations in student's educational and vocational choice based on gender, social and cultural background. The same study also underlined that the approach of viewing career guidance as a responsibility for everybody in school was given a low priority and usually resulted in nobody taking responsibility.

> Due to lack of control and lack of responsibility from the principals and local authorities, the individual counsellor was left alone trying to realise the curriculum's intentions. (Skolinspektionen, 2013, p. 30, author's translation)

Furthermore, it was pointed out that guidance as a process where students gradually gain knowledge of themselves and the outside world did not occur to the extent intended in the formal target documents. Instead most Swedish career guidance was conducted at transition points in young peoples and adults career development (Dresch & Lovén, 2010; Skolinspektionen 2013; UbU, 2017/18:RFR24). More specifically guidance was given between various educational levels, between education and the labour market, and between various positions in working life.

What has happened to guidance, primarily in the broad sense, in primary and secondary schools is that the activities are prioritised neither by the local school authorities nor the responsible persons in the local school, usually the principals (Skolinspektionen, 2013). Evaluations and different types of quality assurance have rarely been carried out at a local level, and therefore representatives of the local authorities have had no insight as to how career guidance in a broad sense is actually carried out in the local schools.

> 33 out of 34 principals do not make sure there are systems and procedures for planning, monitoring and evaluating the goals for study and career guidance. (Skolinspektionen, 2013, p. 29, author's translation)

The report summarises this in the following:

> The result of the shortcomings in career guidance causes the students in their choice of upper secondary school to rely on their own networks. This, in turn, means an increased risk that social patterns will be reproduced in students' choice of both education and their life choices. (Skolinspektionen, 2013, p. 8)

The Department of Education published an overview of career guidance in schools in 2018 (UbU, 2017/18:RFR24). The report underlined the results from earlier studies, noting that there was often nobody responsible for schools' career guidance provision and that it was poorly governed.

A recently published report (Olofsson, Lovén, & Delier, 2017) based on case studies in three local communities, discusses the requirements which should be fulfilled in order to improve career guidance provision in schools. The report identifies important stakeholders and actors as follows:

1. Decision-makers, including political representatives, managers and school leaders.
2. Executives, comprising of school leaders, study and career counsellors and teachers and educators.
3. Resources, covering local and regional working life and employment offices.
4. Recipients, consisting of students and parents.

According to the report an important success factor is that all of these levels are involved and that the first three levels (decision-makers, executives and resources) feel responsible for the various actions needed to deliver career guidance. They conclude that in the case studies usually one or two levels are involved but never all of them.

The shortcomings of career guidance in Swedish schools and its' consequences for the labour market have also been noted by the OECD in two studies (OECD, 2016, 2018). Among other things, the OECD emphasises the importance of developing career guidance in comprehensive school, so that students' choice of upper secondary education is based more on labour market demand than is the case today.

Although more than 50 years have passed through different curricula, it can be concluded that the same issues and shortcomings of broad guidance have been pointed out in a large number of reports and investigations.

Narrow Guidance

The majority of studies have over the years shown that students generally appreciate 'narrow' career guidance (Borhagen & Lovén, 1991; Lindh, 1997; Lovén, 2000;

Lundahl 2010; National Agency of Education, 1997). Where shortcomings have been identified they generally relate to unclear communication and to difficulties in broaden the student's perspectives (Lovén, 2000; Lundahl, 2010). The students also express that they have not been given sufficient information about education and the labour market (Lundahl, Lovén, Holm, Lindblad, & Rolfsman, 2020; Skolverket, 2014).

Several of the studies have examined the students' satisfaction with career guidance, while significantly fewer studies have examined the long-term effects of guidance. In the School Inspectorate's study (2013) there are some critical points that concern the work of the counsellors. It is pointed out that many students (37% in the questionnaire) did not feel prepared for the guidance that they had received. In addition, only 28% say they have a clear picture of the different upper secondary school programs that are available. The students also demanded more and earlier guidance and more information about the labour market.

Need for a Comprehensive ICT-System

Several reports have also pointed out that students' self-knowledge is not adequately investigated (Lundahl, 2010; Skolverket, 1995). Instead greater emphasis has been placed on the transmission of information, though without sufficient ICT support (Dresch & Lovén, 2010). Both the EU Lifelong Learning Memorandum (2000) and the OECD (2004) highlighted the importance of developing knowledge about how ICT can be used to make guidance more accessible in both time and space. Traditionally, however, the guidance programs have focused on interviews that take place in the "traditional room" (face to face) and have not highlighted the possibilities that exist in the use of web-based choice support and/or in the use of social media within guidance (see also Jochumsen, Chapter 19, this volume; Kettunen, 2017; Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard, & Kardal, Chapter 11, this volume). Sweden has not yet invested in a coherent ICT system, and thus the field has been free to different commercial actors (SOU, 2019:4).

CONCLUSIONS

The above description of Swedish career guidance shows that it had and has a strong focus on secondary and upper secondary school and is mainly focused on a student-centred approach in the form of student interviews and of presenting information in classrooms or through other channels (UbU, 2017/18:RFR24). This 'narrow' approach has been appreciated by the students, while the 'broad' guidance approach, with its focus on career education and the idea that career guidance should be everyone's responsibility has been criticised in evaluations.

Weaknesses in the system can be seen as a result of lofty goals set out in the curriculum without any thoughtful follow-up. Another factor is the lack of

knowledge amongst those who should be responsible for leading and delivering the broad guidance.

Additionally, the motivation to fulfil these goals among teachers and school leaders are low as well as uncertainties about how, when and who shall be responsible for teaching these issues. Most of teachers have not received any training or education in careers during their teacher education (SOU, 2019:4, pp. 235–236). In most schools there are no plans for how career education should be carried out, so the entire area of guidance in a broader sense rests upon the shoulders of the individual career counsellor (Lovén, 2015a; Skolinspektionen, 2013; UbU, 2017/18RFR24). The counsellors and their trade unions have also underlined that the resources are so small that the career counsellors cannot perform their duties effectively. Furthermore, some of them have to divide their services between two or three schools (Lärarnas riksförbund, 2017).

In other words, the interest and dedication has been low from the people responsible, (both principals and local school authorities) which as a consequence has resulted in isolated career counsellors who lack the mandate to implement the approach set out in the curriculum. Despite several reports and investigations no action has been taken at national level to address the shortcomings that could lead to a higher goal achievement.

This problem was among other things the basis for the national guidance study (SOU, 2019:4). The directives from the government were clear[1]:

• analyse how the teaching and competence of teachers can be developed within career guidance and the field of working life knowledge
• analyse how the role of the career counselor can be strengthened and more integrated in school (SOU, 2019:4, author's translation).

I started this chapter with a statement that there is a consensus among policymakers that career guidance is an important part in young students' transitions to working life. This may sound strange and contradictory in light of the results in research. One explanation for this is that for many politicians it's good enough that there is some sort of career guidance in schools. The details of its delivery are of minor interest especially when they are not mandatory. In recent years, however, criticism of guidance has increased (see, for example, figures representing various parties in Almedalen 2016 and 2017[2]) have expressed concerns that students take little account of the needs of the labour market and that the number of students applying for vocational studies has decreased while there is a great demand for skilled workers in many areas.

So, What Can We Do?

It's easy to be pessimistic when you read this article. In many ways Swedish career guidance is far away from the goals and guidelines decided by parliament, especially

the goal that career education should be a responsibility for all teachers. Here it is important to realise that the guidelines are not mandatory and that local authorities make their own understanding and interpretation. In some cases they do not even know the guidelines. The important thing for local policymakers is that career guidance meets the guidelines that exist and is delivered in an effective way.

As noted above career guidance in several respects is appreciated by the individuals using it, e.g. students get the information they ask for and most of them appreciate their interviews with career counsellors. There are also some good examples of career education (Lovén, 2015a) even if many of these are dependent on a few extremely committed persons (Lundahl et al., in press).

Some Proposals to Go Forward ...

The shortcomings described above, are important, and one of the reasons for the former mentioned study (SOU, 2019:4). The now completed study contains a number of new proposals and regulations. Among these are a clearer goal formulation and more emphasis on the teachers' role in career education. Another proposal is that every local authority should have a yearly plan for how to implement and work with career guidance. More radical and challenging is the proposal, mentioned above, that a new subject called Future Choice should be a part of the secondary school (see Røise, Chapter 18, this volume, for a parallel example in Norway). This subject is intended to be handled by the career counsellors with assistance from different teachers. Many reports (see above) have underlined the local head teachers' responsibility as an important key to move forward towards higher goal fulfilment. This also includes both the local politicians and administrators. On top of that many teachers' lack commitment, often caused by insufficient insight and knowledge in the field of career guidance.

Based on the Nordic experiences (see Boelskifte Skovhus, 2017), it can be concluded that the conditions for a successful career guidance in a broad sense can increase if a subject like Future Choice is introduced. However, this will require both a coherent structure and training for the teachers who will carry out the teaching of the subject.

Counsellors can play an important part by not focusing exclusively on narrow guidance and instead working more with guidance in a broad sense. It can be noted though, that working with guidance in the broad sense can be a challenging task as some counsellors have an unclear role in the curriculum. This means that they occasionally have to ask the ordinary teacher for teaching time in the classroom (SOU, 2019:4). Also, some counsellors may not be comfortable with teaching in classroom, while others consider it quite natural to enter the class rooms.

Career counsellors are therefore a key factor in the necessary changes that have to be done in order to reach a stronger goal fulfilment. To succeed with this task the counsellors need support from both head teachers and local authorities including the politicians and representatives from local businesses and working life.

The opposite may be a continuation of the situation today. Still there will be good initiatives by career counsellors and enthusiastic teachers but in the long run they will lose tempo and power. It's sad but that is what we have had the last decades (see Lundahl et al., in press). One consequence could be that counsellors choose a survival strategy where they focus narrowly on individual career guidance and the combination of career education and career guidance activities would be status quo or even decline.

What Can We Learn?

Is Sweden unique or is this description of career guidance a pattern in many countries? Based on research it seems as if many countries are struggling with similar problems. Sweet (2004) concludes with reference to research in 37 countries that:

> There is a large gap between the ways that career guidance is organised and delivered on the one hand and some important public-policy goals on the other. Narrowing this gap will require countries to make extensive changes to service delivery and also to training and qualification arrangements. (Sweet, 2004, p. 101)

Summarising the Swedish example can be made in six short points and hopefully the Swedish example can give some ideas to learn from:

1. Goals are not enough especially when they are written as guidelines. The goals have to be connected with a clear and structured strategy.
2. Head teachers have to be interested and motivated to develop a comprehensive program of career guidance.
3. There is a need for dedicated trained teachers who want to work with career teaching.
4. Politicians must have a will to support the development of career guidance in schools.
5. Representatives from working life must be willing and motivated to support career guidance.

Career counsellors with a professional training must be aware and able to deal with many different demands in career guidance.

The Road Is Open …

So, the answer to the future of Swedish career guidance lies in many hands. On a national level in the hands of parliament and different stakeholders such as employment organisations and trade unions and on a local level in the hands of head teachers, local politicians and career counsellors. They can each contribute to a change but best of all would be a shared effort where they all move in the same direction towards better career guidance in Sweden.

NOTES

1 I have chosen the two most relevant directives.
2 Almedalen at the island of Gotland is a Swedish meeting place for stakeholders like politicians, civil servants, representatives from employers, trade unions, think tanks etc. During a week there are workshops, political speeches, debates and all covered by media from TV, radio and newspapers.

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STEFFEN JENSEN

8. GUIDANCE IN THE DANISH EDUCATIONAL SECTOR

The Development of the System Since 2000

ABSTRACT

A major reform was introduced to Denmark in 2003 through a specific law on guidance in education. The aim was to create a more professional guidance system less dependent on schools and educational institutions and establish independent guidance centres at two levels and focussing on the use of information technology in guidance. The law contained specific objectives for guidance.

The new law came into force in 2004, but from 2006 to 2018 the law was changed ten times, in many cases due to other political reforms or plans where guidance was considered as a tool to achieve other political aims. New concepts and tools were introduced in that process, e.g. eGuidance and a concept of readiness for education.

In the first part of the period, guidance was strengthened, and more resources were allocated to the guidance sector, but that picture changed in 2014, when guidance in compulsory education was reduced considerably as part of a reform of the vocational education system.

Among the objectives for guidance set out in the law is that guidance shall be to the benefit of both the individual and society. The chapter concludes that emphasis has moved towards benefit for the society and away from benefit for the individual. The role of the guidance practitioners has moved from support for the individual student towards being a civil servant who is responsible for checking whether the pupil fulfil specific demands.

BACKGROUND FOR THE REFORM 2003

The Guidance Landscape before the Reform

Prior to 2003 educational and vocational guidance in the education sector in Denmark was characterised by each educational area having its own guidance system, which was usually physically located at the individual educational institution. There were about 26 different guidance schemes. Guidance was normally given by teachers from the school or educational institution of whom some had received a short in-service-course in guidance. Every educational sector had its own in-service-courses.

In addition to the services found in education institutions there were 12 cross-sectoral guidance services, a student advisory service, some private actors and the Council for Educational and Vocational Guidance (an agency working with the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Education to produce written guidance material and give advice to the ministers on guidance matters).

Political Considerations

The process was initiated by a proposal for a resolution in the parliament by the Conservative Party (Beslutningsforslag, 2000) asking the government (then centre-left) to establish a new educational and vocational guidance system for the educational sector and to make it independent of institutions.

By this time, educational and vocational guidance had become an increasingly important factor in the transition from primary and lower secondary education to upper secondary education and vocational education and training and for subsequent transitions to higher education and/or employment. Therefore, it was important that the guidance reflected the available knowledge of current and future developments in the national and regional labour markets.

It was also mentioned in the resolution that the guidance 'system' suffered from several weaknesses. It was very decentralised and linked to individual schools and educational institutions. The institutions' guidance schemes had the school's or the institution's own students as target audiences and, to a lesser extent, also potential students. This raised issues of impartiality as the guidance practitioners were employed by the institution concerned. Thus, the guidance could become very inward-looking and centred on institutions' own educational programmes and need for students.

On the other hand, the benefits of the existing organisation of the guidance activities were that guidance was implemented in the young people's educational environment by teachers with close knowledge of the individual.

The proposal was not finalised in the parliament, but a majority in the educational committee of the parliament proposed to the government analyse alternative models for organising and financing a transversal independent education and vocational guidance system. The analysis was published in a report on cross-sectorial guidance from the Ministry of Education (Undervisningsministeriet, 2001). The report found that the existing approach to guidance did not support young people to make a free choice in education and employment. Nor did it meet the requirements for openness and transparency in education. It argued that there was a need for clearer objectives, less fragmentation and greater coordination. In addition, guidance was insufficiently based on individual needs and poorly adapted to those young people who had the greatest need for guidance. According to the report, several studies also pointed out that the training and qualification level of guidance practitioners should be increased.

At the same time, the OECD initiated reviews of some member countries' guidance systems including Denmark (OECD, 2002). This review pointed out the weaknesses of the Danish guidance system, noting that it was excessively based in sectors; inward looking; weakly professionalised; and had a lack of effective quality-assurance procedures. The report had 22 recommendations for Denmark including to:

- establish new cross-sectoral centres which should see clients as well as being service centres for sector-based counsellors;
- introduce more robust quality-assurance systems across all areas of guidance provision;
- develop a strategy for collecting data on the outcomes and benefits of guidance;
- develop mechanisms for converting labour market information into a form which enables it to be used by guidance counsellors and by individuals; and
- make more use of websites for guidance purposes.

Shortly after, the government proposed a new 'Law on guidance about choice of education and employment' (Lovforslag, 2002). The final law was passed by the parliament in April 2003 (Vejledningslov, 2003).

THE REFORM 2003

The educational guidance system and landscape was thoroughly changed by the reform. The responsibility for guidance was moved from schools and educational institutions to a set of new independent and professional institutions at three levels – national, regional and municipal. Career and labour market information was now provided online rather than through paper and books (see Jochumsen, Chapter 19, and Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard, & Kardal, Chapter 11, this volume, for a discussion of more recent developments in this area).

The law on guidance came into force 1st August 2004, and a new division for guidance in the Ministry of Education was established a year before to deal with policy issues in relation to guidance and the implementation of the guidance reform, to act as knowledge centre for guidance, and to be responsible for guidance at national and regional level.

Objectives

The law established a set of objectives for guidance and the guidance system:

- The choice of education and employment shall be of the greatest possible benefit to the individual and to society.
- The individual's interests and personal qualifications as well as the anticipated need for qualified labour and self-employed businessmen shall be considered.

- Guidance shall be targeted especially at young people with special needs for guidance, and contribute to a reduction of dropouts and changes in the choice of education, and
- Guidance shall contribute contribute to improving the individual's ability to seek and use information including ICT-based information about choice of education and career, and
- Guidance shall be independent of institution- and sector-specific interests.
- The qualifications and competencies of guidance practitioners shall be improved.

Institutions

Two sets of independent guidance centres were established, namely 45 Youth Guidance Centres at municipal level and seven guidance centres at regional level.

Youth guidance centres ('Ungdommens Uddannelsesvejledning').   The municipal Youth Guidance Centres were given responsibility for guidance related to the transition from compulsory education to youth education (upper secondary education and vocational education and training (VET)). Their target groups were pupils in lower secondary education (forms 6-9/10), young people under the age of 19 outside education, training and employment, and young people between the age of 19 and 25 who seek out guidance in relation to youth education and employment.

The guidance of pupils in lower secondary education was to be provided at the schools and use of educational portfolios and personal transition plans were compulsory.

Educational institutions were required to notify the guidance centres when a pupil or student below the age of 25 years drops out so that the centre can offer guidance to the young person.

The municipalities funded and had overall responsibility for the centres and appointed managers who were responsible for the daily management. The objectives, methods, activity plan, and results were to be published on the internet and the centres were obliged to cooperate with primary and lower secondary schools on career education and guidance, and with youth education institutions in the area, the regional guidance centres, local employers and public employment services.

The regional guidance centres ('Studievalg').   The regional centres were given responsibility for guidance related to transition from youth education (upper secondary education and VET) to higher education or employment and to provide information about all higher education programmes in Denmark and possible job opportunities after completing a higher education programme. Their target groups were pupils in youth education programmes and young people and adults outside the education system wishing to enter a higher education programme.

The Ministry of Education was responsible for the centres and most centres were established as independent consortia of different educational institutions chosen

after a call for tender. The centres were obliged to cooperate with partners in their region: youth education and higher education institutions, youth guidance centres, social partners, and industry and commerce.

National Guidance Portal (UddannelsesGuiden)[1]

At the national level a guidance portal with information about education and training, professions, labour market issues and possibilities abroad, was established. The portal also included web-based guidance tools for guidance practitioners and other users, a virtual resource centre, and links to guidance centres, educational institutions and to the electronic admissions systems to higher education and youth education.

Knowledge Centre for Guidance

The division for guidance in the Ministry of Education was to act as a knowledge centre for guidance and had in that capacity activities such as collecting best practice, initiating analyses, surveys, and undertaking experimental activities, coordinating between the different guidance services, the maintenance of the virtual resource centre as mentioned above, and establishing and maintaining a quality assurance system for guidance.

Quality Assurance System

The purpose of the quality assurance system was to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of the guidance reform, provide decision makers with a comprehensive view of scope, results and effects of guidance, and promote credibility and public confidence by reporting the results of guidance.

Furthermore, the system was intended to serve as a foundation for further development and, through common guidelines and methods, create a basis for comparability between similar guidance units. It also aimed to illustrate approaches and methods for the guidance centres in their development and to strive to measure quality systematically.

The monitoring system measured productivity through the production of statistics such as the number of contacts with the users of guidance services, user benefits, which were monitored through nationwide surveys and questionnaires, and the effect on society which was measured using transition, completion, and drop-out rates, relative to each guidance centre. All data for each guidance centre were published on the internet (Jensen, 2008).

National Dialogue Forum

The National Dialogue Forum's aims included securing cross-sectoral dialogue, developing the level of quality in Danish guidance, and providing advice to the government on guidance issues

The Forum consisted of individual members appointed by the minister and representatives of social partners and ministries.

Training of Guidance Practitioners

Before the reform, each sector had its own training programmes for the teachers who acted as guidance practitioners. The reform established one common training programme, offered by centres for higher education. The programme was equivalent to 6 months' full-time study and was open for guidance practitioners who had completed at least a two years higher education programme and had two years of relevant working experience.

Funding

The reform was financially neutral in the sense that no extra funding was given for the guidance activities, but the resources were re-distributed e.g. the municipalities got extra funding for the work of the Youth Guidance Centres which was taken from the upper secondary schools and from VET institutions who no longer provided guidance for their pupils and students and thus could reduce their staff costs.

Implementation

The law specified that the youth guidance centres should be established with attention to geography, quality and sustainability. This meant that not all of the 98 municipalities in Denmark could have their own youth guidance centre. Several centres were established as inter-municipal cooperation between two or more municipalities. The process ended up with 45 centres with a total of around 1000 guidance practitioners. In the first years after the reform, most employees in the centres were former teachers with a guidance background. But that changed gradually through the years so that staff's backgrounds became more diverse.

The regional centres were established after a tender issued by the ministry. In most cases the tender was won by consortia of educational institutions establishing independent guidance centres and the staff came from earlier information centres for higher education.

Also, the guidance portal was established following a tender issued by the ministry. The tender was won by a private company who ran the portal for eight years. After that it was run by the ministry through one of its agencies.

GUIDANCE IN OTHER POLITICAL AGENDAS

Until 2013–14 the political climate was very positive toward guidance. There was a political belief that guidance was the answer to many political problems and political

will – supported by funding – to strengthen guidance and to use guidance as a tool in different political agendas.

The idea was that more and better guidance would mean that more young people would continue in post-compulsory education and that they would choose a pathway that was suitable, which led to employment and contributed to the growth and development of society.

In the period 2005–2010 guidance was included in legislation concerning the integration of immigrants, globalisation of the economy, welfare and investment in the future, compulsory education and ensuring that more young people were in education or a job.

As part of the government programme on the integration of immigrants 'A new chance for all' (Regeringen, 2005) the law on guidance was changed (Vejledningslov, 2006) to strengthen the involvement of parents in the guidance process.

As part of a political agreement about 'welfare and investments in the future' (Regeringen, 2006b) the law on guidance was expanded on several points (Vejledningslov, 2007).

The weak formulation in the law in relation to the training and qualifications of guidance practitioners was strengthened so that it became a prerequisite for guidance practitioners to have a qualification approved by the Ministry of Education or similar qualifications. Guidance practitioners must either have completed the (post-graduate) diploma or master programme, or have their prior learning, competencies and skills assessed and recognised.

Focus on Vulnerable Pupils

It was specified that guidance should begin from the sixth form in lower secondary school with special attention to pupils at increased risk of not beginning or completing an upper secondary education or VET programme. Likewise, the law specified which guidance tools should be used in the different forms in lower secondary education. A mentoring scheme for disadvantaged young people was introduced, and the duty of the Youth Guidance Centres to systematic outreach to young people who have not begun an upper secondary education or VET programme or who have dropped out, was underlined and expanded.

Furthermore, detailed rules about bridgebuilding activities from compulsory education to youth education were included in the law on guidance. The youth guidance centres gained new tasks as they got the competence to decide whether a young person belonged to the target group for the preparatory programme Schools of Production, (Produktionsskolelov, 2004) and to decide whether a young person belonged to the target group for the special education for young people with special needs and disabilities, (STU-lov, 2007) and later also the Combined Youth Education, (KUU-lov, 2015). The target groups for the Combined Youth Education and the Schools of Production is young people who doesn't have the qualifications to

enter neither upper secondary education nor VET. The target groups for these three programmes have a big intersection and are not easy to distinguish from each other.

EVALUATION OF THE REFORM

The law on guidance included a provision that it should be revised in 2007-08 and, as preparation for that, the National Evaluation Institute (EVA) completed an evaluation of the law and its effects (EVA, 2007). Together with elements of the government's 'Strategy for Denmark in the Global Economy' (Regeringen, 2006a) led to changes in the law on guidance in 2008 (Vejledningslov, 2008).

Objectives

Some of the objectives in the law were expanded and a new one added:

• The choice of education and employment shall be of greatest possible benefit to the individual and to society, including that all young people complete an education giving them occupational competencies.
• Guidance shall be targeted especially at young people with special needs for guidance who have or will have difficulties in choosing, initiating or completing an education or in choosing an occupation.
• Guidance shall contribute to a reduction of drop-outs and changes in the choice of education and that each pupil or student complete the chosen education with greatest possible professional and personal benefit and outcome. Guidance shall support the pupil's or the student's ability to make choices included in education and to secure coherence and progression for each pupil and student.

The objectives refer directly to the government's goal that 95% of a youth cohort (25 years after compulsory education) should have completed at least a youth education (upper secondary or VET).

Guidance in Relation to Completion of Education

So far, the law on guidance had only dealt with guidance in transition from compulsory to youth education or employment and from youth education to higher education or employment. The educational institutions had had different forms of guidance in relation to the completion of education, but now the law on guidance was expanded to include a set of rules for guidance in relation to completion of education, including a provision that completion guidance should be executed by staff with a guidance training qualification of the same level as the guidance practitioners at the guidance centres.

It also required that the educational institutions should report back to/inform the Youth Guidance Centres and the lower secondary educations schools on how the pupils coped with their education.

National Dialogue Forum

Finally, the rules for the National Dialogue Forum were changed. Until now the minister had in principle been the chair of the Forum (in practice: the head of division for guidance). It was changed to a triumvirate with one chairperson and two vicechairs – all appointed by the minister. Also, the composition of the Forum was changed so that the educational sector got a higher presence than before, and the number of personally appointed members by the minister was reduced.

NEW CONCEPTS AND TOOLS

A political agreement from November 2009 about 'more young people in education or job' (Regeringen, 2009) led in 2010 to many and fundamental changes in the guidance law and had huge implications for the guidance sector (Vejledningslov, 2010). The main changes were:

Obligation to Education, Employment or Other Agreed Activity

15–17-year-olds became obliged to be in education, employment or another activity in accordance with their personal education plan, which was made for every young person in collaboration between the young person, his/her parents and the guidance centre. The aim was that the young people sooner or later completed vocational or upper secondary education or gained a foothold in the labour market. The Youth Guidance Centre had to ensure that the pupil's personal education plan was complied with or changed.

The municipality got the competence to withhold the family allowance for 15–17-year-olds if they do not comply with the obligation to be in education, employment or another agreed activity and where the family is not willing to cooperate. The municipality can also choose to give the family allowance directly to the young person rather than to the family.

Readiness for Education

Another new concept was introduced: 'readiness for education'. When a young person leaves compulsory education for vocational or upper secondary education, the youth guidance centre must assess whether the young person possesses the necessary professional, personal and social skills to enter the chosen programme of upper secondary education. For young people, who are assessed as 'not yet ready for education', the municipality had to provide training or whatever support is needed by the young person to qualify for a positive assessment.

Again, the focus of the Youth Guidance Centres was directed to the most vulnerable young people in the sense that they had to reach out to vulnerable young

people in the transition from 9th and 10th form to youth education to avoid quick drop-out ('handheld guidance').

These changes together with the already mentioned tasks of deciding whether a young person belonged to the target group for some specific programmes meant that the youth guidance centres efforts focused more on these administrative tasks – for the benefit of society – rather than on guidance of the young people. For many guidance practitioners this conflicted with their ethical standards. Are you an advocate for the young person or a civil servant?

Youth Database

To give the Youth Guidance Centres a tool so that they could live up to the new legal obligations, the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Ministry of Employment established a Youth Database recording the educational and employment status for all young people below the age of 30.

eGuidance

The Guidance Portal was expanded to include an eGuidance service to provide personal guidance through 'e-channels' primarily to resourceful youths and their parents. eGuidance was offered as personal communication via telephone, online chat, SMS, e-mail and through social media (Facebook). eGuidance was manned by professional guidance counsellors and cooperated with the Youth Guidance Centres, the regional guidance centres, and the editors of the national guidance portal.

De-Bureaucratisation

The law from 2010 also included some de-bureaucratisation initiatives, which implied that many of the detailed rules for the Youth Guidance Centres and the municipalities were removed from the law including the rule to establish the Youth Guidance Centres on a geographical and quality sustainable basis. That meant that the number of Youth Guidance Centres rapidly increased as some of the original centres were split up when a municipality that had cooperated with other municipalities in a common centre wanted to have its own centre. In 2018, it has grown to around 60 centres.

Guidance in Relation to Completion of Education

Finally, the rules about guidance in relation to the completion of education were removed from the law and replaced by rules in the educational laws about the institutions obligation to keep students in education.

These changes were accompanied by a substantial addition of funds to the guidance sector.

THE CHANGING PICTURE

In 2011, the responsibility of the regional guidance centres was moved from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Higher Education and Research in response to a change of government. Although there was a good cooperation between the two ministries, the guiding principle of a coherent guidance system throughout the education sector was broken and the possibilities for coordination were made more complicated.

Where improvements so far had been made to the guidance efforts – and the disposal of increased resources – the picture changed in 2014. As part of the political agreement on 'Better and more attractive vocational training' (Regeringen, 2014) a reduction of guidance and consequent substantial financial cuts in the sector took place.

It came as the culmination of an increasing scepticism among many politicians about the effects of guidance and its lacking possibilities for promoting a desired educational choice (VET) among the young people. It is worth mentioning that it was not the purpose of guidance to promote VET, but to work to ensure that all young people entered into (any) youth education. It should be noted that all changes – both the expansion and the reduction – have been passed by a broad majority in parliament. This has been exacerbated by the limited evidence base in guidance, which has only to a very limited degree been able to answer the questions 'Does guidance matter?' and 'Does it pay off?'

While politicians may be unclear about the general role of guidance, they have utilised it as a tool in VET policy, believing that it should guide people "to" jobs and educational and career routes rather than educating them "about" these things. The government has set up some (probably unrealistic) goals for VET education that in 2025, 30% of a youth cohort should start a VET education after compulsory education – it was 19% in 2018.

Changes in the Law

The main change in the law (Vejledningslov, 2014) was that individual face-to-face guidance was reserved for pupils who were assessed 'not ready for education' and there was an increased focus on group and collective guidance for all pupils. The assessment of the pupil's readiness for education was expanded to take place both in the 8th and the 9th form, and detailed rules for the assessment were inserted in the law including criteria for being ready for education. At same time admission requirements for VET were introduced, and these criteria played an essential role in the assessment of education readiness.

The assessment of readiness for education is taking place at the beginning of the 8th form before the pupils are graded for the first time in their school career and they are supposed to choose a youth education before they have been introduced to VET and upper secondary education through introduction courses later in 8th form.

Pupils that are assessed not ready for education in the 8th form are subject to specific support including obligatory bridge building in the 9th form. The bridgebuilding activity in the 8th form, which is obligatory for all, must include VET.

Some previous Youth Guidance Centre tasks were passed to the teachers in lower secondary schools, e.g. the basic elements in the assessment for readiness for education. A timeless theme on career education – called 'Education and Job' – was introduced in the primary and lower secondary school under the responsibility of the school in cooperation with the Youth Guidance Centres (see Skovhus & Thomsen, Chapter 17, this volume).

This was the beginning of an increased sectorisation of guidance, which the guidance reform from 2003 had reacted against.

The substantial changes of the law on guidance in 2008, 2010 and 2014 have meant that the emphasis has moved towards benefit for the society and away from benefit for the individual, and the role of the guidance practitioners has moved from support for the individual pupil to a civil servant responsible for checking whether a pupil fulfils specific demands.

Other Changes of the Law

After the introduction of admission requirements to the upper secondary education in 2016, the law on guidance was changed to reflect this change in the rules about assessment of readiness for education (Gymnasielov, 2016). And in 2018, the rules for the assessment of readiness for education was expanded to include practical skills together with professional, social and personal skills (Vejledningslov, 2018a).

DISINTEGRATION OF THE 2003 REFORM

The Regional Guidance Centres

As mentioned, the responsibility for the regional guidance centres (Studievalg) was moved from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Research and Higher Education in 2011 but the centres continued to act under the common law on guidance. In 2018 a specific law on the regional guidance centres was passed and the rules concerning the centres were taken out of the law on guidance (Studievalglov, 2018). The guidance centres will be established as an agency under the Ministry for Higher Education and Research with departments spread over the country and thus no longer subject to a tender. The new law repeats the relevant parts of the objectives of the law on guidance. The task for the centre will be to provide guidance about higher education and expected employment possibilities to pupils in youth education.

The Law on Guidance

In connection with a substantial reform of preparatory short-term programmes for young people who are not ready to begin VET or upper secondary education, the law on guidance has been changed radically (Vejledningslov, 2018b).

General Changes

- The title of the law is changed to the 'law on municipal support for young people below the age of 25 years'.
- The Youth Guidance Centres are removed from the law and replaced by the municipalities. The municipalities shall establish a new youth centre that will integrate the previous tasks of the Public Employment Centre for young people with the previous tasks of the Youth Guidance Centres.
- Educational, vocational and career guidance shall still be delivered but in another organisational framework and still by educated guidance personnel.
- The municipalities shall still offer professional guidance independent of sector and institutional interests.
- The ministry's role as a knowledge centre for guidance has ceased to exist.
- The National Dialogue Forum have been closed down.
- The provision on coherence in the guidance system has been deleted.

The Municipal Support Unit for Youth

The municipality gets the full responsibility to ensure that all young people are able to complete a youth education or to be employed. The municipalities coordinate the work for young people in the educational, employment, and social areas, and appoint one transversal contact person for a young person who needs support for whatever reason.

    The unit shall take care of all tasks that have formerly been taken care of by the Youth Guidance Centre and the Public Employment Centre.

The Educational Plan and the Youth Database

The educational plan will be expanded to be a coherent plan for both the young person and the involved authorities and other actors and will be supported by an expansion of the Youth database to include all relevant information about the young person including housing and use of drugs. Relevant data from the Youth database will be transferred to the educational institution the young person attends.

Consequences

With these changes, two of the fundamental ideas of the guidance reform in 2003 have been removed from the law: the idea of one coherent and transversal guidance system with a common quality assurance system and the possibility of coordinating the guidance efforts across the different sectors.

Furthermore, there is a risk that guidance will vary in volume and quality across the municipalities and that guidance to an even higher degree than today will be focussed on the vulnerable young people, so that other young people might be left alone in their choice of education.

NEW DEVELOPMNENT

Nearly all parties in the parliament agreed on a large set of changes in different laws with the purpose of increasing the transition from lower secondary schools to vocational education and training. The agreement is called 'From primary school to skilled worker' (Regeringen, 2018).

The agreement includes several initiatives on guidance giving the teachers in compulsory education a clearer role in the development of the pupil's competencies to choose an education. A national programme on the choice of youth education and a coherent plan for guidance activities will be developed and integrated in the education.

Introduction to youth educations and bridgebuilding activities will be replaced by a new, not yet developed model, which will provide an introduction to youth education, and all pupils in 8th and 9th form will be assessed for educational readiness for all youth educations independent of the pathway which they wish to choose.

Furthermore, the municipalities will be given more responsibility for the pupil's choice of youth education and they must set up local targets for the transition to youth education. The agreement was turned into law in 2019 (Vejledningslov, 2019).

With these changes the disintegration of the 2003 reform has taken yet another step as the work of the guidance centres probably will be reserved for vulnerable young people and schools will get the main guidance responsibility for the majority.

WHAT WORKS?

With the pace in which the content of and the guidelines for guidance has been changed since the guidance reform in 2003, it may be difficult to trace the impacts of the different aspects of the reforms. Some of them have only been allowed to work in a short period of time before they were changed again.

One of the objectives for guidance is that it shall be of the greatest possible benefit both to the individual and to society. This is a very long-term goal – both for the individual and for society. Politicians like – and for good reason – to have evidence

that guidance works, but they should probably let the changes work for a little longer period than has been the case since the 2003 reform.

In 2010, the Ministry of Education asked the Danish Clearinghouse for Educational Research at Aarhus University,[2] to investigate what international research says about the effect of the guidance methods used in education systems. It resulted in a meta study that looked at research from comparable countries (Nordic countries, UK, Canada, US, Australia, New Zealand and some other Western European countries) (Danish Clearinghouse, 2011). One of the results was that individual guidance was highlighted as effective because it is personal and can be customised to the individual.

It is thoughtful that this effective guidance tool was removed for the young people ready for education with the changes in 2014.

A study from The Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI)[3] has shown that the reform from 2003 increased admission to upper secondary school between 4.0–6.3 percentage points for immigrants, and at best small improvements for the native students (SFI, 2012).

The annual surveys among all graduates from lower secondary schools shows that among the most important elements of guidance are introductory courses, bridge building and similar activities where the young people get acquainted with further education and/or the labour market. The survey was made every year up to 2014 (Undervisningsministeriet, 2014).

Need for Knowledge and Data

There is a need for greater clarification about the impact of guidance and which guidance elements are working. This is part of a broader need to convince politicians – and especially economists – that guidance is important. In order to achieve this, we need more accurate research and data on the impact of the different elements of guidance.

It is not an easy task to measure the effect of the guidance. However, some simple data on the outcome of guidance and how the guidance benefits both the individual and society can be crucial for how the guidance will be developed in the future.

The European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN) has throughout its existence (2007–2015) worked with quality assurance and the evidence-base for guidance and has proposed a framework and indicators (ELGPN, 2015).

TWO TURBULENT DECADES FOR GUIDANCE

In the beginning of the century guidance in the educational sector in Denmark was boosted and organised in a new professional way with still more tasks and resources.

But the wheel is turning, and it looks as if Danish educational guidance is moving back to a situation similar the one the 2003 reform changed radically. We see an increased sectorisation with more and more guidance tasks given to the teachers

rather than professional guidance practitioners. The professional guidance is reserved for special and vulnerable groups, and the guidance personnel are expected to act as civil servants that control young people rather than as resource persons for that empower young people.

Some of the fundamental ideas of the guidance reform in 2003 have been removed from the law: the idea of one coherent and transversal guidance system with a common quality assurance system, the possibility of coordinating the guidance efforts across the different sectors, a national dialogue forum for guidance and a knowledge centre for guidance.

Due to growing concerns about a lack of skilled labour in the future labour market, guidance has increasingly been seen as an instrument for achieving specific political goals in terms of the right labour supply rather than a support service for the individual in their choice of education and career development. The lack of evidence on the impact of guidance has also created scepticism among politicians about the necessity of guidance.

While it is a positive development that the new municipal youth support services combine the tasks of the Youth Guidance Centre and the Public Employment Centre, one can be worried about the possible clash between the supportive culture from the youth guidance centres and the control culture from the Public Employment Centres . The fear is that the latter will win.

If guidance in Denmark is to regain its former position to the benefit of all people, it is necessary that we can – and are willing to – measure the effect and the quality of guidance and convince the politicians about the importance of having a well-functioning guidance system as a public good and not as a political tool to steer young people to specific educations.

NOTES

[1]   https://www.ug.dk/
[2]   http://edu.au.dk/forskning/danskclearinghouseforuddannelsesforskning/
[3]   Now VIVE, the National Research and Analyses Centre for Welfare; https://www.vive.dk/da/

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ANNA TONI AND RAIMO VUORINEN

9. LIFELONG GUIDANCE IN FINLAND

Key Policies and Practices

ABSTRACT

Finland has a long history of good collaboration between the educational and employment sector regarding lifelong guidance, specifically career guidance. Today, this manifests as having a national strategy for lifelong guidance, good access to high quality services and innovative pilots such as the One-Stop Guidance Centres for youth. The new government led by Prime Minister Sanna Marin has decided to put even more efforts into lifelong guidance. This chapter describes what has been done and what future challenges lie ahead.

INTRODUCTION

Finland has a long history of career guidance programmes and policies that help individuals to develop the skills to move effectively through learning and work (Kasurinen & Vuorinen, 2008; Merimaa, 2018). The services are provided mainly by two established public systems. The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for the organisation and funding of guidance and counselling services in comprehensive and upper secondary schools and in higher education. In comprehensive and upper secondary level education career guidance is a scheduled compulsory element in curriculum and a student entitlement. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment is responsible for establishing political guidelines and strategic goals for the national labour market policy. Guidance and counselling services provided by the 'Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices)' complement school-based services as they are mainly targeted at clients outside of education and training institutions. There has been a clear division of labour as well as long co-operation between these two systems.

EVOLUTION OF GUIDANCE SERVICES IN EMPLOYMENT SETTINGS

Professional vocational guidance and counselling began in Finland in 1939 when a psychologist´s position was created in the employment office in Helsinki (Nummenmaa & Sinisalo, 1997). The pioneering career counsellor and counselling psychologist was professor Niilo Mäki, who worked in the office from 1941 to 1946

(e.g. Kiianmaa & Pulliainen, 1989; Tapaninen, 2006). In 1948 the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 88 on public employment services gave a recommendation that all nations should provide a free public employment services. During the 40s and 50s, 13 Finnish municipalities became involved in career guidance and established vacancies for vocational psychologists (Nummenmaa et al., 1997). In the 1960s, the position of career guidance as part of Finnish employment policies and practices strengthened further when it was written in the law (Suomen asetuskoelma, 1960). A nationwide organisation of vocational guidance offices was developed under the labour administration and in the 1970s vocational guidance offices and employment offices, were joined into one employment service (Nummenmaa et al., 1997) under the Ministry of Employment.

The labour administration in Finland was reorganised in the late 1980's and regional employment agencies were changed to regional centers for trade and employment. In this new context the role and position of vocational guidance was diminished in regional administration (Vuorinen, Leminen, & Pulliainen, 2014). A new, efficient way to address the needs of individual customers was developed in the employment offices through the tiering of services into self-help, group-based services and intensive case-managed services, including individual counselling (Sultana & Watts, 2006).

In 2007, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Labour were merged into the Finnish Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment. The regional administration was reorganised into 15 Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY Centres). One year later in 2009 the employment offices were renamed similarly as 'Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices)'. Subsequently the vocational psychologists started working in a branch named 'vocational development services' in co-operation with educational advisors, vocational training advisors, rehabilitation advisors and advisors for labour market training. In 2013, the vocational psychologists started to work within all the three service lines with the overall service model:

1. Employment and Business Services
2. Business Competence Development Services
3. Supported Employment Services

The reform of national employment and economic offices was based on the goals of the national strategies on employment and entrepreneurship. The underlying principles in the reform were customer-orientedness, equal access, societal efficiency and productivity. Attention was given to core functions: the supply of skilled labour, fast placement of job-seekers. As an outcome of the reform the traditional vocational guidance came to an end as an organisational stand-alone service and the previously separate concepts of 'vocational guidance', 'educational advice' and 'vocational rehabilitation' were merged into one concept 'vocational guidance and career planning' (Vuorinen et al., 2014).

INTEGRATION OF CAREER GUIDANCE WITHIN EDUCATION SYSTEM

As the vocational guidance services reached a sustainable status in the employment sector in the 1970s, the vocational psychologists visited schools and provided career guidance in co-operation with a network of designated career teachers. In 1970, Finland started a major school reform process and the formal dual system was transformed into a nine-year comprehensive education system. At that time, career education was embedded in the national core curricula as a compulsory subject for all students (Kasurinen & Vuorinen, 2008; Merimaa, 2018). In the 1980s school counselling was integrated into upper secondary general education and vocational secondary level education as well.

In general, guidance services are provided and co-ordinated by full-time school counsellors, who are employed by the schools. They are in charge of the timetabled career education sessions, group activities, individual guidance and co-operation with employers and stakeholders. School counsellors co-operate with group tutors who support their own students on daily activities. Also, all teachers are expected to instruct their students in study skills in particular. In vocational education and training (VET) career education is integrated into all vocational subjects and the transition skills are developed in co-operation with local employment and economic offices, companies and local youth services (FNAE, 2016a, 2016b).

In 2002, the National Board of Education conducted an evaluation of guidance in basic and upper secondary level education. According to the results, students received information on how to apply to secondary or tertiary education but less current labour market information. The focus of the career education programmes was on the completion of programmes rather than transitional issues from lifelong learning perspective (Numminen & Kasurinen, 2003). As a response to this, the subsequent reforms of the national core curricula (FNAE, 2016a, 2016b; Opetushallitus, 2004) emphasised the career development process and acquisition of career management skills and entrepreneurial skills in all grade levels from primary school through to secondary schools and in vocational streams. The European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN, 2012, 2015a) defines Career Management Skills (CMS) as 'a range of competences which provide structured ways for individuals and groups to gather, analyse, synthesise and organise self, educational and occupational information, as well as the skills to make and implement decisions and transitions' (ELGPN, 2012, p. 21).

The reform in upper secondary education in the 1990s emphasised co-operation between general and vocational education with flexible programmes and the right mix of guidance and education opportunities to ensure that there are no dead ends once students have graduated (Numminen & Kasurinen, 2003). General education and vocational qualifications became more equal as students could obtain general eligibility for higher education from both tracks. Thus career education acts as a link between the school, community and working life. It promotes social justice, equity, equality and inclusion and prevents marginalisation from education and

employment (Hooley, 2014). As a compulsory curriculum entitlement, it provides an opportunity to reflect on future options with the whole age cohort and it is a cost-effective measure for preventing drop-outs and further social exclusion. The knowledge and skills developed in career education contributes to the availability of the skilled labour force and the balance between the demand and supply of skills and competences in the future labour market (OECD, 2004).

Working life, careers and attitudes towards work in Finland are going through large and dynamic changes. There is a rising demand for learning across all levels of qualifications (Blossfield, Kilpi-Jakonen, Vono de Vilhena, & Buchholz, 2014). This is due to an increasing share of knowledge work, rapid skills renewal, and strong focus on innovation and development, in parallel with an ageing work force and growing skills shortages (Tikkanen & Nissinen, 2016). It has been estimated that in each year approximately 400,000 Finns change jobs (Lindholm, Kesä, Kukkonen, Jämsen, & Hyttinen, 2017). In the last few years structural and long-term unemployment have been quite high in Finland (e.g. Duell, Thurau, & Vetter, 2016; European Commission, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c) and the unemployment rate has been higher than in other Nordic countries (OECD, 2018). However, during 2018 we have seen a positive trend in the labour market (e.g. OECD, 2019; Official Statistics of Finland, 2018). Finland is now facing a shortage of skilled workers in some areas. For instance, there are not enough information and communication technology *(ICT)* specialists. According to the OECD Skills for Jobs database (2018), more than 9 in 10 of all job openings in Finland (including replacements for vacated jobs) between now and 2030 will be for high- or medium-level qualifications. The average across the other OECD countries is 5 in 10 jobs. Demands for competences and skills are getting more varied and more challenging all the time. Education is becoming the new insurance for independent livelihood.

Finland has also adopted the European Flexicurity agenda (Council of the European Union, 2007) as a response to the changing world of work and structural changes in the job markets. Flexicurity attempts to reconcile employers' need for a flexible workforce with workers' need for security. It tries to ensure that whereas employees might more easily lose their job, they are less likely to lose their livelihood (Sultana, 2012). Since 2005, an operational model of change security targeted for workers dismissed for economic reasons or those at risk of dismissal has facilitated employees to shift from one job to another. The legislation regarding change security in the competitiveness agreement entered into force 2017. The employer has to offer the employees that they have dismissed for economic reasons coaching and training which enhance the employability of the employee. The employer finances this training and its value should be equivalent to the pay of the employee.

The flexicurity in the labour market has also been enhanced by changes to the social security system and principle of lifelong learning. For example, more emphasis has been put on the possibility to study while receiving employment benefit and labour market training has been developed more towards fitting labour market needs.

LIFELONG GUIDANCE IN FINLAND TODAY

Like in many countries, in Finland guidance is distributed across educational, labour market, social and health provision, under different ministries and other jurisdictions (schools, tertiary education, public employment services, social partners, the voluntary sector, the private sector, different projects). All providers are facing a growing demand for guidance whilst also having to deal with the need to make savings. In order to avoid overlapping services a new trend has emerged towards cross-sectoral networks in guidance services (Nykänen, Saukkonen, & Vuorinen, 2012) and flexible development of the totality of guidance services. (Spangar, Arnkil, & Vuorinen, 2008). Key features in a well-functioning service network are collaborative and dialogical creation of knowledge, inclusive collaboration and emergent development of new type of leadership and management in networks (Nykänen, 2011).

The Finnish Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment and the Ministry of Education and Culture established a national lifelong guidance working group in 2010 and extended its mandate in 2011 into the National Lifelong Guidance Coordination and Cooperation Group. The goal of this national representative structure is to enhance national, regional and local information, advice and guidance services with a lifelong approach, support the implementation of the Youth Guarantee Initiative and strengthen multi-administrative and multi-professional co-operation among the service providers and policy makers. The national working group is co-chaired by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment with close co-operation between these two sectors. In addition to these two ministries, the group consists of representatives of different ministries and agencies related to them and different education and labour related unions and students' organisations. The group has defined the following strategic objectives for developing lifelong and life wide guidance in Finland (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, 2011):

• services will be equally accessible for all and they meet the individual needs;
• individual career management skills will be strengthened;
• those who work in the field of guidance will have the required knowledge, skills and competences;
• a quality assurance system for guidance will be developed; and
• the guidance system will function as a coherent and holistic entity.

In addition, the group has given several recommendations on for example multi-professional guidance services, the development of digital services and the education and recruitment of guidance professionals.

In 2013, the regional Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY-centres) were given the task of coordinating the development work on lifelong guidance provision in their own region by means of regional lifelong guidance working groups with representatives of the service providers

and key stakeholders. This new coordination model for guidance services has been implemented in accordance with the above mentioned five strategic goals for lifelong guidance. The following sections of this chapter include brief overviews of the current services in different sectors.

Career Education and Guidance Counselling as a Student Entitlement in Education

The Basic Education Act (628/1998, § 11) states that every pupil is entitled to adequate career guidance services (§ 30). Guidance services in upper secondary general education (Lukiolaki, 714/2018) and in vocational schools (Laki ammatillisesta koulutuksesta, 531/2017) are similarly prescribed by law.

In comprehensive education, career education is a compulsory element in the curriculum, comprising 76 hours of scheduled activities in students' timetables during classes 7–9. In addition, there is an entitlement for individual guidance and group counselling, and practical work-experience periods in companies. In grades 1–6, guidance is embedded in the work of the classroom teachers. Since 2016, the compulsory time slot for career education in the upper secondary level general education also totals of 76 hours. The students are further entitled to have access to career guidance for one year after graduation (FNAE, 2016a, 2016b).

The National Agency for Education defines the core curriculum but requires the approach to delivery to be organised locally. The local institutional curriculum must include a description of co-operation with the local labour market and business community. Classroom visits by labour market representatives, visits to workplaces, project work, the use of different sectors' information materials and introduction-to-working-life periods are central parts of this co-operation. The instruction in the other school subjects is to include modules that connect the knowledge and skills provided by the subject to the demands and possibilities of working life. The emphasis is on the promotion of CMS as an explicit competence area, not only on the choice of next school level. Students and their parents/guardians are to have the chance to receive information on optional elements of the curriculum as well as on the implications of these choices for the further education by meeting collectively with the teacher, school counsellor and students (FNAE, 2016a, 2016b).

During grades 7–9 the school is required to organise practical introduction-to-working life periods (TET) with personal experiences in order to create a basis for educational and career choices and to increase appreciation for work life in general. In connection with the work experience programme, students should be able to evaluate the knowledge and experience they gain. TET is normally implemented in cooperation with the other school subjects utilising their content and working methods.

Although career education has similar status as other subjects in the curricula, the students are given no credentials. Evaluation is based on students' self-assessment

as well as on interactions, guiding and encouraging feedback in conjunction with different guidance activities. The students reflect on their progress in discussions with the teacher, they learn to evaluate their potential, their skills, their ability to act, their agency and their resources, the amount and quality of their need for guidance, their ability to work in groups and their communication skills. Students are guided to understand how their values, beliefs and people that are important to them have impact on their choices and decisions. Students learn to evaluate their skills to seek information and skills to use ICT in seeking educational and labour market information. Students are encouraged to pay attention to their skills to evaluate the reliability and relevance of various information sources. Students are guided to be aware of various self-assessment methods and tools, and to identify how they can be used in their career planning. (FNAE, 2016a, 2016b).

According to international evaluations (Holman, 2014; OECD, 2004) the integration of career education into the curriculum has been considered one of Finland's biggest strengths in guidance. In the PISA 2012 study (Sweet, Nissinen, & Vuorinen, 2014) Finnish 15 year-olds reported that compared with many other countries they had acquired competence in many dimensions of career development. In Finland, school was seen as a substantially more important source for the acquisition of career development competence than sources outside the school.

Career Services in Vocational Education and Training (VET)

The reform of vocational upper secondary education and training in Finland (2018) requires new forms of guidance services. Instead of the previous supply-oriented approach, the government is promoting a student-oriented and demand-driven approach with competence-based modules and validation of non-formal and informal learning. Each student will have the possibility to design an individually appropriate and flexible learning path to finish an entire qualification or a supplementary skill set corresponding to their own needs. The education providers will have increased freedom in organising their activities, including career education and guidance. From the beginning of 2018 the new law on VET requires that in each 3-year programme there is a compulsory module (25–30 hours) on the development of Career Management Skills (Laki ammatillisesta koulutuksesta, 531/2017). A personal competence development plan is drawn up for every student. VET providers and their guidance counsellors are the main source of information and guidance for students, but the public employment service produce labour market information, courses and guidance for young people as well.

Career Services in Higher Education

In higher education institutes (HEIs) guidance and counselling services vary in quantity and quality (Moitus & Vuorinen, 2003; Virolainen, 2007; Vuorinen et al.,

2005). The HEIs have autonomy in designing the services, but they are developing indicators identifying how this process is promoted and supported and monitored as a part of the quality assurance systems of the whole organisation. In general, career centers or the student affairs offices are the places where students can ask about things linked with their studies, work practice, and student grants. In faculties, there are student affairs secretaries who are responsible for students' study plans and for planning, developing and coordinating counselling services. In the universities of applied sciences (former polytechnics) career counsellors are responsible for guidance and counselling services. Academic tutors and other teachers together with peer tutors take part in counselling as agreed in the institutional plans.

Services for Young People

Studies (e.g. Salonen & Konkka, 2017) show that young people in Finland have a new way of thinking about work. Ethical values, global issues and the significance of work matter more than before to the new generation. Still, it is not so easy to enter the labour market as a young person with limited working experience and other personal challenges to conquer.

One of the biggest success stories of guidance in Finland in recent years has been the low threshold One-Stop Guidance Centres (Ohjaamo in Finnish) (see Kettunen & Felt, Chapter 20, this volume). Following the priorities of the national strategy for lifelong guidance and the youth guarantee initiative, Finland has established a network of locally operating One-Stop Guidance Centres that provide young people under 30 years old with information, advice and guidance on a walk-in and easy-access basis and through multiple channels (e.g. face to face, online, phone). In spring 2019, there were almost 70 One-Stop Guidance Centres. The One-Stop Guidance Centres have a national steering group chaired by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment with representatives from different ministries, offices, unions and other third sector parties.

Even though there are many different support services available, some of the students in upper secondary education drop out and they especially are in a higher risk of marginalisation. According to official statistics presented in Finland's Labour Force Survey (2015), in 2015, 66 000 of 16–29 year olds were NEET, representing about 10% of the age group. Seventy per cent of them were unemployed, 13% with a disability pension, 10% were taking care of children and with no information on the remaining 7%. The network of outreach youth workers reached 26,000 youngsters in 2017 (Bamming & Walldén, 2018). The responsibility for outreach work in Finland lies with the municipalities (youth departments). The PES, youth workshops and One-Stop Guidance Centres cooperate closely with outreach youth workers.

Youth workshops support young people aged under 29 in tackling issues related to education and training, working life and life management. The workshop activities are based on learning by doing through coaching and practical work. The workshops

are work-oriented and communal learning environments. Youth workshop activities are mainly organised by municipalities, associations and foundations. They are available in over 90% of all municipalities. The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for developing the workshop activities and assists them with grants handled by the Regional State Administrative Agencies.

Services for Adults

For those over 30-years in age career guidance is more and more relevant as working life becomes more and more complex. Individuals are often seeking help to find a job or education in their 'own' field or another due to economic reasons, health problems, motivation or family situation.

The Finnish PES offers services to all citizens regardless of their employment status. For example, the TE-ASPA, customer service centre of the PES, offers distance guidance services either via phone, video or text. The employed adults are an important customer group for them. The PES also offers tests and tasks that can help an individual to clarify their interests and familiarise them with different tasks and jobs. A new digital ecosystem for PES as a joint effort with other stakeholders is on the way and promises to help people find jobs that match their skills and interests.

The main method of psychological career guidance in PES is guiding discussions, where the customers' interests, limits, opportunities and challenges are pondered. The process can also include tests and 'homework'. The aim is to support the customers to make their own decisions and to strengthen their own career management skills for future decisions. In addition to confidential psychological discussions networking and co-operation are important, when implementing the career plans and using other available PES services.

For the customers who do not need that much support, the main issues in guidance are related to surviving layoffs, raising awareness of international opportunities, support for job seeking and accessing training and coaching. Young people, low-skilled workers and immigrants usually need more support and services and their employment plan usually involves several steps.

It has been estimated that 1.9 million Finns have an illness or a disability and 600,000 of them feel that it affects their ability to get a job or continue in their current job (Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, 2019). If health problems, working conditions or other issues in personal life prevents someone from working in a field one has education for, an individual is entitled to vocational rehabilitation with monetary subsidy from The Social Insurance Institution of Finland or a pension company. Multisectoral Joint Service for Enhancing Employment (monialainen yhteispalvelu TYP) is an operational model in which the PES, municipalities and the national Social Insurance Institution co-operate to help people with multiple challenges to find a path towards work. The contents of vocational rehabilitation can include for example career guidance, re-education, multidimensional group coaching and work

trials. The operational model is regulated by law (Laki työllistymistä edistävästä monialaisesta yhteispalvelusta, 1369/2014) and has a steering group chaired by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment. The steering is done in close co-operation with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Social Insurance Institution and representatives of the municipalities.

The services for migrants to Finland are regulated by law. Immigrants get free lessons and are required to learn Finnish or Swedish. Career guidance with interpretation can be accessed through PES and there are telephone service lines available in Finnish, Swedish, English and Russian. Russian speaking and Estonian speaking language groups are the biggest language groups of native languages in Finland. A foreign language and multicultural sensitivities provide special challenges to career guidance of immigrants. There is a special program financed by The Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) to develop guidance of immigrants in Finland. The city of Helsinki has piloted One-Stop Guidance Centres for immigrants.[1]

Career Information and ICT in Lifelong Guidance

In Finland, the Ministry of Finance steers public sector information management, structural development, and joint services and service provision. It also steers the general criteria for information security, prepares information and administrative policies and develops digital administration. Each ministry steers the development of information management and related projects in its own administrative branch.

The public guidance service provision in Finland relies more and more on online applications and tools. This follows the national strategic objectives in terms of making guidance services more easily available for all target groups to allow access to the services at a time, place and method most convenient to the users. There are several Internet portals developed by the national education and employment authorities, municipalities, different regional actors, youth information centres, etc. to serve the information, advice and guidance needs of their primary client groups. Mostly these services are available in Finnish and Swedish, often also in English.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment is building a common open-access platform (Job Market) for recruitment and competence development services of the citizens. The Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment have a joint high-level working group focusing on the interoperability of existing and future e-services for the citizens. The long-term goal is to develop multi-channelled career services for citizens as an integrated element of national e-governance strategies. There is also ongoing work to better integrate public digital systems and services for people struggling with their work ability.

Professionalism of Career Practitioners

Finland has a strongly professionalised system of guidance by international standards (Andreassen, Einarsdóttir, Lerkkanen, Thomsen, & Wikstrand, 2019; Cedefop, 2009; Vuorinen & Kettunen, 2017;). The theoretical basis of the work and training of counsellors has been connected with the historical roots of career guidance and counselling. From the start, vocational guidance was based on psychology, and Finland's first vocational guidance counsellors were qualified psychologists (Nummenmaa & Sinisalo, 1997). Career guidance was also one of the first fields of application in the developing science of psychology in the universities. The scientific approach goes well with testing and other methods used in psychological guidance. Some of the assessment methods developed in the employment agencies are still used in private personnel companies who provide personal compatibility assessment.

Currently, a prerequisite of a vocational guidance psychologist in the public employment services in Finland is a master's degree in psychology. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment organises in-service training for all labour administration staff. Many vocational psychologists also pursue (while working) postgraduate studies in working life and organisational psychology. It is equally common to obtain a diploma in therapy, for example in cognitive, cognitive-analytic or psychodynamic therapy.

Within educational settings, the evolution of the practitioner training was integrated within the implementation of the guidance services in the reforms of education in the 1970s and 1980s The first qualified practitioners were former teachers who acted as change agents for the reform by providing information on the reform to students, parents, teachers, employers and also social partners. The first master's degree counsellor training programme started at the University of Joensuu in 1988 (Vuorinen & Lerkkanen, 2011).

Until the mid 1990s the school counsellors for different educational levels were trained in separate programmes. The reforms of national educational strategies and the core curricula 1994 started to emphasise individual learning paths and more consistent co-operation between educational institutes on secondary level education. In 1998, the qualifications of the school counsellors in comprehensive and secondary level education were standardised in legislation. In addition to the required qualification for teachers (a master's degree or a special qualification for vocational-school teachers), all school counsellors must have a certificate of completion of a specialist postgraduate diploma in guidance and counselling (60 ECTS). Another option is to have a master's degree in guidance and counselling (300 ECTS which includes the pedagogical training (60 ECTC) (Vuorinen & Lerkkanen, 2011). In 2019, there are two universities and five universities of applied sciences providing programmes which meet the legally defined qualifications.

There has been significant improvement in professionalism during the last decade. In 2016, 97% of the practitioners working in comprehensive and upper secondary level education had legally defined qualifications for the job. The training programmes are attractive among applicants. In 2016, only 11% of the total amount of applicants for university for university training programmes were enrolled in the actual training in universities. For the training programmes in the universities of applied sciences, 24% of the annual applicants were approved (Kumpulainen, 2017).

In the educational sector municipalities have a statutory obligation to enable study counsellors to participate in-service training, although actual training opportunities vary from one region to another. The courses are provided by the training units, national association of school counsellors, regional administration bodies, trade unions, employer organisations and private consultants. Since the 1990's the in-service training has often been integrated with national development projects in guidance (Atjonen, Manninen, Mäkinen, & Vanhalakka-Ruoho, 2011; Vuorinen, 2006). A remaining challenge is to support systematic professional development of the guidance practitioners. Practitioners who have completed the master's level Career Counsellor Education are eligible for scientific postgraduate education and future positions as researchers (Vuorinen & Lerkkanen, 2011).

Lifelong Guidance Services for the Future

The field of career guidance is becoming more versatile all the time: more and more private sector companies offer guidance but also unions, rehabilitation organisations, insurance companies and employers. It will be a challenge and an opportunity to define the minimum competences of guidance professionals and to co-operate and collaborate to maintain good customer experience for those who seek guidance.

The Finnish school system is an international model of success and we have a strong belief in the formal learning system (Sahlberg, 2015). However, to comply with the labour market needs, more emphasis is needed on informal and non-formal learning. Inverse to the trend in other EU-countries, the participation of adults in non-formal learning has slightly decreased in Finland during the past decade (Eurostat, n.d.). According to OECD's Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), Finland has a wide gap in participation of job-related learning. Those with low foundation skills are less likely to participate in adult education and training than those with better skills (Musset, 2015). In addition, the improving employment rates are shadowed by matching problems – employers are having a hard time finding properly skilled workers. In 2018, 41% of companies reported difficulties in recruiting people to jobs (Larja, 2019).

During the recent years, more and more emphasis has been placed on lifelong learning and upskilling and reskilling pathways also in Finland. A national reform for continuous learning has been enforced by the new Finnish Government (Publications of the Finnish Government, 2019) with a long-term aim to enhance more flexible education possibilities, personalised guidance and funding structures.

This poses a challenge for the new Finnish government that has ambitious goals in raising the employment rate by putting efforts in lifelong learning and developing public services further. The new government's strategy has explicit references to lifelong guidance. The aim is to improve guidance services not only for unemployed persons, but also for those returning from extended family leave, employees and immigrants. More coherent services are planned for employees, entrepreneurs and the self-employed.

The government programme invites all stakeholders to enhance the lifelong guidance services by utilising and intensifying the existing good practices in cross-sectoral and multi-professional service provision. The aim is to enhance services for those in need of special support (including people with partial work capacity, immigrants, people with disabilities, young people and older members of the workforce). The goal is also to improve the availability of work coaches in employment and social services.

The government presents concrete measures to strengthen the career education and guidance in different levels of education e.g. by examining the optional student/practitioner ratio and by stronger emphasis on guidance within the transition phases during individual learning paths. The capacity of first and second generation immigrants to access further studies will be improved by more structured guidance and multidisciplinary collaboration with their families.

Regarding lifelong guidance and the successful implementation of upcoming efforts of the government, the government program and the reports on continuous learning (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, 2019; Sitra, 2019) highlight these factors:

1. redefining national lifelong guidance strategy and strategic steering at national level to support cross-sectoral co-operation;
2. a jointly agreed framework for national coordination and legislation of multi-professional guidance services for all age groups;
3. better evidence of effectiveness and impact of guidance services for different target groups (special target groups named by the government: immigrants, low-skilled, people returning from family leave, aged workers, entrepreneurs and guidance at workplace);
4. strengthening the role of PES by re-organizing and reallocating resources and strengthening individual guidance services;
5. strengthening career education and guidance at all levels of education
6. defining and promoting career management in curriculum;
7. making sure that the development of public digital ecosystems is cross-sectoral and provides tools for career development for the citizens; and
8. redefining a competence framework for career professionals.

To implement the goals set out in the government program, the above factors should be carefully considered by ministries and relevant stakeholders. To form a new national strategy on lifelong guidance, ministries need an up-to-date overview

of the guidance system today and its gaps. Information is needed on one hand on the resources and quality of the services and on the other hand, the needs of the special target groups, and whether these needs are met. Resources have already been allocated to national studies to feed the revision of the strategy. The Ministry of Economic Affairs end Employment conducted a mapping of guidance in the PES services in the autumn 2019. The Finnish Education Evaluation Centre has an ongoing study on transitions between studies and there is a research program focusing on the impact of One-Stop-Guidance centres.

The government has set up several high-level working groups to oversee the implementation of the government program, and two of them will be most relevant from the perspective of lifelong guidance. First, the Ministry of Education and Culture has set up a parliamentary working group on continuous learning with wide consultation of views from stakeholders and citizens. Second, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment has set up seven working groups to support the ministerial group on employment. One of the subgroups has a specific guidance-related task on the mismatch of skills and labour market needs.

The mandate of the current National Lifelong Guidance Coordination and Cooperation Group was renewed in February 2020 and will have a special task to coordinate the preparation of the new strategy for Lifelong Guidance. The ministries need to decide whether they renew its mandate or revise the representative structures for national co-ordination. As the guidance field is becoming more varied and complex it is necessary to create ways to react more flexibly to the hastening changes in the labour market.

Transforming lifelong guidance services for the future can only be made possible by intensifying the current co-operation of government sectors and administrators and by working closer together and breaking silos. From citizens perspective there is a need for public services to develop a transparent approach to working, where the citizen's situations can be looked at as a whole, regardless of where and when and with whom they seek help. This requires even better co-operation between sectors and probably also the wider emergence of multi-professional services and a sustainable model of One-Stop Guidance Centres for all age groups.

NOTE

[1]   https://www.ihhelsinki.fi

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PART 2

THE CAREERS PROFESSIONS AND PROFESSIONALISM

GUÐBJÖRG VILHJÁLMSDÓTTIR

10. THE MAKING OF A PROFESSION

The Development of the Careers Profession in Iceland

ABSTRACT

Four elements of the history of guidance in Iceland are described, international co-operation, policy and legislation, the professional association and finally education and training of school counsellors. It is argued that these four elements are needed in the making of a guidance profession in a small country like Iceland. What is unique in this history is the fact that the MA programme in career guidance and counselling at the University of Iceland trains professionals for all school levels as well as different institutions that serve the working population. Another aspect that is quite unique is the legislation on the licensure of the title of educational and vocational counsellor.

INTRODUCTION

What fuels the making of a profession? Undoubtedly there is more than one answer to this question, but from the history of the guidance profession in Iceland we can learn that four elements are needed: (1) professional ties with colleagues in other countries; (2) policy and legislation; (3) a professional association of guidance counsellors; and (4) last but not least educated guidance counsellors (Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2016). In this chapter the story of the making of the guidance profession in Iceland will be told with a special emphasis on these four above-mentioned elements. Figure 10.1 shows these four elements of the history of guidance in Iceland. A successful process of professionalisation has all four sides of the "wheel" fully functioning. This chapter will give an overview of guidance from the start in the 1950s until 2009 when a law passed in the Icelandic parliament, on the licensure of the professional title of educational and vocational counsellor.

Although the beginnings of guidance in schools can be traced back to the 1950s it wasn't until a professional association came into existence in 1981 as well as counsellor training at the University of Iceland in 1990 that the profession of guidance counsellors was born. Until then the development of guidance in Icelandic schools was carried on the back of a few pioneers and for long periods nothing was really happening. But the flames lit in the beginning were gradually rekindled.

IMPORTANT TIES WITH FOREIGN COLLEAGUES

Nordic Contacts

The beginnings of educational and vocational counselling or guidance in Iceland can be traced to Nordic co-operation since the first two pioneers in guidance were both trained in Denmark and were in close contact with Nordic colleagues in the 1950s and 1960s by attending workshops and conferences in all the Nordic countries. Furthermore, Danish teachers gave courses in guidance at the teacher training college in Reykjavík. The teachers in the first training course on career education in Iceland in 1964 were Arne Søgård Jørgensen, an inspector in the Ministry of Education in Denmark and a leader in school guidance in Denmark, and Kaj Sørensen, a teacher in guidance at the teacher training school in Copenhagen (Gíslason, 1964–1965; Plant, 2009).

Pioneers

The first two pioneers in guidance in Iceland were Ólafur Gunnarsson (1917–1988) and Stefán Ólafur Jónsson (b. 1922). Gunnarsson started working for the city of Reykjavík as a guidance counsellor in 1950 with a main emphasis on career education for adolescents. Gunnarsson had been trained in Denmark as a psychologist and stayed in contact with colleagues in the Nordic countries (Jónsson, personal communication, September 16, 2010). He published teaching material in career education from 1953 to 1963 and organised successful career fairs both in Reykjavík and in bigger towns around Iceland (Þórarinsson, 1967; Bjarnason & Jónsson, 1960).

Figure 10.1. The "wheel of professionalisation" describes the four elements in the history of guidance in Iceland

In an article from 1953, Gunnarsson is quite aware of how underdeveloped Iceland is in the field of guidance:

> We are lacking everything in this field [of giving informed guidance to young people]: Adapted tests to test the youngsters and an information office that can give information on the development of the world of work and on occupational opportunities in the future. (Gunnarsson, 1953, pp. 67–68)

In this same article, Gunnarson describes how both Danes and Norwegians are organising guidance activities and he emphasises that they are also aimed at young people in remote and rural areas, something that should have been of interest at that time since half the population (approximately 80 thousand) lived in rural areas or small towns (Hagstofan, n.d.). He concludes by saying that Icelanders should engage in guidance and thereby use the competencies of its people to the fullest.

With the next pioneer, Jónsson, the emphasis in guidance was as before on vocational guidance, but with a stronger personal counselling component (Jónsson, personal communication, September 16, 2010). When Jónsson entered the field of guidance in 1961 the employers in the Nordic countries had had a strong presence in the field of guidance, but gradually the emphasis went from vocational to personal contents in guidance. In his training at the teachers training college in Copenhagen in 1963–1964, he got to know well his teacher, Kaj Sörensen:

> This was a man who came straight from the industries into the teachers training college. His role, really, was to be the voice of the industries in career education. This is how I sensed it, but people were by then talking about the pedagogical aspects of career education. (Jónsson, personal communication, September 16, 2010)

In an interview Jónsson describes how guidance evolved from the post-war period to the sixties. After the war there was such shortage of people that the needs of workplaces were the priority in guidance. The emphasis in guidance was on finding jobs for people in job placement centres. Gradually the schools took guidance over and the aim was to educate young people in making career choices and preparing for the future. This development created tension between those within guidance who wanted to attend to the needs of individuals on one hand and on the other those that emphasised the needs of the world of work for manpower. "After 1950, 1955 this developed into attending more to the needs of individuals, their dreams and interests" (Jónsson, personal communication, September 16, 2010). This pedagogical movement within guidance came to the Nordic countries from the U.S. in the fifties, according to Jónsson (personal communication, September 16, 2010).

In 1961–1962 Jónsson obtained a grant from the Icelandic government to travel to Norway and Denmark as well as to North America and other European countries to learn how career education was implemented (Gíslason, 1964–1965). Jónsson started to work as a guidance specialist at the ministry of education in 1964 after his one-year training in Denmark. Jónsson was the author of a teaching material in

career education for the age group 13–15 years old that appeared in three editions from 1966 to 1972. From the year 1976 he oversaw the publication a booklet on studies after compulsory education Nám að loknum grunnskóla.

Due to reasons in policy and legislation there was a long period when Iceland did not participate in Nordic co-operation in guidance. The structural changes that resulted from new legislation in 1974 put career education to the side, as will be explained in the section on legislation and policy. In the nineties the Icelandic association, founded in 1981, became a member of the Nordic Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance, abbreviated to NFSY (Nordiska förbundet för studie- och yrkesvägledning). This co-operation renewed ties with both the Nordic countries and the wider world due to the access to IAEVG (International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance). Other important Nordic exchanges happened via NUAS, (Nordiska Universitets Administratörs Samarbetet) where student counsellors at the University level work together. The first international conference in guidance held in Iceland was a NUAS conference at Laugarvatn, 1987 (Félag náms- og starfsráðgjafa, 1987, p. 14). Counsellors working with adults have co-operated with Nordic colleagues via NVL (Nordisk Netværk for Voksnes læring). A network called VALA, a career counselling and guidance programs at higher education institutions in the Nordic and Baltic countries was founded in 2011. Its aim is to increase professionalisation and co-operation between research, practice and policy (Vala, n.d.) (see also Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard, & Kardal, Chapter 11, this volume). All of these different Nordic associations and networks have brought important ideas and activities to guidance in Iceland. In fact, the impact of professional associations is much greater than that of individuals since it involves many people and therefore multiplies professional influences.

Contacts with North America

The history of Iceland has been determined by its geographical situation. Ever since the occupation of Britain and the United States of America in World War II, Iceland has had closer contacts with North America than the other Nordic countries. In guidance, the ties to North America have been close since the 1980's and onwards. This North American influence is visible in the fact that Icelandic counsellors use psychometric tests in their practice, something that most other Nordic guidance counsellors have laid aside a long time ago (see also Einarsdóttir, Björnsdóttir, Lerkkanen, Chapter 12, this volume; Plant, 2009). The tests in use are mainly the Self-Directed Search and an Icelandic version of a Holland interest inventory called Bendill (Einarsdóttir & Rounds, 2007). The Career Adapt-Abilities Scale has also been standardised in Iceland (Vilhjálmsdóttir, Kjartansdóttir, Smáradóttir, & Einarsdóttir, 2012). All these psychometric instruments are used in guidance in Iceland (Sif Einarsdóttir, personal communication, April 17, 2018).

Another important factor in this development of growing ties with North America is of a linguistic nature. Before World War II, Danish was the first foreign

language, but with the British and then American occupation, the English language gradually took its place. When the post-graduate training programme of counsellors was founded in 1990 at the University of Iceland, all texts presented to students were in English and nearly all foreign visitors that gave lectures or workshops in guidance were from North America. First in line of these foreign visitors is without doubt Dr. Carol Pazandak (1924–2007) who influenced student counselling at the University of Iceland, had an important role in launching the training of counsellors at the University of Iceland and who trained many guidance counsellors in the Strong Interest Inventory. Dr. Pazandak was a professor in counselling psychology at the University of Minnesota. As an assistant to the president of the University of Minnesota she established an exchange programme with the University of Iceland. The story goes that when in 1981 dr. Pazandak was preparing this exchange programme she asked Guðmundur K. Magnússon the president of the University of Iceland: "Where are the student counsellors?" The answer was: "There aren't any". Later that year the first student counsellor Ásta Kr. Ragnarsdóttir was hired at the University of Iceland in half a position. Ásta had received her counsellor training with Dr. Solberg at the University of Trondheim in Norway. Other guests from North America that have had a long-lasting influence in the training of educational and vocational counsellors are Norman Amundson, Vance Peavy, Allan and Mary Ivey, Jeffrey Kottler and Mark Savickas, all prominent in the international field of guidance and counselling and whose methods and theories have been taught in the MA course in guidance and counselling at the University of Iceland.

It is typical of this shift from a Nordic to an American influence that the third pioneer in guidance in Iceland, Gerður G. Óskarsdóttir (b. 1943) was trained at the University of Boston in the early eighties. As a school master in Neskaupsstaður, a small town in the eastern fiords, she launched an intensive career education programme. Óskarsdóttir was the editor of nearly 300 job descriptions using the DOT system from the US. In 1989 Óskarsdóttir became an assistant to the Minister of Education who launched a 2-year program in school counselling. This program resulted in three important outcomes: the post graduate diploma course at the University of Iceland launched in 1990, counselling positions in upper secondary schools were augmented and a guiding policy report was published (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1991). Without doubt, this ministerial program had a great effect on the development of guidance in Iceland.

Contacts with Europe

The author of this chapter was trained as a counsellor in France between 1983 and 1985 and was director of the counsellor training from 1991. She was promoted to lecturer in 1999 and professor in 2010. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Hertfordshire in England in 2004. As a teacher she has transferred this European background to counsellors in training.

The Icelandic Euroguidance Centre was established in 1996. The Centre has three main objectives: to promote the European dimension of lifelong guidance, to provide quality information on lifelong guidance and mobility and to provide and maintain input to the "Learning Opportunities and Qualifications in Europe" portal. The Icelandic Euroguidance Centre works with the Icelandic Educational and Vocational Guidance Association in providing training, hosting conferences and financial support to the Annual Day of the Counsellor (Dóra Stefánsdóttir, personal communication May 2, 2018).

We have seen in this section that the beginnings of guidance in Iceland coincide with the development in other Nordic countries of a corresponding interest in guidance with an emphasis on career education and guidance in schools (Plant, 2009; Vestin, 1991). In the mid-seventies this development in career education was stopped due to new legislation on compulsory schooling. In the 1980s the contacts in the field of guidance were predominantly from the United States and with a greater emphasis on psychological counselling and psychometrical tests. Contacts were close between the pioneers in guidance and specialists in other countries and these ties were the driving force behind methods and materials in career education in the years before 1974, as well as support from parliament as we shall see in the section on legislation.

POLICY AND LEGISLATION

The story of policy and legislation in guidance spans a long period of time and it developed anachronistically at the different educational levels of upper secondary school, compulsory school and adult education, something which at times has made the services at the different school levels poorly co-ordinated. Policy and legislation at the upper secondary level can be dated back to the early seventies, but not until 20 years later for compulsory schools. The first legislation on guidance in adult education was in 1997. Only six ministerial reports were written during the period of 1980 to 2007, some of them had no significant influence, whereas two reports had important outcomes.

Legislation on Guidance in Upper Secondary Schools

The first legislation at the upper secondary school level was in the law on vocational education from 1949, postulating that the council of vocational education should provide vocational guidance, occupational information and psychological testing. This legislation was under the influence of the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Vocational Guidance Recommendations from that same year (International Labour Organisation, 1949). The ILO recommendations were influential in the development of guidance in Denmark (Plant, 2009). However, no traces of implementation have been found of the ILO recommendations in Iceland, apart from this legislation that seems to have passed unnoticed in the vocational school system.

It is not until the early seventies that legislation was passed on school counsellors in grammar schools in 1970 (Lög nr.12/1970 um menntaskóla) and some years later in gymnasiums (fjölbrautarskóli) within the upper secondary school system. This coincided with the establishment of a new type of elective schools at the upper secondary school level where students could make more choices in their studies than was possible in the grammar schools. It was not until 1990, with the governmental 2-year program on guidance, that a regulation with coordinated rules on guidance in upper secondary schools was issued (Reglugerð um framhaldsskóla, nr. 105/1990). In 2008 a legislation was passed that said that all students at the upper secondary school level have a right to educational and vocational counselling by professional educational and vocational counsellors (Lög um framhaldsskóla, nr. 92/2008). It can be argued that with this legislation professional guidance counselling was finally acknowledged by policy makers in the Icelandic upper secondary school. Unfortunately, no regulations exist today on the implementation of guidance counselling in upper secondary school, except for regulations in individual schools that can vary.

Policy and Legislation on Guidance at the Compulsory School Level

The history of guidance starts in the 1950s at the compulsory school level. Although this history is much longer than in upper secondary school, there were periods of stagnation, that need to be explained. From 1950 to 1970 there had been a steady development in career education and Jónsson provided personal and vocational guidance at the ministry (Jónsson, personal communication, September 16, 2010). A positive policy in guidance existed and an important point in this development was a motion passed in 1960 in parliament stating that the "government should see to that possibilities to teach career education in all compulsory schools should be examined" (Þingskjal nr. 601/1960). The bill from 1973 for a new compulsory education school represented a halt in this development. It had contained an ambitious guidance system with a detailed number of 25 guidance counsellors to serve the age group of 13–15 years old students and improvements in career education (Frumvarp til laga um grunnskóla, 1973). But unfortunately, members of parliament cut this guidance system out of the bill. The reasons given in parliament were mainly that this guidance system would cost too much, but also that the bill suggested an overload of specialists and that the reasons behind this system were not explicit (Valdimarsson, 1973–1974; Jónsson, 1973–1974). Another reason that can be added to the ones mentioned in speeches of members of parliament is the fact that in 1973 no body of guidance specialists existed in Iceland and therefore no professional pressure groups. This means that valid arguments were lacking for such a big system change.

A new law on compulsory school was passed in 1974. This new school system no longer had a primary and secondary school level, which means that curriculum in career education was set aside, as career education had been organised for the secondary school level. The position of director of career education no longer

existed and what was left in the ministry was a publication of a yearly pamphlet giving information on the upper secondary school system. This change in the school system was such a blow to the subject of career education that today it is provided in only 42% of compulsory schools in Iceland (Erlingsdóttir & Guðmundsdóttir, 2017). This decision in parliament is an example of how a constructive and positive development can be halted, but at the same time it is interesting to see how this occurs, through changes made during the legislative process. It can be argued that the high dropout rates from upper secondary school is in part due to this poor status of career education (Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2010). The conclusion is that this policy from 1974 has had its costs.

For the next 20 years nothing happened in terms of legislation on guidance. Legislation in 1991 and in 1995 states that all municipalities should see to it that school guidance is provided in schools (Lög um grunnskóla, nr. 66/1995, article 42). This legislation meant that the first school counsellors started to work at the compulsory school level around the year 1995. The context in guidance development was now different from the context in the year 1973, as counsellor training began at the University of Iceland in 1990. Henceforth, a group of guidance professionals existed, and implementation of professional school guidance was possible.

The legislation from 2008 on the compulsory school level (Lög um grunnskóla, nr. 91/2008) changed the landscape in guidance again, since it states that all students have a right to guidance, provided by professional school/educational counsellors. This idea originated in Danish legislation (lov nr. 298, April 30, 2003 in Þingskjal nr. 14/2005–2006). No regulations exist for this article in the law. Each school is free to interpret what the right to guidance means in practice. An explanatory note with the article on the right to guidance says: "Instead of defining guidance as a special service, the students' right to guidance concerning educational and vocational choice is defined" (Frumvarp til laga um grunnskóla, 2007–2008). Nevertheless, it is also defined in the law that certified educational and vocational counsellors should provide guidance and thus referring to a legislation that is unique in the Nordic countries, and in many other countries in the world. This is the legislation on educational- and vocational counsellors that was passed by the Icelandic Parliament on March 30, 2009. According to the law, only those who have been licensed by the Minister of Education can use the title Educational- and vocational counsellor, and work as such. A licence is granted to applicants who have completed education in educational and vocational counselling at a university approved by the Ministry of Education.

Adult Guidance

Guidance for adults mainly takes place at two educational levels, the university level and adult education level, as well as in employment centres.

University level. Student guidance started at the University of Iceland in 1981 with half a counsellor position. In the year 1990 a legislation on the University of

Iceland says in article 10: "At the University of Iceland a student counselling centre will have the status of a special university institution". A few years later the student counselling centre became a part of the administrative body of the University. Unfortunately, the entity of the counselling centre is not mentioned in the University regulations, only the service for the handicapped or what is called disability services. The University of Iceland Student Counselling and Career Centre (UISCCC) has three main sections: academic counselling, career counselling and disability services (Náms- og starfsráðgjöf Háskóla Íslands, n.d.). The main activities in the counselling centre are personal interviews, short courses in study techniques, preventive courses such as on test anxiety and interest exploration via interest inventories. The counselling centre has been successful, since every year at least half the number of students at the university have either been in physical contact at the counselling centre or on the Internet (Hálfdánarson, Matthíasdóttir, & Guðmundsson, 2011, pp. 624–625). Figure 10.2 shows that visits and individual counselling has somewhat declined, probably because the number of students at the University of Iceland has reduced, also shown in Figure 10.2. Currently, only 6.5 positions in student counselling are attached to the University of Iceland Student Counselling and Career Centre (UISCCC) providing academic counselling, career counselling and other services such as psychological counselling, special assistance during studies or/ and in exams for disabled students, students with specific learning disabilities, and long-term illness, and Icelandic sign language interpretation (Náms- og starfsráðgjöf Háskóla Íslands, n.d.). The number of students at the University of Iceland is around 13 thousand students, making the counsellor student ratio 1/2000. At the University of Reykjavík this ratio is somewhat better or 1/1200. At the University of Akureyri this ratio is 1/1800 (Sólveig Hrafnsdóttir, personal communication, February 17, 2017).

Adult guidance in employment centres and adult education centres. Guidance in employment centres was established in 1997, as a result of a legislation stating that
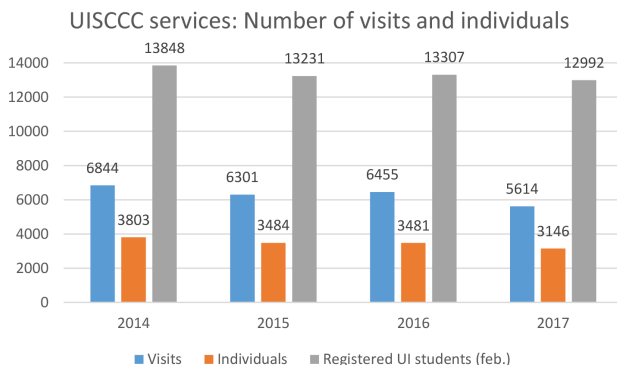

Figure 10.2. Number of visits to the University of Iceland counselling centre and number of students

guidance services should be provided in these institutions. This new development was reflected in changes in the training of guidance counsellors, as we shall see a little further in the section on counsellor education. Today, about 20 educational and vocational counsellors work in employment centres around the country. Their target group are people in search of employment (Hrafnhildur Tómasdóttir, personal communication, May 7, 2018). The aims of the counselling provided by employment counsellors is to "encourage individuals to obtain enhanced self-knowledge, to assist them in identifying where their interest is, what their abilities are and in which direction they should set the course with respect to career development" (Vinnumálastofnun, n.d.).

In the last 15 years a guidance and counselling service has been established in adult education centres. An agreement between the government and the social partners in 2005 established guidance services within adult education centres. Here, low-skilled people are targeted and these services are run by the Education and Training Service Centre in 12 lifelong learning centres around the country. In 2018 around 25 guidance counsellors work in these centres (Fjóla María Lárusdóttir, personal communication, May 22, 2018). These counsellors are central in the process of accrediting prior learning (Haukur Harðarson, 2009). In a study on users of guidance and counselling services in lifelong learning centres, some 68% of users said that guidance had encouraged them to continue their studies and 62% of respondents said that it had enhanced their self-confidence (Vilhjálmsdóttir, Dofradóttir, & Kjartansdóttir, 2011). The counselling services in both employment centres, lifelong learning centres and upper secondary schools were crucial in reacting to the crisis that started in Iceland in 2008, a story that needs to be told.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GUIDANCE COUNSELLORS

A profession has been defined as an occupation that "has gained its status by meeting certain criteria" (VanZandt, 1990, p. 243) or as a group of people acknowledged for their unique skills and services. Their professional skills are based on ethics, professional knowledge, professional training and legislation (Aubrey, 1986). None of these criteria were met in Iceland in 1981 when the professional school counsellor association (Félag íslenskra námsráðgjafa) was founded, apart from the legislation on guidance at the upper secondary school level. The founding members were five school counsellors from upper secondary schools and one administrator from the Ministry of Education (Magnússon, 1991). Although there were only six founding members, the establishment of a professional association was a fundamental step in the professional development of guidance counsellors in Iceland. In the following years, little by little, the work of guidance counsellors became professionalised starting from being quasi-administrators (Napierkowski & Parsons, 1995) to acknowledged specialists.

By the year 1990, there were about 30 members of the association, most of whom were from the upper secondary school level, only about five of them had

counsellor training from abroad. By 1996 the association had changed its name to Félag náms- og starfsráðgjafa or the Association of Educational and Vocational Counsellors, since counsellors were starting to work in employment centres. In 2016 the association had 303 members (Félag náms- og starfsráðgjafa, 2016). Although this group was not big, by 1990, it was quite energetic and functioned well as a pressure group (Ágústsdóttir, 2007). From six publications of the association from 1987 to 2016 (Félag náms- og starfsráðgjafa 1987, 1988, 1991, 1997, 2007, 2016) some major themes in the association's work can be discerned. An overwhelming majority or 64% of the 82 articles are about the practice of guidance, around 21% are about policy, some 8% about the history of guidance and a few about guidance instruments. This shows that the main preoccupation of the association has been the practice of guidance and counselling.

A major contribution of the association is the code of ethics from 2003 and the licensure legislation in 2009, the latter a milestone reached in co-operation with the counsellor training program at the University of Iceland. The association has also been active in in-service training of counsellors, again in collaboration with the counsellor training program.

A definition of the counsellor profession can be found in an article by Francis and Dugger (2014):

> Counseling is a vocation that requires individuals to obtain specific, university-based training to acquire expertise in a specialized set of knowledge and skills; confers status and power upon its members; has an established national association through which it establishes a collective identity, communicates professional values, disseminates scholarly research, and advocates for its members; and regulates itself through licensure and a code of ethics. (p. 131)

This definition stresses the importance of counsellor education that will be addressed in our next section, but other criteria in this quotation have been met in Iceland in the nearly 40-year-old history of professional counselling. It is difficult to measure status and power, but it says something that this is the only professional group that works at all school levels and it has social worth, as can be seen from a study where head-masters say that the main tasks of educational and vocational counsellors are of highest importance (Ingólfsdóttir, 2016). The only serious critique of the profession came in an OECD report from 2013 that says:

> In Iceland, the OECD team heard that career guidance has often had an academic bias, perhaps because it has been delivered by academically trained teachers with little knowledge and experience of industry. When career guidance services are not available, students rely on informal sources, such as family, which may lack reliability and impartiality. The OECD review team heard that VET has low status, and that student reliance on informal sources may perpetuate this bias – visible in the low enrolment rates for upper secondary VET. The team also heard reports that students did not always have access to

career guidance, especially in compulsory schooling. PISA 2006 results show that only 52% of secondary schools had career guidance formally scheduled into the students' time (OECD, 2010b). A related challenge is that relevant labour market information – for example expected labour market returns for different qualifications, fields and institutions are not available. In the US for example student labour market outcomes are often available by institutions. (pp. 35–36)

This quotation shows that guidance counsellors are criticised for an academic bias, i.e. not attending to the needs of the labour market, but that at the same time they have not been provided with labour market information. These two themes have been on-going in the development of this profession for many decades. Guidance professionals lack career information tools and they are torn between attending to individuals or attending to labour market needs. In a society that has hardly ever known unemployment, this second need is not very pressing. Another theme that has been on-going is the lack of formal career education in school, what is called formally scheduled career guidance in this quotation.

EDUCATION OF GUIDANCE COUNSELLORS

It is through special university training that a professional group acquires acknowledged expertise and respect (Francis & Dugger, 2014) and the experience from Iceland most certainly supports this view. From 1990 to 2004 the training was a one-year post-graduate program in educational counselling for teachers, educationalists and psychologists. The courses provided had an emphasis on adolescence and learning problems, as well as counselling theory and methods. A second year leading to a MA degree was added to the diploma in 2004. This was an option for those who had the diploma for six years, but since 2010 the counsellor training has been a two-year MA program and the diploma course is no longer available (Námsbraut í náms- og starfsráðgjöf, 2011). This turn of events was a necessary requirement for the licensure of the professional title of educational and vocational counsellor. A substantial research component was added to the counsellor training with the MA degree. In all, this research component is nearly half of the units required for the MA degree. See contents of the current MA program in Figure 10.3.

The counsellor training program has tried to adapt to changes in the counselling profession, the greatest one being the expansion of career guidance to unemployment centres and adult education. This means that we are training counsellors for the age groups of 6 to 70, something that is a real challenge and is often discussed at meetings in the department. At times the counsellor training has been provided at a distance. This means that the counsellor training program has been able to serve schools and employment centres in the whole country (Kárdal, 2003). The training of guidance counsellors has had a good and longstanding co-operation with the counselling services at the University of Iceland.

1st semester	2nd semester	3rd semester	4th semester
Counselling theories 10 ECTS	Career development, intervention and programme evaluation 10 ECTS	Qualitative research methods or Quantitative research methods 10 ECTS	Practical training: communication 6 ECTS
Practical training: Introduction 12 ECTS	Theories of career development 8 ECTS	MA thesis 20 ECTS	Personal and social problems of students 8 ECTS
Optional course or Introduction to quantative research 8 or 10 ECTS	Measurement and assessment 6 ECTS		Practical training: Guidance 12 ECTS
	MA research 6 ECTS		MA research 4 ECTS
30 or 32 ECTS	30 ECTS	30 ECTS	30 ECTS

Figure 10.3. Structure of the MA programme in career guidance and counselling at the University of Iceland in 2019

Since 2009 the counsellor program is an independent department that has four faculty members in 2018 and a guest professor from the University of Jyväskylä. Some 400 students have graduated from the program from 1990 to 2018. The research by faculty and students is the foundation of a new field of research in Iceland.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has mainly focused on the period from 1950 to 2009. Many steps have been taken in the past 10 years, especially in policy-making, design and implementation of ICT in guidance as well as research in guidance.

Overall it can be said that the making of a guidance profession is a saga that has proceeded well, although somewhat slowly, and that as a result the counselling profession has a strong position at all school levels including adult education. The upsides of this story are that policy making has always been from bottom up, i.e. lead by the grassroots, the occupational title of educational and vocational counsellors has been licensured, and educational and vocational counsellors that serve people aged 6 to 70 are all trained in the same counsellor education program, and thus speak the same professional language. But in the upsides, there are downsides, such as weak policy making and implementation of career education for children and adolescents. The licensure is not supported by a demand on educational and vocational counsellors to update their training and it is a challenge to train counsellors for age groups ranging 6 to 70.

In promoting guidance in Iceland, the positive contribution of this group of specialists was underlined, especially in a better functioning educational system. What is interesting here, is how this profession came to exist and gain status. Two

types of professionalisation have been identified from within and from above (Evetts, 2003). In the case of Iceland, the former type of professionalisation was a driving force where the small group of specialists gradually became a profession by exercising social group pressure and convincing headmasters and policy makers that with the aid of this professional group the needs of young people for vocational identity and adaptability could be met. But forces, external to the group, such as legislation and policy, were also a necessary condition to the professionalisation of guidance in Iceland.

What can be said, in conclusion, that fuels the making of a profession? In order to take steps forward in this process, all the four elements in developing a profession are needed. In the early 70s two of them were present, contacts with professionals abroad and legislation, but two were lacking, i.e. a professional pressure group and educated counsellors. That is why things came to a halt. At other times, like in the early 90s or by 2007 all four elements were present resulting in big advancing steps in the making of an Icelandic guidance profession. In my country, "kóngur vill sigla, en byr hlýtur að ráða" [The king wants to sail, but the wind must decide] is a well-known saying. It means that even though the leaders have the resolve to move things forward, the right conditions are necessary. The same can be said for the story told here.

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11. ENHANCING CAREER PRACTITIONERS' UNDERSTANDING AND USE OF ICT IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING

ABSTRACT

This chapter describes the Nordic jointly developed international course on ICT in guidance and counselling. Firstly, the rational for developing such a course is discussed. Secondly the use of research-based framework is elaborated and application of it to the curriculum development is demonstrated.

INTRODUCTION

European and Nordic case studies and reviews strongly indicate that, as elsewhere, demand for guidance far exceeds the supply of services, and that this need cannot be met by relying exclusively on traditional models of guidance (e.g. ELGPN, 2010; NOU, 2016; Sultana, 2004; Sultana & Watts, 2006; Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto, 2015; Watts & Sultana, 2004; Zelloth, 2009). In a difficult economic climate, lifelong guidance policies contextualise the value of consistent and coherent guidance services in a wider societal spectrum. Europe and international policy documents (e.g. Cedefop, 2011; Eurobarometer, 2014; European Council 2004, 2008; OECD, 2004a, 2004b) reflect a growing consensus that the role of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the guidance service sector is both important and increasingly essential. As demand for services continues to grow, we need to continually review and improve our service delivery modes and mechanism in a cost-effective manner. To this end, technology provides opportunities to extend services, especially reaching out to those in remote locations. To maximise these opportunities, it will be of importance to ensure that career practitioners are equipped with the requisite ICT competencies.

Rapid development in information and communication technology (ICT) has changed society fundamentally over the past two decades (e.g. Hoonakker, 2014; ITU, 2017). This technological revolution has given people unprecedented access to diverse information and has enabled inexpensive and instantaneous communication worldwide. In an evolving society, career professionals must continuously re-evaluate techniques and delivery systems if they are to provide meaningful and

effective services to the various populations they serve. As technological advances change how individuals explore and acquire information about education, training and work opportunities, there is a pressing need to more closely align career guidance services and associated professional practices with these new technologies (e.g. Bimrose, Barnes, & Atwell, 2010; Kettunen, 2017; Kettunen & Sampson, 2019; Osborn, Dikel, & Sampson, 2010; Sampson, Kettunen, & Vuorinen, 2019). The skills and competences in the use of ICT in career guidance and counselling are often considered secondary and are therefore poorly developed in initial and continuing training (Cedefop, 2009; European Commission, 2014). In Nordic and Baltic training programmes, the role of ICT in career guidance is somewhat neglected (e.g. Högskoleverket, 2006; Vuorinen, 2006), and most such programmes do not teach the use of ICT in a professional context (Andreassen & Einarsdóttir, 2012).

To contribute to the current discussion and to enhance the training of career professionals, this chapter describes an international jointly developed ICT training programme for guidance and counselling practitioners. This draws on experiences and data gathered from Nordic countries, including (a) a mapping grid that explores the current situation in each country; (b) the authors' written documentation when designing the course and c) participants' written reflections about the course. The applied conceptual framework provides a basis for further development of the wider training curriculum.

NORDIC COOPERATION IN COURSE DEVELOPMENT

The impetus for the course emerged from the VALA Nordplus network. VALA is a network of Nordic and Baltic higher education institutions that train career guidance and counselling professionals in the Nordic and Baltic countries. The network's purpose is to develop the curriculum and educational provisions for career and guidance counselling students, preparing them for work in diverse settings and with clients of all ages. The VALA network started off their work in 2012 by doing curricular comparison among training programmes (Andreassen & Einarsdóttir, 2012). In the course of this analysis, it became evident that Nordic and Baltic programmes differ widely in their approaches to the role and use of ICT in guidance and counselling. A closer look revealed that most programmes do not address the use of ICT in professional practice (Andreassen & Einarsdóttir, 2012) and this finding motivated the development of the course described here. The course curriculum was jointly designed and delivered by the Finnish Institute for Educational Research (FI), Malmö University (SWE), eVejledning (DK) and the University of Iceland (IS). The partners have extensive experience of training and research in the use of ICT in guidance and counselling, and they support and work with practitioners in Nordic countries and internationally. Their complementary competences, experience, knowledge and skills encompass higher education (SWE/IS), practical applications (DK), research (FI) and independent work (SWE).

Course Design

To enhance course participants' understanding and use of ICT in guidance and counselling contexts, the aim of the course was to make them aware of the variation in the ways that technology interacts with professional practice and to provide opportunities to experiment and practice with ICT and social media in a broader way (Kettunen, 2017). The course is open to degree seeking students and experienced practitioners from various settings, exposing them to learning situations that challenge them to reflect and see the variation in terms of the potential uses of technology in career guidance and counselling. On completing the course, the students should be able to demonstrate increased ICT competency and to apply this in their professional practice. The course is a 5 ECTS course and workload is estimated to be 135 hours of work.

Content development for the course drew on the latest phenomenographic research exploring career practitioners' conceptions of social media and competency for social media in career services (Kettunen, 2017; Kettunen, Sampson, & Vuorinen, 2015). Phenomenographic studies help to improve practice by exploring variations in participants' experiences of the phenomenon in question, which are revealed by the dimensions of variation which highlight the differences between the conceptions (e.g. Åkerlind, 2008; Kettunen & Tynjälä, 2017; Runesson, 2006). From an educational point of view, they also reveal what is needed to gain a more complex way of understanding (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 111; Runesson, 2006). Kettunen's study (2017) established an empirically derived, evidence-based foundation for the design of such training within a coherent career practice framework. The results revealed a qualitative variation in career practitioners' conceptions of competency, ranging from the ability to use ICT and social media for information delivery to the ability to use ICT and social media for co-careering. The dimensions of variation highlight differences in conceptions, serving to identify critical features to be emphasised in training and curriculum development, and in creating learning objectives for the course. As an outcome of phenomenographic analysis (Marton, 1986, 1994; Marton & Booth, 1997), the variation theory of learning (Bowden & Marton, 1998; Marton & Booth, 1997; Marton & Tsui, 2004) informed the application of these dimensions to curriculum design (Åkerlind, McKenzie, & Lupton, 2014).

The course's underlying teaching and learning philosophy is grounded in social constructivist (e.g. Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989) and socio-cultural theories (Säljö, 2001), employing a student-centred approach and problem-based or case-based 21st century learning principles for professional education. From this view, learning is a situated process, promoting a community of mutually supportive learners. Research-based knowledge is linked to practice through hands-on training and empirical examples provided by instructors and also by participants. The course assigns great importance to student experiments and collaboration in interactive workshops that deepen knowhow in a goal-oriented manner, following the sequence theory-application-discussion.

To facilitate the development of reflection and reflective learning, students write a reflective diary during the course. This reflexivity is considered crucial for professional education and training because it integrates theory and practice, transforming experience into new learning and developing new skills by building integrated knowledge bases (e.g. Mezirow, 1990). Mason (2002) characterises reflexivity as intentional learning from experience.

FROM DELIVERING INFORMATION TO CO-CAREERING

Kettunen's (2017) evidence-based foundation for the design of pre-service and in-service training within a coherent framework of career practice emphasises a developmental approach to capacity building. It takes into account that ICT is used both on a self-help basis and as part of face-to-face and distance service delivery (e.g. Sampson & Makela, 2014). The results revealed five general approaches to social media and competency for social media (For details about the study's results, see Kettunen, 2017). These encompass a passive approach and information-centred, communication-centred, collaborative career exploration and co-careering approaches (Kettunen, 2017). This gives a basis and establishes a continuum to work with, thus resulting in the provision of training with opportunities to experiment and practice with ICT and social media in a broader way. Specific practitioner competencies addressed during the course include proficiency in locating, evaluating, and using online content; being a versatile and thoughtful writer; being able to generate and sustain engaging and constructive online discussion; and creating a visible and trusted online presence (Kettunen, 2017). Emphasis was also placed on interventions that foster collaborative learning among peer group members (Kettunen et al., 2015). Throughout the course, the use of information and communication technology in guidance and counselling was linked to ethical issues. Peterson, Sampson, Reardon, and Lenz's (2008) cognitive information processing approach was used to illustrate how theory can be deployed to guide ICT-based career counselling and guidance practice.

Information

The most common use of ICT in career guidance is the dissemination of career information (Bimrose, Hughes, & Barnes, 2011; Hooley, Hutchinson, & Watts, 2010; Watts, 2002). The course seeks to enhance students' ability to identify and evaluate online career information and resources and the creative use of these tools to meet the client's needs.

In general terms, career information is that which is specific to occupations or to the career development process (Osborn, 2012). It includes information about education and training and employment and work opportunities (e.g. Sampson & Osborn, 2014). The internet is the first contact point for many seeking to explore

new learning and work opportunities for themselves. When using web search features to find specific information on industries and occupations, the identified resources are likely to contain social media-based information. Social media-based career information is occupational, educational, training, and employment information developed and disseminated by users of the information (Sampson, Osborn, Kettunen, Hou, Miller, & Makela, 2018).

The quality and validity of career information has been an issue for some time (e.g. Offer & Sampson, 1999) and remains so today (e.g. Kettunen & Makela, 2019; Sampson & Makela, 2014). Appropriately selecting and using career information is dependent on individuals and clients having skills in information literacy and digital literacy. Guidance practitioners have an important role in helping individuals and clients to evaluate and use career information as well as supporting the development of the literacy of their clients (Hooley et al., 2010). Information literacy involves the ability to identify one's information needs and to locate, access, evaluate and use information efficiently. As defined by Martin (2008), digital literacy is the ability to use digital tools to find, sort, analyse and synthesise information and resources; to effectively communicate with others; and to construct new knowledge in the context of specific life situations involving reflection and social action. In the context of career guidance, Hooley (2012) characterised digital literacy as the capacity to critically (a) understand the nature of career information online, (b) analyse the origins of that information and (c) assess its utility.

During the course, students shared career information and online resources and described how these have been used or could best be used to meet the client's need. The aim of these exercises was to illustrate the multiple types and sources of information that can be used to enhance career services. Additionally, examples of software evaluation criteria (NCDA, 1991) were distributed and discussed in small groups. Students reviewed the assigned sections and shared their observations with the rest of the group. Finally, students worked with case examples to develop their awareness of potential sources of invalidity in social media-based career information. The aim of these activities was to enhance students' awareness of existing criteria and their ability to identify and evaluate online career information and resources.

Communication

Although ICT is increasingly used for communication, it remains relatively underutilised in career services (e.g. Bimrose, Kettunen, & Goddard, 2015), and the course aimed to enhance students' ability to use ICT for one-to-one communication. This communication can be asynchronous (where receipt of a message involves a delay) or synchronous (where people communicate simultaneously in real time). Training was provided in text-based communication using email and chat, as these are currently most commonly used in guidance service provision.

E-mail.   Career practitioners increasingly use email when assisting clients. To enhance this capability, the course included guidance and counselling experiences from the Swedish eGuidance service (Vägledningsinfo.se). When eGuidance services first began in Sweden, social media was relatively new, and communication predominantly involved phone and e-mail. The course initiated discussion of the skills needed to use email to engage in a professional and ethical way with client concerns and explored guidance practitioners' experiences of using email (Möller, 2004) and how these were evaluated during the period 2005–2008 (Lindberg, 2008) and systematically applied in practice.

One key issue related to the exclusive use of text and writing is to develop a relationship that supports the client's career process. A basic introduction to writing skills drew on Marcus Offer's checklist entitled Using Information & Communications Technology Effectively in Guidance Service and Giving Guidance by Email (2004a, 2004b). Course participants also reviewed Career Counselling by email – Guidelines for practitioners (Brown, 2006) in order to discuss and reflect on how this knowledge might inform structured methods.

The course also examined how email communication differs from more traditional face-to-face meetings, using practical examples of how email allows people to use their own words in their own time, place and context rather than in a physical location at a specified time, where the career guidance counsellor is in control. In email communication issues are initiated by the client in their own words, and are not first filtered through guidance professional's skilled use of active listening, empathy, and body language to prompt and probe (Egan, 2010). By working asynchronously, both client and counsellor can communicate at their own pace, giving them time to gather their thoughts without any pressure to share immediately. Course participants shared experiences and examples related to time management, email layout and different styles of response.

The course included e-mail activities. Examples of authentic and anonymized e-mail cases were distributed, and students analysed these in groups, discussing the emotions vocalised in writing and questions raised. They went on to discuss how to address the case and worked together to formulate an email response. The aim of the exercises was to point out the possibilities of using empathic responses and summarisation even in a written context. Furthermore, the cases and discussions provided opportunities for students to increase their understanding and enhance skills on how guidance and counselling by email can be practiced.

Chat.   Chat is a relatively recent addition to guidance service, but has already shown great potential. To enhance students' use and to broaden and deepen their knowledge of chat in professional practice, the course included an introduction to Danish eGuidance and their communication model.

When Danish eGuidance was formed in the beginning of 2011, career guidance counsellors had very limited experience of chatting in a professional context, and the massive user demand on the medium quickly triggered the need for a common

approach to this mode of guidance. For that reason, eGuidance developed a communications model (the 4C model) based on well-known theories such as Egan (1994, 2010), Rogers (1980) and Lindh (1997). The eGuidance 4C model involves four phases: contact-contract-communication-conclusion. The counsellor can jump between phases, each of which has different goals and content.

(a) The initial contact phase seeks to establish and maintain a good relationship with the client. The counsellor focuses on active listening to understand the client's situation and to provide personalised advice while encouraging them to reflect on their own needs and interests.

(b) The contract phase seeks to co-define the focal issue of the virtual guidance session in collaboration with the client by asking targeted questions such as 'What shall we talk about?' or 'What question would you like to address?' Counsellors often return to this phase as the session progresses, and new questions or issues emerge on the basis of their interaction with the client.

(c) In the communication phase, the counsellor processes the information received from their client and tries to put their issue in perspective. To this end, eGuidance counsellors interact with their clients with questions or remarks such as 'Is it okay if I offer you some links during the chat?'; 'One moment please. I am just trying to find an answer'; or 'Let me ask a colleague, and I will get back to you in a few minutes'.

(d) During the conclusion phase, the counsellor provides information and/or instructions regarding the focal issue defined during the contract phase and seeks to evaluate the client's readiness to act. Instructions typically involve exploring directly a suggested education or career path and reflecting on different options.

During the course, students undertook activities related to their own knowledge and use of chat. The aim was to encourage reflection on chat as a medium for guidance and counselling and to acknowledge possible differences in how chat is used across the Nordic countries. They also worked with the 4C model; examples of authentic and anonymised chats were distributed, and students analysed the chats in small groups. They identified the different phases of the 4C model in the chat, noting parts that were functioning well or less well as a means of exploring the application of the 4C model and how chat functions in a guidance and guidance context. Secondly, students gained direct experience of chatting by working in pairs; one student played the client who contacted the other student (the counsellor) with a personal dilemma. The 4C model was used as a toolbox, providing the eGuidance counsellor with concrete proposals for questions and phrases in each phase. By switching roles, both gained experience as counsellor and client. The aim was to illustrate variations and to provide the students with opportunities to experiment and practice using chat in a professional context.

Collaborative Career Exploration

In collaborative career exploration, knowledge is shared in purposefully designed online space among individuals and practitioner as they work towards common

learning goals – for example, understanding the question at hand or solving a problem. Practitioners' ability to design a space that integrates self-directed materials with interactive communication and knowledge of methods, techniques and activities that enhance participation and interaction in online discourse and foster collaborative processes in career learning among peer group members are highlighted (e.g. Kettunen, 2017). Learners are not passive recipients but active in their pursuit of knowledge as they participate in discussion, search for information and exchange opinions with their peers. The course aimed to enhance students' skills and knowledge in devising interventions that foster collaborative career learning among peers.

During the course, the five-stage model of structured learning activities (Salmon, 2005) was introduced and discussed as a means of creating interaction and participation. The first two stages of Salmon's model seek to acclimatise the learner to the online environment and develop a supportive social context. The third stage is information exchange, in which learners interact with course materials and online activities, providing each other with further resources. In the fourth, stage, knowledge construction, learners work collaboratively, sharing ideas, posing problems and challenging each other in the spirit of inquiry. The final stage invites participants to take responsibility for their own learning and to reflect on it. Additionally, examples and experiences of online communities using synchronous communication in richer mediums like web-based video conferencing systems were shared. Throughout the course, students use an online learning platform that models the presented model to gain experience of collaborative career exploration.

Collaborative career exploration activities during the course included a task to be completed in a virtual meeting. Students were presented with a case scenario involving an ethical dilemma and were asked to work through it by defining ethical issues, identifying ideal resolutions and brainstorming strategies for practice in small groups in a virtual meeting room. Discussion and group reflection processes were recorded using audio and video. As well as its collaborative aspect, the aim of this exercise was to allow students to experience use of a virtual meeting room.

Co-Careering

In recent years, social media has gradually become part of daily practice for many career practitioners (e.g. Dyson, 2012; NACE, 2013; Osborn & LoFrisco, 2012), enabling co-careering in which shared expertise and meaningful co-construction on career issues take place with and among community members (Kettunen, 2017, p. 41). To enhance students' co-careering skills and understanding, the training focuses on how to create and express a visible and trusted online presence, as well as questions pertaining to ethical practice in social media.

Social media enables individuals and groups to build common understandings and shared meanings based on content, community and Web 2.0 technology (Ahlqvist,

Bäck, Heinonen, & Halonen, 2010; Kolbitsch & Maurer, 2006). Thus, it primarily does not refer to a particular set of technologies but to types of practices (Bonderup Dohn, 2009). Each user has the opportunity to play an active, content-producing and interactive role, or serve as a bystander. The integration of social media into career services has prompted the redesign of service delivery, especially regarding the role of the practitioner. In guidance processes, one can discern an evolution in the locus and nature of control as the practitioner moves from controlling the process to being a participant. Today the client has the possibility to choose and decide how, when and where they would like to communicate. The client can even control the process; if one no longer wishes to participate, it is easy to exit online, making the client more independent. Barnes, La Gro, and Watts (2010, p. 30) described this paradigm shift as an evolution from 'provider-led' to 'user-led' career services. Successful integration of social media in career services depends not only on available skills or technical facilities but on practitioners' willingness to accept the changes that new technology brings to service delivery (Kettunen, Vuorinen, & Sampson, 2013, 2015).

The key to success on social media is to establish clear goals and ensure that your actions work to achieve these goals (Rutledge, 2010). During the course examples and experiences of using social media (such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Youtube) in career services were shared. Activities during the course included group discussions about social media's pros and cons. Furthermore, social media engagement tactics were explored and students practiced creating social media posts that encouraged people to interact. During the course, emphasis was also placed on more conscious involvement in online communities in which meanings and understandings are co-constructed. To utilise social media for co-careering, the practitioner must become an active participant by acquiring the requisite skills and establishing a visible, approachable and trusted presence (Kettunen et al., 2015; Sampson et al., 2018). Building a reliable and authentic image of oneself within the relevant communities requires mindful online presence, monitoring and actively updating one's online profiles; it also requires a practical understanding of the means by which this presence is conveyed to others online (Kettunen, 2017).

The course instructors referred to empirical examples of strategies for operationalising a visible and trusted online presence in professional practice. To begin, they distributed examples of how different clients might use social media for occupational, educational, and employment exploration. Students worked through the examples, identifying the phases in which co-careering occurred. The aim of this exercise was to give students examples of co-careering and offering a possibility to reflect on one's own future practice.

DISCUSSION

Career practitioners' capacity building is crucial for the successful integration of ICT in careers practice. This Nordic jointly developed international course provides

a concrete model for bridging the skills gap in career practitioners' initial and continuing training, using a research-based framework (Kettunen, 2017) for ICT competency development. Members of the development team have gone to lengths to ensure that the course curriculum and material being developed are pedagogically and technically strong by incorporating relevant current research and methods into the overall course design. The team has challenged themselves and sought, and continue to seek, ways to develop the course and the activities that engage the students both in content and skill development by obtaining ideas for course improvements from course participants. Furthermore, the development of the course aligns with Åkerlind et al.'s (2014) view that phenomenographic studies can be used to improve the design and evaluation of services and the associated curriculum, and more studies of this kind can be expected to contribute to further advances in the field of guidance and counselling.

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SIF EINARSDÓTTIR, MARÍA DÓRA BJÖRNSDÓTTIR AND
JUKKA LERKKANEN

12. CROSS-CULTURAL VALIDATION OF ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS USED IN CAREER COUNSELLING AND GUIDANCE IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Etic and Emic Approaches

ABSTRACT

The cross-cultural application and research on assessment instruments used in career counselling and guidance in the Nordic countries is discussed. Three examples where etic and emic approaches to establish the cross-cultural validity of American instruments in Finland and Iceland are described. These are the Career Thoughts Inventory, vocational interest inventories and a measure of career adaptability. These efforts show that contextual factors influence the responses to imported measures. Emic approaches are needed to fully test the applicability of assessment instruments as well as theoretical constructs developed in other cultures, but used in career counselling in the Nordic countries.

INTRODUCTION

The Nordic countries share cultural characteristics and importance is placed on career guidance and counselling by policymakers within the welfare states. However, the countries have taken different paths both in practice and research in the field (Haug et al., 2018; Plant, 2003; Plant, Christiansen, Lovén, Vilhjálmsdóttir, & Vuorinen, 2003). One of the most notable differences is in the use of quantitative assessment instruments. The use of assessment has been an integral part of the science and practice of career counselling and guidance influenced by the study of individual differences within psychology. In practice, instruments are used to collect information, conceptualise problems and increase self-knowledge (e.g., Hartung, 2005; Savickas, 2005a). The quality of a measure is also a key element in quantitative research. In this chapter we will first give a broad overview of the use of career-related measures in the different Nordic countries and their purpose. Second, the theoretical and methodological challenges raised by cross-cultural assessment practices are introduced. Third, examples from Nordic countries' efforts to import

measures to capture the theoretical constructs of dysfunctional career thoughts (Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon, & Saunders, 1996a), vocational interests (Holland, 1997), and career adaptability (Savickas, 2005b) will be given to clarify and discuss the issues raised by the application of imported measures and theories.

THE USE OF ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS IN GUIDANCE IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Vocational psychology emerged as a scientific discipline in North America a century ago. The theories (e.g., Super, Krumboltz, Dawis, Holland, Gottfredson) were firmly based in the positivist ideology predominant at the time. Guidance practices evolved under these influences or, more specifically, within the person-environment (PE) fit paradigm (Leung, 2008; Savickas, 2005a) in the rugged individualism characterising Anglo-American industrial societies (Guichard & Lenz, 2005; Norsworthy, Heppner, Ægisdóttir, Gerstein, & Pedersen, 2009). The resulting career development and choice theories laid, at least partly, the foundation for practice and research in Nordic countries. For example, textbooks have been published in Nordic languages that introduce these theories to future practitioners (Højdal & Poulsen, 2007; Onnismaa, Pasanen, & Spangar, 2000). However, the use of assessment instruments with the accompanying focus on the individual and lack of attention to context (Whiston & Rahardja, 2005) does not seem to have fallen on fertile ground (Plant et al., 2003). In contrast, in the Nordic welfare states, the meaning of career guidance and counselling has evolved with more focus on the context of a person's vocational life than the person alone (Plant, 2003). Nevertheless, few assessment instruments have been used in the Nordic countries and these will be reviewed here. We will start with Iceland, where their use is most apparent (Haug et al., 2018; Vilhjálmsdóttir, Chapter 10, this volume).

The first career measure imported to Iceland, in the mid-eighties, was the Strong Interest Inventory (SII), which was translated and tested in a series of studies (Konráðs, 1990; Konráðs & Haraldsson, 1994). Later, other interest inventories, such as the Self-Directed Search (SDS) (Holland, Powell, & Frizsche, 1994), were translated and adapted for use with Icelandic youth (Scheving-Thorsteinsson, 2009). This emphasis on interest assessment in Iceland culminated in the development of Bendill (Einarsdóttir & Rounds, 2007), an Icelandic interest inventory based on Holland's theory.

Other measures based on US theories have more recently been translated: for example, the Skills Confidence Inventory (SCI) (Betz, Borgen, & Harmon, 1996), which captures self-efficacy beliefs in Holland's (1997) six broad RIASEC occupational themes. It is used to explore clients' self-efficacy in relation to their interests in line with Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Lent, 2005; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). Assessment instruments concerning decision-making and career adjustment have lately received increased attention. The Career Thoughts

Inventory (CTI) (Sampson et al., 1996a) has been translated and tested, as well as a career indecision scale developed by Brown and Rector in 2008 (Abrams et al., 2013; Björnsdóttir, Kárdal, & Einarsdóttir, 2010). Last, a measure to capture one of Savickas' (2005b) core constructs – career adaptability, from his postmodern theory of career construction – has been developed in many countries and cultures simultaneously (Savickas & Porfeli, 2012), including Iceland (Vilhjálmsdóttir, Kjartansdóttir, Smáradóttir, & Einarsdóttir, 2012).

In Finland, measurement tools are frequently used in guidance and counselling services offered by Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Services) (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2009). The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland (2019) has developed a web-based information and assessment system (AVO) based on Holland's (1997) theory. They currently offer an interest assessment tool and a measure of client values. The website also includes vocational and educational information. These measures are commonly used in Finnish educational institutions by career and guidance counsellors.

In Sweden and Norway, interest measures based on Holland's theory have also been available as part of information systems for public use, provided in Sweden by the employment services (n.d.) and in Norway by Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV, 2018). Additionally, there are measures of eight values based on Schein's career anchors (Schein, n.d.), and clients can assess their own abilities related to the six RIASEC themes. People can use NAV to explore information about occupations and education based on the results of their assessment. In the occupational information system in Denmark, a circular model is applied to organise information about the labour market, but an assessment of interests or other personal qualities is not offered (Danish Ministery of Education, n.d.).

While this is not a comprehensive review of the use of assessment instruments in the Nordic countries, it is intended to provide a glimpse into which quantitative measures are used in career counselling. Career measures, especially interest inventories, seem to be most commonly used as a part of web-based assessment and information portals. Values and ability measures based on classic career theories are also used along with other more recent instruments based on emerging theories. Otherwise, the countries seem to differ in their emphasis on the use of career assessment, with Finland and Iceland differing the most from the rest. There may be two reasons why this is the case. First, the education of career counsellors in the Nordic countries is almost exclusively located within departments of education with less apparent influence of psychology (Andreassen, Einarsdóttir, Lerkkanen, Thomsen, & Wickstrand, 2019). Second, a strong stance against the use of psychometric instruments was taken early within the field of career guidance in Denmark (Plant et al., 2003). The focus was on context in the social compensation model applied in Sweden and in Norway sociological perspectives in research have been dominant influencing practices and research traditions (Haug et al., 2018; Plant et al., 2003).

CROSS-CULTURAL APPLICATION AND VALIDATION OF
ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS

When instruments developed to capture theoretical constructs are imported for use in other countries, issues regarding their applicability in the new culture are raised. Within the field of cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; van de Vijver, 2015), the transfer of psychological measures has been extensively discussed and expressed in testing standards (AERA, APA, NCME, 1999; International Test Commission, 2001). Attention needs to be given to the cross-cultural validity and specificity of assessment instruments that accompany imported career theories and are traditionally used in both practice and research (Duarte & Rossier, 2008; Watson, Duarte, & Glavin, 2005).

When assessment instruments developed in one culture are used in another culture, questions of equivalence and bias are raised (e.g., van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2005). Equivalence refers to whether the assessment results have the same psychological meaning and can be interpreted in the same way in the new culture as in the original one. Bias is everything that undermines the comparability or equivalence of the test results (e.g., van de Vijver, 2015). It is our contention that the heart of the matter lies in establishing the construct equivalence of a measure or, more accurately, the need to empirically test whether the instrument captures the theoretical construct (over- or underrepresented) it is intended to measure in a new culture (Messick, 1989). Questions about the applicability of the theoretical constructs need to be empirically explored even if the validity of the theory has been supported in the original culture. For practical purposes, it is important to pay attention to the ecological validity of a measure within a specific social and cultural context (Duarte & Rossier, 2008; van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2005).

To provide a broader conceptual framework, cross-cultural psychology has made a distinction between etic and emic approaches (Berry, 1989). In short, *etic* approaches espouse universalism, based on the assumption that people share certain characteristics across cultures. Within this paradigm the transportation of psychological constructs, models, and measures between cultures is supported along with a cross-cultural comparison based on the positivist quantitative research tradition. The *emic* approach, on the other hand, is situated in the ideology of cultural relativism, which focuses on the meaning of a construct within a specific culture and supports the development of indigenous constructs, often applying qualitative approaches (see Ægisdóttir, Gerstein, Leung, Kwong-Liem, & Lonner, 2009).

THREE EXAMPLES OF CROSS-CULTURAL CAREER ASSESSMENT

This chapter will describe importation and validity research done on a career decision-making scale and interest inventories in two of the Nordic countries, Finland and Iceland. Additionally, an account of recent international efforts to create a measure of career adaptability will be given. These three examples are used to clarify the process

of cross-cultural application of theories and assessment instruments developed for career guidance. It is hoped this discussion will make the issues more concrete and allow reporting on what we have learned about the applicability of imported career theories and assessment instruments in at least two of the Nordic countries.

Dysfunctional Career Thoughts

The Career Thoughts Inventory (CTI) (Sampson et al., 1996a) is based on the Cognitive Information Processing theory (CIP) that prescribes how to think about career decisions and learn to make optimal career choices (Sampson, Reardon, Peterson, & Lenz, 2004). The authors suggest that a screening of clients' career decision-making problems is useful to design cost-effective counselling services according to their specific needs. The CTI is a screening device and its function is to assess an individual's dysfunctional thoughts and readiness regarding career decision-making (Sampson et al., 2004). The CTI (48 items) gives a total score as well as scores from three subscales: Decision-Making Confusion (DMC), Commitment Anxiety (CA), and External Conflict (EC) (Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon, & Saunders, 1996b). The three subscales indicate the nature of clients' dysfunctional thoughts and guide the counsellors in their choice of specific types of career interventions (Sampson et al., 2004).

In Iceland (Björnsdóttir et al., 2010), an etic approach was used to test the cross-cultural validity of the CTI. Two cross-cultural studies have also been done on the CTI in Finland (Lerkkanen, 2002, 2009). To ensure language equivalence between the original CTI and the Icelandic version, a translation method following recommended guidelines from cross-cultural psychology literature was used (Ægisdóttir, Gerstein, & Çinarbas, 2008). In short, three independent translations of the CTI from English into Icelandic were made by three career and guidance counsellors. Then, one translation was made from the three versions and refined. Next, an Icelandic language expert reviewed the translation before it was pretested on a small focus group of undergraduate university students. Then, the Icelandic version of the CTI was back-translated into English by a native English and reviewed by the authors of the original CTI (Björnsdóttir et al., 2010). In the former Finnish study an etic approach and a similar translation process was used.

The Icelandic version of the CTI was administered to two groups of students to investigate its psychometric quality and its construct equivalence. One group consisted of Icelandic university students not seeking counselling and the second group consisted of clients seeking career counselling at a university counselling centre. The Finnish higher education data was collected by administering the CTI at the beginning of studies and after two years of studies (Lerkkanen, 2002). The general psychometric qualities of the two translated measures, Icelandic and Finnish, were evaluated and compared to the same indicators in the original instrument. This is considered an important step in the establishment of cross-cultural validity

(e.g., AERA/APA/NCME, 1999; van de Vijver, 2015) and in line with common practices in test development. The reliability indicators of the scales were similar in the translated CTI and the original US version (see Sampson et al., 1996b) in both Finland and Iceland (see Björnsdóttir et al., 2010; Lerkkanen, 2002). In addition, the Icelandic version differentiated between clients and students (Björnsdóttir et al., 2010), thus supporting the criterion-related validity of the Icelandic version.

The expected factor solution was only partially replicated on the student data in Iceland, which indicates a lack of cross-cultural construct equivalence with the translated version (van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2005; Ægisdóttir et al., 2008). Almost all items belonging to EC loaded high on one factor, but the items belonging to DMC and CA did not line up as expected on two separate factors (Björnsdóttir et al., 2010). This lack of structural equivalence of the DMC and CA scales shows that they do not seem to capture exactly the same constructs in Iceland as in the US. As a result, emic items might be needed to better capture the construct of dysfunctional thinking related to career decision-making in Iceland. The practical aspects of the results are that the criterion-related validity results support the use of the total score of the translated CTI in Iceland to assess the extent of dysfunctional thoughts and individual readiness to make career decisions. According to the CIP approach (Sampson et al., 1996b), this score can then be used in career counselling to estimate what type of intervention would best meet the client's needs. The two scale scores, DMC and CA, on the other hand, cannot be used as indicators of the nature of dysfunctional thoughts and individuals' specific career-related problems or to suggest detailed counselling interventions for Icelanders (Björnsdóttir et al., 2010).

In the first Finnish study (Lerkkanen, 2002), results were in accordance with the findings of studies of students in the US. Three dimensions of dysfunctional thoughts were supported. In addition, the amount of dysfunctional thoughts was related to the students' expressed need for vocational guidance during their first two years of study. However, the amount of dysfunctional thoughts indicated by the CTI items means were lower in Finland than among comparable student samples in the US. In the second study, Lerkkanen (2009) used a more emic-contextual approach in his work with the CTI. Based on CIP theory, he developed and tested new Finnish items. The difference between the original and the new items lay in contextualising the latter within Finnish culture. The new Finnish items were phrased more accurately according to the needs of compulsory and upper-secondary education students. The items belonging to the External Conflict factor (EC) improved the most. The reliability of the new EC factor was significantly higher where an emic approach was used compared to the replicated Finnish translation of the CTI (Lerkkanen, 2002). The mean of EC among Finnish students also turned out to be higher showing that emic approaches and attention to context is important in improving the quality of the measure.

Vocational Interests

The second example of importation and validity research concerns vocational interests. Interest inventories, most often based on Holland's (1997) RIASEC model, are traditionally used to increase self-understanding and help people to choose a job with which they are likely to be satisfied (Savickas & Spokane, 1999). Interest assessment is commonly applied in web-based information systems to facilitate exploration of educational and vocational opportunities, as is notable in public information systems (e.g., NAV, AVO, Arbetsformedlingen) in almost all the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, not much research has been done on the cross-cultural validity and applicability of these measures. Mainly etic, and recently more emic, studies have been conducted in Iceland and will be described here to show the importance of emic approaches in the cross-cultural application of imported measures and the theories they are based on.

Structural meta-analysis indicate that Holland's theory does not apply in most cultures outside US (Rounds & Tracey, 1996), and recently in Asia (Long & Tracey, 2006) and Africa (Morgan & deBruin, 2017). Iceland is among the few, mainly Western countries (e.g., Germany: Nagy, Trautwein, & Lüdtke, 2010; Serbia: Hedrich, 2008; Croatia: Šverko & Barbarović, 2006), where the validity of Holland's theory has been supported (Einarsdóttir, Rounds, Ægisdóttir, & Gerstein, 2002). In all these cross-cultural studies, etic approaches have been primarily applied. In spite of support for an imported theory using translated measures, an important next step in Iceland is to take an emic approach and put the theory to a more rigorous test. Thus, an indigenous pool of items (occupations or school subjects and activities) that reflects the Icelandic world of work was developed (Einarsdóttir & Rounds, 2007).

A study of upper-secondary students based on the indigenous items indicates that a four-dimensional model better represents the structure of interests in Iceland than Prediger's (1982) and Holland's two-dimensional complementary representations (Einarsdóttir, Rounds, & Su, 2010). Prediger's People-Things dimension was supported, but the Prestige dimension emerged second instead of Data-Ideas. Two new dimensions emerged, but their meaning and implications need further investigation (for more detail, see Einarsdóttir et al., 2010).

The dimensional results and the fact that less than half of the items can be used to develop structurally valid RIASEC scales (Einarsdóttir & Rounds, 2007) indicate that Holland's model does not accurately describe the vocational interests of Icelanders (Einarsdóttir et al., 2010). Therefore, the indigenous item pool was extended in Iceland and administered to higher education students (Einarsdóttir & Rounds, 2013) to start building an ecologically valid Icelandic interest model. First, the items were used to create narrow-band basic interest scales. Second, structural analysis based on the resulting 35 indigenous basic interest scales suggests that eight clusters better describe interests at the more general level. The eight interest clusters were tentatively labelled: Business and administration; Engineering and technology;

Life-natural sciences; Manual work; Arts and humanities; Teaching and social services; Health service and protection and, finally, Services (including retail). Some, such as Business and administration, along with Arts and humanities, bear some resemblance to Holland's E and A types, respectively, but others differ (see Einarsdóttir, Eyjólfsdóttir, & Rounds, 2013). This study shows that it is important to create indigenous measures in the Nordic countries that capture the current realities in their labour markets instead of importing aging models of vocational interests from other countries.

Career Adaptability

The third example is about the Career Adaptability Scale (CAAS 2.0), which was developed by a team of researchers from 13 countries, (Belgium, Brazil, China, France, Iceland, Italy, Korea, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Switzerland, Taiwan, and the USA) to capture the construct of career adaptability (see the special issue of Journal of Vocational Behavior, 80, 2012). According to Savickas (2005b, p. 51), "career adaptability is a psychosocial construct that denotes an individual's readiness and resources for coping with current and imminent vocational developmental tasks, occupational transitions and personal trauma". The measure can be used in career interventions to assess the adaptability resources and interventions needed for individuals to tackle transitions and unexpected changes in their career.

This research program is indicative of an increased trend in psychology to perform cross-cultural studies applying mixed quantitative and qualitative methods (van de Vivjer, 2015). It reflects the simultaneous development of career assessment instruments (Tanzer, 2005) in an international context – a practice needed in a more globalised world – with increased multiculturalism within societies, and a mobile work force (Duarte & Rossier, 2008). This is an alternative approach to the more commonly applied importation of theories and measures from one culture to another.

The first step in the development of the international measure involved a discussion of cross-cultural similarities and differences in the international team to identify universal and culture-specific aspects of the construct career adaptability. This is indicative of an emic approach, and it resulted in the definition of and joint item generation for the four self-regulation strategies reflected in the sub-dimensions of career adaptability: concern, control, curiosity, and confidence. It is notable that no culture-specific dimensions were identified at this stage, but items were also developed for the fifth dimension called co-operation but not further tested. In the second step, the resulting 100-item pool of 25 items generated for each of the four scales in the first step was reduced to 44 items in three pilot studies. In the item generation and pilot studies the reliance on English language and US samples only is more in line with etic approaches than emic. Following the pilot studies, the 44 items written in English by the international team were translated where needed and/

or adapted before administering them to participants in the 13 countries. An initial analysis, on the full international sample, resulted in the reduction of items to six for each scale (24 total), which comprised the final measure. The international CAAS was found to show acceptable psychometric quality and configural and metric invariance across the countries (Savickas & Porfeli, 2012).

Iceland was one of the countries where the CAAS showed the poorest fit to the four-dimensional model of adaptability. A culturally sensitive procedure is also needed to develop a measure of career adaptability that captures the cultural nuances of the construct in each country. Thus, in Iceland a more emic study was conducted (Einarsdóttir, Vilhjálmsdóttir, Smáradóttir, & Kjartansdóttir, 2015). Career guidance counsellors formed an expert committee to evaluate the cultural applicability of career adaptability in Icelandic culture and context. They evaluated the theoretical construct, including items generated in the international study for the measure, and discussed the possible expression of career adaptability among their clients in practice. They agreed that the five dimensions described career adaptability in the population (including co-operation). They also concluded that to fully reflect career adaptability in Iceland, two additional dimensions might be missing. Those were referred to as contribution, which is based on the importance of work as a contribution to community, and fatalism, reflecting traditional beliefs that fate may be predetermined and that things will always work out. The experts also generated indigenous items to capture these two possible facets of career adaptability and to better reflect in the Icelandic context the four original dimensions.

In short, fatalism was not supported as a separate dimension of adaptability, but contribution was. Alternative 4–6-dimensional indigenous and international models were tested in a sample of university students. All the models fell in the range of acceptable fit, but the six-dimensional model based on scales including both international and indigenous items, adding the two relational factors of cooperation and contribution, had the best fit (for more detail see Einarsdóttir et al., 2015).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A great deal is revealed about the cross-cultural validity and applicability of imported and international theories and measures of career development and choice in Nordic cultures in these three examples. They indicate that applying more emic approaches to Nordic psychometric research can cast an important light on the contextualisation of emerging and dominant theories in vocational psychology.

As the research on the cross-cultural validity of the CTI shows, the responses of Icelanders about their readiness to make career decisions only partially conform to the factor structure of the original US instrument. This was not as clearly the case in Finland. The cultural and contextual differences that exist between the US on the one hand and Finland and Iceland on the other seem to influence the responses to the CTI. When contextual (emic) items were added, the psychometric qualities of the Finnish version of the CTI improved. In regard to interest inventories, in spite of the

presumed cross-cultural validity of the imported and adapted measures in Iceland, an emic approach indicated that Holland's US-based theory only partially describe the Icelandic vocational interest structure. This may also be the case in the other Nordic countries, where interest inventories are used in public occupational information systems. Only one Nordic country was involved in the international development of the career adaptability measure. Emic approaches within the Nordic welfare context cast new light on the evolving construct of career adaptability, indicating that important facets may be missing in the theoretical formulation and internationally developed instrument (CAAS).

The discussion here has been limited to the importation and application of quantitative assessment instruments that have historically been used in career counselling practice and research. We are fully aware of the fact that ideological currents have shifted away from the positivistic foundation of career counselling and guidance to more postmodern constructivist views and approaches (e.g., Diemer & Gore, 2009; Hartung, 2005; McMahon, 2008). At the same time, theoretical advances in career development and choice are firmly based on the classic theories and research undertaken over the history of the field (e.g., Savickas, 2005a). Cross-cultural validity, just like the construct validity of any assessment instrument, cannot be established once and for all but is a continuous process that goes hand in hand with general theory development and testing (Messick, 1989). As these examples show, it is necessary for the Nordic countries to critically evaluate the dominant theories and empirically test instruments that accompany them for use in their welfare states. The results illuminate how the context of people's vocational life, a predominant focus in the Nordic countries, influences our conceptualisations and assessment. In general, research on the cross-cultural validity of theories and measures is important for the global development of dominant and emerging theories applied in career counselling and guidance.

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13. DEVELOPING GUIDANCE COMPETENCES FOR LEARNING MOBILITY

ABSTRACT

This chapter discusses how guidance professionals can support international mobility of learners in a Nordic context. The importance given to learning mobility in educational policies forms the broader frame of the article. Impediments to and benefits of learning mobility are addressed. The key concept of the article is 'mobility guidance'. It will be theorised that guidance practitioner competences in both international learning mobility and career guidance are decisive in improving the quality and volume of learning mobility. Finally, some recommendations are made on how to elevate capacity-building for guidance practitioners in relation to internationally oriented service delivery.

INTRODUCTION

There are many different forms of international mobility. This article focuses on outgoing learning mobility in the Nordic countries. The key concepts it addresses are 'learning mobility' and 'mobility guidance'. Learning mobility is defined as physical cross-border mobility consciously organised for education and competence development for a limited period implemented in formal or non-formal settings (EPLM, 2013). According to Kristensen (2014) three main stages of the learning mobility process can be identified: enabling access (before), ensuring survival (during) and enhancing learning (after). These can be facilitated through 'mobility guidance'. Mobility guidance provides individuals with information and advice on learning mobility as a means to develop their skills and gain experience in an international context (European Commission, 2014a). More specifically, it means different types of professional support addressed to individuals, i.e. giving information about mobility as a learning process, creating awareness of critical issues they may encounter abroad, the facilitation of coping mechanisms and the ability to analyse and deepen their learning experience after repatriation (Kristensen, 2014).

Since the 1980s, there has been an increasing policy-level interest in making education more international (Teichler, 2017). Since 1999, the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) has contributed to making higher education systems more

compatible and increasing staff and student mobility across its 48 member countries, including the Nordic countries (the Bologna process) (European Commission, EACEA, & Eurydice, 2015).

In the 1990s researchers became increasingly interested in understanding the impact of internationalisation on national educational policies and systems, on the choice of destination countries for learning mobility and on individual learning outcomes (Deardorff, 2006; de Wit, 1995; Knight, 2001). The current trend in research on the internationalisation of education is to distinguish between different levels of impact ranging from the individual to the global (McNamara & Knight, 2015; Potts, 2016). Finland, Norway and Sweden have developed strategies on the internationalisation of education and higher education that reflect recent research findings. Iceland does not currently have such a strategy in place.

The Swedish Higher Education Ordinance (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993) states that higher education institutions should promote understanding for other countries and international relations. In early 2018, a new strategy for internationalisation within Swedish Higher Education was introduced (SOU, 2018). One of its proposals is that all university graduates should develop their international and intercultural competences during their study time. Finland aims to attract more international students and retain them in the country upon graduation, but also to have more Finnish students study abroad (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017). In Norway, the Quality Reform (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2001) was launched to make national higher education comply with international standards. Internationalisation is now seen as a prerequisite for improving the quality of higher education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017). In Iceland, the overarching goal of universities is to increase the number of their outgoing exchange students by 80%, and the number of foreign students studying for a degree in Iceland by 50% during 2016–2023 (Government Offices of Iceland, 2018).

Moreover, the implementation of the European Union (EU) programmes supporting education and training in Europe and beyond contribute to supra-national political and strategic developments. Through these EU programmes – specifically the Erasmus+ programme (2014–2020) – students have the opportunity to embark on shorter and longer mobility periods abroad for studying, training and voluntary work (European Commission, 2014b).

LEARNING MOBILITY

The target set by the Council of the European Union in 2011 is that 20% of students include cross-border mobility in their studies by 2020 (Sanchéz Barrioluengo & Flisi, 2017). The Nordic countries have acknowledged this target, albeit differently. In Sweden the proposal is that at least 25% of all higher education students should study abroad for a minimum of three months by 2025 (SOU, 2018), while only 15% of graduates did so in 2016–2017 (SOS, 2017). Finland and Iceland are working

towards the European target, but they lack comprehensive statistical data on the current situation. In Norway, the present numbers show that 16% of those completing a tertiary-level degree went abroad for their studies. Norway aims to reach 20% for short term and 50% for long term mobility periods (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018). In Denmark, 18% of students studied abroad in 2016–2017 (Danmarks statistik, 2018). However, regardless of their generous student aid schemes geared to support learning mobility (including funding for studies abroad), the Nordic countries are not currently exceeding the European mobility goals.

In addition, mobility is unevenly distributed among students as socio-economic factors largely determine who participates and who does not (Sperl, 2016). The three top reasons for not undertaking a mobility period were an additional financial burden (62% of respondents), separation from family or friends (47%) and loss of a paid employment (35%). Moreover, it seems that with increasing age the likelihood of mobility falls as people establish their families and have children (Eurostudent, 2018). Finally, students with special needs are the group least likely of all to undertake mobility (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2018). Souto-Otero, Huisman, Beerkens, de Wit, and Vujic (2013) argue that personal-level barriers differentiate participants and non-participants even more than their access to funding opportunities. In addition language barriers are also often reported as a key obstacle (Doyle et al., 2010; Samuk, Nienaber, Bissinger, & Vysotskaya, 2018). To reach the European goals, the Nordic countries should address new user groups who could consider cross-border mobility as part of their studies and this in turn may require the development of the provision of mobility guidance.

THE NEED FOR MOBILITY GUIDANCE

Learners need to become better informed about mobility. Therefore, staff at educational and other institutions need to be able to give them a realistic view about mobility and the related obstacles and benefits (Teichler, 2015). This article argues that easy-access to high-quality mobility guidance throughout the whole education system may inspire pupils and students to realise how mobility could contribute to their learning and career paths.

An important reference to improve guidance provision for mobility can be found in the EU Resolution on Lifelong Guidance:

the enlargement of the European Union has increased the potential for mobility in education and training, as well as in the labour market, thereby creating the need to prepare Union citizens to develop their learning and professional pathways in a broader geographical context. (Council of the European Union, 2008, p. 1)

The Nordic countries have established a link between mobility and guidance. Nonetheless, there is still much to be done to strengthen the role that guidance plays,

both in giving advice and motivating young and adult learners to consider learning mobility as a study option (Baloch-Kaloianov, Launikari, Stefansdottir, & Towler, 2018; Launikari, Stefansdottir, Carey, & Rajeckaité, 2016).

According to Nordic studies, Finnish students studied abroad more often than their peers from Norway and Sweden. An explanation to this may be that they had received more guidance for studies abroad than Norwegian and Swedish students (CIMO, UHR, & SIU, 2013; Tungesvik, 2016; UHR, 2018). Guidance is also important for making mobility more inclusive, reaching students from different social strata, addressing all students and not only those who already know that they want to go abroad (UHR, 2018).

Evidence shows that studying and living abroad positively affects individuals' future career opportunities and makes them readier to work in an internationally competitive labour market than non-mobile young people (European Commission, 2014b). Other studies suggest that individual motivation and readiness for overseas studies (Hackney, Boggs, & Borozan, 2012; Pope, Sánchez, Lehnert, & Schmid, 2014), intercultural learning (Dressler, Becker, Kawalilak, & Arthur, 2018; Harris, Kumaran, Jones Harris, Moen, & Visconti, 2019) and skills development while living abroad may benefit individuals' employment (Teichler & Janson, 2007; Punteney, 2012; Potts, 2015). Guidance practitioners need to know that employers value skills that study-abroad experiences generate, such as intercultural and interpersonal skills, language and communication skills, curiosity, adaptability, self-awareness, tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty and relevant knowledge (European Commission, 2014b; Jonsson & Almerud, 2010; Karlsson Perez, 2014).

Moreover, individuals with international experience tend to run a reduced risk of long-term unemployment, earn higher salaries and have more responsibility in their professional lives than those without it (European Commission, 2018; European Commission, 2014b). For example, Swedish exchange students are employed and integrated in the labour market to a greater extent and have higher average income than those who have studied only in Sweden (CSN & SCB, 2017). Although living abroad may help students to develop their international vision and intercultural understanding (Karlsson Perez, 2014), employers generally seem to pay attention to only a few skills of the many that individuals gain through studies, internships or work outside their home country, such as productivity, curiosity and resilience (CIMO, 2014).

COMPETENCES NEEDED FOR SUPPORTING LEARNING MOBILITY

The competence of guidance practitioners has been studied by many international scholars (e.g. Sultana, 2009; Hirschi, 2012; Hiebert & Neault, 2014), but this has not generally addressed the international knowledge that is required to support cross-border mobilities. For example, the competence framework introduced in the Cedefop report on Professionalising Career Guidance (2009) does not identify

international competences as an area of their own. The competence framework of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG, 2003) refers to 'motivating and helping students to take part in international exchange programmes' and to having 'knowledge of legislation, pertaining to education, training, and work at local, national and international level and of equivalence of degrees and professional qualifications obtained in different countries' under 'specialised competencies'. Both the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN, 2012, pp. 33–42) and the Network for Innovation in Career Guidance and Counselling in Europe (NICE, 2012, p. 189) argue that guidance practitioners have a role to play in helping individuals to find learning and working opportunities abroad. They also suggest that guidance service provision will have to be developed to foster learning mobility.

The Euroguidance Network has played an important role in working towards enhancing guidance practitioners' international competences to include mobility guidance in their everyday work. The work of the Nordic Euroguidance Centres have been guided by the European key competence framework (Council of the European Union, 2018). There, competences have been divided into attitudes, knowledge and skills that are adaptable to different contexts, including guidance for mobility. The Euroguidance Network has a unique position in the interface between the policy level and guidance practice and has collected empirical evidence of different mobility guidance schemes, varying practices and the effects of insufficient mobility guidance support. Here the model of career capital (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Inkson & Arthur, 2001; Parker, Khapova, & Arthur, 2009) becomes useful to illustrate an individual guidance practitioner´s international capital (i.e. the knowledge, skills and competences, professional networks and other resources) required for providing mobility guidance. The concept of career capital relates to the notion of protean, boundaryless and intelligent careers and the diverse abilities that individuals need to develop, acquire and maintain throughout their careers (Inkson & Arthur, 2001). It takes different forms and is obtained in numerous ways throughout an individual's professional life (Lamb & Sutherland, 2010; Hirschi, 2012).

Career capital, as originally defined by DeFillippi and Arthur (1994), consists of different types of knowing: knowing-why, knowing-how and knowing-whom. This model was further enhanced by Jones and DeFillippi (1996), who added three more dimensions to it: knowing-what, knowing-where and knowing-when. These six interdependent types of knowing are career-based investments that people make for being successful at work and in their careers (Arthur, Claman, DeFillippi, & Adams, 1995; DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994, 1996; Inkson & Arthur, 2001; Parker et al., 2009). They can be relatively easily applied to the guidance profession and described as follows (according to DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994, 1996; Inkson & Arthur, 2001; Jones & DeFillippi, 1996): knowing-why relates to a person's professional motivations, identifications, self-discovery and deals with how and why individuals obtain meaning out of their daily work and continuous learning. Knowing-how is about the

knowledge, skills and expertise needed for a specific occupational role or a particular professional field, whereas knowing-whom is associated with one's professional networks and how they are applied as a resource to exchanging information, sharing knowledge, peer learning and developing cooperation. Knowing-what is about understanding the logics and dynamics of one's professional field (i.e. threats and opportunities), knowing-where about having an overview of how to move around and advance in one's professional environment, and knowing-when is connected to timely action and the appropriateness of activities. As competence in guidance always relates to the service the practitioner is delivering to a client, it is inevitably the case that the skills and competences developed by the practitioner are applicable to the client's own career learning process.

We additionally suggest that international capital in the guidance context comprise the following mix of affective, behavioural and cognitive aspects: attitudes, emotional and psychological dispositions, sensitivities, experiences and insights that guidance practitioners obtain through their continuous exposure to working with international issues as well as systematically developing their capacities and capabilities accordingly (adapted from the Council of the European Union, 2018; Farrell, 2010; Luke & Goldstein, 2006; Pöllmann, 2013, 2016).

In Table 13.1, some concrete methods and measures for how to develop this international capital will be addressed from the perspective of the six different types of knowing.

Table 13.1 describes the different types of 'knowing' that guidance practitioners should have and develop in order to provide high-quality mobility guidance to those individuals seeking international learning mobility opportunities. The aim is to use this proposition to launch an academic discussion on the topic. Empirical research will be needed to have this model validated and adapted to the professional work of guidance practitioners. The model was presented and piloted at the IAEVG conference 2019 in Bratislava, and the feedback collected from the international guidance community there has been taken into account in the model descriptors.

As highlighted above, the mobility experience can be presented as a process and be divided into three separate, yet interlinked phases being before, during and after. This 3-phase approach is originally developed by Kristensen (2014). Kristensen's model is a useful tool for guidance practitioners to relate to the process of mobility and to understand their professional role and input accordingly. Moreover, linking Kristensen's model with the above theoretical competence framework allows guidance practitioners to assess their knowledge-based capabilities in relation to informing their clients sufficiently well throughout the mobility process.

In Kristensen's (2014) mobility process, guidance plays an important role. Before learners embark on mobility, guidance practitioners should focus on motivating and preparing them. While abroad, the learners will have to take greater responsibility for their own learning. Therefore, learners should have the possibility of receiving guidance also during the stay abroad. For ensuring the quality of their international

Table 13.1. Guidance Counsellors' international capital (adapted from the theoretical model of DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Jones & DeFillippi, 1996)

Type of knowing	Description of international capital in the context of guidance and counselling	Description of methods and tools supporting acquisition of international capital
Knowing-why Gains	Having a personal approach and motivation that allows one to design one's career and professional development around internationally oriented activities in line with one's life goals. *In relation to mobility of clients*: awareness of and belief in the benefits and added value of international mobility for individuals and society. Showcase mobility as social capital.	*Becoming exposed to* the international aspect of one's work through initial guidance counsellor education and in-service training, relevant literature and reports, and participation in international events, projects, and activities. *Activity*: learning about international mobility, reflect on the value of mobility and how learning outcomes from abroad can be viewed as capital.
Knowing-how Methods	Having an overview of mobility as a process and a clear understanding of one's role in it. Having the ability to carry out duties and solve problems linked to international mobility, and a sufficient knowledge of at least one foreign language. *In relation to mobility of clients*: Different activities identified as useful to promote reflexive thinking before, during and after the mobility period. This can increase and deepen understanding referred to as 21st century skills.	*Gaining experience* in addressing learning mobility as options for various types of clients. Being able to identify the kind of mobility experience the clients are able and prepared to handle. Learning by doing to broaden one's international capabilities and gaining additional insights into one's role and function in fostering mobility. *Activity*: Informal learning and continuing professional development linked to the three stages of mobility guidance (before, during and after).
Knowing-whom Networks	Networking as social professional capital; Being a member of multi-professional and cross-sectoral networks of guidance practitioners and other experts who work with international mobility.	*Actively executing and expanding* one's inter-organisational contacts to ensure timely access to and exchange of information of international learning and training opportunities. Utilising institutional information sources on learning mobility.

(cont.)

Table 13.1. Guidance Counsellors' international capital (adapted from the theoretical model of DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Jones & DeFillippi, 1996) (cont.)

Type of knowing	Description of international capital in the context of guidance and counselling	Description of methods and tools supporting acquisition of international capital
	In relation to mobility of clients: effectively utilising one's networks for accessing information and other resources to support clients' decision-making for participation in learning mobility.	*Activity*: keeping oneself on track on latest developments through networking and peer learning.
Knowing-what Context	International competence in a broader perspective: Having an overview of the development of relevant policies, strategies and schemes for international mobility. Being aware of how they influence one's guidance work in relation to providing advice on learning and training abroad. Being well acquainted with one's own institutional context and daily work environment. *In relation to mobility of clients*: knowledge of the various preparations needed for the client to take the next step throughout the mobility process. Awareness of the need to compensate for an unequal social background. Linking mobility to the development of Career Management Skills.	*Following up* any developments that are linked to international mobility. Understanding how these developments shape one's own internationally oriented work and how they create new professional demands that need to be covered by means of continuous learning, networking, etc. *Activity*: Being open for systematic action in relation to one's professional development as regards the contextual factors of learning mobility.
Knowing-where External venture map[a]	Being informed about different destination countries. This includes having a general overview of the political, economic and social circumstances of the countries. *In relation to mobility of clients*: Broad knowledge of how choice of destination country may influence the career path of the client, i.e. depending on subject area, study programme, knowledge of languages,	*Keeping up-to-date* on major developments in the world, specifically in those countries that are popular among learners. Making sure that one has knowledge of and access to country-specific information (closely connected to knowing-whom).

(cont.)

Table 13.1. Guidance Counsellors' international capital (adapted from the theoretical model of DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Jones & DeFillippi, 1996) (*cont.*)

Type of knowing	Description of international capital in the context of guidance and counselling	Description of methods and tools supporting acquisition of international capital
	recognition of studies taken abroad, connection between one's study plan and study programmes offered abroad, etc.	*Activity*: designing tailored routes for each client in view of their learning mobility and future career goals/aspirations.
Knowing-when Time and place	Having a good understanding of the time factor in relation to what it takes to go abroad for studying purposes. Being able to inform about the process that the client will go through as regards studying and training abroad (before-during-after) and provide sufficient support to the client through the different phases. *In relation to mobility of clients*: Knowledge about optimal timing, for example when to go abroad as an exchange student in relation to the individual study plan and when to apply for degree programmes abroad, etc. Providing clients with current labour market information and future trends.	*Keeping abreast with* current changes to application rounds and procedures and informing clients well in advance about how such changes may influence their preparations and submission of documents required. *Activity*: acquiring labour market information including statistics, forecasts, trends, etc.

[a] Venture Map refers to Hurst and international mobility as venture capital for elite women (Hurst, 2018)

learning process, Kristensen suggests that it can be supported through mentoring, tutoring and monitoring. Learning does not end when the learner returns home. Sorting out the experience afterwards is an integral part of the whole learning process. Kristensen argues that this is a phase that teachers or guidance counsellors can use to optimise the results of a mobility period by means of evaluating the experience (intended and unintended learning), putting it into perspective (observations transformed into useful experiences), preserving it (positive change), analysing educational or career implications of the stay abroad and reintegrating everything into the individual learner's life.

CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: MEANS AND METHODS TO ACQUIRE INTERNATIONAL COMPETENCES

For Nordic guidance professionals, the obvious source of knowledge about international aspects of their guidance work is the academic guidance counsellor education, offered by higher education institutions in their countries. Nevertheless, it is a recognised need across the European and Nordic guidance communities to receive more initial and in-service training on how to provide guidance for learning mobility (Baloch-Kaloianov et al., 2018; Launikari et al., 2016; Launikari, Stefansdottir, Towler, & Rajeckaité, 2017).

In most Nordic countries, the career guidance education programmes include an international dimension, but it depends on each training provider how and to what extent mobility-related aspects are covered. Furthermore, international research developments and multicultural issues are included in the Nordic career guidance education programmes:

- In Denmark, intercultural counselling is offered as an optional study module within the guidance and counselling education programme (Undervisningsministeriet, 2018). The focus of the Danish counsellor training is not on learning mobility as such. The relevance of the study programme is that counsellors with intercultural capital (Launikari, 2019) potentially interact better with their counselees from different cultural/ethnic backgrounds. It is also hoped that they are better able to support international mobility for studying and training purposes, especially for incoming students.
- In Finnish guidance counsellor education, cultural diversity, international mobility, recognition of studies taken abroad, home-internationalisation and international guidance research are among the topics normally addressed (VOKES, 2018).
- In Iceland, the revision of the guidance studies programme took place in 2010 and social and cultural diversity is part of studies, including working with clients from different backgrounds (Háskóli Íslands, 2010). Currently the learning outcomes are formulated differently, i.e. students should be 'able to work […] be guided by the interests and needs of people from different societal groups' (Háskóli Íslands, 2018).
- In Norway, internationalisation and intercultural competences are integrated in the revised curriculum of the master's programme for career guidance during the academic period 2018–2020. Intercultural competence is described as an ability to analyse and critically assess the barriers and opportunities for education, work and social life in a multicultural society (HVL, 2018).
- The Swedish Higher Education Ordinance (Ministry of Education and Research, 1993) stipulates that students graduating from the career guidance programme should show that they have knowledge about education, working life and society, both nationally and internationally. Within the study programme, courses on guidance in a multicultural society can be chosen.

The Nordic Euroguidance Centres as part of the Europe-wide Euroguidance Network[1] have in multiple ways contributed to enhancing the international competences of guidance counsellors in their countries (Kraatz, 2016). For example, they deliver tailor-made training as part of the guidance counsellor education programmes run by higher education institutions. Moreover, they provide in-service training on mobility guidance for practitioners through conferences, seminars, online courses, and host study visits for guidance delegations from abroad. The production of printed materials and online resources on mobility is one of their main activities in fostering guidance counsellors' readiness to deal with learning and training abroad. Nordic counsellors also develop their competences through the VALA network of career counselling and guidance programmes at higher education institutions in the Nordic and Baltic countries. The focus is on preparing career counsellors and guidance practitioners for diverse adult clients they work with.[2]

CONCLUSIONS

This article explored the role and competences of guidance practitioners in relation to international mobility. It has examined the intersection between studying abroad and the competences guidance counsellors should possess. We conclude that international competences are a prerequisite for providing high-quality guidance to support learning mobility, congruent to a holistic approach in their refinement and development. To support this evolution, guidance counsellors should have easy access to participation in learning mobility themselves, as internationally thinking guidance practitioners are required to develop a higher proportion of student cohorts uptake of international learning opportunities.

This study has obvious limitations due to the lack of first-hand empirical studies and contributions. However, the main finding is that there is only scarce literature which addresses guidance counsellor competences in relation to international mobility. Moreover, there is not much research evidence on what competences are required, how they should be defined and how they can be acquired. It would be good to have more research on the value of guidance when students are planning their international learning and career paths. Thus, there is a need to understand the obstacles to individuals' desire to study abroad. The aspect of inclusion of underrepresented groups in mobility should be looked at in more detail, as well as the related guidance service provision. Maybe some of the desirable transferable skills gained by studying abroad can be used to alleviate social differences.

NOTES

[1] www.euroguidance.eu
[2] https://peda.net/vala/wtnnv

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ERIK HAGASETH HAUG

14. UNDERSTANDINGS OF CAREER GUIDANCE QUALITY IN NORWEGIAN SCHOOLS

ABSTRACT

In this chapter I argue that there are many different ways to understand quality in career guidance in Norwegian schools. I discuss different understandings of quality in this context, using the conceptualisation of career guidance informed by three discourses. Close attention should be paid to the different understandings of quality, as they affect the provision of career guidance.

INTRODUCTION[1]

Career guidance has been present in Norway in different forms and formats since the beginning of the 1900s (Kjærgård, 2012). Policy interest in assuring high quality in career guidance has increased since the beginning of 2000 (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2017; Haug et al., 2019). One rationale for high quality guidance is the rhetoric of a new, uncertain or liquid society (e.g. Bauman, 2006), and the implications of such a society for the individual and their career journey through life. Technological advances, changes in industrial structures, immigration and an aging population will affect the skills-need across the economy. Furthermore, most people will have to make many career decisions in the course of their lives. It is therefore argued that making good, well-informed career decisions is more important than ever before (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2017).

Career guidance can, according to the OECD (2004), help to support individuals' decision-making and career building. It has a societal impact on the effective functioning of the labour market, education system and social welfare system. A recent Norwegian governmental report (NOU, 2016, p. 7) argues that access to high-quality career guidance services is crucial in times of change and transition and has supported this through the development of a national quality framework for career guidance (Skills Norway, 2018; Haug et al., 2019). The main objective of this framework is to strengthen quality and professionalism in the field of career guidance as a whole, through a cross-sectoral and transversal tool for quality development and government. This framework is founded on four questions: (1) what defines good and ethical practice, (2) what competences do career practitioners need, (3) what should be the learning outcome of lifelong guidance, (4) how can we know what we do is high quality (Haug et al., 2019).

This chapter is based on the empirical findings of my doctoral thesis (Haug, 2016, 2017) and the recent development towards a national quality framework for career guidance in Norway (Haug et al., 2019). The issue that is elaborated in this chapter is quality in career guidance in a single specific context (schools) and in one country (Norway). However, the findings presented may be relevant more widely across the Nordic countries and beyond.

SCIENTIFIC UNDERPINNING AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter builds on the scientific concepts of critical realism, a meta-theory that states that the relationship between reality and the concepts that we use to describe this reality should be the focal point of research and theoretical development (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2003). Critical realism claims that scientific work is to 'investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience, what actually happens, and the underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world' (Bhaskar, 1978, p. 56).

Kempster and Parry (2014, p. 88) advocate a grounded theory approach guided by a critical realistic (CR) frame to gain this insight. Key elements of this approach include 'First, clarifying the subject matter in relation to CR ontological assumptions. Second, data collection emphasizing exploring lived experience through interviews. Third, analysing data based on abduction and retroduction. Retroduction implies a commitment to theoretical pluralism, at least at the outset of an investigation. Multiple theoretical lenses can be considered for what they tell us about the various and stratified influences that are affecting the things we observe'.

The structure of this chapter will follow the three steps of Kempster and Parry's approach (2014). Firstly, I will clarify the theoretical conceptualisations of quality in career guidance in general. Secondly, I will highlight the main findings of the data collected in the project. Thirdly, I will discuss the understanding of quality in career guidance in a school context through multiple theoretical lenses.

CLARIFYING THE SUBJECT MATTER: QUALITY IN CAREER GUIDANCE

Quality is a complex and contested concept. We need to pay attention to this complexity and take action accordingly to maximise quality outcomes in the development of career guidance.

Understanding quality in career guidance to be both contested and complex aligns with several authors. For example, Sultana (2018a), who states that 'If you scratch below the surface, we discover that we have different views about what 'quality' really is. This is likely to depend on who we are, our social background, the evaluative criteria we use, past experiences, and so on. Most importantly, different people have different expectations and standards' (p. 8). Sultana (2017, p. 10) continues by saying 'Language and terms – and of course theoretical orientations, policies and practices – therefore, reveal important tensions in the field'.

Plant (2004, p. 142), with reference to Watt (1998), elaborates this further by pointing out that a focus on quality encompasses many agendas, meanings and justifications.

- political: that the service is justified
- funding: that the service is financially worthwhile
- client progress measurement: to determine implementation of planned objectives
- monitoring: to record what happens
- strategic planning: organisational development
- practice and policy development: assess good practice, bench-marking

Plant (2004) argues that because of these agendas and positions, the understanding of quality is closely related to the different stances in the overall aim of career guidance. A figure was developed in a recent European project (Hughes & Carson, 2018) to exemplify the many career guidance aims possible in a school context (Figure 14.1).
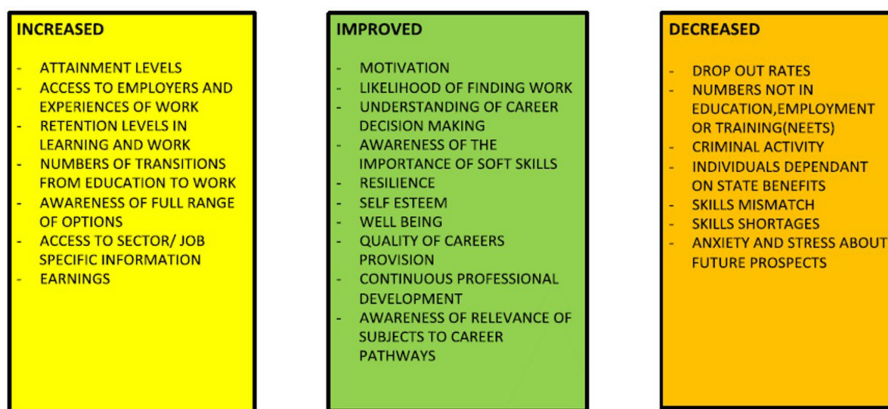
INCREASED
- ATTAINMENT LEVELS
- ACCESS TO EMPLOYERS AND EXPERIENCES OF WORK
- RETENTION LEVELS IN LEARNING AND WORK
- NUMBERS OF TRANSITIONS FROM EDUCATION TO WORK
- AWARENESS OF FULL RANGE OF OPTIONS
- ACCESS TO SECTOR/ JOB SPECIFIC INFORMATION
- EARNINGS

IMPROVED
- MOTIVATION
- LIKELIHOOD OF FINDING WORK
- UNDERSTANDING OF CAREER DECISION MAKING
- AWARENESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SOFT SKILLS
- RESILIENCE
- SELF ESTEEM
- WELL BEING
- QUALITY OF CAREERS PROVISION
- CONTINUOUS PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- AWARENESS OF RELEVANCE OF SUBJECTS TO CAREER PATHWAYS

DECREASED
- DROP OUT RATES
- NUMBERS NOT IN EDUCATION,EMPLOYMENT OR TRAINING(NEETS)
- CRIMINAL ACTIVITY
- INDIVIDUALS DEPENDANT ON STATE BENEFITS
- SKILLS MISMATCH
- SKILLS SHORTAGES
- ANXIETY AND STRESS ABOUT FUTURE PROSPECTS

Figure 14.1. Examples of expected outputs for guidance in schools
(from Hughes & Carson, 2018, p. 16)

The many possible outputs shown in the figure range from concrete measurable outputs (i.e. lower dropout rates) to more abstract outputs that are difficult to measure (i.e. improved wellbeing). In this chapter, based on the scientific underpinning of critical realism which focuses on 'underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world' (Bhaskar, 1978, p. 56), I primarily discuss the underlying patterns that can inform different positions, aims and understandings of good career guidance in a Norwegian school context.

Sultana (2014, 2018a) has argued that it is possible to classify this diversity through a typology originally proposed by Habermas (1971). The typology consists of three inter-twining discourses that inform career guidance research, policy and

practice. A technocratic discourse (on matching people to available occupations), a developmentalist or hermeneutic discourse (on personal growth and fulfilment), and an emancipatory discourse (on critiquing and transforming the world of work to improve social justice). The discourses 'serve as lenses that predispose us to consider specific social practices as 'problems', to articulate such 'problems' in particular ways, and to adopt one set of 'solutions' for them rather than another' (Sultana, 2018b, p. 101). Sultana (2018b) argues from this that the three discourses also inform the understandings of quality in guidance, and therefore can be useful tools in achieving a more flexible and multi-faceted understanding. The typology is, furthermore, used as the main theoretical conceptualisation in the discussion at the end of this chapter.

I will now present the main empirical findings from my earlier research (Haug, 2016, 2017) and use this as a basis for the analysis and interpretation of the underlying assumptions that inform the understanding of good career guidance. Through this, I move to step two of Kempster and Parry's critical realist grounded theory approach (2014).

CAREER GUIDANCE QUALITY ARTICULATION IN THE NORWEGIAN SCHOOL CONTEXT

Two sources and methodological approaches were used in this study to investigate the articulation of an understanding of quality in career guidance.

Semi-structured focus group interviews were held with users, practitioners and managers to investigate what I call 'local' voices (Haug, 2017). Understandings of quality were, therefore, collected from end users, providers and decision makers in regional schools in Norway. The participants were asked to talk about quality in career guidance in general and not assess a specific program or a service. This was an important feature of the interviews, the aim of the interviews therefore being to access their understanding of quality in career guidance rather than their retrospective evaluation of a service, which is a common approach in Norwegian school career guidance research (Haug et al., 2019b). My objective was to go deeper into the understandings of quality that inform retrospective evaluations.

The second source was a document study (Haug, 2016) of selected national steering documents that represent national perspectives on quality. Document selection included the curriculum for the compulsory subject Education Selection (Directorate of Education, 2015), see Røise (Chapter 18, this volume) for an in-depth description of this subject, legislation spanning from regulations to the National Education Act (1998) on career guidance in schools, and national competence recommendations for career guidance practitioners in schools (Directorate of Education, 2009). The main findings from these two types of sources and methodological approaches are presented below. This is followed by a discussion of the underlying assumptions that inform the articulation of quality in career guidance.

Main Results of the Focus Group Interviews

The results (Haug, 2017) indicate that understandings of quality at the local level centre on three interrelated areas; the importance of practitioners' relational competence, a need to focus on the next career choice, and the benefits of including a range of actors and activities in career guidance provision. Interviewees, when asked to define quality in career guidance, state that practitioners' relational competence is the most important ingredient. One quote that defines this is the following:

> Being good at talking with students underpins good guidance. Anyone can provide information on the educational and vocational systems … Really communicating with youngsters is, however, different. It has something to do with credibility. Spending time with an adviser is nice, she understands us – you know?

Another participant says about quality:

> A meeting between student and counsellor that is in equilibrium. Where the student feels secure. Where there are more open questions than 'standard' answers. Where the student feels he or she is on a journey that will benefit them, that that they can grow.

The second most important ingredient was the need to focus on the next career choice. A quote that defines this was as follows:

> The focus should be on making a good, sound upper secondary school choice decision. Guidance is then good and effective.

The third most important ingredient relates to the benefits of including a range of actors and activities in service provision. One quote defining this was as follows:

> The combination of visits to companies and work in the classroom with the booklet (my future) works well. We, when working on the booklet, write down what we are good at. There has been no focus on how we can use these strengths. One day visits are also nice, because we learn more about the companies.

The quality of career guidance is therefore characterised by 'good' conversations with a counsellor, in which the purpose of the conversation is to make the student feel confident when they next have to make a decision. This is, however, nuanced by the third defining theme's emphasis on a range of actors, activities and arenas. This, in the interviews, primarily relates to the understanding that career choices must be seen in the context of 'something'.

The actors interviewed were convinced that teachers can contribute by drawing on their experiences from their own careers. Experience from life will be an important input for students when making their decisions. The informants were, however, concerned about the risk that teachers primarily have an academic education, and

therefore do not have first-hand knowledge of other educational and vocational areas. They therefore point out the importance of cooperation with external actors, which they believe can have a positive impact on quality. This includes companies visiting schools to talk about their work and workplace and making their workplaces available for experience-based learning opportunities. Career exploration through work experience is emphasised as being beneficial to students and of giving them an experience which they can measure the options open to them against (Haug, 2017).

Main Results from the Analysis of Selected National Steering Documents

The trend towards considering the student as an active participant, with the power and authority to influence and be responsible for his or her own career-related actions, is an important feature of the steering documents. The following is taken from the Education Selection curriculum (Directorate of Education, 2015, p. 1):

> The course is to help students gain skills in making career choices, based on the pupils' wishes and prerequisites.

This point of view is made explicit in the competence criteria for education and vocational counsellors (Directorate of Education, 2009, p. 1):

> Can help pupils develop self-esteem and the ability to help themselves.

The aim of career guidance (Directorate of Education, 2015, pp. 3–4) is described as being that students:

> … collect, analyse and use information about education and occupations in different ways in career planning; formulate own short-term and long-term career goals based on interests and opportunities; describe and know about different educational programs and give examples of the professions education programs can lead to.

Section 22-3 of the Education Act's (2006) regulations states that students are entitled to:

> Updated information on education paths in Norway and other countries; updated information on occupational areas and the local, national and international labour market; training to find and navigate through information sources, use of guidance tools and information on application deadlines, admission conditions and funding schemes.

These objectives are reflected in the competence criteria for educational and vocational counsellors (Directorate of Education, 2009, p. 5), and include:

> Possess a good knowledge of the Norwegian educational system and of the education systems of other countries; have a good knowledge of education opportunities in Norway and in other countries, including application

deadlines, admission conditions, funding methods and required professional combinations, have a good knowledge of working life and the national and international labour market.

DISCUSSION

I will now discuss the underlying patterns that inform the articulation of good career guidance in the above paragraphs, using Sultana's (2014) three-discourse typology.

A major trend towards considering the student as an active citizen, with the power and authority to influence and be responsible for his or her career-related decisions, was my first observation of the underlying patterns. Previous research into practitioners' understandings of their role has also highlighted respect for students' autonomy. Buland, Mathiesen and Mordal (2014) write that:

> Most counsellors are very conscious of their responsibility to facilitate a positive learning process for the student, to help the pupil to help him or herself, and to not make decisions on the student's behalf. Counsellors in discussions with students have often sought to encourage students to think for themselves and make their own decisions rather than the counsellor 'choosing for them'. (p. 189)

The emphasis on the importance of active citizenship aligns with the hermeneutic discourse in Sultana's typology (2014). The underlying understanding in the articulations of good guidance is, furthermore, close to Sultana's description of one who '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' (p. 16). In the context of career guidance, Sultana states that 'The personal growth and fulfilment of the individual are considered to be paramount, with every effort being made to support the self-discovery and flourishing of capacities and aspirations' (Sultana, 2018b, p. 103).

Guichard (2001) elaborates further on the origin of this understanding, and explains the individual orientation in career guidance in Western industrialised countries as an ideological framework that recognises and appreciates the development of the self in open, flexible societies. The freedom to pursue one's own goals is an important value in societies that are based on such an ideology. Every individual is considered to be a responsible autonomous person, who is able to make independent choices. Self-reflection and self-construction are, therefore, important goals. Such an ideological framework and theoretical perspective on society and society's structures can be seen to be liquid.

A spokesperson for such an understanding of reality is Bauman (2006). He describes contemporary social structure as being a liquid modernity. He views today's society as being characterised by the resolution, decomposition and disassembly

of the social forms, traditions and structures that previously restricted individual freedom of choice. According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), such a social structure requires the following:

Individuals must be able to plan in the long run and adapt to the circumstances, they must organize and improvise, set goals, identify obstacles, find themselves in defeat and try new beginnings. They need initiative, stamina, flexibility and frustration tolerance. (p. 17)

Andrews (2011) associates this understanding of the aim of career guidance as being 'learning for a career'. He writes,

This targets the development of skills for planning and managing one's career. (p. 130)

Another important theoretical point of departure for an individualistic focus and grounding force in the articulation of good career guidance, is found in the person-centred approach associated with Carl Rogers (1961). The person-centred approach assumes that:

man by nature will develop or act in the most positive, constructive, creative, and pro-social direction possible under the given circumstances and conditions. (Sommerbeck, 2002, p. 2)

Rogers' (1961) starting point is that the best conditions for personal growth are provided where the student is considered to be the expert on their own life. The student should therefore play the leading role in his or her own decision process.

Savickas (2015) provides yet another theoretical lens. He argues that the objectives of career guidance are oriented towards adaptation (between individuals and occupational and vocational opportunities), competence development and meaning making. My interpretation is that the empirical findings of my investigation show a tendency towards seeing competence development as a primary objective.

The goal of developing competence can relate to both personal and social needs (Watts, 1999). The Norwegian Career Guidance Committee's statement calls for the political intention that career guidance should address the needs of both the individual and society (NOU, 2016, p. 7):

Socially, because the state has an interest in education and work guidance – a well-informed population makes better and better-informed decisions. Personal, because guidance is focused on the individual and the individual's way through life. (p. 22)

Watts (1999), however, argues for a turn towards guidance being seen as a tool that society can use to ensure it has the future skilled workforce it requires. Bengtsson (2016) continues this argument by claiming that the increasing interest in career guidance can be largely explained by career guidance being linked to the so-called

Lisbon Agreement (European Council, 2000, p. 3). Kjærgård (2012) argues that career guidance in our contemporary age can be seen to be a part of a competence-based discourse. This aligns with the technocratic discourse in Sultana's typology (2014), which Sultana refers to as one of the dominant discourses in career guidance. Here, 'the main concern is to ensure a smoother relationship between supply and demand of skills for the benefit of the economy. The role of the career guidance consultant is to help individuals identify their skills profile and to match this as closely as possible with the (presumed) needs of the labour market' (Sultana, 2018b, p. 102).

The ideal of free choice as a prominent assumption is challenged by Gidden's (1998) perspective of a new social contract between the individual and society, based on the principle of 'no rights without obligations'. Recipients of social benefits must use them responsibly and give something back to society. This thinking is present in the empirical data. Formulations emphasise the central starting point of student wishes and needs, but also that the student must be able to see his or her choices in the light of the consequences these will have for society. I phrase this as an understanding of freedom within the framework of learning objectives. Society determines the competencies it believes it requires and individuals need to become a part of and contribute to this framework of requirement.

Kjærgård (Chapter 6, this volume) argues for the existence of a counter-discourse, particularly against the technocratic discourses evident in the current Norwegian field of career guidance. This argumentation builds on Sultana (2014) who states:

> … 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. (p. 19)

Roberts (2005) argues that the ideal of an individual's freedom of self-determination in the Western world has led to the exclusion from the current discourse, of empirical studies that show that class backgrounds, gender and ethnicity still have a significant impact on students' actual career choices.

Sultana's third discourse, the emancipatory, urges us to an increased awareness of these structural forces and through this be 'amenable to action that expands our possibilities for self-expression and self-fulfilment' (Hooley, Sultana, & Thomsen, 2018, p. 32). The emancipatory is, in contrast to the previous two discourses, committed to questioning the status quo rather than to encouraging people to fit in (Sultana, 2018b).

Sentences such as 'Guidance should help to prevent social inequalities, prevent dropout and integrate ethnic minorities' (Educational Act, 200) are found in the

articulations of good guidance presented in this chapter. However, the emancipatory discourse is the least prominent. That said, it is interesting to see that the preliminary version of the national lifelong quality framework for career guidance (Haug et al., 2019) carries an emancipatory 'touch'. The values that are outlined as underpinning this framework emphasise the idea that career guidance should help to promote equality and social justice. The most prominent example of this being found in the section on career competences. It is stated in a new definition suggested for the project, that career competence 'includes the insight that individuals are formed by their living conditions and actions, but that they can also influence and shape their own future and that of their community' (Haug et al., 2019, p. 45).

CONCLUSION

I began this chapter by stating that defining good career guidance is a complex and contested task. Different understandings of quality might oppose each other, and the judgement of quality is always characterised to some degree by uncertainty. Understandings of career guidance might change over time and differ between contexts. By comparing the definitions of good guidance found in Norway with the three-discourse typology of Sultana (2014), I have shown how the current situation in a Norwegian schools is primarily informed by a technocratic and hermeneutic discourse. The emancipatory discourse is present both in current articulations, and in particular in the suggested future direction set out in the newly proposed quality framework.

Hughes (2013) advocates a clear vision for future career guidance in schools in England. At a seminar at the 2018 IAEVG conference the experience of the Nordic countries was explored. The main challenge was said, in the seminar, to be the lack of a common language for good career guidance. I have advocated that this clarity or shared language should encompass a multifaceted, open and reflective approach to career planning for adolescents. Several discourses with different underlying assumptions are in play. If the multifaceted nature of quality is ignored there is a danger of unconsciously ending up either with only the voice of one position (e.g. policy or users) or at the other end of the scale, trying to encompass 'all' positions and ending up with a diffuse and imprecise approach. My approach coincides with the concept of positive relativism proposed by Sultana (2018a). Positive relativism:

> recognises and respects differences, and is committed to the notion of 'reasonable accommodation', but in a context that reaches consensus around core civic values and communal norms that serve as the basis of collective life. (p. 9)

The goal has to be to provide a basis for mutual understanding of different positions on the quality of career guidance in planning, implementation and assessment. So moving from good to better.

NOTE

1   All non-English quotes in the chapter are translated into English by the author and edited by a language specialist.

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BO KLINDT POULSEN AND TROND BULAND

15. COME TOGETHER

*Professional Development of Career Guidance Practitioners through
Co-Generative Learning*

ABSTRACT

Movements in international career guidance research have been calling for the
advance of more qualitative and collaborative research in career guidance. This
chapter argues that such a development can take inspiration from the Nordic tradition
of participatory action research. As a starting point, the chapter presents Norwegian
theory on co-generative learning, a central concept of participatory action research.
Based on two cases from a Danish action research and development project in career
guidance that applied the Swedish action research method of research circles, the
chapter discusses how collaborative research processes can facilitate professional
learning and development.

INTRODUCTION

In the Nordic countries, participatory action research has played a prominent role
in many areas of professional research and development (Pålshaugen, 2014). Often
initiated and funded through a cooperation between employers' organisations and
labour unions, a considerable body of new knowledge concerning professions and
practice in the welfare state has developed through action research in the last 40 years
(Gunnarson, Hansen, Nielsen, & Sriskandarajah, 2016; Pålshaugen, 2014). In this
chapter, we discuss how a central concept from the tradition of action research, co-
generative learning, can challenge and develop professional knowledge and practice
in career guidance and can set the scene for more collaborative relations between
career guidance research and practice where professional learning is facilitated. Co-
generative learning is, in this context, understood as a working relationship between
research and practice, where, broadly speaking 'insiders [i.e. professionals] become
more theoretical about their practice and outsiders [i.e. researchers] more practical
about their theory' (Elden & Levin, 1991, p. 130).

In order to show how this tradition works with co-generative learning and thus
inspire more collaborative research in career guidance internationally, we analyse
two action research cases from Denmark to explore how professional learning is
facilitated. These cases have adopted a Swedish-developed action research method,

namely the research circle (Poulsen, Thomsen, Buhl, & Hagmayer, 2016). We explore this using the lens of (primarily) Norwegian theory on organisational and professional learning. However, before this, we begin by further developing the question of collaborative research in career guidance and how the Nordic experiences could prove to be an inspiration to this agenda. Following this, we explore the central concepts of co-generative learning and research circles, before presenting the cases, the analysis and the discussion.

ACTION RESEARCH, DEMOCRACY AND CO-GENERATIVE LEARNING

On the basis of a content analysis of articles in 11 journals that focus on career, vocational and work-related issues, Stead et al. (2012) call for more qualitative research in career guidance internationally. According to Stead et al., a central benefit of increasing qualitative research is the potential for posing other types of research questions and of including the experiences and voices of people in research.

The need to include people's voices, experiences and perceptions of career guidance through qualitative research is also discussed by Weber et al. (2018) in their proposal for a European research agenda on career guidance. This is linked to the need for developing 'research activities, which might strongly support the development of innovative career interventions and career support systems today and in the near future' (Weber et al., 2018, p. 4). For the authors, one way of securing this development is through more collaborative research between academics and career practitioners, thus emphasising the need to create spaces that encompass the voices of researchers, guidance practitioners and users (Weber et al., 2018, p. 18).

Following these calls, we argue that inspiration and experience for the development of more qualitative and participatory career guidance research and development can be found in the Nordic tradition.

Participatory action research is inspired by Lewin and the way he 'saw an inner relation between furthering a democratic culture, combating inequality and injustice and the blossoming of ideas, renewals and societal richness. And he found that research and science should be situated within such a horizon' (Gunnarson et al., 2016, p. 1). However, whereas action research in the United States primarily developed in management studies and, according to Levin (1999) receded somewhat from Lewin's agenda of democratisation by primarily focusing on the question of change within (private) companies, in the Nordic countries, participatory action research maintained and developed the democratic agenda put forward by Lewin (Levin, 1999; Gunnarson et al., 2016; Pålshaugen, 2014).

Both Pålshaugen (2014) and Gunnarson et al. (2016) emphasise that a special feature with Nordic participatory action research is the interweaving of participatory action research and the Nordic labour market model based on negotiations between trade unions and employers' associations. Much of the development of participatory

action research has been funded by the two sides of industry, thus legitimising the action research focus on democratisation and work-life changes.

The cases discussed later in this chapter derive from an action research project jointly funded by Local Government Denmark, the municipal employer's organisation, and the Danish Teachers' Union. In this way, a democratically legitimate agenda of change in the practice of teachers and career guidance professionals was the cornerstone of the action research process.

Co-Generative Learning

The concept of co-generative learning describes how different participants are brought actively into a development process in organisations (Elden & Levin, 1991). In this chapter, we borrow the concept from Norwegian researchers such as Elden, Levin, and Klev. According to Carlsen, Klev, and von Krogh (2004, p. 11): 'Co-generative learning is a process with reflection before, in and on continuous action. Ideally researchers and practitioners participate as equals in all phases of the experimental learning process'. Elden and Levin (1991, p. 34) argue that co-generative dialogue and learning occurs when 'insiders and outsiders operate out of their initial frames of reference but communicate at a level where frames can be changed and new frames generated'.

The concept focuses on how 'insiders'; those actively involved in work in a firm or organisation or system, and 'outsiders'; experts/academics/active stakeholders in the activity but not themselves part of the system, use different frameworks to understand the given system. They see things differently, and they bring different forms of knowledge into a development process. In the words of Elden and Levin (1991, p. 132): 'Richness and quality of the research depends on the ability of the insiders and outsiders to play their different frameworks and expertise against each other to create a new, third explanatory framework'.

Development based on co-generative learning will go beyond traditional categories of top down or bottom up in the development of organisations. Instead, insiders and outsiders are entering into processes based on active participation. Across borders between organisations and systems, various external experts or stakeholders, and the internal 'owners' of a problem, can jointly participate in a mutual process of the construction of knowledge. In this chapter, however, we only focus on career guidance researchers as 'outsiders'. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in the process of constructing new knowledge, 'outsiders' could also be other stakeholders in career guidance, for instance local companies, parents, etc. Moreover, to make the mutual construction of knowledge possible, it is necessary to develop the arenas for a common formulation of the problems to be solved, along with common spaces for communication, reflexion and learning. This can result in new tools and methods being brought into play. These tools and methods can be jointly evaluated and new developments can, at this point, result from this.

In the words of Klev and Levin (2016a, p. 71), 'Basically, change is planned, but planning does not mean management and control of pre-programmed results. In our understanding, planning actually means the organization of processes for learning and development'.

RESEARCH CIRCLES – A CO-GENERATIVE METHOD

One professional space with the potential for creating co-generative learning processes is the research circle. The two Danish cases presented in the following section are based on a research and development project grounded in research circles. Research circles are founded in participatory action research (Persson, 2009; Poulsen, Skovhus, & Thomsen, 2018; Hecksher, Thomsen, & Nordentoft, 2014).

Research circles emerged in Swedish universities in the 1970s as a way of developing and exchanging knowledge among labour market researchers and trade union representatives. The aim of such a relationship between researchers and practitioners, where no one form of knowledge was preferred or valued over another, was to bring about real societal change (Persson, 2009). The research circle concept aims to 'promote participation in the development of schools and universities by teachers seeking to resolve a problem which they themselves formulate' (Persson, 2009, p. 10).

Ideally, a research circle consists of approximately 5–8 members and a circle leader. Even though the leader has the overall responsibility for the common research process and is often a researcher him- or herself, all members of the circle share the responsibility for the process and the creation of new knowledge (Hecksher et al., 2014; Persson, 2009). It is in the interplay between different forms of knowledge – the practical experience of the professionals and the theoretical knowledge of the researchers – that the research circle supports the generation of new knowledge and new perspectives on different problems. The work in the research circle is built upon dialogue, communication and that the different competences of the participants are used actively and are expressed.

Thus, research circles can be seen as spaces for reflection on actions (Persson, 2009; Poulsen et al., 2018) that offer time and space to the participants to investigate their own practice. However, it is important that a research circle also produces knowledge that reaches beyond the participants. The production of knowledge is a joint process where each participant contributes with findings and data from his/her own practice, and everybody plays a part in the interpretation, understanding, and explanation. Hence, the participants become co-researchers and researchers in their own practice. The produced knowledge creates a new understanding of the problems that the research circle investigates, and 'creates in that way also a potential for new possible actions' (Hecksher et al., 2014, p. 4; Persson, 2009).

The question of such learning processes in research circles is the central focus of our analysis and discussion of the two following cases. The cases are derived from

a Danish participatory action research project on career learning in the final years of compulsory school. The cases represent two examples of relatively successful collaboration between research and practice in both professional and organisational development and learning. However, we would first like to add some words about the context of the cases – the status of career guidance and career education in Danish schools – and how the cases were collected.

CAREER GUIDANCE IN DANISH SCHOOLS

In Denmark, career guidance in schools is changing, a transformation driven by both political reforms and new perspectives on the role of the career guidance professional and career guidance (see Jensen, Chapter 8, this volume). Recent reforms of comprehensive school (Folkeskoleloven [Law on comprehensive school], 2017) and of career guidance (Kommunal indsats for unge under 25 [Municipal effort for young people under 25], 2018) have emphasised the roles and responsibilities of the teachers and of curricular subjects on career and career education in school. This created strong political expectations for closer cooperation between career guidance, schools, parents, local companies, upper secondary schools, etc.

However, the expertise in careers and career guidance among teachers is, broadly speaking, extremely limited. It is not an integrated part of teachers' education, nor has it been the focus of professional development for teachers for many years (Poulsen et al., 2016). This is not a unique feature in the Danish school system, as similar developments are taking place in Norway (NOU 2016:7, 2016; Haug, 2017), and in Sweden (Lovén, 2015; Lovén, Chapter 7, this volume; Sveriges Riksdag, 2018).

Traditionally, a distinction between career guidance and career education in school has been accentuated both theoretically and in practice. However, as Skovhus (2018, p. 70, our translation) puts it: 'The borders between career education and career guidance are in practice indistinct and can even be very fluid and overlapping'. Career guidance in Danish schools originates from the pedagogical sphere, where teachers and not vocational psychologists delivered both career education and career guidance (Plant, 2009). Today, the most common professional background for youth guidance counsellors in Denmark is also teaching. Thus, career guidance is seen as much as (or even as more of) a pedagogical project as (than) a psychological project (Løve, 2009). Broadly speaking, this is the case in all of the Nordic countries (Euroguidance, 2018).

Moreover, the fact that learning approaches in career education and guidance have been prevalent in the last few years in both career guidance practice and research in many Nordic countries merely stresses the notion that Nordic career guidance is based in a pedagogical paradigm (Skovhus, 2018; Haug, 2017; Poulsen et al., 2016; Lovén, 2015).

Insights and Outlooks – A Participatory Action Research and Development Project

Given the many developments in career guidance, Local Government Denmark and the Danish Teachers' Union initiated a skills upgrade through a participatory action research and development project entitled 'Insights and Outlooks. Career learning in the final years of compulsory school'. The focus of the project was how students in the final years of compulsory school (grades 7 to 9; ages 13 to 16) could obtain more knowledge about and experience with vocational education and training, upper secondary schools, occupations and the labour market through experience-based learning.

The goal was to have teachers and career guidance professionals in compulsory school work together with VET schools, upper secondary schools, local business and other players in order to get the students to both experience and sense different educational and vocational opportunities. Moreover, it was to encourage them to systematically reflect upon these experiences in connection with the subjects in school and the students' insights about themselves (Poulsen et al., 2016).

The overall project consisted of 13 local projects from across Denmark. The common denominator for all the projects was career learning theory that defined the process of making qualified choices as a matter of learning (Law, 1999). To support the teachers' and career guidance professionals' work in the project, two representatives from each local project participated in a research circle together with representatives from 3–4 other local projects. Three research circles were formed, each led by an experienced researcher. The research circles operated in parallel with the local projects during the project period of one and a half years.

The purpose of the research circles was to assist the local projects to maintain a focus on career learning theory. They were a collaboration between research and practice which explored and discussed both theory and practice through examining empirical observations and data from the projects. This could entail aspects that were surprising, challenging, problematic, especially successful, etc. The goal was, through a collaborative exploration of these practices, to create new knowledge about how to widen and qualify students' reflections on education and working life and themselves, thus widening the students' perspectives on possible future careers.

Compiling the Cases

The two cases are based on interviews with research circle participants, 'black box' interviews (where research circle participants 'interviewed' themselves in front of a camera, reflecting on three questions posed by the researchers, with the researcher not present) and reports and evaluations from the two projects. These data have been compiled into two cases by one of the researchers in the project, who is also one of the authors of this article. For more insight into the research process, see Poulsen et al. (2016).

CASES

Case 1: The Southwest School

As a part of the project 'Insights and Outlooks – career learning in the final years of compulsory school', the Southwest School has been working with an annual project week for grades 7, 8 and 9, where the classes took place at VET schools, and where the classes visited companies and worked with reflections on the experiences. Simultaneously, the project activities were followed and discussed in research circles together with representatives from four other project schools and a researcher.

At the end of the work in the research circles, the representative from the Southwest School expressed that her participation in the research circle had been decisive for her understanding of career learning theory. She indicated that the next important step was to make sure that the local project moves from having been her project to the project of all her teacher colleagues – that they together would be able to create a common understanding of concepts and activities. She also pointed out that, right from the first circle meeting onwards she and her colleagues have felt a great deal of optimism when they returned from the circle meetings, because they believe that seeing the very different projects in which they are involved and receiving some input is really exciting and helps to see the matter in another light, so that they do not give up.

When re-interviewing the participant 18 months later, she reported that an annual project week had been incorporated at the school as a regularly occurring event to which the teachers gave a positive reaction. All the planning and preparation of the week are placed with the former research circle participants – the other teachers take no part in it. It appears from the interview that the teachers, indeed the whole school, have completely changed their views on the career learning efforts in grades 7, 8 and 9. It also appears that this change of view primarily manifests itself in the annual project week, and that not much has changed in the day-to-day work. In the interview, the former research circle participant indicates that the school is a traditional educational establishment whereby you have your classes and do not create many projects across subjects.

Case 2: The Eastern Schools

In the project 'Insights and Outlooks', three local schools – the eastern schools – worked together with local VET schools, upper secondary schools, and a large local company. At first all the teachers in grades 7, 8 and 9 and the participating teachers in VET and upper secondary school and representatives from the local company were trained in career learning theory. Following this, the schools and the company – and later the schools and the VET and upper secondary school – co-constructed a course based on school subjects and career learning theory.

At the end of the work in the research circle, representatives from the eastern schools indicated that taking part in research circles had been a good way to unite practice, theory and research, not least when there is a desire to bring research results out into the school, because then it is important that teachers have the opportunity to get close to the research. They stated that the research circle had left room for their own reflection and learning and helped them to hold on to the theories and the development of their project, not least because of the ongoing common exchange of ideas and discussion about the development of each other's projects. They further indicated that it has been helpful to create a common language based on the discussions in the research circle – a common language for all the teachers in grades 7, 8 and 9.

In a re-interview 18 months later, one of the research circle participants described how they have locally chosen to uphold a common forum of cooperation. This forum encompasses teachers from the different schools, a Youth Guidance counsellor, representatives from a local company, representatives from VET and upper secondary schools and the local education authority that meet once every second month. The meetings are based on common exchange of experience and reflection on career learning activities. According to the interviewee, the meetings are inspired by the way the research circle worked with reflection and learning. The meetings have been maintained on the initiative of the schoolteachers, who see this forum as central to retaining the focus on career learning in grades 7, 8 and 9.

ANALYSIS

Learning Processes in Co-generative Learning: From Single-Loop to Double-Loop

In the following sections, we discuss the learning perspectives in co-generative learning more thoroughly based on both theory and the two cases. As mentioned above, examination, discussion and reflection are key concepts in co-generative learning. Furthermore, if the learning process is organised as a research circle, the participants typically take empirical data with them to each meeting – data that they believe warrant further attention. In this respect, co-generative learning resembles classic action research approaches where the outcome of a situation creates surprise and cause for exploration – why did the outcome turn out this way? (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Argyris, 1995; Irgens, 2016).

Basically, this aspect of co-generative learning is similar to a process of single-loop learning, as described by Argyris and Schön (1978), Argyris (1995) as well as Brandi and Elkjær (2014) where a given mismatch between outcome and expectation in a (learning) process is tested and explored and adapted or improved so that the next action creates a match, an expected outcome. However, three conditions make the learning processes in co-generative learning more complex. (1) The 'mismatch' of the learning process is not considered a mistake that requires correction. (2) The precondition for learning is to be part of a community and to see knowledge as

something that is created together. (3) There is a presupposition of the meeting and intertwining of research knowledge and practice to create a new, third local theory that develops both research and practice. In the following section we will explore these three conditions more thoroughly.

Firstly, the notion of 'mismatch' is not viewed as a mistake. Perhaps it shows new perspectives and new understandings. Moreover, the exploration of the mismatch enables the professionals to not only understand the concrete mismatch, but also to understand why a mismatch occurred between our expectations and imaginations and what really happened. This means the ability to question our imaginations and reflect on whether the conditions for our professional actions might be understood in a different way. Thus, the learning process becomes a double-loop learning where we question our assumptions, values and convictions (Argyris, 1995).

In the research circle as the frame for co-generative learning, the work with and the provocation of 'trouble' or 'disorder' (Irgens, 2016, p. 166, our translation) is systemised. The trouble or disorder in the career-learning practice of each of the participants is sought by asking the question, 'What has surprised me in this empirical data that I have brought to the research circle?'. The starting point for the qualification of the participants' work and the development of their knowledge is, in other words, in practice; although the research and theory dimensions are also important, and we will return to this shortly, it is experience in and from practice, which drives co-generative learning.

Communities as Basis for Co-Generative Learning

Secondly, when talking about the complexity of the learning process in co-generative learning, an insight into the potential of a mismatch based on double-loop learning is difficult to reach in an individual learning process (Argyris, 1995). This shows one of the potentials of co-generative learning – the involvement of the other participants in a co-generative process in the exploration of and reflection on the practice problems that the community chooses to discuss. Moreover, in research circles, a fundamental assumption is that it is precisely the community, the reflections, challenges and co-research of the other participants in the circle, that contribute to learning and changes in practice (Persson, 2009; Thomsen, Skovhus, & Buhl, 2017; Poulsen et al., 2018).

The research circle participants from the two cases point to this potential for the development of their individual projects and learning when they discussed the significance of their involvement in the research circles. In addition, the research circle participant from the Southwest School touched upon the significance of the community in developing the skills to question basic assumptions. This research circle participant does not see the 'interruption' from the challenging of basic assumptions by the other participants in the circle as troublesome or difficult, but instead considers it as something that provides her with encouragement and inspiration. To this research circle participant, an experience of empowerment accompanies the

challenging of basic assumptions. In this manner, the research circle emerges as a real community of co-generative learning that supports (concrete) action in practice.

To Argyris (1995, p. 26) 'the individual [is] key to organisational learning because it is the thinking and acting of individual practitioners that produces learning. This, in turn, means that keys to learning are the reasoning processes that human beings use to design, invent, produce, and evaluate their actions'.

From the experiences of the work within research circles described in the two cases (and in other research on co-generative learning such as Klev & Levin, 2016a, 2016b; Elden & Levin, 1991, and in research into the research circle method, such as Poulsen et al., 2018; Thomsen, Skovhus, & Buhl, 2017), we find cause for questioning this understanding of the individual as the key to organisational learning. Or at least we could substantially add to this understanding with an understanding of the dynamics between individual and community in the production of learning – a dynamic that it is meaningless to separate.

Gherardi (2011, pp. 43, 45) explains that knowledge is 'something that people do together. Knowing and doing are therefore inextricably entangled' and that 'knowledge is […] social, and it is assembled knowledge. The social interaction of actors is a crucial element in understanding the acts of meaning production by knowledgeable subjects …'.

The common process of the development and challenging of knowledge in co-generative learning is exactly this: a process. And the knowledge that is created has to be understood processually, just like the status of this knowledge in relation to the organisations involved in co-generative learning must be understood processually. The concept of co-generative learning transcends notions of transfer and implementation, understood as transferring (or implementing) something from one place to another. The co-generative process is not about taking something produced in one place, for instance in research, and carrying it into another practice. Rather, in co-generative learning new knowledge is produced in the relation between research and practice; knowledge that ideally is new to everybody. Both the knowledge of 'insiders' (practice) and 'outsiders' (research) are developed or recreated and emerge as new knowledge that would not appear without this meeting between knowledge forms (Elden & Levin, 1999; Klev & Levin, 2016b).

In the cases, the knowledge of the research circles is produced in a field of tension between practical experience from different local organisations (the participating schools, companies, guidance centres, etc.), the context and the conditions for these practices, and the common creation of meaning from these practices in a continuum between the theories and research that are presented and discussed at the circle meetings and the joint reflections on and challenges of basic assumptions from the participants in the circle.

Obviously, a research circle specifically, and processes of co-generative learning generally, consist of individual professionals, but in an understanding of practice as completely embedded in communities, and in an understanding of communities as conditions for the creation of meaning, knowledge production, knowledge

acquisition, and communities are impossible to separate (Gherardi, 2011; Brandi & Elkjær, 2014).

The Role of Theorising in Co-Generative Learning

The third factor that indicates that the learning processes in co-generative learning are more complex than single-loop learning is the role of theories and research in co-generative learning. If we once again return to the research circles in the cases, the theories that formed the basis for the work and reflection in the research circles were career-learning theories (Law, 1999).

Even though the research circle participants point to the development of ideas and reflection on practice together with others as especially profitable to them, Ertsas and Irgens (2016) indicate that professional development only based on reflection on practice experience of oneself and one's peers is likely to lack critical perspectives. Moreover, it can be considered that it will have difficulties in challenging the basic assumptions of the professionals – the gesture that characterises double-loop learning (Ertsas & Irgens, 2016; Scribner, Cockrell, Cockrell, & Valentine, 1999; Collinson, Cook, & Conley, 2006). By introducing general theory and research, however, it is possible to supply a third perspective to reflections on profession and practice.

On the other hand, the risk of depending solely on a theoretical perspective in reflecting on professional practice is that relevant experiences from practice are not voiced and are subordinated to the assertions of theory. Ertsas and Irgens (2016) seek to overcome this challenge by recognising both general theory and practice experience as expressions of different degrees of theorisation, called T3 and T1 respectively. Conceived as a continuum and not a hierarchy, T1 is seen as 'non-articulated theory that comes into play in the practitioner and which comes into view through action'. T3 is the 'theoretician's theory' with a 'reflective function'. Between T3 and T1, they place a meso level, T2, 'T2 is a teacher's, or a group of teachers', attempted articulation of the theory that is embedded in her/his practice, T1' (Ertsas & Irgens, 2016, pp. 335–337).

If T2 is compared with Argyris' notion of 'theories of action' – the theories and concepts that an organisation claims it bases their work on – and T1 with the notion of 'theories-in-use' – the often unspoken imaginations and concepts that actually rule our actions in practice and which can be deduced from practice (Argyris, 1995), the risk that a movement that only takes place between T1 and T2 is primarily in the nature of single-loop learning is quite clear. With the introduction of T3 as a third place to stand, T1 and T2 are supplied with a starting point for looking at critically and exploring basic assumptions in practice. At the same time, the reflective movement cannot be subordinated to the general assertions of the theories; the general theories of T3 also have to be accessible for feedback and perspectives from the domain of experience from practice in T1.

In the two cases, the participation in a co-generative learning process through the research circle seems to have supported this dual movement between T1 and T3 and

to have created a strong foundation for the development of professionals, for the creation of a much stronger and well-established T2. Both individuals in the cases talk about the relation between career-learning theory and practice in the work of the circles as critical to the development of their local projects and to the development of their own competence in career-learning. With Ertsas and Irgens (2016), however, it is important to stress that these processes do not come into being by themselves or by having formal structures. Instead, you have to prioritise including both the reflective practice perspective and reflections on general theory.

In this way, co-generative learning processes have the potential to become rooms for professional theorising and thereby illustrate Ertsas' and Irgens' (2016) point, namely that theory and practice in professional learning must be understood as a continuous interaction between different degrees of theorisation. Moreover, it could show that the work on theorisation in the movement between T1, T2 and T3 really is professional development. Or, as Ertsas and Irgens (2016, pp. 339–340) propose, 'teachers must be challenged to formulate their theories by means of T3 as well as T1, thus developing the ability to theorize by drawing on relevant generic knowledge related to the profession, as well as on their own practical experiences'.

According to Elder and Levin (1991), co-generative learning *is* the creation of a standpoint that benefits from both general theories and practical learning. The process of co-generative learning takes place when 'insiders become more theoretical about their practice and outsiders more practical about their theory' (p. 130). Thus, the process of co-generative learning focuses, as with Ertsas and Irgens, on connecting the frameworks of practitioners (insiders) and researchers (outsiders) to a third, shared framework. This framework can be understood as a local theory (or with Ertsas and Irgens' 'professional theorising') for change and learning in practice.

DISCUSSION

Co-Generative Learning and Organisational Change

However, it is worth questioning whether this development of an understanding of profession through a co-generative learning arena ends in being privatised within the individual participants in the research circles and their own practice. Alternatively, it should be considered if this potential double-loop learning also makes an impression more broadly in the participants' organisations in the long term. As Irgens (2016, p. 164, our translation) puts it: 'Organisational learning leads to the knowledge resulting from learning becoming independent of the individuals who originally learned, it does something with the organisation. Something happens with collective response patterns, common forms of understanding and organisational memory that enable the organisation to handle challenges in new and hopefully better ways'.

The two cases point in different directions concerning a durable organisational change in creating an enhanced connection between school subjects and the world of work. In the first case, the former research circle participant seems to be the only

professional who deals with this question. Admittedly, the interviewee in the case points out that the school's approach to working with career-learning has changed, but it seems primarily to be in the shape that Argyris calls 'theories of action', that is not really connected with 'theories-in-use'. As it is, all other teachers seem not to have changed their practice.

It looks quite different at the school in the second case. Here, they have decided to follow the project with classes in career-learning for all teachers through the use of an external expert. They have appointed a career-learning consultant that schools and teachers can use as a point of reference when they are in doubt or need help to create career-learning activities. Moreover, they have created a forum for cooperation on career-learning across institutions and professions with teachers as drivers that meet regularly, mirroring the working method of the research circle, inviting representatives from VET schools and upper secondary schools, career counsellors, representatives from local companies and the local education authorities to join the common reflections on career-learning practice, informed by relevant theory.

Collinson, Cook, and Conley (2006) point to six variables that seem to support organisational learning, and components such as prioritising learning for all members of the organisation, sharing and exchanging knowledge and experience, creating an explorative and reflective culture and creating good communities, relations and networks are highlighted as central. These are all components that are prioritised at the eastern schools.

The cases show that development through co-generative learning processes do not inherently guarantee organisational learning and organisational change. The research circles support the professional development of the participants to a high degree, and create a foundation for continuous reflection and double-loop learning among the participants, and thereby enhance the competences in relation to career-learning activities in school.

However, the translation and dissemination of this competence enhancement into learning for the entire organisation demands more than the concrete work in the research circles. The outcome of the cases seems to confirm the necessity of systematic and fine-meshed work that supports sharing, exchanging and reflecting on practice together and the exploration of one's own assumptions and those of the organisation. A central point could be to explore and carry out experiments on how this perspective could, to a greater extent, be part of co-generative learning processes. This is not least because the potential for this connection between professional development through co-generative learning and organisational learning seems to be present. In continuation of discussions of organisational cultures, it could be asked whether organisational changes take place through knowledge/education or experience from practice (Irgens, 2016).

Co-generative learning processes through research circles insist on both; to see the acquisition of knowledge and practical experience as two sides of the same coin. It is through the acquisition of knowledge in the work with career-learning theories in the research circle that the professional understanding of the participants

regarding career-learning changes for the professionals in the cases. Moreover, it is as ambassadors for this change that the participants ideally work in their own organisation by creating practical experiences that can convince the rest of the organisation to make changes.

In the first part of the chapter, we described how participatory action research has played a large role in developing the public and private sector in the Nordic countries. In many ways, this Danish project on career-learning serves as a good example of this, in that the objective of the project was legitimised democratically through the owners of the project: the municipal employer's organisation and the teachers' union. In this way, the project illustrates a particularly Nordic way of democratically driving the development of practice. However, the project also shows a potential challenge when working with participatory action research: that the democratic involvement of practitioners (or citizens or other actors) must not be limited to the research circle process. To avoid traditional top-down implementation of otherwise democratic and inclusive research and development projects, such projects must be firmly rooted in similar democratic and inclusive co-generative structures in the organisation. Thus, a consequence of the Nordic tradition for participatory action research has to be that research circles do not become a limited and specialised field of development, but must be part of a more general process of democratisation. It is in such processes that the organisational learning potentials of participatory action research are really evoked.

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PART 3

CAREER GUIDANCE PRACTICE ACROSS THE LIFECOURSE

SIRI MORDAL, TROND BULAND AND IDA HOLTH MATHIESEN

16. CAREER GUIDANCE IN NORWEGIAN PRIMARY EDUCATION

Developing the Power of Dreams and the Power of Judgement

ABSTRACT

This chapter presents the findings from an exploratory study of career guidance and career learning in primary schools in Norway. Most primary schools in Norway do not have strategies and policies for career guidance, and career learning is largely unknown as a concept. Nevertheless, they sometimes "unknowingly" engage in such activities. Many schools, in fact, implement several relevant initiatives to children's career exploration as part of, or outside of, formal curricula/subjects. The challenge is to develop such unintentional career learning into intentional career learning. This does not have to be a radical change in schools. Primarily, it is a question of awareness of career learning and recognition that the same activity or subject can have two effects.

INTRODUCTION

In the context of Norwegian schools, career guidance is situated within lower and upper secondary schools' activities (Mordal, Buland, & Mathiesen, 2018; Buland et al., 2011). However, one can argue that this is too narrow an understanding, and that career guidance is relevant in different ways throughout the entire educational system. Section 22 of the Education Act (2014) states that pupils have the right to receive career guidance, and that the service should be available to pupils at their individual schools throughout primary and secondary education and training.

Career guidance in the educational system aims to raise awareness and support pupils in choosing an education and future vocation. In addition, career guidance contributes to the students' development of the career competences that they will utilise throughout life (Neary, Dodd, & Hooley, 2015). Based on relevant public documents on schooling and education in Norway, this type of guidance does not seem to be a priority either for primary schools (levels 1–7, with a span of 6–13 years of age) or for the policy makers and administrators (see, for example, Official Norwegian Report, 2003; "Kultur for læring", 2003–2004; Buland et al., 2011; Mordal et al., 2018).

The statement in the Official Norwegian Report (NOU) (2003:16), called 'First and foremost. Higher quality in compulsory education for all', only refers to career guidance in lower and higher secondary schools. The Education Act (2014) states that guidance should take place as a continuous process starting in lower secondary school. Although this is the only place that the law mentions grade levels, it is not explicitly stated that this is not relevant for primary schools. In practice, career guidance in Norway starts in lower secondary school, in the 8th grade (Buland et al., 2011). For this reason, in the absence of specifications, and based on an understanding of career guidance as being concerned solely with the pupils' choice of upper secondary school and higher education, when asked about activities related to career guidance or career learning, primary schools tend to answer that no such activities are taking place (Mordal et al., 2018). We find that the Nordic countries have some similarities with regard to career guidance and primary school (Euroguidance Sweden, 2015; Euroguidance, 2011; Skovhus, 2018). The law does not specify that career guidance is reserved for secondary schools; however, in practice, this activity is reserved for lower and higher secondary school students, and is aimed, to a degree, at supporting the educational decisions that young people face at that time (Euroguidance Sweden, 2015; Euroguidance, 2011; Skovhus, 2018).

Over the years, relatively little research has focused on children (aged 0–12) and their career development. Only 3% of all articles about career development over the past 20 years have focused on children's career development (Watson, Nota, & McMahon, 2015). Hartung, Porfeli, and Vondracek (2005) concluded that the literature in the field was fragmented in terms of disciplines, age range, and context. They indicated that there was a need for a more holistic perspective on children's career development, and that a comprehensive and coherent perspective on children's career development is lacking. They also problematize the fact that most research on children and career development has focused on what children know about career and work, rather than how the children have acquired this knowledge (Watson & McMahon, 2005; Watson et al., 2015). Watson, Nota, and McMahon (2015) described possible directions for future research on children and careers and pointed out both the need to focus on younger children and the need for more closely linked research and policy design and practice development, rather than the limited focus on socioeconomic inequalities and children with disabilities. Kashefpakdel, Rehill, and Hughes (2018) underscore that there is a need for more research on career-related learning activities and programmes that have an observable, consistent and replicable impact on children.

This chapter is based on a study of career guidance in primary schools conducted on behalf of the Norwegian Directorate of Education in 2017/2018 (Mordal et al., 2018). During the project, we conducted individual qualitative interviews with representatives of school owners in six municipalities. Based on these interviews, we selected four case schools for visits. During the visits, representatives of school leadership, teachers, and pupils in 4th and 7th grade participated in separate focus group interviews. In the interviews with teachers and leaders, we asked questions

about their understanding of guidance and career guidance in primary school, how career guidance can be relevant for them, and if they had any routines or structures for career guidance or any special routines in accordance with the transition to secondary school. The students were asked what they wanted to be when they got older, if they were learning about different occupations, and if they wanted to learn more about working life. We also asked them if and with whom they talked about their future work life, if they had visited any workplaces nearby, and if they had been learning anything about life skills. We interviewed 68 people in total, 6 school owners, 11 school leaders, 14 teachers, 18 pupils in 7th grade, and 19 pupils in 4th grade.

This project has opened a window to a fairly unexplored area in Norway. Norwegian primary schools have had little awareness of the fact that career guidance is relevant for them, and the research field has largely shared this perception. We, therefore, know little about this important part of the career guidance field. We assume the reason schools did not think this was relevant to them is the common understanding of the law that career guidance is primarily oriented towards the choice of upper secondary school, and that primary school students are not yet capable of thinking about educational and career choices. Due to such beliefs, career guidance is primarily regarded as a secondary and upper secondary school matter. These facts can also explain why our recruiting process was so difficult. Many of the schools we contacted did not feel that the theme of the project pertained to them. We used the words 'counselling' and 'career counselling' instead of 'guidance' when contacting the schools, since the primary schools seemed to be even more unfamiliar with the term 'career guidance'.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF CAREER AND CAREER LEARNING

The concept of careers is often understood as a synonym for individuals climbing in a hierarchical system of occupation, thereby making a career. Both in the academic and practical fields of career guidance, traditional career theory has often emphasised the need to help pupils make the best choice amongst relatively stable and well-known alternatives (Skovhus, 2018; Haug, 2018; Mathiesen, Mordal, & Buland, 2014). This has been the dominant understanding of career guidance, which is often tied to Parsons's (1909) theory of rational choices. The theory is based on a person's accurate understanding of his or her individual traits (aptitudes, interests and personal abilities), a knowledge of jobs and the labour market, and a rational and objective judgment about the relationship between his or her individual traits and the labour market itself (qtd in Andreassen, Hovednak, & Swahn, 2008).

Today, a broader understanding of careers is slowly becoming more influential. Thomsen and Skovhus (2016) described careers, writing, 'These contexts [education, work, leisure and family] create a complexity that requires daily handling to become meaningful to the individual. This is called a career, and in this is the understanding that a career is something that all people have' (Thomsen & Skovhus, 2016,

pp. 38–39, our translation). Career competencies are also understood more broadly, as Thomsen (2014) stated: 'Career competences are skills needed to understand and develop yourself, explore life, learn and work as well as handle life, learn and work in change and transition. It is an awareness of what you do, but also what you can do. The individual is shaped by his way of life and actions whilst affecting his own future opportunities' (p. 4).

This new concept of career opens up a broader understanding of the aims and activities involved in career guidance. Decisions about education and occupation are only some of the many decisions that people must make to live their lives in the best possible way. This way of looking at careers is contributing to a gradual change in the school system, from the traditional understanding of career guidance to a greater emphasis on career learning. Career learning in Norwegian schools is slowly changing focus, and practitioners now see it more as a question of life-long learning, providing pupils with the necessary career competence to handle a series of career choices that will confront them during the rest of their lives (Mordal et al., 2018; Buland et al., 2011). The goal of career learning will, therefore, be to help the individual pupil to develop an adequate understanding of the world that can provide the base for the pupil's later transitions in life (see, for example, Law, 1996). This includes a number of different academic activities linked to providing extended knowledge of social and working life, as well as the pupil's own preferences and interests.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TALKING ABOUT CAREERS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

Children's career ambitions are an important starting point on the road to working life. Flouri, Joshi, Sullivan, and Moulton (2017) discussed the individual, family and contextual antecedents of children's aspirations. Flouri et al. (2017) described ambitions as personal goals that reflect what one wants to achieve. Generally, high ambitions are associated with positive future outcomes. Ambitions develop over time, from the imaginative to the concrete. As children become youths, they revise their ambitions based on their own skills and interests as well as on the influence from society and their parents (Flouri et al., 2017; Gottfredson, 2002, 2005). Flouri et al. (2017) concluded the discussion by saying that it is unclear if aspirations predict one's trajectories or if they simply reflect historical and societal contexts. In any case, there are important stages in the development of career ambitions that take place during the years of primary education (Gottfredson, 2002, 2005).

The most important individual difference in the nature of ambition is gender. To put it simply, girls tend to emphasise values associated with helping others, whilst boys tend to emphasise power and money. Flouri et al. (2017) found that girls tend to have "higher" aspirations and a greater motivation for school, whilst boys are more adventurous, confident in their abilities, and likely to strive for rare jobs. Girls choose between fewer jobs and are less engaged in career exploration (Hartung et al., 2005). The gender dimension is at least one of the major influences on choice,

and Mathiesen, Buland, and Bungum (2014) describe it as a democratic problem. Watts (1996) claimed that this gendering comes to full strength in puberty (p. 359). Therefore, career learning should start earlier to weaken the strong impact of gender stereotypes on young people's choices.

Parents also have a major impact on children's career ambitions. Children from homes with a low socioeconomic status often have lower ambitions in terms of education and tend to dream of less prestigious professions than those coming from families with a higher socioeconomic status (Flouri et al., 2017).

Children are in the process of orienting themselves to the world, thus they try to understand how everything works. Therefore, they will learn about career and working life regardless of what their schools and parents do. Crause, Watson, and McMahon (2017) pointed out that there are two distinct categories of career development in childhood: the conscious (formal career learning) and the unconscious (what children see and hear in their surroundings). One must see these two forms in conjunction with career theory, research, politics and practice to develop a comprehensive understanding of how career development takes place in childhood. Providing children with career learning activities can help them think about possible career preferences and how subjects are relevant for their future working lives. The advantage both for the children and for the community is a more efficient management of decisions about careers and transitions. Crause, Watson, and McMahon (2017) emphasised that if society fails to give children skills in career learning, they may not be prepared well enough to handle their future development into adolescence and adulthood. Both theory and research underline the need for conscious career exploration in childhood.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF CAREER GUIDANCE IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

At the outset, the schools we visited understood career guidance as something with relevance from the start of lower secondary school and upwards in the system. In fact, an effort was sometimes necessary to convince the school that there was any point in visiting and doing interviews on this topic. With a few exceptions, most of our sources spontaneously understood 'guidance' as career guidance and something that was, therefore, not relevant to the primary level. Nevertheless, many interviews ended with an uplifting comment, such as: 'But, we are still doing a lot, in any case'. This indicates that the schools do not necessarily define activities as "career-related", but after our discussion with them, they saw how the given activities could help the pupils gain knowledge about careers and education, as well.

All our case schools had implemented social educational guidance through social and emotional learning programs and/or through positions with social educational guidance as an area of responsibility. Roles and responsibilities in this area were relatively clear, and phenomena like bullying were obviously high on the agenda. Our sources were, as stated, more dismissive in terms of career guidance; they considered it to be of little relevance. One informant interpreted the law and regulations as

saying that this matter was something primary schools should not address; others thought that it should wait for lower secondary school. A few exceptions stated that knowledge about jobs and education was relevant, because some pupils were concerned with such topics.

Our informants in the schools unanimously told us that they had no clear focus on activities related to career guidance and that this was not emphasised in the curriculum or in extracurricular activities. One informant told us, 'Sometimes the children talk about what they want to be when they grow up, but that is not something that is generally followed up and talked about'. Some informants also stated that it would be wrong to focus on career guidance at an early age. This opinion was justified by a fear of forcing pupils into the topic of educational choice at a time when it was not necessary, causing them unnecessary stress. The following statement expresses a common sentiment among teachers on this topic:

> It is still several years before they have to make a choice of that kind. Young people must be allowed to develop this gradually and not be pressed to make a choice before they are ready.

Therefore, we needed to do some translating for the informants. During that process, many of them discovered that by teaching the pupils self-reliance, interpersonal skills, and creativity and as they used alternative learning arenas, the schools were involved in many relevant 'career guidance' activities. However, the activities were rarely seen through 'career glasses'. When we introduced a broader understanding of the concept of 'careers' together with the concept of career learning, instead of guidance focused on one singular choice of education, this opened up new understandings of their normal, ongoing activities.

Armed with this new understanding linked to the concept of 'life skills' (UNICEF, 2012), a majority of the informants emphasised the importance of teaching their pupils' skills and competences like critical and creative thinking, innovation, communication, endurance, self-esteem, participation, and cooperation. Therefore, their perspective on career learning changed from seeing it as irrelevant to seeing it as one of the most important activities in school. Many activities, both curricular and extra-curricular, thereby gained significant additional content. Many informants told stories of visiting a local bank or other businesses to gain a practical understanding of mathematics or other traditional subjects in school through the use of alternative learning arenas. During the interviews, the informants' consciousness expanded in the way that they gradually saw the same activity as an important way of giving the pupils insight into working life. They started to see the possibilities for their local environment to be used as learning arenas, not only for important curricular subjects but also for life skills and career competence. As one principal said:

> When they start here in first grade, all the children, at least all the boys, are fascinated by the local construction firm, our closest neighbour. A lot of them want to be like the guys who work there when they grow up, driving the big

machine and such. Still, in my time as principal here, we have not visited them once … I've never seen the need or possibility of using them for an arena for learning about working life and local community.

This principal clearly observed parts of the children's natural, early curiosity and career exploration (Watson & McMahon, 2017) but did not have a clear understanding of it as such. The same principal described how classes sometimes visited local shops and businesses to search for alternative learning arenas but with the sole aim of giving the pupils an understanding of the practical importance of mathematics or other school subjects. This informant clearly never understood it as career learning. Therefore, the school missed an opportunity to support the children's early career exploration (Lapan, Bobek, & Kosciulek, 2017).

HOW DO PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN NORWAY ORGANISE AND CONDUCT CAREER GUIDANCE?

Primary schools in Norway do not normally appoint career counsellors, partly because it is only at the end of lower secondary school that pupils have to make a conscious choice about further education. However, this does not mean that career guidance cannot be of interest and relevance in primary school, even if it is not understood as such. In this section, we will describe some of the relevant activities we found in our study.

In several of the school subjects, especially in social science and history, our informants saw that working life and occupation were important themes, but no one expressed that this was a central part of the curriculum. Some also said that they sometimes talked about professions as motivation in different subjects, such as how mathematics can be used in engineering, or why it is important to be good at reading and writing to get a good job. The teachers talked about these things to show that the school provides knowledge that the pupils will benefit from, and to demonstrate that they try to make the teaching relevant for the pupils and their future.

An introduction to explorations of careers and education can consist of visiting the local community. What companies and resources exist? Where do the parents work? What professions exist? All the schools had a relatively wide range of activities that linked the school and the community together. Business visits were common, and the schools used parents and other external actors in teaching. A common aspect of such measures was that they were not primarily intended as career guidance/learning but rather as activities to 'get to know the local community' or 'do something other than ordinary school'. Largely, this was about learning through an expanded educational perspective, visiting companies and entering external arenas to reach learning objectives. At the same time, our informants often saw that these activities gave the pupils insights into professions and business sectors. Reflecting on such visits, they saw that working with different companies could have an indirect career-learning effect, although the informants primarily thought of such activities as, for

example, alternative learning arenas. The pupils talked about visits to places like museums, activity centres, farms, banks, local newspapers and local businesses, but it seems that they, to a small extent, linked these activities to career learning. In the words of a 4th grader:

We visited the junkyard not long ago. There we learned a bit about batteries and where things are to be disposed and such stuff. On Thursday, we will visit the museum, and in 7th grade, we'll visit the chocolate factory and eat lots of chocolate, as a celebration before we finish school.

In the comment above it is clear that the students primary focus is the competence objectives or the social element of the excursion, and not learning about the professions or the working life. At another school, a teacher told us:

We have visited the bank for several years, and then we get a tour of the bank and they tell about the work they are doing … It's connected to the Young Enterprise Programme … they learn about accounts and the economy and things like that, and the staff at the bank talks a bit about the various tasks of the bank, and that they are working on different things. I think it's very good that the pupils get to see inside a bank.

However, the annual visit to the bank was actually about personal finance and social studies, not about working at the bank. Thus, career learning is not the focus of such visits, but, as a side effect, the children do get to see inside a real firm, so career learning is taking place.

Some of the schools actively used parents in the learning process. For example, a parent who is an engineer or geologist could visit in classes and assist the teachers in the teaching of the subject. Some of the informants explained how career learning could be a side effect of this, in the way that some of the children would ask what it was like to work in such an occupation, what did engineers or geologists do, and so on. The schools invited representatives of local businesses and organisations as well as musicians and actors to attend classes but seldom with any focus on their occupation. Other activities that the informants saw as relevant were various activities and external programmes linked to learning life skills and attempts to prepare young people for handling difficulties in life. According to several informants, knowing oneself is a central skill that schools can help develop in children. In the words of one teacher: 'Awareness of what your strengths and challenges are, that's also a form of guidance'. Some of the informants, therefore, made the connection between career learning and work connected to the assessment of the pupils and especially self-assessment.

Several schools mentioned that they participated in various external programmes aimed at developing self-awareness and competence in making good choices. These were activities that the informants linked to career learning during the interviews. A common feature for many of these activities was that they neither had a fixed system for implementation and evaluation nor a way to systemise good practice

and transfer knowledge to new teachers. To a certain extent, they were seen as a random occurrence, an event that depended on the individual teacher's initiative or an invitation from, for example, parents, businesses, or nearby farms.

INTENDED OR UNINTENDED CAREER GUIDANCE

The exploration and development of career competencies amongst children starts at an early age (Gottfredson, 2002). Young children are curious about different occupations; they play and form images of what they will be when they grow up based on the adults they observe. When they enter primary school, such career exploration has already gone on for several years (Watson & McMahon, 2017) and will continue to do so into school, regardless of how schools and teachers address it.

As we have described, a majority of primary schools in Norway do not have intended strategies and policies in this field. Career learning is, to a large degree, still an unknown concept for the main actors in primary schools. Nevertheless, they still "unknowingly" engage in such activities. In fact, many schools implement a number of initiatives as part of or outside of formal curricula/subjects, which, in various ways, are relevant for children's career explorations. There is much emphasis in the schools on developing children's abilities to make good choices in life, in addition to developing imagination, creativity, stamina, resilience and the ability to deal with difficulties in life. These are linked to the broader concept of life skills that NOU (2015:8) defined as one of the multidisciplinary topics (p. 8) but they are not always connected to career learning as such. All the schools taught pupils that they can influence their own lives in one way or another. In addition, the schools described working with entrepreneurial skills as important for raising awareness amongst pupils, as well as creating and reinforcing curiosity for different professions and educations. However, there has been less focus on career learning than life skills as an overall theme.

At the same time, most schools have a number of activities that expose pupils to working life. The use of alternative learning arenas outside the classroom is common. These activities are, to a very small extent, understood as contributing to career learning. Nonetheless, many schools still operate with a narrow concept of 'careers', as was the case with the schools in our study, who understand career guidance and learning to be concerned with specific choices of education and/or occupation, pertaining to later ages. Furthermore, the focus of these activities is often restricted to the use of external learning arenas for the teaching of school subjects. The understanding of the career-learning dimension of such visits as a systematic way of teaching pupils about working life and familiarising them with the local community and businesses is limited.

Using a concept described by Watson and McMahon (2017), one can see the difference between unintentional and intentional career learning and career development in schools. In unintentional career learning, career learning is a slightly random side effect. It is rarely systematised and used as a tool for intentional career

learning. Because of this, developing unintentional career learning activities into a more intentional process does not have to be a very big step in schools. Primarily, it is a question of consciousness, of understanding that the same activity or subject can have two effects. It is possible to teach, for example, mathematics or language, and, at the same time, contribute to the children's developing career competencies. This will give them a better base for the more goal-oriented career learning and career guidance they will encounter from the 8th grade. It is a question of developing a more systematic, methodical approach to children's natural curiosity and career exploration, as outlined by, for example, Barnes and McGowan (2017) and Lapan, Bobek, and Kosciulek (2017).

By changing the focus and wearing 'career glasses', the career part of activities can be easily enhanced, thus giving pupils in all grades a better insight into education and working life. A greater awareness of the variety that is available for them to select from, as well as a better understanding of themselves and their own preferences and choices, would be beneficial for the pupils' learning, well-being, coping, and future choices. The understanding of life skills as something that includes, in the words of Thomsen and Skovhus (2016), the fact that people live their lives across different contexts, such as education, work, leisure, and family, is highly relevant for primary school students.

One thing our informants thought was particularly relevant, and that they saw as an important part of counselling work in primary schools, was referred to as 'developing both the power of judgment and the power of dreaming'. Thus, career guidance was seen as an important task to contribute to the development of individual pupils' good judgment: thinking before acting, thinking critically to consider different alternatives and situations, and having enough faith in and knowledge of oneself and society to make the 'right' choices, both in professional and social settings.

However, it was also important to open the eyes of these pupils in primary school and show them that they can 'choose' traditional and untraditional professions, set high goals and become "whatever they want", but that this requires hard work and determination. The power of dreams does not consist solely in dreaming about the future but also in knowledge of how to get there, what it takes to realise a dream and the obstacles they will meet. Therefore, meeting good role models that can nourish more dreams is important (Mathiesen et al., 2014). The choices pupils make entering lower secondary school (about a choosing second languages and elective subjects) do not determine whether they reach their dreams. However, if they make the right choices, the path becomes a little easier. This corresponds to the message from the 7th graders in our study: They wanted more knowledge about professions and education to be better equipped to make good choices and to come closer to finding out what their dreams are. They also ask for more information on what consequences the choices they make early in secondary school have for their future education. This need for more knowledge is highly recognisable from earlier projects as well (Buland, Mathiesen, & Mordal, 2014).

GOING FORWARD

As we see it, it is not appropriate for education authorities to impose more work on primary schools by requiring them to develop career-education-specific curricula. However, what seems appropriate is to raise awareness amongst school staff and school owners that the activities they already engage in, with small adjustments, can be made even more relevant and give pupils knowledge of education and professions. When visiting the bank or the store, teachers can, ask questions about what education one needs to acquire such a job. Occupations and education surround the pupils at all times, but to use the opportunity to talk about these matters, schools, teachers, parents, and pupils must put 'career glasses' on.

The message from our informants in the 7th grade is that they need more knowledge about the decisions they need to make early in secondary school and the resulting consequences. Such information would include a basic knowledge about the education system, different professions and entering a career-learning process. With this information, they can start a reflection process about their own abilities and preferences regarding future participation and opportunities in working life. The pupils are very aware of the 'big and difficult' choice that is crucial for the rest of our lives. They often feel that they do not receive enough knowledge of the opportunities or enough time to reflect on what different options will entail. To counter this experience, starting the career-learning process earlier and making parents become allies and reflection partners for their children may be a possible solution.

Our study also shows that pupils in 7th grade are motivated to learn about working life and education and that they want to start a career-learning process. It also shows that schools in our study unknowingly conduct career-learning activities. One way to support pupils career learning is to help the key actors in schools to consciously implement career-learning elements more explicitly in their activities and incorporate ways to talk about the topic, whether they are on a hike in the woods, visiting the local bank, or engaged in a maths lesson in the classroom.

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RANDI BOELSKIFTE SKOVHUS AND RIE THOMSEN

17. FROM CAREER CHOICE TO CAREER LEARNING

Taster Programs and Students' Meaning-Making Processes

ABSTRACT

The Nordic countries have a tradition of experience-based career guidance activities. One such activity is taster programmes, which, to varying degrees, allow young people in all the Nordic countries to experience different educational and career paths. The chapter explores the participation of lower secondary students in taster programmes and their meaning-making processes in relation to the programmes. We argue that there is a need to shift the focus of taster programme activities, as well as of school-based career guidance in general, from the students' educational choices to supporting young people's learning about education and career.

INTRODUCTION

The Nordic countries have a tradition of experience-based guidance activities, such as job shadowing, taster programmes, 'skills' competitions, career and education fairs, and 'open house' events where lower secondary students and their parents visit upper secondary schools (Thomsen, 2014). In this chapter, we focus on taster programmes as an experience-based guidance activity and as an activity practised in all the Nordic countries to a greater or lesser extent, as well as being part of career guidance activities/methods in a wide range of countries in Europe (Sultana, 2004) and beyond (Watts & Fretwell, 2004). In Denmark, for example, there are so-called 'bridge-building courses' (Euroguidance Denmark, 2014) where lower secondary students visit institutions offering upper secondary programmes. Taster programmes are mentioned as an activity within career guidance in the OECD definition from 2004:

> The activities [within career guidance] may take place on an individual or group basis, and may be face-to-face or at a distance (including help lines and web-based services). They include career information provision (in print, ICT-based and other forms), assessment and self-assessment tools, counselling interviews, career education programmes (to help individuals develop their self awareness, opportunity awareness, and career management skills),

taster programmes (to sample options before choosing them), work search programmes, and transition services. (OECD, 2004, p. 10)

In brief, the objective of taster programme can be described as to offer individuals the chance to sample options before choosing them. In this article, we outline how taster programme activities are structured in the Nordic countries. The Danish system is outlined in the most detail since the research conducted by Skovhus (2018), on which the article is based, was conducted in Denmark. Skovhus' research examines taster programmes from the perspective of young people: What are their experiences when participating in taster programmes in lower secondary school? How do they make sense of the activities which are mandatory? Both Skovhus' research (2018) and this chapter highlight problems associated with framing activities such as taster programmes in terms of choosing a career, thereby illustrating the need for and benefits of a stronger focus on the learning potential that the activities hold.

TASTER PROGRAMMES IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Røise (Chapter 18, this volume) describes legislation concerning career education and career guidance in lower secondary schools in the five Nordic countries. She emphasises the diversity of policies and practices surrounding career education in the Nordic countries. This diversity also applies to taster programmes for lower secondary students.

In Iceland, it is not mandatory for schools to offer taster programmes. Practice varies from school to school, from no activities to an intensive career education programme. For instance, four schools have developed an intensive scheme in which students in their final year of lower secondary education spend one day a week gaining practical work experience. During this time, students spend time in six different workplaces. The programme has not been the subject of a formal evaluation, but anecdotal evidence indicates that the programme includes little in the way of shared reflections, assessment of learning outcomes etc. by the schools (Vilhjálmsdóttir, Chapter 10, this volume).

In Sweden, a new act came into force in July 2018 making it mandatory for schools to work with practical familiarisation with working life (Prao), reintroducing the subject following its abolishment as a mandatory subject in 1994 (Regeringskansliet [Government Offices], 2017). The goal is that students gain knowledge about working life, supporting an informed choice of study and career. With the new act, it is compulsory for 8th grade students in lower secondary school to attend Prao for at least 10 days. Prao involves practical work experience, primarily in a workplace but also at upper secondary schools (Skolverket [The central administrative authority for the public school system], 2018).

In Norway, students in lower secondary education have the right to 'necessary guidance' on education, job opportunities and occupational choices (Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry of Education and Research], 2006, chapter 22).

'Educational choice' is a mandatory subject for students in their three final years at lower secondary school [ungdomstrinnet] (Utdanningsdirektoratet [Directorate of Education], 2015). Neither in the act stipulating the right to necessary guidance nor in the national curriculum for educational choice is it stated which activities are to be included in the career guidance process. However, in practice, all students in 9th or 10th grade visit one or more schools that offer upper secondary education. The length of these visits varies. Some students also participate in job shadowing at a company (personal communication with Røise).

Career education and career guidance are a compulsory element in the curriculum in all lower secondary schools in Finland where a total of 76 hours are allocated specifically to such activities during the final years of lower secondary education (grades 7–9). In addition, students are entitled to individual guidance and group counselling. During grades 7–9, the school is required to organise courses providing a practical introduction to working life (TET/PRAO) in order to create a foundation for educational and career choices. TET/PRAO is implemented in cooperation with other school subjects, utilising their content and working methods (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016; OECD, 2014, p. 180).

In Danish schools, teachers are responsible for providing career education activities in a subject called 'Education and Jobs', although no specific number of lessons is allocated (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2019a, para. 7). Guidance professionals provide career guidance regarding the transition from compulsory lower secondary education to vocational or general upper secondary education or to full-time work (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2019b, para. 3). The legislation states that career guidance should build on the knowledge and skills the students have acquired in the subject Education and Jobs to help students make informed and qualified choices (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2019b, para. 6). It also states that coherence and progression must be ensured in the career guidance process (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2019b, para. 1). In addition, a number of mandatory career guidance activities are outlined, including taster programmes.

In 8th grade, all students in Denmark visit two vocational or general upper secondary programmes. These visits are spread across two or three days. In the 9th grade, students who have been assessed 'not ready for upper secondary education' or are undecided what they want to do next are offered additional opportunities to visit general or vocational upper secondary programmes (see Jensen, Chapter 8, this volume, for an explanation of educational readiness). The 10th grade is optional, but for students attending the 10th grade, participation in taster programmes is mandatory (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2017). The goals of the Danish taster programmes are that students experience different study environments and both practical and theoretical elements of educational and training programmes, as well as becoming familiar with some of the vocations, professions or jobs that specific programmes or fields of education provide access to. Furthermore,

taster programmes should both challenge and qualify students' choice of upper secondary programme. Lower secondary schools and youth guidance centres share the responsibility for preparing students to take part in taster programmes and for follow-up discussions and reflections in the classroom (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2017). For a more detailed outline of the Danish career guidance system, see Jensen (Chapter 8, this volume).

To sum up, all Nordic countries have taster programme activities for the students in lower secondary schools. Most have legislation that describes such activities, but the practical implementation at schools varies.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON TASTER PROGRAMMES

A number of studies have highlighted the positive effects of student participation in taster programmes.

About 60% of the students in 8th to 10th grade in Denmark indicate that taster programmes have helped them in choosing their next educational step (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut [Danish Evaluation Institute], 2016, p. 25). An evaluation of students' educational choices found that taster activities often function as a way of confirming or rejecting a choice that has already been made (DEA, 2018a, p. 7). Job shadowing in a company and taster programmes at educational institutions can have a positive effect on decision-making competencies and clarify educational choices (e.g. Buland & Havn, 2000; Buzzeo & Cifci, 2017; Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2007). Taster programmes can potentially offer students inputs which support their deliberations regarding their choice of education, becoming acquainted with the subjects taught and the social environment at the educational institution they visit. They can also offer time to experience the buildings, students and teachers in the flesh. These visits can generate a more concrete idea of what it would be like to study there and confirm or challenge students' preconceptions. Even for students who have already made up their minds, taster programmes can offer a plan B by highlighting alternatives. Furthermore, the taster programme can lead students to consider options that they were not previously familiar with or had written off due to negative preconceptions or to re-evaluate their original plans as the reality did not match their expectations (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut [Danish Evaluation Institute], 2018, pp. 27–29).

In a study of teachers in the UK the majority stated that they believed that work experience and employer engagement activities have a positive impact on the academic achievement of pupils (Kashefpakdel, Rehill, & Mann, 2017). There is evidence that the opportunity to explore different career opportunities helps shape the individual's ideas regarding education and work opportunities (Hughes, Mann, Barnes, Baldauf, & McKeown, 2016). Adequately preparing students for work experience, as well as feedback and debriefing sessions where students are encouraged to reflect on what they have learnt, has been shown to contribute to positive outcomes (Buzzeo & Cifci, 2017). Generally, research has shown that work

experience is most valuable when it is embedded in a broader set of career learning activities (Gatsby Charitable Foundation, 2014).

Among managers of Danish youth career guidance centres (see Jensen in this volume for an up-to-date overview of the Danish guidance system), 60% stated that schools offered little or nothing in the way of preparing students to participate in taster programmes and helping them process their experiences afterwards. In addition, the managers pointed to a lack of coherence and progression between taster programmes during the final years of lower secondary education and other career education and guidance activities (DEA, 2018b, p. 15). Indeed, many schools do not teach the career education subject Education and Job (DEA, 2012). To sum up, research on and evaluations of taster programmes show that they can provide students with greater insight into educational programmes and institutions, thereby supporting them in making informed educational choices. The studies also suggest that it is essential that such activities are thoroughly planned and followed up in order to support students' reflection and learning from the activities.

In relation to the international research from outside the Nordic countries we will raise the question of how specifically Nordic the approach to experiential career learning is. For example, it seems similar to what is done in the UK.

In the following, we present the case of Laura, a Danish girl who took part in taster programmes during her final years of lower secondary education. The case is selected strategically in the sense that it contains a number of elements that are prominent in the total empirical data presented in Skovhus (2018). The case offers insight into the complexity and dilemmas of career guidance activities for young people in Denmark and allows the reader to bring his or her own interpretations into play and compare them to the analysis of the case presented in this chapter. Below, we also outline the theoretical approach which was used in the research project (Skovhus, 2018) from which this case is drawn.

A FIRST-PERSON PERSPECTIVE ON CAREER GUIDANCE ACTIVITIES

Laura took part in Skovhus' doctoral research (2018). The research was conducted from 2013 to 2017 and included 41 full days of participant observation and situated interviews in two Danish municipal schools. Special effort was made to observe and talk with the young people about activities provided by the youth guidance centres. In depth research interviews about taster programmes, one-to-one career guidance dialogues, follow-up activities, assessments of educational readiness etc. was conducted with 12 students. The aim was to learn from the students' first-person perspectives on these activities. Observations and situated interviews began towards the end of 8th grade and continued throughout the 9th grade, the final year of compulsory schooling in Denmark. Follow-up interviews with 11 students took place approximately six months after the students finished the 9th grade, at which point some students, including Laura, were enrolled in the optional 10th grade and therefore experienced another round of taster programme activities.

The research project's theoretical position and foundation is Danish-German critical psychology, which sets out to conduct research from a first-person perspective. Critical psychology particularly emphasises subjective participation in practice (Mørck, 2006). From this outset, our work is inspired by social practice theory concerning action, practice, community, meaning, intentions, reasons for action and everyday conduct of life. This theoretical approach was chosen out of a desire to study career guidance and career education from a participant perspective and include structural conditions in the analysis. Through a first-person perspective on young people's personal experiences of concrete dilemmas in practice and an investigation of personal meaning-making processes, it is possible to learn about social structures and conditions related to these experiences (Højholt & Kousholt, 2009; Holzkamp, 2013, p. 275). Turning the lens to career guidance theories and methods, the emphasis on meaning, everyday life, practice, community and intentions coincides with careership theory, as developed by Hodkinson and colleagues (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997; Hodkinson, Bowman, & Colley, 2006). Careership theory is based on ideas and concepts from Bourdieu, who was himself inspired by the work of Marx and the importance of practice and dialectics. This inspiration from Marx is something careership theory shares with critical psychology. Central concepts in both critical psychology and careership theory include actions and horizons for actions. We will return to these concepts later, but first we turn our attention to Laura's account.

'NOT TO MY TASTE' – WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE STUDENTS?

Laura's story sparks a discussion of many aspects related to taster programmes, as well as to other types of experience-based career guidance activities. We find the following aspects important to consider: how the activities are framed, expanding horizons and supporting students' reflections.

The Danish legislation on career guidance focuses on supporting students in making choices (see Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2019b). This focus is also central to the practice of career guidance professionals (Skovhus, 2018). In her research, Skovhus found that students generally valued the taster programmes if these programmes were in line with their existing sphere of interest and they were yet to decide on their choice of education. This was also the case for Laura when she was in 8th grade and visited HF [The Higher Preparatory Examination Programme]. She found the visit relevant because she was undecided about which education to choose after lower secondary school, and because the education which she visited, HF, was one she was already considering.

In the 10th grade, Laura participated in the taster programmes again, but this time she felt that she had already decided upon her choice of education. As we see from her narrative, she found it irrelevant to participate in the taster programme.

Laura

In 8th grade, Laura chose to participate in the Higher Preparatory Examination Programme (HF) for her taster programme. She thought the course was okay because she was undecided about her educational choice and the visit gave her insight into the HF, which she considered a relevant option for her.

Later, Laura begins 10th grade, certain that she will enter the HF-programme the following year just as her brother had. It is mandatory for Laura to take part in the 10th grade taster programme. Laura chose to revisit the HF, which she found pointless because she already knew about HF and had already decided that this was what she wanted to do after 10th grade. Besides visiting HF, it was also obligatory for Laura to experience vocational education, and she chose to join the taster programme at the basic healthcare college, because four other girls from school would be attending.

Laura had this to say about her time spent at the basic healthcare college:

It was really terrible, oh my God! This education, it has nothing for me at all. Working with old people, or generally with people in that way, is absolutely not what I would like to do for a living. We were at the basic healthcare college, and then we were at the nursing home. It was so awful. I simply cannot cope with things like that. There's this smell of dead people everywhere, I just can't. And then there's the kind of people who go to basic healthcare college. In my world, these are the kind of people we call chavs, who have had a hard life and dye their hair red and stuff. I just can't handle those kind of people. There are the types [of people] and then there is the school. They didn't exactly sell themselves especially well. In the lessons, they taught us theories about conflicts, all sorts of things … The only thing that was amusing was the one time we got to ride in a wheelchair. That was because it was funny. It was really awful. Seriously. I just couldn't have gone there. And I knew that already.

Laura's example shows that the same student can experience taster programmes as both a help in making a choice and as pointless and irrelevant. We argue that this has to do with the framing of the programmes. The aim of the taster programmes is to contribute to students' imminent choice of education; when we follow this logic, it is quite understandable that students can see little point in participating once they feel that they have made up their minds. We saw how this affected Laura's perception of the relevance of the activities, with her choice of the HF-programme marking a clear watershed. Only a few of the students in Skovhus' study (2018) found it meaningful to explore educational and career paths they did not personally consider a relevant choice.

Such a focus on short-term educational choices is neither new nor unique to Denmark. The OECD wrote already in 2004 that 'Too often services fail to develop people's career management skills, but focus on immediate decisions' (OECD, 2004, p. 3). A Norwegian study found that the majority of guidance practitioners in lower secondary schools regard supporting students' immediate educational choices as the primary objective of guidance. The study also found that most students share this view, seeing guidance as something that should primarily help them in deciding what to do next (Haug, Schulstok, & Bakke, 2016, pp. 31–32).

To sum up, it might not be beneficial to the students' sense of relevance to present supporting educational choices as the sole purpose of career guidance activities. We argue that there are potential benefits if guidance activities such as taster programmes were to focus more on career learning and less on decision-making. This could be done by seeing such activities as an opportunity to explore and learn, incorporating systematic reflection, and could be supported by drawing upon Kolb's experimental learning theory, as suggested by Hooley and colleagues (Hooley, Watts, Sultana, & Neary, 2013, p. 124) and by Haug (2018). The insight from Laura's account calls for further consideration of the purpose and function of taster programmes. Are they intended to provide the individual with information to be used in making the right, the appropriate or the most rational choice? Or should they spark curiosity and learning, encouraging individuals to explore career-related questions in their lives? Should and can they do both at the same time?

Confirming Assumptions and Expanding Horizons

Laura's visit to the basic healthcare college leads to self-reflection; for example, she underlines that she is not and will not become 'a chav'. She states that, in her opinion, the basic healthcare college is far from her areas of interest. One could say that Laura has gained insight into an educational programme and got a glimpse of one of the jobs it qualifies for, and that it has led her to think about herself and the students at the basic healthcare college. It could thus be argued that the activity has contributed to her career development process. However, we would question whether this should be considered a meaningful contribution, drawing inspiration from theories and definitions of career guidance and career education.

Careership theory was developed by Hodkinson and colleagues (1997, 2006) and views decision-making as pragmatic, rational and located in the habitus of the individual. Horizons for actions is a concept used to highlight that a person's choices, decision-making and progression in life are inextricably tied to the position from where this person views life, as this position limits which possibilities are visible. The situatedness of persons and career guidance interventions is often overlooked in career guidance theories and methods, although there are exceptions, such as the work of Blustein and colleagues (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005) and Bassot (2012), among others. A recent attempt by Hooley, Sultana and Thomsen to develop a definition of emancipatory career guidance states that:

Career guidance supports individuals and groups to discover more about work, leisure and learning and to consider their place in the world and plan for their futures … Career guidance can take a wide range of forms and draws on diverse theoretical traditions. But at its heart it is a purposeful learning opportunity which supports individuals and groups to consider and reconsider work, leisure and learning in the light of new information and experiences and to take both individual and collective action as a result of this. (Hooley, Sultana, & Thomsen, 2018, p. 20)

A definition of career education as a pedagogical framework that includes learning about values, norms and the wider society and can support reflections about a desired society from the perspective of the people involved is suggested by Hooley (2015).

These three definitions will help us explore whether there are other learning potentials attached to Laura's experience than the ones she expresses. We ask: What could have been different for Laura? And we argue that: She could have been given the opportunity to reflect together with her peers on the societal importance of the basic healthcare programme and the related jobs. Further, we argue that these shared reflections on the societal value and importance of different occupations help build social cohesion in a society.

The work by Wikstrand and Lindberg (2016) on educational and occupational norms will help us elaborate. They argue that school is an arena for both creating and reproducing norms and emphasise that this takes place through subtle processes that can be hard to notice. They suggest that career education be viewed as a pedagogical process that is critical of norms and which deals in part with becoming aware of the norms which exist and are reproduced at school (Wikstrand & Lindberg, 2016, pp. 31–32).

In Laura's case, her statements concerning the type of people ('chavs') she thinks enrol in the basic healthcare training programme clearly reflect certain societal norms. What is likely less clear to Laura is how these norms have come about. The taster programme was not organised to facilitate reflection on Laura's part regarding her experiences at the college she visited. She receives no support to further reflect on the basic healthcare programme. The activity does not help Laura broaden her horizons regarding educational programmes, jobs and herself. On the contrary, she finds her pre-existing ideas and prejudices reaffirmed; her assumptions are not challenged despite this being an explicit objective in the legislation (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education], 2017). Laura – and potentially also her classmates – is left with the perception that working in this area is 'really terrible' and that it is only 'chavs' who would consider enrolling in the programme and working within the field. This perception can influence the norms among the students at the school and make it difficult for other students to become interested in the basic healthcare programme or, if they are, to show this interest among peers.

Reflection

Skovhus (2018) finds that many career guidance activities in Danish lower secondary school are seen by students, including Laura, as isolated, one-off events. The students do not necessarily find or create meaning just by participating in an activity such as a taster programmes. If these activities are considered part of a wider career education action and therefore expected to contribute to the expansion of the students' horizons (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997; Hodkinson et al., 2006) and as part of career guidance processes in accordance with Hooley et al.'s definition of career guidance (2018), then they should support the students in analysing and discussing what they have learnt. Supporting students' reflection, individually and/or in groups and communities, is one way of doing this. Another is to try to ensure that students are well prepared for and subsequently reflect on their experiences from the taster programmes. However, it is equally important that such preparations and processing are not primarily focused on the students' educational choices, but on their learning. Laura's case also prompts reflection on the responsibility of the guidance professional and the teacher to challenge prejudice, such as the class prejudices expressed by Laura, and encourage solidarity rather than discrimination. This draws attention to the importance of the framing, preparation and processing of guidance activities – and on what the content of this could be.

The lack of support for reflection is interesting to note in light of the fact that literature on careers education 'highlights a requirement for some form of effective 'dialogue' and 'action' in which personal meaning is attached to concrete experiences of learning and work' (Hughes et al., 2016, p. 40). In their research Meijers, Kuijpers, and Gundy (2013) found that career dialogues at school and in the workplace (e.g. a work placement) contributed to development of career identity, learning motivation and the experienced quality of choices which 'the traditional career approach' characterised by an absence of dialogue didn't. Also, the content of the conversion was crucial (Meijers et al., 2013, p. 62). Reviews also highlight a lack of subsequent evaluation of activities that includes the young people in the evaluation processes as a potential weakness in career guidance interventions (Bergzog, 2008; Kracke, 2006). Students do not necessarily know where to direct their curiosity in relation to careers and education besides assessing whether a specific programme or field of work is 'to their taste' or not. We suggest that, in Laura's case, reflection and discussion could have centred on the significance of the healthcare profession and on the kinds of skills needed for such work and how to acquire them, as well as addressing questions about the working environment and people's different interests, values and ways of living.

LEARNING TO LIKE OR LIKING TO LEARN? CONCLUDING REMARKS

When students, maybe with good reason, perceive career guidance activities as intended to help them make a choice, many of those who have already decided on a particular upper secondary programme find them a waste of time. Nevertheless, in

Denmark, participation in taster programmes is mandatory, meaning that students, teachers, youth guidance practitioners and vocational and general upper secondary schools and colleges invest time and resources in them. There are many learning opportunities when participating in taster programmes. However, this chapter argues that in Denmark (and in other Nordic countries), such opportunities are currently not fully exploited, especially in relation to students' career learning and a possible expansion of their horizons for actions. The reason for this is that the taster programmes, with few exceptions, are detached from the curriculum of the various compulsory school subjects and, as such, not integrated in classroom teaching. The activities become isolated, one-off events with no systematic preparation beforehand or facilitated reflection afterwards. The system may look complete on paper, but in practice, and seen from the perspective of young people, it is fractured and atomized. Taster programmes, as well as many other guidance activities, must be placed within a framework of learning opportunities rather than be designed to contribute to short-term and immediate educational choices. Support of career learning requires a structured and didactic approach which can be inspired by an emancipatory understanding of career guidance.

We would like to stress that the shift in perspective from a focus primarily on educational choice to a focus on career learning may only require minor changes to how career education and guidance activities are provided. We suggest a focus on how the activities are framed and on dialogue regarding their learning potential. We also suggest supporting students' preparations for the activities in a way that helps them expand their horizons for actions. Finally, care should be taken to ensure that the students have an opportunity to share their experiences and reflect on what they have learnt with their peers.

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PETRA RØISE

18. IF CAREER EDUCATION IS THE SOLUTION, WHAT IS THE IMPLIED PROBLEM?

A Critical Analysis of the Timetabled Subject of Educational Choice in Norwegian Schools

ABSTRACT

The Norwegian curriculum subject of Educational Choice aims to facilitate career learning in lower secondary school. A curriculum, as a policy document, describes the government's expectations for what all Norwegian students should be taught. The aim of this study is to contribute to a more nuanced interpretation of how this curriculum frames and limits the opportunities for articulation of problems and alternative views. Methodically, Bacchi's What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR) approach to analysis is applied. Analysis indicates that the curriculum is embedded in a neoliberal rationale. Five problem representations that frame this rationale within the curriculum, are identified. A discussion of these problem representations contributes to challenging silences in the curriculum and explores alternative ways of thinking about career learning.

INTRODUCTION

Different policies and practices regarding career education are seen throughout the Nordic countries. In Norway, the subject of Educational Choice was introduced in lower secondary schools in 2008, serving students from 13 to 15 years of age. The revised curriculum from 2015 states that the subject shall contribute to the pupils gaining competence in making career choices based on the pupils' wishes and prerequisites regarding the education and jobs they're interested in (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a). In addition, the subject will help to give students an understanding of the importance of education, participation, and lifelong learning. Furthermore, it will provide knowledge of where different educational trajectories can lead and insight into a changing labour market.

An overview of guidance research in the Nordic countries between 2003–2016 shows a growing field of research in educational and vocational guidance in a school context (Haug et al., 2019). Recent studies have focused on critical enquiries into the governance of career guidance (Bengtsson, 2016; Kjærgård, 2012). Furthermore, recent studies outside this region show a growing interest in research and evaluation

regarding the field of career education for young students (Hooley, Watts, & Andrews, 2015; Hughes, Mann, Barnes, Baldauf, & McKeown, 2016; Kashefpakdel & Percy, 2017). Kjærgård studies the Norwegian subject of Educational Choice in light of political educational discourses and economic societal discourses (2016). However, little attention has been given to critical investigation into the curriculum of career education in Norway.

A national curriculum is a document for political governance (Aasen, Prøitz, & Rye, 2015) which is designed to underpin pedagogical thinking. This chapter critically examines the content of the curriculum of Educational Choice. It illuminates problem representations within the curriculum and discusses their significance for professional practice. Through discourse analysis, using Bacchi's What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR) approach (2009), the following question will be investigated: Which implied problems are represented in the curriculum of Educational Choice?

What Do We Mean by Career Education?

The terms *career education*, *career learning* and *Career Management Skills* (CMS) will be used throughout the chapter. Based on an analysis of the concept of CMS in a European context, Sultana (2012) introduces the following definition:

> Career management skills refer to a whole range of competences which provide structured ways for individuals and groups to gather, analyse, synthesise and organise self, educational and occupational information, as well as the skills to make and implement decisions and transitions. (Sultana, 2012, p. 5)

This definition is identical to the one used in the curriculum guidance document for the subject of Educational Choice (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). Career learning can be seen as a process that takes place in order to acquire these skills. In the curriculum guidance document, the term career learning is used to describe a general learning process regarding the subjects of personal choice, education and occupation, and work. When these learning processes are facilitated within schools, it's labelled as career education (Guichard, 2001). Where career education is about collective learning processes within schools, career counselling is the service delivered by individuals for individuals or small groups.

RESEARCH ON CAREER EDUCATION IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Different policies and practices regarding career education are seen throughout the Nordic countries. Short introductions to policy and practice are presented, starting with Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Iceland, before exploring career education in Norway.

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Finland's concept of career guidance and counselling is an important

factor in explaining the country's low educational dropout rates, and career guidance and counselling has become a compulsory part of curricula in all Finnish schools (OECD, 2014a). Similar to Norway, career education in Finnish schools is a timetabled part of the curriculum (Plant, 2003). According to Sweet, Nissinen, and Vuorinen (2014), it consists of a total of 76 hours of scheduled activities during grades seven to nine. They report that class-based activities are usually facilitated by trained school counsellors. In addition, there is an entitlement for individual guidance and group counselling, and practical introduction-to-working life periods in workplaces (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016). As part of the overall career education curriculum, each student in compulsory education spends two weeks in workplace to learn about the work environment (OECD, 2014a). In the OECD evaluations, the integration of career education into teaching practices in Finnish educational institutions is considered one of the subject's biggest strengths (Vuorela & Metsä, 2015).

In Danish folkeskolen (compulsory education), the compulsory subject Education & Employment is not timetabled, but needs to find its place as an intregral part of other subjects or as cross-curricular activities from kindergarten to 9th grade (EMU Danmarks læringsportal, 2018). The subject consists of three areas of competence: personal choice, moving from education to work, and working life. These areas of competence are not allocated to any one independent curriculum subject, but are part of teaching in all compulsory subjects. The chapter by Skovhus and Thomsen in this book gives more detailed insight into career education in Denmark.

The situation in the Swedish school system is different from those in Finland and Denmark. Historically, the link between school and work-life has been incorporated across Swedish curricula in different ways through school reforms since the 1970s (Lovén, 2015). Since 1990, this has changed and the focus on collaboration between school and working life has weakened. There are no compulsory lessons in career education in Swedish schools, although a broad approach to career guidance has been common across the curriculum (Lovén, 2015). Information on the possibilities for upper secondary education is given by counsellors through lessons and individual talks (Euroguidance Sweden, 2015). However, career education in Sweden seems to be changing. A recent national school development programme addresses eight different thematic areas, including the topic school and work life (Skolverket, 2018). A stronger linkage between school and work has been called for. In the summer of 2018, practical work life orientation similar to that in Finland (praktisk arbetslivsorientering PRAO) became a statutory requirement in the Swedish Education Act. This means that the principal of an elementary school will be responsible for ensuring that *PRAO* is organized for a minimum of ten days for all pupils in compulsory education starting from Year 8 (Regeringskansliet, 2017).

In Iceland career education is mentioned in the national curriculum, which shall include an emphasis on

school counselling and the presentation of different occupations and study programmes as an aid in the choice of future studies and employment. (Icelandic Ministry of Education, 2008)

A recent survey shows that 42% of compulsory education in Iceland gives some sort of elective or obligatory career education in 10th grade (Erlingsdóttir & Guðmundsdóttir, 2017). This survey also shows that 78% of compulsory schools employ school counsellors. It seems that Icelandic students are subject to uneven levels of career education.

The Curricular Development of Career Education in Norway

The first curriculum for Educational Choice in Norway was introduced in 2008 (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2008). At that point, its thematic areas were stated as:

- upper secondary education and working life, mainly focussing on the structure of upper secondary education and the content of various educational programmes;
- exploration of educational programmes, including activities based on the competence goals of educational programmes in upper secondary education; and
- one's own choices, including mapping and reflecting on personal interests and dispositions related to educational and professional choice.

Borgen and Lødding (2009) evaluated the implementation of the 2008 curriculum. They pointed out that there was a danger of the subject becoming similar to other school subjects, where strong students succeeded because it included a lot of reading, writing, and reflection. On this basis, some uncertainty was reported about whether the subject's intentions could be achieved through the existing curriculum and competence goals (Borgen & Lødding, 2009). This evaluation of the curriculum showed that students had an unclear picture of how Educational Choice was composed and how their efforts in the subject were assessed. They reported that few students had a clear answer to whether the subject was helpful for the educational choices they would make in the 10th grade.

Moreover, the authors (Borgen & Lødding, 2009) conclude that unclear responsibilities between schools and regional or county municipalities contributed to the schools choosing activities that they had experience with and control over. The schools' internal career counsellors and teachers taught the subject. In order for teachers to teach Educational Choice, research shows that they need specific competences (Andreassen, 2011b; Borgen & Lødding, 2009).

The curriculum was revised in 2015 (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a) and the following three thematic areas were defined in the revised version:

- personal choice, focusing on developing an awareness of one's interests and opportunities and reflection regarding career choices;

- education and occupation, with a focus on acquiring knowledge and practical experience regarding upper secondary education and different professions; and
- work, aiming to strengthen students' knowledge of working life and a changing labour market.

The strong focus in the first curriculum (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2008) on the exploration of structure and educational programmes in upper secondary schools was toned down in this revised version. Moreover, the role of gender and the concept of lifelong learning are introduced in the descriptions of the learning outcomes.

On an organisational level, Educational Choice comprises 110 hours, which can be distributed across the three years of lower secondary school. In practice, the 110 hours are distributed through timetables in very different ways. It is my understanding that some schools offer career education for half an hour each week, where other schools gather the hours allocated to career education into sections or projects.

A 2012 report evaluated the first curriculum in Educational Choice in Norway, including the voices of students, teachers, and school leaders (Lødding & Holen, 2012). In the report, persistent challenges were pointed out. Cooperation with external partners was regarded as both important and challenging. The subject demanded financial means and good logistics. The teaching material was lacking and there was a need to develop greater competence amongst teachers. Challenges were reported regarding the differentiation of career education in regards to the different needs of individual students (Lødding & Holen, 2012).

As Sultana (2012) points out, career education as a distinct subject can be criticized for not relating to life concerns. An integrated solution can secure stronger links between CMS and other aspects of the curriculum (Sultana, 2012). A problem that can arise is that if CMS is everybody's responsibility, there is a danger of it becoming no one's. Looking beyond the Nordic countries, we see that the UK has been trying to solve this through careers leadership (Andrews & Hooley, 2017). An integrated solution presupposes and facilitates teachers' collaboration in integrating career learning into their individual subjects, and training is required to be able to do so (Sultana, 2012). A systematic career education system, as part of a comprehensive career guidance framework, is desirable in order to inform students about the world of work and career opportunities (Hughes et al., 2016). Norway, with the curriculum subject Education Choice, is in a position to contribute to this field of research.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS METHOD

Ball (1993, 2015) makes a distinction between policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse. Policy-as-text focuses on how concrete actors translate a policy into concrete practice. Policy-as-discourse focuses on how policy frames and limits the opportunities for articulating problems (Ball, 1993). A way to conduct critical policy-

as-discourse analysis is by applying Bacchi's What's the Problem Represented to be approach (WPR). According to Bacchi,

> all policies are problematizing activities, they contain problem representations. (2009, p. 2)

An example from this analysis is that the curriculum of Educational Choice proposes to improve young people's insight into the world of work through work experience programmes. Following the logic of the question 'what's the problem represented to be?', if 'work experience programmes' is the proposal ('the solution'), then clearly it is assumed that young peoples' lack of work experience is 'the problem'.

The term problem representations does not focus on the linguistic construction of a text, but

> approaches texts as 'levers' to open up reflections on the forms of governing, and associated effects, instituted through a particular way of constituting a 'problem'. (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 18)

Bacchi argues that the ways in which problems are constituted draws on forms of subjectivity, influencing how we see ourselves and others (2012).

A WPR analysis builds on six core questions, as shown in Figure 18.1.

What's the Problem represented to be? - approach to policy analysis

1. What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', 'drug use/abuse', 'gender inequality', 'domestic violence', 'global warming', 'sexual harassment', etc.) represented to be in a specific policy or policy proposal?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been (or could it be) questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Figure 18.1. WPR analysis questions (from Bacchi, 2012)

In this case, the curriculum of Educational Choice can be seen as a policy intervention. This analysis will reveal what is being thought, for instance, about career learning in schools, about youth in general, and about the labour market. In curricula, as in any policy document, there may well be more than one problem

representation, and different kinds of representations may even be conflicting or contradictory. Identifying the underlying assumptions helps identify the epistemological and ontological assumptions framing the problem representation(s) in order to understand the knowledge and values that underpin them.

ANALYSIS

This analysis included the publicly available and current curriculum document for Educational Choice, introduced in 2015 (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a), as well as the guiding document for teachers, which provides suggestions on how to teach the subject (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training devised the curriculum document. The directorate is responsible for the development of kindergarten, primary, and secondary education and functions as the executive agency for the Ministry of Education and Research in Norway.

The analysis was conducted in accordance with the WPR procedure developed by Bacchi (2009). Two of Bacchi's questions were excluded from the analysis, though – 'How has this representation of the problem come about?' and 'How/ where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated, and defended?'. Addressing them would involve a complete genealogy of the problem representations (Bacchi, 2009), which would require a separate analysis for which there was not sufficient space in the current chapter.

The curriculum documents were read in depth several times, with particular focus on the discursive assumptions and silences that are represented. Attention was also paid to tensions and contradictions, scrutinising

> […] possible gaps or limitations in this representation of the 'problem', accompanied by inventive imagining of potential alternatives. (Bacchi, 2012, p. 22)

The document was a starting point for the analysis, which also incorporated the imaginative exploration of possible assumptions that frame the curriculum. Bacchi (2012) refers to Rein and Schön (1994) when explaining framing as a process of bringing together ideas and observations in a meaningful and persuasive pattern. Such an approach to analysis shows the researcher's priorities, meaning that others might have chosen other representations.

FINDINGS

This chapter investigates the following question: Which implied problems are represented in the curriculum of Educational Choice? Rather than addressing the problem that is assumed to already exist out there in the world (i.e. youth managing careers), Bacchi's initial question requires that we go further and identify the implied

problem targeted by the curriculum. In other words, if the curriculum subject of Educational Choice is the solution, what is the implied problem?

Career guidance, in a historical perspective, has been related to education and employment (Plant & Kjærgård 2016). Current

> […] political discourses include the idea that every citizen should pursue a career and that career guidance should serve the knowledge economy and seek to increase individual's human capital and capacity to compete. (Plant & Kjærgård, 2016, p 12)

This political context for the curriculum subject is visible in different policy documents. The report of the OECD Skills Strategy Diagnostic Report Norway 2014 addresses, inter alia, that Norway has high dropout rates in upper secondary and higher education, while there are fewer jobs available for those with lower levels of education. Among other things, it is recommended that young people should make informed educational choices in the light of the needs of the labour market (OECD, 2014b). According to the Official Norwegian Report, good career guidance can help reduce the dropout rate in both undergraduate and higher education (NOU 2016:7, 2016). It is also stated that learning to deal with choices and transitions at a young age is economically profitable, as well as being valuable for the individual.

Following Bacchi's main question, I identified within the curriculum documents the conviction that youth can learn to manage their career choices and careers. This conviction builds on the assumption that career education contributes to the prevention of dropping out of school, as can be found in the political context for the curriculum subject. It appears that the assumption of youth being at constant risk of dropping out of school provides a rationale for addressing the problem of their lack of career management skills, with the subject of Educational Choice as a pedagogical intervention. Building on these assumptions, a general observation is that the curriculum subject is embedded in a neoliberal political rationale, visible in the individualisation of responsibility placed on youth regarding their education and future employability. As stated by Hooley, Sultana and Thomsen,

> neoliberalism entails more than just an economic and political doctrine: despite its ideological claims of non-intervention, it involves extensive and invasive intrusions into vast areas of social life, including the most personal – such as, for instance, the choice of vocation, work and career. (2018, p. 8)

Analysis of the curriculum documents led to the formulation of different problem representations to frame and explore the stated observation. These representations, presented in Table 18.1, present the discursive content of Educational Choice from a critical viewpoint.

DISCUSSION

Through the five problem representations presented in Table 18.1, a neoliberal political rationale is explored. Moving forward in this chapter, the analysis of each representation will be discussed.

1. Career learning is done through a curriculum

The first problem representation that will be investigated is the simple existence of a curriculum for career learning. Organising career learning as a curriculum subject is one possible approach to facilitating career learning, where several other approaches are imaginable. Sultana (2012) discusses alternative options, for example, through a whole school approach, extracurricular activities, or a mix of these approaches. Each approach builds on different assumptions about what students need in order to live independent lives and where this is best learned. Different career education policies and practices in the Nordic countries are already presented earlier in this chapter.

In Norway, career guidance is regarded both as a responsibility of the whole school and linked to the subject of Educational Choice. The curriculum guidance document states that in order to be able to develop the subject of educational choice and to make career guidance a task for the entire school, it is a prerequisite that school management is actively promoting the development of the subject. They must ensure the anchoring of the school's career guidance and Educational Choice programmes in the school's other plans (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). A Norwegian report by Buland et al. (2011) shows that career guidance has become more of a task for the whole school than before. In order to strengthen the integration of career learning with other subjects, developmental research has been conducted (Hovdenak & Wilhelmsen, 2011), but more needs to be done to create policies and practices that support a whole-school approach to career learning (Buland et al., 2011).

2. The name of the subject implies a focus on educational choice

Where the mere existence of a curriculum can be critically analysed, so can its name. The curriculum name Educational Choice implies a focus on the student choosing an educational trajectory, as opposed to on work or other career activity. Teaching CMS (which Thomsen refers to as career competences) in the Nordic countries has a strong focus on the choice of education (Thomsen, 2014; Skovhus, 2016). Consequently, less attention is paid to the opportunity to facilitate learning activities that support the development of CMS among participants. When career learning activities have a learning focus instead of a focus on choice, it can often increase their meaning for both students and teachers (Thomsen & Skovhus, 2016). Danish

Table 18.1. Problem representations

What's the problem represented to be?	What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the problem?	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?	What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?
1. Career learning is done through a career learning curriculum.	Career learning can be done in a school environment. Career guidance is a task for the entire school. Dropping out of school is an individual and societal problem.	Other approaches to career learning are imaginable.	It seems challenging to attain policies and practices that support a whole-school approach to career learning.
2. The name of the subject implies a focus on educational choice.	A strong focus on students' choice of educational trajectory is promoted.	A focus on career choice can collide with the idea of lifelong learning.	No suggestions are made on how to teach for or about lifelong learning.
3. Career learning is about individual competence and skills.	Youth can learn to manage their career, ensuring them a good career.	It's left unproblematic that careers can evolve by happenstance.	The sociocultural environment of the individual and its influence on individuals' possibilities in life is not highlighted.
4. Gender awareness needs to be promoted.	If youth were more aware, they would choose occupations that are less gender specific. It is important that work is distributed equally between sexes.	A gender-segregated labour market seems hard to change.	A focus on gender inequality is being replaced by a focus on individual awareness and individual outcomes.
5. Youth have little work experience.	Today's generation of young people have little understanding of work as a concept. Youth seem unaware of what it is like to work.	It is left unproblematic that, without an upper-secondary degree, youth have little access to the labour market.	This representation strengthens a discourse of youth being responsible for their own work experience.

research illustrates how to change perspective from choice to learning in career learning activities (Poulsen, Thomsen, Buhl, & Hagmayer, 2016).

The focus on forthcoming career choices also seems to collide with the idea of lifelong learning. On the one hand, this curriculum carries the intention of students

exploring their interests and educational opportunities after lower secondary school. On the other hand, the curriculum states competence goals related to the thematic area of work as being able to reflect on the importance of work participation and lifelong learning (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a). In the curriculum guidance document, no suggestions are made as to how teachers can work with reflections on lifelong learning.

3. Career learning is about individual competence and skills

In the neoliberal rationale, career learning is about individual competence and skills. This implies that managing a career is a competence and a skill to be learnt, that the school environment is a suitable context for this learning, and that mastering it will secure a good career. When the intentions of a curriculum are to increase employability, the result could be that those who end up dropping out of school have only themselves to blame (Sultana, 2012). Other perspectives might be that careers can evolve by happenstance, emphasising the individuals resilience to change (Krumboltz, 2009) or that career learning is best done in a work environment, not at school.

The societal costs of dropping out of school are high and the subject of Educational Choice is presented as a way of promoting individual responsibility for employment. This trend towards the individualisation of social issues is also discussed by Sultana (2012, 2013). Responsibilities that are now seen as individual were earlier regarded as the responsibilities of communities and collectives. This modern emphasis on individualisation is worrisome in a time when ideas of solidarity are being weakened (Sultana, 2012). The problem of an individual's responsibility to finish school and get a job does not take into account other sociocultural factors that influence the individual's possibilities in life. Sultana calls for a critical approach in order to avoid

> yet another way by means of which the state reframes its deficit by projecting it as personal failing, with the victim blamed for problems that are structural in nature. (Sultana, 2012, p. 9)

Supporting students in developing individual career management skills through the curriculum may result in students making more reflective career choices. However, I caution that although framing dropping out of school as risky may result in more students staying in school (this can be debated), this may not necessarily lead to happier and healthier students.

4. Gender awareness needs to be promoted

The theme of gender is introduced in the 2015 curriculum. Concerning the theme personal choice, one of the three competence goals is to explain the role of gender in educational and professional choices. With regards to the theme work, one of the six competence goals is to discuss gender-traditional educational and vocational choices

(The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015a). Furthermore, the curriculum guidance document states that it is important that students do not limit their choice of education and occupation based on gender stereotypical images (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). The political emphasis on gender issues could build on an underlying assumption that if students are more gender-aware, their choices in education and occupation will be less gender-specific.

Moreover, the curriculum guidance document also states that the purpose of the subject is not to have equal gender distribution in all educational trajectories and occupations, but to become aware of barriers that unconsciously affect the choices students make (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). A focus on gender inequality is being replaced by a focus on individual awareness and individual outcomes. Competence goals on gender awareness become a tool to reduce gender segregation in the educational and labour marked, to the individual's responsibilities to take down sociocultural and political barriers created by others. This oversees the need to highlight and investigate

> complex structural problems that exist beyond the school gate, where future possibilities continue to be shaped by, for instance, 'class', 'race', culture and gender, and their multiple intersections. (Irving, 2011, p. 57)

A gender-segregated labour market seems hard to change without first changing gender-segregated occupational choices. But in many ways, it is the gender-segregated labour market that has influenced the mindsets of young people.

5. Youth have little work experience

Another perspective on the problem representation is that of youth having little work experience. In the curriculum guidance document, it says that job shadowing for many students will be their first experience with work life (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015b). This can be seen as subjectification, referring to the way subjects – youth and students – are constituted within problem representations (Ball, 2015). Such subjectification can be thought about differently. Students, though maybe not active members of the working community, have experienced work life by observing their parents and through their roles as clients, customers, and patients. Teaching can, for instance, be made more practical by using these experiences as starting points for exploration.

Furthermore, the curriculum guidance document makes suggestions for experiential learning through practical activities, like visiting secondary schools and work-experience programs. These activities can involve cooperation with external actors like parents, other schools, and local businesses. Such collaboration has existed in many forms for several decades (Plant, 2020). These pedagogical interventions build on the assumption that young students have little experience with the world of work. These interventions being presented in a curriculum gives the impression that students' lack of experience can be solved through the educational system.

Andreassen (2011a) raises the question of whether the intentions of the curriculum to facilitate work experience and collaboration with external actors match poorly with the school's organisation of education. The evaluation of the first Norwegian 2008 curriculum shows that unclear responsibilities between the schools, school owners, and regional or county municipalities contributed to the schools favouring activities that they have experience with and control over (Borgen & Lødding, 2009). Furthermore, it is reported that within class situations, with little time for reflection and discussion, it seems easier for teachers to create a parallel course of activities. Another persistent issue is that of the economic and logistic side of organising experiential learning (Lødding & Holen, 2012).

It is also left unproblematic that without an upper-secondary degree, youth have little access to the labour market (OECD, 2018). Today's labour market is characterized by a hard competition for unskilled work (Statistics Norway, 2018). Other solutions could be to increase opportunities for employment by making it more attractive for employers to hire young people on a part-time basis, or to change legislation allowing more jobs to be performed by them.

LOOKING FORWARD

A curriculum draws on a particular form of subjectivity, which will shape the way teachers think about their practice and their students. The aim of this study was to investigate problem representation within the curriculum of Educational Choice, not to convey a singular truth, but in order to contribute to a discussion about what is being taught. The identified rationale was that of the individual being responsible for their own education and employability, in the near future and throughout their lives. Contesting such an individualistic mode is, for example, the research of Thomsen on collective forms of career guidance (2017).

According to Andreassen (2011a), it is a known phenomenon that societal problems in many countries are left to be solved in schools. Furthermore, she states that societal issues become school subjects without teaching competence necessarily being present. There is a need to pay attention to the training of those who teach career management skills (Sultana, 2012). In order to promote a higher priority for the subject in schools, mandatory competence requirements need to be developed (Buland, Mathisen, Mordal, Austnes-Underhaug, & Tønseth, 2014). This requirement is supported by the 2016 Official Norwegian Report on career guidance in Norway (NOU 2016:7, 2016). In order for practitioners to transform the curriculum into meaningful career education, they need to be able to critically read the curriculum from a policy perspective.

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ANETTE JOCHUMSEN

19. ONLINE SELF-HELP FOR YOUNG DANES

ABSTRACT

To support young people in Denmark who are making decisions about their future education the national Education Guide portal (Uddannelseguiden UG.dk) offers tools for information and career exploration along with the online eGuidance (eVejledning). The general purpose of the online tools is to extend career learning activities beyond the activities facilitated by a career counsellor. Focusing on the self-help tools 'Min Gymnasievej' (My way to Upper secondary) and 'Mine styrker' (My Strengths) this article describes the challenges of the digital transformation of analogue career guidance tools and of their usage by the counsellees.

INTRODUCTION

The Nordic countries are often positioned as digital frontrunners in both a European and a global context (e.g. Alm et al., 2016; European Commission, 2017a). Denmark is among the world leaders in digitalisation. The new governmental digital plan – known as *The Digital Strategy 2016–2020* (Agency for Digitalisation, n.d.) – aims to further enhance close public sector collaboration to deliver good, efficient and coherent services to the public and businesses (European Commission, 2017b). Denmark has one of the highest levels of internet access in Europe (Eurostat, 2018). Over 90% of the population between the ages of 16 and 89 have internet access in their home, and four out of five access the internet on a smart phone (Danmarks Statistik, 2017). The Public Digitalisation Strategy has addressed the Danish citizens as digital citizens since 2001. The political vision is, that the digital citizen can act autonomously in the digital administration (Andersen, 2008). By the digitisation of all communication with the public sector, partly through an extensive and mandatory digital self-service, Danes' use of ICT has been further encouraged. According to the latest statistics 88% now use the public digital self-services (Danmarks Statistik, 2017).

Among young Danes who have grown up with digital media, digital accessibility to public institutions is expected and taken for granted. Contact with public services is seen as one of many interactions with online services in general (Andersen, 2008). Computers and phones, bringing the online and off-line environment together, are natural components of young Danes' everyday lives. Other generations do not have the same familiarity, and the use of these media has to be learned (Hansen,

2013). This is also true of most Danish guidance counsellors. While the internet has gone from searching for knowledge in web 1.0, to a means of interactive communication in web 2.0, to a means of communal construction of knowledge in web 3.0 (Law, 2010), the use of digital media in Danish counselling has generally been limited by the counsellor's own attitude to and familiarity with them, and on the structural framework for counselling services (Kettunen, Vuorinen, & Sampson, 2015).

To support young people in Denmark to prepare to make decisions about their future education the national Education guide portal, abbreviation UG (Uddannelseguiden UG.dk in Danish) along with eGuidance service (eVejledning) (eGuidance) has been established. In the early stages UG was a 'quiet' library with information on education and job opportunities. Today UG and eVejledning offer digitally *supported* and digitally *based* guidance including interactive self-help tools. The digitally based guidance can take place via chat, telephone, e-mail, social media as well as webinars, and is supported through online information articles and various tools. UG and eVejledning cannot offer face to face counselling and so the focus has been on testing the counselling potential of digital media and developing self-help tools. UG and eVejledning use the affordances of online technologies to deliver on policy aims to support young people and adults' access to career information and support to aid them in educational and career development.

THE EDUCATION GUIDE (UG.DK)

To make it easier for Danes to find and choose between educational programmes and career opportunities the Ministry of Education decided on a major guidance reform in 2003 (Jensen, Chapter 8, this volume). Career guidance was brought together into a system independent of educational institutions, the main objective being to provide guidance at primary and at secondary schools (Jensen, Chapter 8, this volume). Professionalising counsellors by unifying their education as a single national diploma or master programme was also part of the reform. To enhance access to career information according to EU's Memorandum on life-long learning (European commission, 2000) and on life-long career guidance, the portal UG was established with the reform as well.

In 2011 the ministry established the national guidance centre eVejledning as an integrated part of the portal. Thus UG contains comparable information on public education and employment and articles on the current labour market as well as links to eVejledning, educational institutions and other relevant organisations. Another part of the portal is the Knowledge Centre for Career Guidance (VidenCenter for Vejledning in Danish) for professional career guidance counsellors which provides articles, literature and information about courses and conferences for counsellors. Most of UG's content is text-based, but there are also multimedia elements such as films, graphics and interactive inspirational tools. UG has been developed into

a flexible web site that adapts to desktop, tablet and smart phone with the visual adjustments that these media demand, thus ensuring optimal usability and availability. To quality assure information on UG, a corps of external UG-ambassadors recruited from Danish career counsellors provide feedback to the editors and developers of the portal on points for improvement.

It is part of the ministry's expectations that many young people will use their own initiative to seek information and use the tools on the portal. The introduction to the portal given by counsellors and teachers to their pupils has to take this into account. In national level UG is regarded as a core of career guidance in Denmark, and so, students are introduced to it through the school subject Education and Job and through counselling activities in schools. This is one of the reasons why the portal includes a tool-box for counsellors with videos and texts to help them introduce and make use of UG. eVejledning also arranges webinars for counsellors on UG's structure and potential.

The front page of the UG portal presents various entrances you can choose between. The entrances represent the different educational levels: 'Youth education', 'Further education' and 'Adult and supplementary education' as well as 'Information on jobs and the labour market'. Under the heading 'Get inspiration' there is an overview of the tools categorised by the target groups from the front page (see Figure 19.1).

Figure 19.1. The front page of Uddannelsesguiden (UG)

Alongside the entrances to the different education levels a menu provides users with a way of navigating around the site. The middle section of the page emphases content that addresses the guidance needs at the current stage in the school year, such as articles on the admission rules to youth education and higher education. This part gives the front page a dynamic and varied appearance with topical headings and photos. At the bottom of the page there is a 'footer' with links to selected areas of the portal.

Active Participation in the Guidance Process through Online Activities

The UG articles provide information on career possibilities to help young people discover future paths. The digital tools help young people to organise information and focus on their own individual possibilities and priorities. The portal also provides direct access to eVejledning so that young people can access personal guidance to gain a better understanding of their preferences. Personal guidance and tools for self-guidance are aimed at facilitating the counsellee's self-reflection. This is an essential premise for the self-knowledge that is necessary to have a personal sounding board for the many future possibilities. They can be used according to wherever the counsellee is in her career learning process.

A decisive factor, determining whether pupils find the resources available on UG, is the introduction to the portal given at their own school in the subject Education and Job, and in the collective guidance given class-wise by the school counsellors. Informal guidance via their social network and random searches on the internet can, via the portal, be supplemented with online activities that draw on the constructive offline experiences of career practitioners. Use of the tools can help the counsellee to be a more active participant in his/her own clarification and guidance process. For example, the fact that the tool's response is dependent on the counsellee's input allows multiple attempts with varying premises, and this gives a good starting point for seeing oneself in different scenarios. Using the tools in this way can give rise to surprise at the results, and thus to renewed consideration of one's own potential. The clarification reached with the help of the formalised self-help tools can be worked on in the formal guidance situation in schools or eVejledning. The active inclusion of digital resources before, during and after formal guidance sessions, individual and collective, can be important for the young person's career learning process, and her ability to find answers independently. In a knowledge society like Denmark, where education is seen as a path to personal and social progress, formalised self-help via digital tools is not only a possibility but a condition for counsellor and counsellee with an ever-increasing demand for technological solutions from counsellees and from politicians.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-HELP TOOLS

In Denmark self-help via digital tools is one of the components of career counselling activities in secondary school. The self-help approach adopted in the country draws

on Cognitive Information Processing theory (Sampson, Lents, Reardon, & Peterson, 2003). In accordance with the theory our self-help tools are meant for independent or brief counsellor-assisted use for individuals with a high degree of career readiness. Self-help falls midway between professional career guidance and the informal guidance that one receives from friends, family, the media and society. Professionally developed self-help tools can be accessed through UG by young people for free and on their own initiative, or at the instigation of a career guidance counsellor. In this way these counselling activities are aligned with the learning-oriented approach found in Danish career guidance (see Skovhus & Thomsen in this volume).

The development and realisation of the digital self-help tools in UG takes place in close co-operation between counsellors, editors, developers, technicians and web usability experts. A major factor in qualifying the work process is the use of co-creation, where the target group for the tool is actively involved in the process from an early stage. The democratic nature of the development process, in which end users or stakeholders are involved in developing the digital tools or services they themselves will be using, has long traditions in Scandinavia (Kettunen & Felt, Chapter 20, this volume). The interdisciplinary group validates the developed tools from two perspectives, firstly focusing on its quality as a guidance tool and secondly on its usability (Hansen, 2012). The production of ideas and tests of prototypes are typically iterative processes, taking place over a concentrated period of a few days, inspired by the Sprint method developed by Google Venture (Knapp, Zeratsky, & Kowitz, 2016). Sprint is an effective way of testing the guidance potential and the usability of the relevant tool before it is finalised. The starting point for the development is the content of the tool. A single tool on UG cannot in itself relate to all the various phases of the career learning process, but it does have to address typical questions and problems for the phase in question. The first step for developing the content is to clarify the tool's purpose and target group by using such questions as: What is the tool supposed to do? Who is the tool intended for? The answers to these basic questions construct the tool's didactic structure and guide the technical implementation of the content. Generally, the self-help tools on UG are intended to produce 'turbulence' and by doing so give rise to reflection and reconsideration, so that the counsellee can see oneself and one's educational potential from different viewpoints. These tools are meant to be door openers, not a list of answers.

The humanist non-directive approach to career guidance, which typifies Danish counselling (Plant, 2009), is also the basis for the digital tools on UG. Danish counselling has been strongly inspired by Carl Roger's person-centred theory (Rogers, 1951), which since the nineties has been supplemented by constructivist approaches (Plant, 2006). Over the past few years Bill Law's theory on careers education and guidance, which offers a clear pedagogic framework for developing career learning (Law, 2001) has gained a foothold in Danish career guidance and counselling, and thus also in the development of the tools on UG. The framework

emphasises the essential career competences (DOTS) enabling a contemporary career choice: Decision learning (D), Opportunity awareness (O), Transition learning (T), and Self-awareness (S). And it describes four progressively established levels of career learning (New DOTS), which Law describes as sensing, sifting, focusing and understanding.

In developing the self-help tool, the central question, didactically, is: In what way should the counsellee benefit from using the tool? In developing the tool the counsellee is perceived in the centre as an active agent, giving input and receiving response from the tool. The self-help tool activity serves to induce learning on one or several career learning levels. These could, for example, be learning concepts or working with oneself on the basis of investigative questions, dilemmas and so on. The response could be formed as a list of all input as reference for further personal work, or as an overview of educational possibilities sorted by various criteria – these being chosen as relevant by the counsellee. Didactically the portals tools can be classified as scaffolding teaching aids (Hansen & Bundgaard, 2013) that support the counsellee's reflection process regarding life and career. In other words, the designed framework must be such that it supports a structured dialogue between the counsellee and the tool, with focus on choice and reasons during the activity. An important element in the development process is that the design team observe analogue learning processes to gain practical insights into the learning process that the tool is intended to support. When previously tested analogue learning aids are to be converted to digital media, this phase can be omitted.

This didactic design is accompanied by user-friendly interface design to ensure accessibility. As an aid to the counsellee's completion of the activities, texts are written in a clear and straightforward language, and activities components are arranged in an order that conforms to the logic of both content and design. Clear instructions are the path to self-help.

Visually the idea is for the site to have as few elements (buttons, boxes, icons, pictures) as possible, in a coordinated colour scheme, to give a simple and accessible navigation structure. From a multitude of tests we know that the counsellees mostly skim through the screen text. Headings and sub-headings strategically placed can support this navigation strategy, just as it is an advantage for the reader's concentration that the text is divided into manageable bites. At an early stage in the process a prototype of the tool is tested in educational settings by the whole group, each with her own take on the pupils' interaction with the tool. The focus on this phase is on usability and whether the technical solutions work. The main questions are: Is the tool useful for guidance counselling? Are the technical solutions user-friendly? The test could be a systematic 'walk-through' of all functions, where various disciplines note whether pupils can find what they are looking for, and how they find it. Pupil reactions during the test are also noted for use in the subsequent adjustment. The test can also be a 'think-out-loud' test, where pupils make running comments while testing the activity.

The guidance counselling intention of the tool can be put under pressure in this meeting with the target group. The most common feedback from pupils is that they want quick and easy operation with clickable choices rather than text answers. Many of the UG tools are designed with both options in order to keep pupils motivated to stay. It is also perceived that pupils want an immediate response with a tangible result from using a tool, but that the result should preferably keep all future paths open and not shut off any possibilities. This reaction is not surprising, since Danish research into contemporary young people shows that they prefer to avoid specific and long-term plans, which may well turn out to be impracticable anyway in a changing world (Hansen, 2015). Results from these designed digital activities are not definitive, as the activities can be repeated as many times as desired. Thus, several UG tools contribute to a reduction of complexity and present the pupil with relevant possibilities within a limited area of interest enabling one to organise and gain oversight over the information on education and employment.

Didactics and user-friendliness go hand in hand in developing self-help tools. Their usability for the young pupils should however be seen in combination with especially guidance activities with a counsellor, and with the school subject Education and Job.

FROM ANALOGUE CAREER GUIDANCE IDEA TO DIGITAL TOOL

With digital learning technologies it is possible to rethink the form and didactic content of guidance activities, not only as an enhancement of the learning process but also as a transformation of it (Reimer-Mattesen, 2012). A combination of an analogue guidance session with digital activities can benefit pupils' learning, and a practical demonstration of the tool can induce them to use the tool themselves, perhaps with their parent. Involving digital media in guidance activities is not a benefit in itself but can be made beneficial by its planned use.

UG has a section called "My UG" (Mit UG in Danish). The My UG universe contains five digital guidance tools for secondary school pupils. They can be incorporated in guidance activities, preferably led by a practitioner, or in classwork in Education and Job. The tools in My UG are not intended as part of a radical transformation of the learning process, but offer the pupil extended participation compared to analogue tools, so the digital media support the idea of career learning with active participation in focus. With a wide range of multimedia elements such as posters, videos, sounds and photos, and websites with the pupils as active participants and contributors, the combined effect of technology can induce a considerable change of the career learning process.

Two of the tools on "My UG", My Way to Upper secondary (Min Gymnasievej in Danis) and My Strengths (Mine Styrker in Dahish), have both been developed from a well-tried analogue guidance tool. These tools can be used in the 'Sensing' stage of career learning, with focus on broadening horizons and increasing self-knowledge. They represent, too, the two poles that the portal's guidance resources operate between, namely simple matching and open reflection. My Way to Upper secondary

accommodates the young people's wish for a tool that can, on a practical level, match the subjects they are interested in with the various forms of higher secondary schools. You could say that the tool has been developed from, or at least parallel with, trait theory, which is atypical in a Danish context. The idea came from a pupil who, together with a guidance counsellor, developed the board game "Valgstjernen" (The Star of Choice) to help pupils who were in doubt as to their choice of upper secondary schools. In the digital version the pupil chooses five subjects from an exhaustive list of all subjects at this level, regardless of which types of school offer them, and receives feedback in the form of a list of the types of school where these subjects can be found.

The feedback can be printed, saved, or forwarded via email to a selected recipient. The tool can then be used again with a different choice of five subjects. Subjects not offered in lower secondary schools have text boxes with brief descriptions, something that pupils who tested the tool suggested. The clear connection between input and output can inspire pupils to choose other combinations and may lead to them reconsidering their subject priorities, and discovering other types of upper
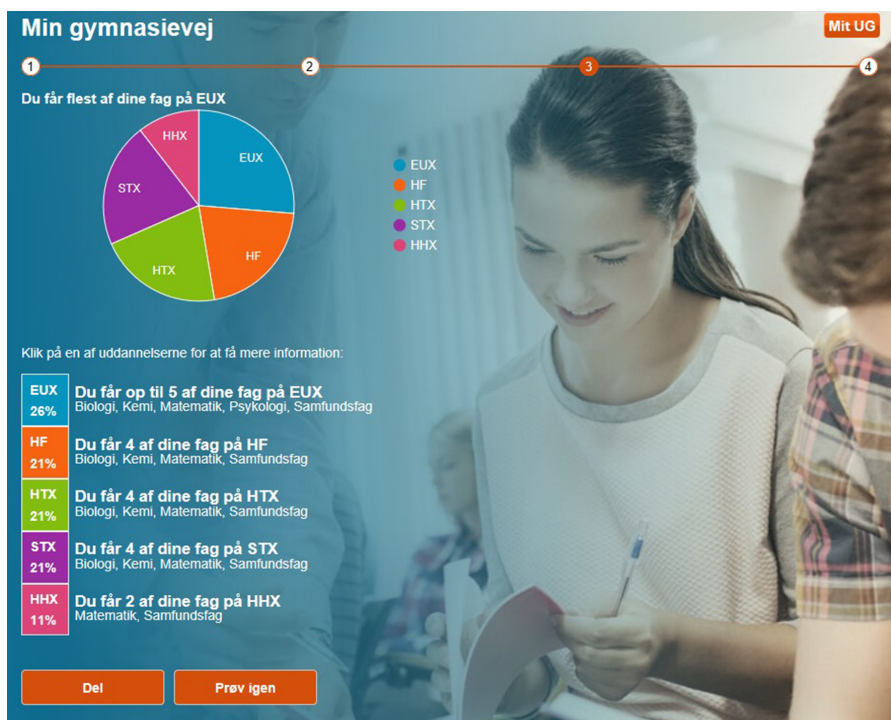
Figure 9.2. The result of a trial run of My Way to Upper secondary (Min Gymnasievej): up to 5 of your subjects at an EUX school, 4 of them at an HF school etc.

secondary schools. Feedback from practitioners says that My Way to Upper secondary (Min Gymnasievej) supports collective guidance sessions in schools, especially before and after the pupils' obligatory participation in an introductory course at an upper secondary school. This tool has got the highest rating (among Mit UG – my UG tools) from the pupils and from teachers/practitioners in UG's user survey. The popularity might be related to the reduction of the complexity of options available.

In the second tool, My Strengths (Mine Styrker), the pupil works with reflection by identifying and using personal strengths as they are defined in positive psychology (Seligman, 2003). The primary idea is to focus on well-being and on situations where we feel good and do well. The tool operates with 24 universal positive character traits, that everybody possesses to some extent, where some few are our top strengths. If we utilise them we will find ourselves in the optimal learning situation, be in flow or personal growth. The idea is that focusing on strengths will automatically give energy to tackle things that can be more difficult. These strengths can be used in many different situations, and are thus quite different from specific abilities, competence at school subjects or special talents. The tool has been thoroughly tested in analogue form, cards are selected, prioritised and discussed in small groups in a collective guidance session. My Strengths is a tool intended to spark reflection, and aims at increasing the pupil's self-knowledge by becoming conscious of her strengths and characteristics. Since the tool addresses the complexity of self-perception, and so demands a high level of reflection, it is first and foremost meant as an independent pupil activity, where the counsellor has introduced the concept of strengths first. Practitioners who lead the collective career guidance in schools gave feedback stating that the My Strengths tool is challenging for pupils conceptually and linguistically, and help from a counsellor is called for if benefits are to be won as far as reflection is concerned.

Besides the tools UG provides ideas as to how to make use of the developed tools. For example, there is an inspirational article for practitioners with idea for guidance sessions with focus on strengths. The tool is one of several elements in a session of about two hours. As an introduction to strengths the counsellor can use a ready-made Prezi-presentation, and the speed-sketch film "Find your strengths" (Find dine styrker). The pupils then choose one or more strengths that they feel are characteristic for them. Subsequently the pupils work in groups with cases where four young people are described, and where their strengths are gauged by the group. After this exercise the pupils are introduced to My Strengths via an instructional film, and then work individually with the tool. The pupil has to describe with a single word a situation from their own experience where she was glad and focused. It could be a project, a football match, a favourite subject or something else entirely. Thinking of that situation the pupil now has to say (1) to what extent the personal challenge was at the right level (2) whether she lost her sense of time (3) whether focus could be maintained and (4) whether the situation was under control. It is the motivated and absorbing activity that is the starting point for identifying strengths. If

the pupil has a high score meaning many 'yes' or 'yes partly' answers, then she has to identify what it was that made her particularly happy in that situation. The pupil has to choose at least one of the 24 strengths categorized in 6 areas of strength: You think things over; You are there for others; You have the courage to be yourself; You have discipline, and The world is bigger than you. After this choice the pupil is given a recap with a text box in which she can describe which strength she will use in the immediate future and how. The result can be printed out, saved or sent forwarded via email to a chosen recipient. Afterwards the group discuss their experiences and reflect on their choices. Finally, in plenum, the young people discuss what insight they have gained about themselves, and how they can continue working along these lines in school, at home with the family and in their leisure time. So technology can help build scaffolding around the pupils' career choices, and to support the counsellor's activities, but there is, too, a need for scaffolding around the actual integration of technology in career guidance activities.

CHALLENGES

Despite the high level of digitalisation in Denmark, the development and use of digital self-help guidance tools has its challenges. One general challenge in the use of the tools, either as part of collective guidance or independently, is young people's lack of a navigation strategy both on the UG portal and on the internet. Young people are proficient with computers, tablets and smart phones, but they need to be trained on planned search strategy, targeted use of the tools such as UG and a critical appraisal of the results provided by such self-help tools.

The demand for digitalised guidance tools from counsellees, practitioners and politicians will presumably increase as more and more areas of our lives are digitalised. The UG tools have been received generally well and have been evaluated positively in our user surveys. My Way to Upper secondary (Min Gymnasievej) scores 4.1 and My Strengths (Mine Styrker), 3.9 on a scale of 1 to 5. There is however still a great potential if the knowledge and use of these tools were increased amongst both pupils and practitioners (Lagoni, Hein, & Beigi, 2017).

The pitfall for any digital tool on UG could be that they tend to be built on a generalised content, which can have a negative effect on the learning benefits for the individual, and for usage of the tool. There is always a risk that the simplification of complex problems will be an oversimplification, with a consequent reduction of their significance. Currently no survey exists to show whether that is the case here. In cooperation with school counsellors a number of barriers to the integration of guidance technologies were, in 2017, identified. One of these was the counsellors' expressed need to feel ownership of and motivation for the UG to be used in a counselling course. That means that counsellors often do not adopt the materials and course suggestions in the toolboxes on UG directly. Furthermore, it is known that the counsellors own perception of technology and their prejudices about the limited

use of digital tools in guidance situations, prevents them from producing their own creative plans with technology integrated in them (e.g. Kettunen, Vuorinen, & Sampson, 2013; Lagoni et al., 2017).

The development of UG tools is challenged by its financing, for the economic resources are granted piecemeal, and for the most part as part of a political initiative that does not take due consideration of the vision of easy access to life-long guidance. Resources for development are thus given with a specific focus from the topical political agenda, often earmarked for one particular tool at a time – which is another reason why the tools are separate entities that exist independently of each other. The development of each tool has to be approved at each stage by a political committee consisting of representatives of the organisations involved in that particular area of education, who often have high expectations of what the tool will be able to do. However, counsellors know from experience, that digital guidance tools function best when the problems they address are not too complex. Using a digital tool is thus not a quick fix as far as career guidance and counselling is concerned. Nor can career learning technologies be constructed so as to give a pre-determined learning benefit, but they can contribute to giving structure and to indicating a possible path for future plans. Self-help via UG's digital portal has to be seen together with the other guidance activities and options. The tools can be used before, during or after formal guidance as desired, independently or after an introduction by a guidance counsellor. They cannot stand alone, but they are an extension of possibilities for active career learning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The UG is constructed as a guidance resource for those seeking guidance and for counsellors, who provide information on education and employment, tools and films for self-help, and offer digitally based guidance, individually or collectively. Thus UG fulfils its ambition, to be a resource that facilitates finding and choosing an education or an employment, by being at one and the same time an online reference book with relevant information in multimedia format, a channel for synchronous or asynchronous communication with professional guidance counsellors in eVejledning and a resource for self-help via interactive tools.

ICT used in career guidance and counselling is an emerging area worldwide. More research evidence on the actual impact of this use on the counsellee's career learning is needed. And training opportunities for career practitioners in this special field (Kettunen, Lindberg, Nygaard, & Kardal, Chapter 11, this volume) are increasingly important to support the integration of digital media in the career guidance services in general.

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JAANA KETTUNEN AND TEIJA FELT

20. ONE-STOP GUIDANCE SERVICE CENTRES IN FINLAND

ABSTRACT

This chapter describes Finnish efforts to introduce and expand the service model known as the 'One-Stop Guidance Centre' as a tool for Youth Guarantee implementation. A One-Stop Guidance Centre is a physical location where a young person can access the entire service provision. Firstly, the chapter explores the levels of youth unemployment in Nordic countries. Secondly, the evolution and development of the One-Stop Guidance Centres based on the private-public-people-partners approach is presented. Lastly, some emerging outcomes are reviewed.

INTRODUCTION

Youth inclusion in the labour market is a major challenge across much of Europe, including the Nordic countries (e.g. Eurostat, 2019; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2015). At times of economic transformation, young people are usually the most vulnerable group and encounter greater difficulties when entering the labour market. The complexity of this transition reflects four interrelated challenges: school dropout, lack of employment opportunities, labour market segmentation – that is, the employment of young workers on different terms, conditions and opportunities from older workers – and early exit and termination of contracts (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2015). Young people are often offered temporary (short-term) contracts, must usually accept less favourable working conditions because their limited professional experience, and are at greater risk of losing their job than older workers (e.g. Bussi & Geyer, 2013; O'Higgins, 2010). If employers are reducing their workforce to adjust to a lower turnover, young people without work experience are less likely to be hired and are often the first to be dismissed from their employment contract (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2015).

In 2013, the member states of the European Union (EU) agreed to launch the Youth Guarantee to tackle youth unemployment. This EU initiative aims to provide all under-25-year-olds with an offer of good quality employment, continued education, an apprenticeship or traineeship within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving formal education (European Council, 2013). Some Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland and Sweden), as well as Austria and Germany,

have even opted for a shorter period of three months (Escudero & López Mourelo, 2017). The Youth Guarantee is among the most comprehensive and innovative labour market policies of the last few decades and has received strong support and additional funding in many countries from all stakeholders, including governments, social partners and civil society (e.g. Escudero, Kûhn, López Mourelo, & Tobin, 2018; Escudero & López Mourelo, 2015). On the other hand, the available funding can also be an issue because the effective implementation of the Youth Guarantee is resource intensive and requires substantial public- or private-sector investment (O'Reilly et al., 2015).

The idea of a Youth Guarantee first emerged in the 1980s and 1990s in the Nordic countries. This is unsurprising, as these countries have long pioneered labour market policies for activation (Escudero & López Mourelo, 2015). Sweden introduced the first Youth Guarantee in 1984, followed by Norway in 1993. Denmark and Finland introduced their Youth Guarantee programmes in 1996 as a more innovative and effective means of addressing deficiencies in youth employment (ILO, 2013; Mascherini, 2012; OECD, 2015). Although introduced amid many difficulties, these projects proved valuable as a basis for future efforts (Hummeluhr, 1997).

Given that young people are a diverse group, the Youth Guarantee programme (European Council, 2013) takes as its starting point the need to tailor all measures to each individual seeking employment. Implementation of this scheme commonly necessitates the reform of professional training systems, education systems and the public employment service (PES). Indeed, in many countries these structural changes or reforms are required to ensure individual young people receive appropriate advice on the job, education, and training opportunities most relevant to their own needs within a four-month timeframe (e.g. Escudero & López Mourelo, 2015; O'Reilly et al., 2015). The European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN) Concept Note on the Youth Guarantee and lifelong guidance (Borbély-Pecze & Hutchinson, 2013) was designed to support national administrations in responding to these challenges. Borbély-Pecze's and Hutchinson (2013) contended that successful and sustainable implementation of the initiative would depend on the effective integration of lifelong guidance practice into national Youth Guarantee programmes. Lifelong guidance in this context refers to a range of activities that support citizens to identify their capacities, competencies and interests and to make career decisions that enable them to manage their own life paths in learning, work and other settings. Without this, they argued, the Youth Guarantee would produce only temporary and short-term activities to 'get young people off the streets'. With proper integration, however, the initiative could become a 'springboard to a better future' (Borbély-Pecze & Hutchinson, 2013, p. 18).

With the growing complexity of societies and labour markets, one of the key roles of guidance services is to help individuals to develop the necessary skills to transition effectively through learning and work for personal and career purposes. In this regard, the wider paradigm of lifelong guidance is seen as an important

cross-cutting theme, linking policy fields such as schools, vocational education and training (VET), higher education, adult learning, employment and social inclusion, as well as horizontal policies related to youth, active ageing and citizens with special needs (Hooley, 2014).

National Youth Guarantee programmes include measures to provide education, targeted training or employment opportunities for young people. Although these national schemes are based on the European Youth Guarantee policy framework and must meet certain criteria, their design and implementation varies widely from country to country (Escudero & López Mourelo, 2015). This chapter begins by introducing the youth unemployment trends in Nordic countries and the 'one-stop' concept of service delivery before introducing the Finnish One-Stop Guidance Centre approach as a tool for Youth Guarantee implementation.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN NORDIC COUNTRIES

The many similarities between Nordic countries include training and labour market conditions for young people. As compared to other European countries, a high proportion of young people complete a more extensive education, with relatively fewer 15–24-year-olds outside both the education system and the workforce. On closer examination, however, some significant differences emerge between Nordic countries in relation to entry conditions for young people (Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2012).

Youth unemployment rates are used by public employment services and other public institutions as indicators for adjusting intervention and integration measures. The youth unemployment rate is the number of unemployed 15–24-year-olds expressed as a percentage of the youth labour force. According to Eurostat (2019), overall youth employment in EU Member States stood at 15.2% in 2018. In Nordic countries, the highest rates were in Finland (17.0%) and Sweden (16.8%) while the lowest was Iceland (6.1%). Although rates in Finland and Sweden exceed the EU average this does not necessarily mean that a large number of 15–24-year-olds are unemployed (Grunfelder, Rispling, & Norledn, 2018). In these statistics young people are classified as unemployed if they report that they are without work, that they are available for work and that they have taken active steps to find work in the last four weeks. In reality, there are a great number of full-time students among unemployed young people who are seeking, for example, part-time employment during studies or work during summer holidays. For example, in 2015, more than half of those young people included in the unemployment rate in Finland were actually students enjoying public student benefits (Official statistics of Finland, 2016). Eurostat unemployment statistics, in line with ILO standards, do not exclude students from unemployment just because they are students. Because not every young person is in the labour market, the youth unemployment rate does not reflect the proportion of all young adults who are unemployed (Eurostat, n.d.). A more

realistic figure is the youth unemployment ratio, which measures the number of unemployed young people in relation to the total population of young people of the same age. The youth unemployment ratio is by definition always smaller than the youth unemployment rate, typically less than half of it. This difference is entirely due to the different denominators (Eurostat, n.d.). In the Nordic countries in 2018, the lowest youth unemployment ratio for 15- to 24-year-olds was in Iceland (4.9%), followed by Norway (5.3%) while the highest were in Sweden (9.1%) and Finland (9.0%) (Eurostat, 2019). Although the rates in Finland were high, Finnish youth are usually unemployed for a short time (OECD, 2019b). The average duration was only 3.3 months, which was the second lowest duration among the nine OECD countries for which the statistic was available. In Norway, the average length of unemployment spell was 4.6 months. According to OECD (2019b) in 2017 the share of youths in Finland who remain unemployed for half a year or longer was 14.3% while the share across the OECD was twice as high (28.9%). In Norway and Sweden 30.9% and 21.5 of unemployed youth, respectively, were in this category in 2017.

As a Nordic welfare society, Finland performs well on many indicators, but the current state of youth unemployment remains a cause for concern. To improve implementation of the Youth Guarantee programme (European Council, 2013), Finland has concentrated on the introduction and expansion of the 'One-Stop Guidance Centre' service model, which is a joint initiative endorsed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. It was decided that the 2014–2020 European Social Fund (ESF) funding for the Youth Guarantee (under the auspices of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment) would be allocated to the development and coordination of One-Stop Guidance Centres.

ONE-STOP GUIDANCE CENTRES

Although the 'one-stop' concept of service delivery is not new (see Hellerman, 1975), it has only recently come to prominence in the reinvention of employment and related social services delivery. Several countries have developed one-stop centres for careers and employment advice and guidance and counselling, with services provided under one roof (OECD, 2004, 2019a). One-stop centres have evolved to address problems that include fragmentation, lack of collaboration, limited resources and duplication of employment and related social services (Sampson & Reardon, 1998). Four basic design principles have guided the development of this one-stop approach: (a) universal access, (b) customer choice, (c) integrated services and (d) accountability. Universal access provides customers with easy and in some cases unrestricted access to the information and services they need. Customer choice enables individuals to decide which services are most appropriate to their needs, including self-help options. Integrated services minimise fragmentation, duplication and resource limitations by encouraging service providers to collaborate,

establishing common service functions (e.g. intake) and sharing infrastructure (e.g. data management). Accountability shapes the evolution of one-stop centres by emphasising performance driven or outcome-based services (Sampson & Reardon, 1998). The one-stop approach can be implemented either as a traditional physical office or as a virtual location on a digital platform (e.g. Arnkil, Spangar, & Vuorinen, 2017; ELGPN, 2010), or as a mix of these.

Frequently referred to as one-stop shops or centres, or more generally as integrated services, the actual structure of these facilities and the services they provide differs widely (Minas, 2014), ranging from co-location to integration of separate organisations (Sampson, McClain, Musch, & Reardon, 2017). Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (2017) identified three types of one-stop guidance centre in the Baltic Sea Region. The first of these is the one-stop centre as programme; specialists typically provide guidance counselling and coaching and psychological counselling, and help users to find internships, vocational training opportunities or jobs. Operations depend on access to funding and are usually project-based as an independent adjunct to existing services. The second type of one-stop centre offers the usual a la carte services and activities, complemented by employment measures. This entails close cooperation with public employment services, social insurance agencies and other relevant actors, who are either kept informed or are invited to run certain activities. In some cases, a centre coordinator mediates cooperation among these government institutions and other actors to provide the necessary support to users. The third and final type is collaboration-based and involves the most developed level of integration and institutional cooperation. Vertical and horizontal levels of governance at one location ensure a clear chain of events once the young person's needs, qualities and strengths have been defined. In practice this means that all services are located in the same building, and in many cases, a designated case officer guides the service user, with interaction and follow-up to ensure successful return to or integration at school, in the labour market or in society. Emphasis is put on active measures that intend to integrate the person into the labour market. Staff in the One-Stop Guidance Centres are recruited by the relevant institution (e.g. municipality, educational institution, the social insurance institution, public employment services, etc.) but are based on the premises.

ONE-STOP GUIDANCE CENTRES IN FINLAND

The Finnish One-Stop Guidance Centre (Ohjaamo in Finnish) concept is founded on European Council initiative: the Recommendation on Establishing a Youth Guarantee (European Commission, 2012, 2013).

Evolution and Development of the One-Stop Guidance Centres

In 2007–2018, Finland introduced several policy initiatives and national development projects to enhance networked guidance services, with support from

the ESF. The introduction of One-Stop Guidance Centres in Finland was driven by studies commissioned by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (e.g. Harju et al., 2014) that asked young persons under the age of 25 years about their service needs and their views on the Finnish PES system. The results showed that young people favour face-to-face rather than online services. While e-services were considered useful for general support, they preferred to discuss matters of importance in person with a specialist in that area. Additionally, there is evidence (e.g. Notkola et al., 2013) of overlaps and complexity in the structure of services that need to be jointly addressed (Savolainen, Virnes, Hilpinen, & Palola, 2015). Despite the number of services available, the overall service was seen to be somewhat fragmented; where there were multiple issues to discuss, young people had to make multiple appointments with different offices, making it difficult to benefit from the service when it was most needed. This also meant that no service provider had a holistic overview of the young person's situation across all aspects of their life, (Savolainen, et al., 2015) and, as a result of this, the threshold for seeking help at all might become too high.

Since early 2013, Finland has focused on regional and cross-sectoral employment and education priorities, supported by co-operative developments in lifelong learning and lifelong guidance (LLG) (see Toni & Vuorinen, Chapter 9, this volume, for a wider commentary on Finnish career guidance policy). The development, design and implemention of guidance services is undertaken by 15 regional authorities through ELY Centres (Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment) which all have established regional lifelong guidance forums. This work is co-ordinated by a government-designated national working group, with a mandate from the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Employment and the Economy. In its first working period (2010–2011), the group launched a national LLG strategy for both sectors for the years 2012–2016. A new group was designated in February 2015, with a mandate covering the years 2015–2020. This group remained in place to update the strategy for the years 2016–2020 and to follow up its implementation and to serve as an Advisory Group for national guidance development programmes.

Partly in response to the above findings, the Finnish PES sought to develop One-Stop Guidance Centres focused on youth, with the help of the national working group, the trade unions and a number of ministries. The positive experience of services already developed (Keränen, 2012) and the desire to make it easier for young people to find employment and education contributed to the decision. The first One-Stop Guidance Centre for young people opened in autumn 2014 as an element of Youth Guarantee implementation, and the practice was rolled out nationwide in 2015 with ESF support. One-Stop Guidance Centres have also been established by local authorities, with no external project funding. To ensure that the system of services is feasible and cost-efficient, there is a growing tendency to increase service users' involvement in the co-development and co-production of

services (Saarelainen, Mäensivu, & Minkkinen, 2018), building on what is known as the 4P approach (private-public-people-partnership) (Ng, Wong, & Wong, 2013), which has been in place since 2013.

The 4P framework embraces bottom-up participative strategies that place public engagement at the heart of infrastructure planning and policy making. Through this proactive engagement, decision-making power shifts from policy makers – traditionally the ultimate decision authority – to citizens. This strategy enhances the development process by moderating the risk of unforeseen opposition, building clear responsibilities and rights and creating opportunities for public input (Ng et al., 2013). Successful partnerships achieve their objectives more effectively when all stakeholders are actively involved (Mohr & Spekman, 1994).

Reconciling different operative and guidance cultures and establishing collaboration-based One-Stop Guidance Centres (Sampson et al., 2017; Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2017) with common concepts and ways of working have taken time. In the development phase, the definition of what constitutes a One-Stop Guidance Centre remained deliberately quite loose, leaving room to adapt the concept to local conditions. Staff from different organisations simultaneously identify with their home organisation and the One-Stop Guidance Centre network and its goals. In nearly all of the centres, young people also participate in operational planning and contribute to brainstorming and planning at the launch stage. As geographic location and conditions in the municipality also have an impact on operations, the organisational model for services varies, and each One-Stop Guidance Centre is different (Kautto, Korpilauri, Pudas, & Savonmäki, 2018).

Objective and Operations of Finnish One-Stop Guidance Centres

One-Stop Guidance Centres have now been placed on a permanent footing, and the network of centres has been expanded (Prime Minister's Office Finland, 2018) as a Youth Guarantee implementation tool right across Finland. In spring 2019, there were almost 70 centres in total, with about 500 professionals from different sectors working there on at least one day each week. The centres operate in more than 100 municipalities, from Finland's metropolitan capital to the rural heartlands.

The overarching objective is to provide low-threshold service points for young people up to the age of 30 years. This 'user interface' supports access to the entire service provision system, and users need not know exactly which authority or service provider they need to contact (Saarelainen et al., 2018). As low-threshold guidance centres, they enable young people to access services without an appointment, so improving outreach to individuals with unfulfilled service needs (Törmä, 2009). However, improved access to low-threshold services is not a given but rather depends on the service content, goals and users. For some, the threshold may still prove too high. Staff members and stakeholders have emphasised that if centres concentrate excessively on young people with multiple problems, this may lead to a situation where others who could benefit from the services choose not to access

them for fear of being stigmatised. On the other hand, they highlight that if the focus is excessively on employment and career guidance, this may raise the bar for those whose primary needs relate more to social and health issues (Nieminen, 2018). All services offered by One-Stop Guidance Centres are non-compulsory, and young people can even visit the centres anonymously. In fact, many of the customers are walk-ins looking for advice.

The essential purpose of these centres is to provide information, advice and guidance to young people in relation to any relevant service available for them, including PES employment services, Social Insurance Institution of Finland benefits, health and mental health services, services for substance abusers, municipal social services, study counselling, job coaching, youth work outreach and youth workshops. As well as group sessions, young people can access individual counselling and guidance regarding employment or education, life management and career planning and the development of social and other skills required in everyday life. Social workers and nurses can provide counselling in health and social security issues, and there are recruitment events. The centres collaborate with companies to promote youth employment opportunities in their region. Beyond face-to-face services, a nationwide online guidance service for young people is in development and will be commissioned at a later date. Young people have emphasised the importance of both face-to-face and digital services, which can complement each other if properly implemented (Kettunen & Sampson, 2019; Kettunen, Sampson, & Vuorinen, 2015; Saarelainen et al., 2017).
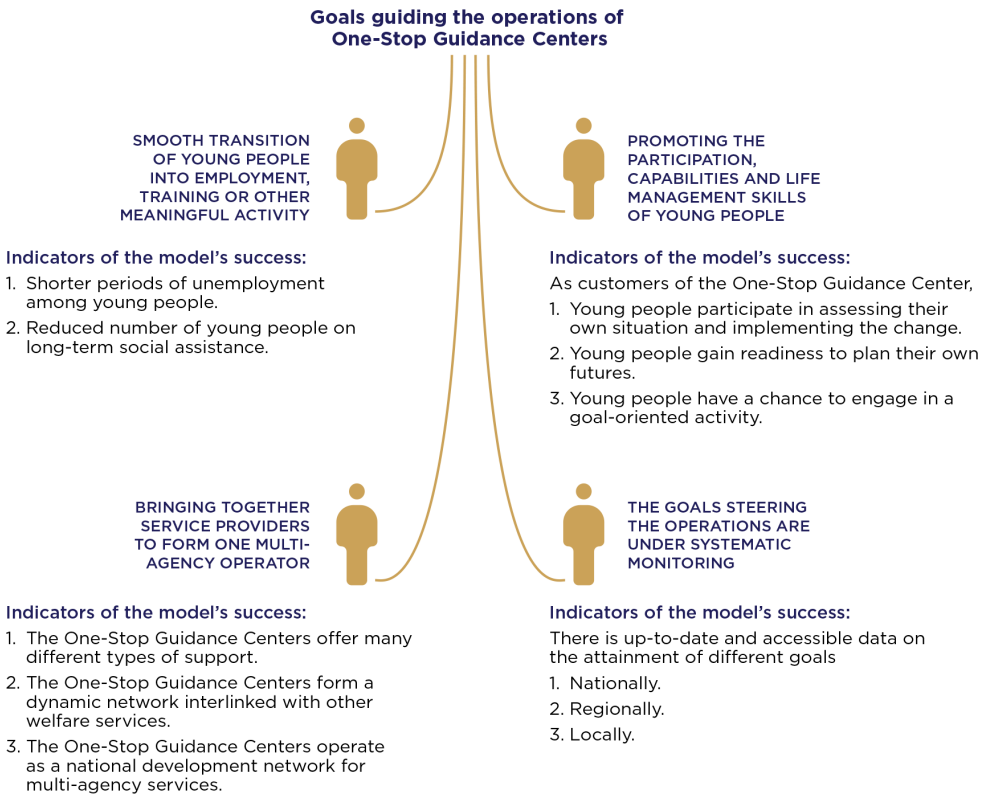
The professionals who staff the centres remain employees of their host organisation (e.g. the municipality, educational institution, the social insurance institution or public employment service) but are based on the premises. The work in centres is based on agreed practices and the conscious development of a transdisciplinary approach in the guidance processes. Transdisciplinary collaboration entails a shift from traditional expert services and established networks to a dynamic combination of independent and communal ways of working. The professionals' inputs vary from full-time to collaborative periodic sessions (Sorsa, 2019). This collaboration-based service model (Sampson et al., 2017; Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2017) is flexible and agile, and new services can be added as and when demand arises (Saarelainen et al., 2018).

The centres are governed by national guidelines (Figure 20.1) and cross-ministerial strategic planning. Operations align with national goals, and activities are shaped by those goals. Key performance indicators are developed continuously to assess concrete outcomes and impacts.

Emerging Outcomes

According to professionals involved in designing and delivering the service, the Finnish One-Stop Guidance Centre model is unlikely to have been as ambitious

**Goals guiding the operations of
One-Stop Guidance Centers**

SMOOTH TRANSITION
OF YOUNG PEOPLE
INTO EMPLOYMENT,
TRAINING OR OTHER
MEANINGFUL ACTIVITY

PROMOTING THE
PARTICIPATION,
CAPABILITIES AND LIFE
MANAGEMENT SKILLS
OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Indicators of the model's success:

1. Shorter periods of unemployment
among young people.
2. Reduced number of young people on
long-term social assistance.

Indicators of the model's success:

As customers of the One-Stop Guidance Center,

1. Young people participate in assessing their
own situation and implementing the change.
2. Young people gain readiness to plan their own
futures.
3. Young people have a chance to engage in a
goal-oriented activity.

BRINGING TOGETHER
SERVICE PROVIDERS
TO FORM ONE MULTI-
AGENCY OPERATOR

THE GOALS STEERING
THE OPERATIONS ARE
UNDER SYSTEMATIC
MONITORING

Indicators of the model's success:

1. The One-Stop Guidance Centers offer many
different types of support.
2. The One-Stop Guidance Centers form a
dynamic network interlinked with other
welfare services.
3. The One-Stop Guidance Centers operate
as a national development network for
multi-agency services.

Indicators of the model's success:

There is up-to-date and accessible data on
the attainment of different goals

1. Nationally.
2. Regionally.
3. Locally.

*Figure 20.1. Goals guiding the operations of One-Stop Guidance Centers
(from MEAE, 2018, p. 2)*

in terms of scale or multi-professionalism without European funding (Ahmed, Reynolds, Stanley, Gulyurlu, & Gabriela, 2017). One major challenge was to transform this into a permanent practice and to convince key stakeholders to remain on board, especially once ESF funding had ended (Savolainen, 2018). With increasing evidence of the model's impact, it has become easier to achieve this.

The multi-professional approach has enabled participating professionals to learn more about previously unconnected services and fields and the roles of different agencies and partners (e.g. Ahmed et al., 2017; Saarelainen et al., 2017). Barriers between the various public and private sector actors have been removed, and cooperation has improved. In the communities of practice literature, there is frequent

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reference to boundary spanning, describing the challenges faced by two or more organisations in understanding each other and achieving a level of collaboration that supports information sharing and, more importantly, production of new knowledge through joint learning and problem solving (e.g. Harvey, Peterson, & Anand, 2014; Valkokari et al., 2014). When professionals work well together, costs can be lowered, services are not duplicated, and the identification and response to persons needs can occur more quickly (Richardson & Patana, 2012). Co-location of all service providers also contributes to improved service delivery.

Although there has been a general reduction in youth unemployment in Finland in locations served by a one-stop guidance centre, this cannot be attributed to the centres alone (Adams, 2018). The One-Stop Guidance Centres offer different types of services and accurately tracking customers is challenging. The Centres can guide young people to contact a project outside a Centre but it is difficult to measure what the impact of the One-Stop-Shop Guidance Centre is in such a case. It may lead to a positive result for the young person but how much of it can be attributed to the Guidance Centre itself is difficult to establish. The Finnish PES is therefore working on developing a tracking system to create more accurate follow-up data (Savolainen, 2017).

There has been an attempt to collect data on the transitions made by the young people visiting the One-Stop Guidance Centers (Määttä, 2018). These records are based on fragmented registers specific to an individual administrative branch or to a locality and concern only part of the One-Stop Guidance Centre visitors. The indicative transition records suggest that of those visitors who find a solution to their need the most likely outcome is to be employed, apply for and receive a place leading to a degree, secure a rehabilitation job, work trial or job coaching, or to find an apartment (Määttä, 2018). Recent data from the centres' nationwide feedback on guidance indicated an average client satisfaction rate of 9.25 (ranging from a lowest score of 4 to a highest score of 10) (Määttä, 2018). The open-ended questions found that participants' experiences were 97% positive, and they felt they were able to contribute to decisions about their own lives. Interviews with a small number of One-Stop Guidance Centre visitors revealed that young people who had experienced both the integrated service model of the One-Stop Guidance Centre and the previous public service employment model found the former of greater value in finding a job or training opportunity and sourcing information (Sorsa, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The One-Stop Guidance Centres for young people have become one of the Finnish Government's spearhead projects. The network continues to evolve and develop, and the centres have been showcased as an example of what can be achieved with ESF funding. Adopted as a permanent measure during the government period 2015–2019, the centres now extend throughout Finland and offer a wider range of services

than initially planned. The operating model is based on local contracts and depends on strong partnerships between multiple actors, as well as new operating practices and skills in multi-sector management. Co-locating different public services under one roof, involving users and stakeholders in designing services and creating new forms of 'public-private-people partnership', the One-Stop Guidance Centre model reflects the ideas of New Public Governance (Osborn, 2006, 2010), with a strong focus on collaboration and horizontal ties between individuals and agencies. The centres are a good example of horizontal policy integration, in which a single point of access facilitates information and referral to the right service, showing how more effective collaboration can lead ultimately to fuller use of higher-quality resources and services. In a further development, digital solutions and services will play a significant role in reaching and serving young people in more remote areas. The next long-term goal is to establish similar centres or an equivalent service model for all age groups.

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HELENE FREDRIKSEN

21. CAREER GUIDANCE FOR REFUGEES IN A NORDIC CONTEXT

The Need to Emphasise a More Collective Approach

ABSTRACT

This chapter will address the need for a more collective approach to the career counselling of refugees and immigrants arriving in the Nordic countries. In order to meet their needs, we must define the concept and purpose of career guidance in broader ways. Picture-based group guidance seems to be particularly relevant for refugees with limited educational backgrounds. Common career guidance sessions for couples generally seems to work really well. In a Nordic context we must be particularly aware that family relations play a central role in most refugees' establishment of a new life in our societies. This might challenge the typical Nordic notion of integration as consensus and sameness.

INTRODUCTION

In 2004 Norway established a new statutory arrangement called the Introduction Programme based upon the Introduction Act (2003, pp. 241–242). The main goal of the programme was to strengthen refugees' opportunities to take part in the Norwegian work place and to be economically self-sufficient.

Career guidance given as early as possible after arriving in a new country offers refugees and migrants the opportunity to map their competence and skills, decide what education and training opportunities to take up and consider how these skills can be used in the workplace (NOU 2016:7, 2016, p. 191). The opportunity to receive work-related career guidance can hasten refugees and migrants integration into Norwegian society and help them to avoid social exclusion (NOU 2016:7, 2016).

Refugees and other immigrants with non-western backgrounds generally have a lower level of education and participation in the workforce (Statistics Norway, 2018). A significant number of the women refugees show inconsistent participation in the Introduction Programme and consequently make slower progress in learning the Norwegian language (Djuve, Kavli, Sterri, & Bråten, 2017). For young men with little or no educational background, statistics show that the rate of those who enter the workplace or education is around 61%. For women of the same age group,

this number shrinks to 27% (Djuve et al., 2017). These numbers suggest that the Introduction Programme does not work as intended for those with limited formal educational backgrounds.

THE INTEGRATION RECEPTION CENTRE IN OSLO

In 2015 over 31,000 refugees arrived in Norway, three times as many as in the preceding years (Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, 2014). This was mainly a result of the war in Syria and the increasing number of people fleeing from African countries due to conflicts, poverty, and climate change. Over 15,000 of the refugees came during October and November. The Norwegian reception system was poorly prepared for this significant increase in asylum seekers and almost collapsed. Many temporary reception camps were set up and five new integration reception centres were established in 2016. The centres were based upon a new model of a full-time qualifications programme which aimed to assist the refugees to integrate better. The purpose was to achieve a more efficient transition towards the Introduction Programme through early intervention and cooperation between public agencies. Norwegian courses, mapping of skills, career guidance, and improving refugees and migrants' knowledge of Norwegian society were emphasised. The project was led by Skills Norway on behalf of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security. The regional career centres in Norway were assigned to develop and deliver career guidance for the refugees.

One of these new reception centres was established in Oslo and it was my responsibility to coordinate and develop career guidance for the refugees in cooperation with different public agencies such as the Education Authority and the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration. The Oslo Integration Reception centre accommodated 150 people. The majority of residents came from smaller towns or villages in Syria and Eritrea and had mostly worked as farmers or unskilled manual workers. The majority of the women had never had any paid work. It was soon identified that many of those who arrived had little or no educational background. Many were unable to read or write in their native language, and many did not have any digital competence either. Barely half of the newcomers had finished secondary education. Only around 5% of the Eritreans had achieved any form of higher education, and many of these had spent a significant part of their lives in the military. Prior to the start of the project it was expected that a high percentage of the Syrian refugees would be highly educated. However, this was soon discovered not to be the case, with only 10–15% having received higher education. The majority of the refugees did not have any documentation on their school attendance.

In addition to educational issues, many had also suffered from traumas, both physical and psychological, which meant that they often had severe obstacles to overcome when it came to learning. We experienced a number of refugees who slept for long parts of the day whilst others could not sleep due to constant nightmares.

Many were mostly concerned about how they were going to tackle the following day or the welfare of their children. Career guidance was not seen as a priority and many had never encountered the concept of 'career guidance' before. Consequently, we had to adjust and customise guidance and take a broad perspective on how we defined career guidance. We tried to be as flexible and helpful as we could. Often, in the first conversation which was more like a 'getting to know you' informal chat, we discovered several challenges which had to be dealt with. At times a part of each session was used to discuss the refugee's frustration and the practical difficulties facing them: lack of sleep, worries for the Norwegian child welfare authorities, worries regarding the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI), the ability to live with others in the reception centre and its facilities, as well as a complete lack of private life.

Integration has become a powerful emic term attributed with particular cultural, social, and political meaning denoting what it takes for immigrants, refugees and their descendants, to become a proper member of a given society (Olwig, 2010, p. 187). It is at this point important to be aware of the common Nordic notion of what integration means. Scandinavian welfare societies are predicated on notions of sameness and consensus, and the incorporation of immigrants and refugees is seen as a responsibility of the welfare state. (Olwig, 2010, p. 185). But the efforts of turning immigrants and refugees into 'good citizens' might fail as we try to shape these population groups – socially, culturally, physically and psychologically – according to Scandinavian norms (Olwig, 2010).

Integration programmes for refugees have a propensity to treat people in terms of categories that can be dealt with in the bureaucratic system (Eastmond, 2011, p. 281). The tendency to define refugees as dependent and a burden on receiving countries has also been well documented in international research on southern countries (Eastmond, 2011). Refugees within the welfare institutions of northern states, as clients, may be perceived in similar terms. Clients in welfare bureaucracies tend to be seen as incomplete persons with diminished agency (Eastmond, 2011, p. 282). We should be highly aware of this in the work with career guidance for refugees and immigrants.

The Use of Interpreters in Career Guidance

There was always a professional interpreter present during all meetings we had with the refugees. However, using an interpreter in career guidance is a skill that needs to be learned. Face-to-face interpretation is the most efficient way of interpretation in a counselling session. When using an interpreter, it is important to speak in clear and short sentences, so that the interpreter can translate what is needed before starting a new sentence. The counsellor should not say too much before receiving an answer from the counselee. When working with an interpreter, it's important that we engage in what is known as active listening. Listening can be broken down into three levels:

(1) inner listening; (2) focused listening; and (3) non-verbal listening (Gjerde, 2010, pp. 121–123).

Listening on level 2 and level 3 is more challenging when using an interpreter. It can also be quite time consuming and therefore requires that more time is allocated for career guidance sessions. Not all aspects of active listening can be easily used, such as halting the conversation or repeating a specific part of a question. Making and maintaining eye contact with the counselee is also an important part of non-verbal listening, but it is not always easy when an interpreter is involved. Non-verbal listening is an intuitive form of listening which it is difficult to manage when working with an interpreter. When you are listening at level 3 in an interpreted conversation, there will be moments of body positioning, voice control, or posture, which cannot be fully conveyed through the interpretation and yet must be attended to by the career counsellor.

It is also important to communicate directly to the counselee and not to the interpreter. We experienced it as quite usual for the counselees to approach the interpreter directly rather than the career counsellor, and we found this a major challenge in all situations including an interpreter. Other times we experienced that neutral interpretation was not always in place either, as both the interpreter and the counselee could come from different tribes or different sides of a conflict. We had to be careful about which interpreters we used when counselling Syrian refugees as some identified strongly with conservative political parties while others supported Bashar al-Assad. Regional dialects and accents also made things harder than first envisaged. For example, the Kurdish language is characterised by several regional dialects that have to be taken into consideration when using an interpreter as there is no guarantee that all interpreters can understand local dialects.

The challenges facing multi-cultural communication and the use of interpreters was also addressed in a Finnish research project (Launikari, 2005) which considered the interpreter's role as a facilitator in intercultural communication. This research project asked 20 Finnish career counsellors about their experiences in the use of interpreters in career guidance with immigrants and their experience was very similar to ours. According to the respondents, the most positive aspect of working with an interpreter is that it helps focus on the essential and that it carries information over language and cultural barriers without changing the content. Also, words and meanings are often not interchangeable between languages. Many of the Finnish respondents, like we did, often experienced difficulty in reading the non-verbal communication of the client, but talking to the interpreter about the communication after the interpretation was said to be very eye-opening (Launikari, 2005, p. 163). It feels safer to work with an interpreter who you have worked with previously. One problem, however, can actually be finding the best interpreters when you need them. This was a problem that they also experienced in Finland (Launikari, 2005, p. 163).

Changing Our Approach

When new refugees arrived, we mapped their educational background, level of language knowledge, and predicted progression in terms of learning Norwegian, based on a series of factors. They were then placed on an appropriate Norwegian course. Many did not have any relevant forms of training or education from their home country, and those were placed on track 1 or slow progression of track 2. Track 1 indicates that the person has little or no formal educational background, the reading and writing skills are low and the progression is generally slow. Track 2 indicates that the person has some educational background and is able to use written language as a tool for learning. Some have little or no experience with the Latin alphabet which makes progression slow.

Since this group of refugees was so large we had to concentrate on customising the career guidance according to their needs. When working with career guidance in a multicultural context one must be cognisant of the importance of having intercultural competence. It is important to be aware of *who you are* in terms of meeting a counselee who has a different cultural background:

> Most published methods of guidance and counselling emerged in an environment where of the counsellor and the counselee belongs to a similar cultural background. However, today there is a higher likelihood of counsellor and counselee coming from different cultural and religious backgrounds, each influenced and guided by their own beliefs and orientation to work. The methods of guidance that emerges from western theories are often a response to needs expressed from within these cultures. (Arulmani 2011)

This was something that we constantly had to be aware of in order to avoid being trapped by our own cultural expectations and norms. This requires a lot of concentration, self-awareness, courage and patience from the career counsellor. A major challenge was that the context and the system we worked within were funded on the typically western mainstream assumptions of what career guidance should be and what should be the purpose of it. As an example, the refugees were expected to use computers to register their educational background, previous work experience, and their chosen career goal. The information would then be used to prepare the career counselling sessions. However, many of those who came did not have much, if any, experience with digital technologies and the majority were dependent on help to register the information. Some could not even read in their native language. Many felt that they were offered far too many alternatives on the answers and they were not sure which of those best suited their situation. The information could therefore only be used as a rough sorting mechanism in conjunction with career guidance. Often, we did not use this information at all because so many things came out wrong. This shows how a lack of intercultural competence among those who develop new concepts and programmes may affect the usefulness of the product they make.

Researchers concerned with the cultural relevance of interventions (Griffin & Miller, 2007; Reese & Vera, 2007) have pointed out that the development of programmes must be based upon a deep knowledge of ways of life and world views of the community for which the programme is being developed (Arulmani, 2011). Scandinavian research shows that various efforts at treating refugees as individuals that need to be immersed in Scandinavian culture and society instead of as members of supportive family groups may have the opposite result of hindering rather than facilitating the sort of social incorporation that was intended (Olwig, 2010, p. 192).

Group Guidance

At first, we focused mainly on individual career guidance sessions. These sessions became popular among those with higher education and those with a number of years of work experience, but seemed not to work that well for the unskilled newcomers. Few refugees actually understood our western founded concept of career guidance: they spoke very little and seemed disinterested in what we could offer. They would shrug their shoulders when asked what type of resources they had or answer 'I don't know' when asked simple follow-up questions. Western values such as individualism and autonomy, the centrality of the work role, affluence, and the linearity or progressive nature of career development, may have limited utility for counselees whose worldview is more aligned with collectivistic values (Arthur & Popadiuk, 2010). Typically, Nordic norms such as sameness and consensus were not understood the same way by the majority of the refugees. After experiencing several difficulties, we decided to try out group guidance.

Facilitating a group career guidance session that also included an interpreter was new to us. We soon experienced that we would have to be generous with time and that the groups should be relatively small with a maximum of six. We generally used pictures to encourage enthusiasm for the process and build understanding of what was going on. Our aim was to develop participants career competencies through career learning.

The participants were asked to sit down around a table, while the counsellor and the interpreter would move around as needed. We started by introducing ourselves and explained the premise of the session, what was going to happen, and the purpose of it. We agreed to a set of rules of play so everyone knew what would happen and what their role would be. The conversation was facilitated by the counsellor and progressed in systematic rounds so that everyone was committed to participate.

We began with a round where the participants should say something about their most positive characteristic, here even the interpreter and the counsellor had to contribute. Many felt it was quite embarrassing to talk about what they actually *could* do rather than what they could not. Sometimes we asked them to draw their favourite animals and then tell why they liked this animal and what characteristics it possessed. Many chose to draw an animal that had the same characteristics as themselves. We

let those who began to talk contribute and let the conversation wander freely. The interpreter had quite a job sometimes to make sure that the participants did not cut each other off mid-sentence.

After this, we worked with picture cards. The cards we used showed pictures of people in various contexts and situations. They were not only linked to specific job situations and professional settings, but showed people working, studying, travelling, performing hobbies and other interests. Some pictures focused more on the individual and specific jobs, some focused more on relations, and some were pictures that could be interpreted in many ways. I will now describe one of the many possible ways to work with picture cards.

Each person should pick a number of cards that they liked. For this we gave them around 20 minutes and the interpreter tried to give a running commentary to what was discussed among the participants. Then we went through which cards had been chosen, one at a time. The counsellor could ask 'Why did you choose this card?' 'What do you like about it?' 'Can you tell more about *why* you like it?' Here we also used the opportunity to talk about which cards they didn't like, which often became interesting because other participants in the group had a different perception of the same picture.

The picture cards were colour coded using John Holland's interest categories (Højdal & Poulsen, 2012, p. 89). We looked at each card and explained what it meant using the RIASEC hexagon. Most of those involved found it to be quite interesting, and it led to discussions and comments from most of the participants. Finally, each person made their own RIASEC code based on the pictures they had chosen. Again, this led to a great deal of discussion and many felt that what they had chosen actually suited what they thought of themselves. The counsellor facilitating this exercise emphasised that the cards are not a tool which gives an absolute answer to what should be the right job or career for a certain person. Rather it can give a good indication that they can use as a starting point for their career exploration.

In the group sessions, we had the opportunity to talk about the trades and attributes that are often matched together in Norway. We would also look at a series of job advertisements to show that different companies may look for people with different characteristics and skills. This was relevant for many and emphasised the exercise that we had previously taken with the RIASEC cards. Many of the refugees pointed out this as extremely relevant for them later on, and many also wanted more counselling.

In establishing the groups, it was important to consider the educational background of the refugees. Mixing people who could not read and write with those with a university education led to a lack of enthusiasm and participation. We also divided the groups between gender when it seemed appropriate: for some of the refugees, their views about gender could limit their opportunity to participate. This created a dilemma since in the long run everyone needed to understand and respect that in Norway, both genders are seen as equal on all levels. Men and women participate

in social and professional settings together as well as at the workplace. However, it seemed both counterproductive and unethical to force people into mixed gender groups. As a possible solution to this problem we chose to bring in the gender aspect as a part of the discussion in these sessions. We chose this approach in order to open up for further reflections about this important issue. Norm criticism can be an appropriate method to address these issues (Wikstrand, 2019). Wikstrand describes five aspects of norm criticism in career guidance work: challenge what is taken for granted; see yourself and your relations; create awareness of what has been made a norm; work reflexively; and change your practice (Wikstrand, 2019, p. 222).

Career Guidance Sessions for Couples

The refugees who arrived with families had a completely different lifestyle than those who were single. Challenges often arose when a counselee who was married took part in either group or individual career guidance sessions. Their partner often could not understand why he or she could not be present in the session too. We also experienced that many of the women did not show up for their appointments, preferring to stay at home at the reception centre. Many had small babies and were at risk of not participating in the programme and failing to learn Norwegian.

In a Nordic context, married couples are usually seen as giving each other "friendly advice" and both have as much authority as the other person. They can discuss experiences openly and it can also be ok to disagree with one another. For some of those who come from a different culture, it cannot be seen as a certainty that they discuss things openly with their partner. This can, as an example, apply to the content of a career guidance session and plans that have been made in through the counselling. In some cultures, such as the Syrian, the families often have a very significant influence on what occupations are pursued by members of the family (Sultana & Watts, 2008). The individualistic approach might be non-relevant and non-understandable for counselees from collectivistic societies (Arulmani, 2012). The collective identity is embedded so deeply that it is impossible to separate it from the individual. The typical western way of sorting things out individually, and making individual plans, might not lead to anything but frustrations, misunderstandings, and a lack of motivation among collectivistic oriented persons.

As a more collective approach, I decided to try out common career guidance for couples. I began to think about how this method could differ from other approaches. What should we talk about and how should I prepare? What should be the goal? Would the refugees think that some questions were too direct or personal? Was the method and approach ethically good? What should happen if problems occurred underway? The sessions were planned for approximately two hours with a small break built in. The refugees decided how they wanted to talk and what they wanted to talk about, and we therefore did not follow any specific path. If needed, the sessions would take place in a larger location where the couples could bring along babies and

small children. For some of the families this was a necessary premise as they had their children with them all the time. The necessity of choosing the right location in order to succeed with career guidance is also described in detail by Thomsen (2012).

Introductory questions could emphasise their current personal situation, their family situation, the progression of their asylum application and the Norwegian course. Other topics could be the significant differences between Syrian and Norwegian family life. Here, intercultural competence could be brought in, both as an implicit part of the conversation, and also as an explicit topic based on professional knowledge. This could be about individualistic oriented culture versus collectivistic cultures, patriarchal societies in contrast to more flat and open societies, and the different perception of time in monochrome and polychrome cultures (Geert, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Typical challenges and misunderstandings around these topics could then be brought up and discussed. Norwegian maternity rights and the benefits and disadvantages when it comes to this way of organising family life should also be discussed as this is a very specific Nordic phenomenon. Family planning could also be a subject, although I had to be very careful about when it seemed appropriate to bring this into the discussion. Religious aspects of life were only discussed if the couple brought this up as an important issue, even though religion extensively affects people's lives and careers and should be emphasised since it often represents the foundation of their lives.

The Norwegian educational system was also a very important topic as it differs a lot from schooling systems in the refugees' home countries. The Syrian educational system is rigid with out-dated curricula, no tailoring for specific learning needs, rote learning instead of higher order cognitive skills and not much development of labour market skills (Diab & Barakat, 2017, p. 241).

We also used some time discussing how old people live and how they are taken care of in the Norwegian welfare system. This could bring the conversation to the importance of the welfare system and the importance of contributing to its maintenance. Why is it important to pay tax? What happens if more people become dependent on social benefits? What are the consequences when women stay at home instead of working?

All of the couples who participated seemed highly motivated ahead of the sessions and no one arrived late for their appointments, as often was the case elsewhere in the project. The discussions in general seemed to focus on how they could have a future as a family in Norway. I used a lot of time to discuss the impact education and jobs have on most families in Norway. The men generally found it extremely difficult not working, many felt they had lost both their status and their breadwinners' role in the family. The women handled the situation far better, perceiving "being at home" as a more normal situation. Sometimes it was necessary to bring up the importance of two people earning wages in Norway, for many of the couples this was not anything they ever had to consider before they arrived in Norway. Most of the women expressed that they wanted to have a job and receive education. The men seemed to understand

the difficulty of having just one income in the family and seemed positive about their spouses getting paid work.

What surprised me a lot was how happy a number of the men were with the counselling. They seemed to feel both happier and safer in the common guidance setting than in an individual guidance setting. They were also more open together with their partners than without them. The women were typically less active in the beginning of the discussions. They seemed surprised that the counsellor took such a direct and informal tone with them, but they became more active as the conversation progressed, and seemed very happy that they 'were seen'. None gave any impression that they felt that the counsellor had been too personal or too direct.

Feedback

The career guidance performed in the Integration Reception Centres is still under development and has not been systematically evaluated yet. However, if we look at the feedback from the refugees, we can see that they expressed that the guidance made a positive contribution in their lives. We systematically asked them if they had any suggestions for changes or improvements. If something came up we tried to do things in a different way. Many have also been in touch after they got settled to tell us how lifechanging the career guidance has been for them.

The majority of those that we met felt that they had been seen and therefor felt more motivated in terms of learning. The concept of making the refugees understand what was realistic was often difficult for the counsellors, but many were thankful for what we helped them with even though it felt that the information changed their dreams at first. Many had to consider working in a different occupation than they did back in their home country due to a very different job market. They told us later on that they had begun to think differently about themselves, their skills and their personal characteristics and their cultural background. Many pointed out that particularly the group sessions and the family sessions had motivated them a lot, and some also asked for further career counselling.

It seems clear that many couples and families would prefer and benefit more from having one common family career development plan rather than one for each of them – so perhaps we should look to develop a more family-oriented system based on this approach.

The presence of the career counsellors was important as the residents of the centre did not have many other sources of support and opportunities to share their personal stories with. Being together in informal settings, taking part in arrangements, birthday parties, being able to give advice in other places than in an office, and being able to give advice there and then were highly appreciated. This way of working with career guidance in communities is also carefully described by Thomsen (2012).

CAREER GUIDANCE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In recent years the international career guidance discourse has been increasingly concerned about the lack of emphasis on social justice in career guidance. The critics claim career guidance can easily serve as a mechanism for responsibilisation and co-option and that the interest of individuals and the state are not always aligned (Hooley, Sultana, & Thomsen, 2018). How far is it legitimate to seek to channel individuals towards particular occupations on the ground that this is to benefit the nation? And to lead individuals towards particular ways to live their lives, ways that do not always lead to health and happiness (Hooley et al., 2018, p. 18; Sultana, 2017, p. 10).

Being adaptable, employable, and flexible are often described as important 'meta-skills' in official reports addressing future needs for competence (e.g. NOU 2018:2, 2018; NOU 2019:2, 2019). In conjunction several governmental reports address how to make integration more efficient (e.g. Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2016). We need to be highly aware of the mechanisms underpinning such reports to avoid oppression and support growth through career counselling of immigrants and refugees.

One problem arising from the welfare societies' integration programmes concerns their insistence on the need to learn the local language, social norms, and cultural values and traditions before seeking employment in the receiving societies (Olwig, 2010, p. 186). Their strong focus on local socio-cultural skills that needs to be mastered before it is possible to manage in the society has had the unfortunate consequence that they have tended to treat refugees and immigrants in terms of what they are lacking, rather what they can offer (Olwig, 2010, p. 186). A person who is not self-supportive at the end of the Introduction Programme will remain the responsibility of social services, as the introductory grant converts into a welfare cheque (Eastmond, 2011). This is an extremely unfortunate situation, both for the welfare states and the newcomers, and must be taken more seriously into consideration.

Before the Integration reception centres got established, refugees did not get in contact with employers or work-places before they started the Introduction Programme. Many lived in various reception camps for years before they got their residence permit and finally got in contact with the Norwegian society. In the Integration Reception Centre in Oslo we had a major focus on breaking down barriers towards refugees' engagement with work-places. Employers, volunteers, and staff from local universities were invited in and many refugees connected closely with them. Some companies and employers made contact even if they were not invited in. Many of the refugees participated in different types of work training before they could make themselves understood in Norwegian. This could be challenging for both the employers and the employees, but this opportunity to contribute and be part of something quickly became very popular among the refugees. Being present in workplaces also made a big impact on their oral Norwegian skills. Some made Norwegian friends and a network that seemed to be very important, not least after

moving out of the reception centre. This perspective on early integration should be taken into consideration by all the Nordic countries. To treat people as they are and as a resource, is paramount to succeed with integration even if it is hard to let our welfare-oriented notion of 'proper' integration go.

Career counsellors should consider systemic and social influences on career concerns and to select interventions that go beyond helping counselees cope and adapt to oppressive social conditions that contributed to their work and career barriers in the first place (Arthur & Collins, 2011). Krumboltz and Worthington (1999) suggest that career counsellors should show the counselees how they can expand their interests and capacities and not merely match people to a particular career on the basics of their existing characteristics. To help people define new targets for learning should be more emphasised among career counsellors working with refugees and immigrants. The counsellor could e.g. ask their counselees: 'Are there some skills that you would like to improve? How could you develop some new skills?' (Krumboltz & Worthington, 1999, p. 315).

A new report addressing social inequality in Norway shows an increase in social inequality even though Norway remains as the European country with the lowest level of inequality (Hoen, Markussen, & Røed, 2018). One of the reasons for increasing inequality is that there are not enough jobs for unskilled workers. Unskilled immigrants and unskilled ethnic Norwegians could be perceived as rivals for these jobs. Immigrants generally earn less than ethnic Norwegians (Hoen et al., 2018). This can lead to more unemployment and poverty amongst low skilled ethnic Norwegian jobseekers. At the same time rich people benefit even more from cheap labour (Hoen et al., 2018). This development in Norway also needs to be seen in conjunction with a general increase in social inequality in the rest of the world.

CONCLUSION

When working with refugees and immigrants career guidance should be seen as a flexible concept that allows for the exploration of flexible modes of delivery. Having intercultural competence is an absolute necessity for the career counsellor to deliver career guidance of high quality. The career counsellor should emphasise to challenge the system he or she is working within in order to facilitate an increased awareness regarding social inequality and social justice. Even if Norway has the lowest level of social inequality in Europe, the problem with unemployment and poverty is increasing.

Refugees could benefit a lot from being taught what intercultural competence could mean to them and this could contribute to more appropriate communication in the cultural context of their Nordic host country. But we also have to consider that the collectivistic-patriarchal conception of life is extremely deeply rooted in many individuals, and that trying to change this might not be possible nor ethically good.

A respectful and impartial foundation in career guidance is needed to build up a trustful relationship between the counsellor and the counselees. Genuine interest,

being able to listen properly and giving advice there and then, is paramount to be able to do a good job as a career counsellor for newcomers.

Picture-based group guidance became a preferred counselling method for those with little or no education. The use of interpreters is challenging, but a necessity in this context. Anchoring of career plans within the family seems to be of great importance for those coming from collectivistic societies. Common guidance for couples worked surprisingly well, and this should be recognised and developed further. We are probably on the right track when we emphasise both early intervention and customised career guidance that is tailored to fit each cultural group and each individual.

As highlighted in the Norwegian Official Report NOU 2016:7 (2016), career guidance should definitely be used as a method to achieve greater integration in Norway. But we need to be constantly aware of the political context which surrounds us to avoid reproducing negative cultural and social patterns through career counselling.

In March 2018 the Integration Reception Centre in Oslo got shut down due to few arrivals. The other reception centres in Norway are still in operation, however, the refugees arriving currently are a different group from those arriving between 2015 and 2017. In this context it is important to explain that the methods that were developed in Oslo mainly got developed for, and in cooperation with, a specific group of refugees, namely Eritreans and Syrians with very little formal education and a collectivistic life approach.

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22. UNION CAREER GUIDANCE IN DENMARK

ABSTRACT

This chapter examines the role of career guidance (CG) provided by trade unions for their members and the ways in which this guidance contributes to people's plans for and access to funds for competence development, adult education and further training. In Denmark, trade unions' contribution to career guidance has gained importance following the establishment of labour market competence development funds during the last decade. These funds are established through collective bargaining, placing trade unions in a key role. However, there is little systematic knowledge of the guidance provided by trade unions, and large sums have remained unused in the funds. In this chapter, we explore this phenomenon through a case study of the ways in which career guidance functions in trade unions. We have conducted interviews with a number of CG-practitioners working in trade unions for professional and skilled workers and here describe their work through practice portraits. These yield information on the practice and organisational framework of guidance in unions. We analyse models and strategies to support members' career development. Furthermore, we discuss the rise in career guidance activities in trade unions as a response to a fragmented public 'system' for adult career guidance and a highly complex framework (the competence development funds) for economic support for competence development. Besides the practice portraits, the chapter draws on existing empirical documentation, much of it produced in relation to tripartite negotiations between the state and the social partners.

INTRODUCTION

[Members] want career and competence development, but they don't know how to go about it. So they ask me (the career counsellor) – but I don't have the competence or mandate to sign, for example, an educational development contract. They don't dare to approach their boss or immediate superior because they are scared of being fired if, for example, they want to train in a different direction from the job they're in. And their boss or immediate superior is not always up-to-date regarding career and competence development opportunities in relation to financing, leave etc. (A union CG-practitioner)

Access to career guidance throughout life has long been part of the policy recommendations from supranational bodies. In 2008, the European Commission passed a resolution on the need for member states to adopt strategies to ensure lifelong (career) guidance. This resolution defines guidance as referring to

> a continuous process that enables citizens at any age and at any point in their lives to identify their capacities, competences and interests, to make educational, training and occupational decisions and to manage their individual life paths in learning, work and other settings in which those capacities and competences are learned and/or used. Guidance covers a range of individual and collective activities relating to information-giving, counselling, competence assessment, support, and the teaching of decision-making and career management skills. (European Council, 2008)

The high level of union membership and collective agreement coverage in the labour market means that the trade unions in Denmark and the other Nordic countries are in touch with many citizens as their career unfolds over the course of their lifetime. Guidance about up-skilling, basic education and further education and training has been a concern and an activity in the trade unions for many years. Recently, however, we have witnessed an increase in the use of the word career in relation to these activities. In Denmark, trade unions such as the union for retail and administrative staff (HK), the union for day-care workers (BUPL) and the association of Masters and PhDs (DM) advertise career consultations as a member benefit in ways similar to what we have observed and described in the section on Nordic trade unions and career guidance in this chapter. This chapter explores career guidance provided by trade unions in Denmark with a particular focus on guidance regarding access to funds for further education and training for the members. The intention is to provide greater clarity and insight concerning everyday career guidance practice in unions in Denmark and to relate to examples from other Nordic countries.

Union career guidance takes different forms and is practiced though individual interviews face to face or on-line, a 'career telephone' service, activities in the workplace, but also activities directed towards more organisational levels of impact. Career guidance provided to employed members by unions is usually funded collectively through the payment of union dues. In addition, some unions offer additional guidance services, such as specially organised courses for individuals or companies, at a cost. Career guidance offered to unemployed members through union-associated unemployment insurance is partly paid for through membership fees and partly subsidised by the state. The analysis presented in the chapter provides detailed insight into the organisation and delivery of the specific activities that comprise union career guidance in Denmark and discusses their relationship to competence development.

Hawthorn and Alloway (2009) note that not everybody identifies with the word career, because it sounds as if it only applies to fast-track, high achievers. Instead

of focusing on terms and policy definitions, Hawthorn and Alloway suggest a range of questions that career guidance attempts to answer: 'What kinds of jobs are there? What are their prospects? What would suit me? Do I need additional training to apply for that?' […] Or: 'I don't need a new job just now but I would like to learn something new. What is available? Would it interest me? What do I need in order to start? What will it lead to?' (Hawthorn & Alloway, 2009, p. 13).

Such questions clearly signal that providing career guidance is a relevant task for a number of public and private organisations, including public employment services, educational institutions and trade unions. However, the 2004a international handbook on career guidance by the OECD states:

> trade unions have shown limited interest in the development of career guidance services for their members. Where they offer such services themselves, these tend to be delivered by non-specialised personnel and focus on access to training rather than wider career development … (but) … Unions may negotiate for the provision of guidance services with employers in the process of collective bargaining. They may also themselves provide guidance. In Denmark, Norway and the United Kingdom, some unions have run courses to train their shop stewards to act as 'educational ambassadors' or 'learning representatives' in encouraging their members (especially those with limited or no qualifications) to access education and training. (OECD, 2004a)

A collection of case studies of career guidance services available to employed adults in the EU published by Cedefop (2008), includes case studies of career guidance initiatives in trade unions The main lessons learned from the case studies are that much trade union activity in relation to career guidance is linked to skill development for lower skilled workers. Consequently guidance is highlighted as a key activity prior to engaging in learning or development. The case studies also highlight that a multiplicity of approaches is required to get people to engage in career development activities. In a 2014 review of the evidence base on lifelong guidance, it is suggested that trade unions should play a role in relation to career guidance for working people, and especially in relation to career guidance in the workplace (Hooley, 2014), yet no references to empirical research specifically addressing the matter are provided. As such, research on career guidance provided by trade unions is still scarce, making it difficult to determine how widespread such guidance practices are, what forms they take and what impact they have.

Union career guidance can be seen as closely related to 'workplace guidance' which is described as an initiative where employees (often through unions) are trained to provide guidance on further training opportunities to colleagues (Plant, 2008; Plant & Turner, 2005). But research on such learning representatives or educational ambassadors in the UK and New Zealand indicates that 'while government and trade unions in both countries seek to promote workers' attainment of portable skills through the learning representative initiatives, some employers either favour

learning for current jobs only, or oppose the schemes completely' (Lee & Cassel, 2008).

This chapter was sparked by two observations from the Danish context. The first is that career guidance, including guidance for continuing education and training, is a growth area in trade unions and is presented as an important service for members. The second is that a large proportion of the considerable funds for employee competence development, established through collective bargaining and accrued over the last decade, is not being used. In this chapter, we take a closer look at these two developments, drawing both on existing documentation and on interviews with guidance practitioners in Danish trade unions. We begin by introducing the Nordic model of labour market relations before considering their role in career guidance, using Denmark as an example.

THE NORDIC MODEL OF LABOUR MARKET RELATIONS

In the Nordic countries, it is possible to identify common values and approaches to working life and labour market policy. These commonalities, often referred to as the 'Nordic model' (Nielson, 2016), include a system of collective bargaining covering most of the private sector as well as the public sector labour market; a system of voluntary unemployment insurance run by the trade unions but subsidised by the state; and a high level of labour market mobility, where the absence of high levels of job security for individual employees is compensated for by a relatively high level of unemployment benefit as well as access to training and retraining (the so-called flexicurity system).

These features are also linked to high levels of trade union membership in the Nordic countries (Høgedahl & Kongshøj, 2017), with almost 7 in 10 of all wage and salary earners in Iceland, Finland, Denmark and Sweden belonging to a trade union (ETUC & ETUI, 2017).

In Denmark, there is close to a 100% collective agreement coverage in the public sector, and around a 70% percentage coverage in the private sector (Ibsen, Høgedahl, & Scheuer, 2012). This means that collective bargaining between employer associations and trade unions (referred to in Denmark as the social partners) is an integral and highly visible part of political life in Denmark. Consequently, many aspects of working life are seen as the responsibility of these social partners, and too much state intervention in these matters is resented. On the other hand, the social partners actively participate in policy processes, partly through their links to different political parties, but more importantly through negotiations with the state about labour market issues of broader social interest. In the literature, this is referred to as the 'Danish model' (Lind & Rasmussen, 1997). Such tripartite negotiations (Mailand, 2011) focus on economic policy, employment measures and increasingly also on education and training. The establishment of funds for competence development is one important initiative that has been promoted by tripartite negotiations for several years.

NORDIC TRADE UNIONS AND CAREER GUIDANCE

The Nordic countries have taken strongly interrelated but still distinct routes in the development of career guidance activities for employed adults. Given the high level of unionisation in the Nordic countries, it is perhaps surprising that career guidance in trade unions has not been more of a theme in the policy literature on career guidance (Hooley, 2014; OECD, 2004b). This may reflect a traditional division of labour where trade unions take care of wages and working conditions while the welfare state is expected to take care of education and guidance.

The Nordic countries have a long tradition of collaborating with one another on the development of practice and policy in adult education and guidance. Nordic collaboration is supported and facilitated through organisations and networks such as the Nordic Network for Adult Learning (NVL) and the VALA Nordic Network, which is a network of career counselling and guidance programmes at higher education institutions in the Nordic and Baltic countries. In 2017, NVL published a report on cooperation and collaboration in guidance within each of the Nordic countries (NVL, 2017), mapping and discussing the level of coordination and cooperation between national and private guidance services for adults across different sectors and organisations. The report indicates that, while Norway and Finland have started to work on strategies to secure better coordination and integration of the different guidance services for adults (in Norway through career centres and in Finland through a strategy for lifelong guidance), very little is done to support adults in accessing guidance services in Denmark (ibid.). In Denmark, it is noticeable that, although legislation stipulates such coordinating efforts, there are no specific organisations or activities implementing the coordination (NVL, 2017). It is also interesting that, while the report maps the different organisations offering career guidance for adults in each country, trade unions are not mentioned.

However, according to their respective websites, the trade unions in the Nordic countries do offer career guidance as a service to their members. An example of this in Finland is TEK, the organisation for academic engineers and architects, which offers career services including a 'CV clinic', career coaching, LinkedIn groups, preparation for job interviews and more. An example from Norway is another union for technical and scientific professionals, TEKNA, offering career services including support in job seeking processes, CV check-ups and 45-minute career guidance interviews, as well as the possibility of referring members to the Karrierehuset (careers house), which offers guidance from trained guidance officers through a low-fee agreement with TEKNA. A report on lifelong career guidance in education and working life, published by the Norwegian National Trade Union Organisation, gives an example of collaboration between shop stewards at a factory that is closing down and the local career centre (Landsorganisasjonen i Norge, 2011, p. 12). This report highlights the importance of explaining what career guidance is, how it can look beyond the world of work and the benefits for the individual. Similar cases, where unions and workplaces that are being closed or outsourced collaborate

with guidance services, can be found in the other Nordic countries (for Denmark, see Thomsen, 2012).

In sum unions play different roles in relation to providing career guidance to their members; as providers of guidance services in house, as connector between workplaces and as brokers (often in the workplaces) of lifelong learning and of guidance services available in elsewhere. These roles will be elaborated through the Danish case study.

TRIPARTITE NEGOTIATIONS AND COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT FUNDS IN DENMARK

In the year 2000, reforms were introduced that represented a watershed in Danish adult education. One of these reforms created a new system of part-time vocational and professional education with programmes at all levels of education, for the first time including higher education. Further reforms introduced a new system for funding vocational adult education and training through contributions from employers, as well as a new type of publicly funded financial support for adult students (Milana & Rasmussen, 2018). These reforms were mainly prepared by a government commission, but were linked to ongoing tripartite negotiations, with the commission wanting the social partners to take on a greater share of the funding of vocational adult education. Through this process, for the first time, the social partners came to share the responsibility for a major educational reform (Mailand, 2011, p. 8). This has since inspired several further tripartite initiatives related to education.

In 2006, the Danish Government published a report titled 'Lifelong up-skilling and education for all in the labour market', based on the work of a tripartite commission consisting mainly of representatives from the government, employer associations and trade unions (Finansministeriet, 2006). The report focused particularly on mechanisms and initiatives that could establish strong links between the demands on company flexibility and the competence levels of employees, especially low-skilled workers. The commission pointed out that there was a need to strengthen the motivation for education, especially among groups of skilled and semi-skilled workers, and to involve many more companies in competence development. The work of this tripartite commission was linked to the Globalisation Council, a high-level task force set up by the prime minister and including ministers, heads of the key employer and employee organisations, other key stakeholders and experts. The Globalisation Council allocated a major grant to boost activity in adult education, especially vocational competence development. In the tripartite commission, the employer and employee associations committed to supporting employee education by establishing funds as part of the collective negotiations. This system of labour market competence development funds has since continued and expanded. This means that, each year, employers in a given sector pay a certain fee per employee

(decided through the nationwide collective agreement) to a fund, where companies and employees can then apply for support for educational initiatives.

The competence development funds are established as collective agreements between employer and employee organisations in different trades. There are therefore multiple competence development funds, and the amount paid by employers differs from fund to fund. For instance, the Danish Chamber of Commerce, the employer association for a broad array of private service trades, has 16 different competence fund agreements, with employer fees ranging from 400–850 DKK (€ 50–110) yearly per full-time worker. In order to have the costs of education covered, employees must apply, either individually or through their company, depending on the regulations in their collective agreement. Within a fixed limit, course fees, transport costs and wage compensation may be covered. Not all kinds of education are accepted; each competence fund maintains a 'positive list' of eligible courses.

Competence funds have been earmarked for the education and training of employees in private companies and public organisations as part of collective agreements. These funds have continued to accumulate because the level of activity has fallen below expectations. In 2017, 2.3 billion DKK (€308m) were available in the different funds. This opens up a central role for career guidance in terms of supporting individuals and companies in accessing the funds. This makes it essential to know what the relationship between career guidance and access to the funds is today.

CRISIS AND REFORM OF THE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT FUNDING SYSTEM

The fact that competence development funds were not being used as much as expected became a key issue during tripartite negotiations in 2016. The social partners and the government agreed that there was an urgent need to analyse companies' needs for employee competences and to discuss how adult and continuing education could be tailored to better match future labour market demands for a flexible and well-qualified workforce. An expert group was established with the mission to 'analyse and present possible solutions for adjusting and improving adult and continuing education, focusing especially on companies' and adults' competence needs and on quality and efficiency in provision' (Ekspertgruppen for Voksen-, Efter- og Videreuddannelse, 2017, p. 10, authors own translation). The group's recommendations largely followed earlier policy, focusing on coherence and collaboration in the system, more recognition of prior learning, and flexible and efficient institutional management. Referring to the Danish results of the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) survey, the report argued that adults and especially adults with low levels of skills need more general knowledge and skills.

In 2017, after several months of negotiations, the government and the social partners presented a tripartite agreement based on the recommendations from the expert group (Trepartsaftale, 2017). This agreement involves various types of

initiative. One type aims to improve the framework for companies' access to and use of adult and continuing education. Examples include simplifying the system of labour market training courses, increasing economic compensation for companies and increasing public funding for the relevant educational institutions. Another type focuses on improving the conditions and motivation of employees. Examples include increasing wage compensation (allowance increased from 80% to 100% of the maximum unemployment benefit) for certain types of continuing education, especially courses combining basic skills with vocational competence. Considerable funding will be made available for projects actively encouraging employees to use the opportunities for adult education.

An integrated system of education and career guidance for adults will be established. The agreement states that many different actors are involved in providing adult guidance, but there is no well-defined division of tasks and it is not certain that guidance reaches the groups of adults that have most need of it.

A single point of entry to the adult education system will be situated within the framework of eGuidance. This service will offer guidance for both businesses/ employers and individuals in the form of information about training opportunities, enrolling in courses and applying for adult education grants (via telephone, chat and email) – both to people wanting to upgrade their qualifications within their current jobs and to people seeking new career paths.

TRADE UNION CAREER GUIDANCE: PRACTICE PORTRAITS

In Denmark, career guidance specifically targeting adults has only started to receive attention during the last decade, and the guidance services available have been characterised as somewhat opaque and thus difficult for the individual to navigate (Cort, Thomsen, & Mariager-Anderson, 2015). One reason for this is that legislation governing career guidance is divided between several policy areas and ministries and covers many different career guidance services. While the Ministry of Science and Higher Education is responsible for guidance in relation to higher education, the Ministry of Education is responsible for guidance in relation to other areas of education, and the Ministry of Employment is responsible for career guidance in relation to employment, with each ministry providing different services. For educational guidance for adults, there are three support structures: (1) eGuidance, offering personal guidance to all citizens regarding adult and continuing education via telephone, email and online chat; (2) Study Choice, offering career guidance regarding higher education and career choices; (3) Adult Education and Continuing Training institutions offer guidance on their programmes. In relation to employment, services are mainly provided through trade unions, public employment services (PES) and private consultancy firms (for instance out-placement schemes).

For this case study we have conducted six semi-structured interviews with a trade union official, four CG-practitioners from four different local trade unions and a senior consultant from LO, which is the largest central organisation for workers

on the Danish labour market. The CG-practitioners and the official that were interviewed work for local branches of the unions HK, FOA, IDA and BUPL. HK, the Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark, is Denmark's largest union for salaried employees. It has 275,000 members working within the retail sector and as administrative staff within both the public and the private sectors. FOA, Trade and Labour, is a trade union with 180,000 members working in fields such as healthcare, social services, day-care and cleaning. IDA, the Danish Society of Engineers, has more than 110,000 members in the fields of technology, natural sciences and IT. BUPL, the Danish National Federation of Early Childhood Teachers and Youth Educators, has around 60,000 members, mainly trained staff in the field of early childhood education and care. In addition this, we secured an expert interview with a senior consultant within career guidance from LO, the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions. As mentioned above, this is the largest central organisation for workers on the Danish labour market, representing more than 1 million members through the affiliated unions, constituting approximately 50 % of the Danish workforce.

The interview guide was inspired by the practice portrait methodology (Bechmann Jensen, 2005; Markard, Holzkamp, & Dreier, 2004;). The practice portrait is a comprehensive method that consists of a large set of questions that help practitioners to describe, analyse and discuss their own practice. We structured the interviews in four themes: (1) the union as institution and the conditions for career guidance work, (2) theoretical and practical cornerstones of everyday career guidance practice; i.e., theories, methods, technologies and procedures, (3) specific conditions at work, and (4) internal and external communication regarding practice. Offering a very open interview framework, the practice portrait is well-suited to this chapter's exploratory purpose. Questions under the different themes are intended to serve as inspiration for the interviewer, allowing a semi-structured approach. Informed consent was obtained at the beginning of the interviews. A detailed summary of each interview was produced by the author who conducted the interview. The researchers each performed a thematic content analysis (Kvale, 1996) of all interviews based on the following research questions: What is the character of career guidance in unions as described by the CG-practitioners? And how do they describe challenges and opportunities regarding their work? This process resulted in the identification and development of a set of themes, which were then applied to the data again and discussed in the research team. This process of analysis resulted in the themes which are detailed below. The first theme examines the guidance activities in relation to the first research question. The following theme examines the second research question and provides detailed insights into the challenges and opportunities in union career guidance.

The Guidance Activities

Thematic analysis of the interviews shows that there are differences as well as similarities in the CG-practitioners' activities and practices, and even in the way they

understand the concepts career guidance and career. One CG-practitioner explains that the word career may not even be something that members can identify with. 'It hasn't been customary among our members to talk about career' (HK).

The interviewed CG-practitioners are trade union employees, based in national or regional centres of the organisations. The have different educational backgrounds, but have all pursued continuing education or courses in the field of guidance. They describe a broad understanding of the term career, reminiscent of common definitions within the field of career guidance, such as that coined by Collin and Watts: 'The individual's development in learning and work throughout life' (1996, p. 386).

Activities offered by all the participating local trade unions include individual support when members seek help at their own initiative. The career counsellors taking part in our interviews all highlight that there are local differences and that they can only account for their local branch in terms of describing the specific activities. We have organised the activities in Table 22.1.

Table 22.1. Career guidance activities in trade unions

	Activity	
Pro-active	Local/national political involvement in budgeting, for instance in the municipalities	**Organisation**
	Structural involvement such as initiating education programmes on behalf of groups of members financed through competence development funds	
	Hotlines etc. as a national service to widen access and participation	
Re-active	Outreach activities at in workplaces to provide information about and motivation for lifelong learning in groups and communities	**Individual**
	Information about rights and possibilities through websites and newsletters	
	Individual support through conversations initiated by members	

From the interviews, we learn that career guidance in the traditional form of member-initiated individual consultations, either face–to-face or via telephone, is available in all the unions included in our study. The CG-practitioners' tasks are to respond to the member's questions and thoughts about their own career development. This is the dominant mode of delivery as described by the practitioners in the interviews. However, as described above, the content and form of these interviews differs. In BUPL, the CG-practitioner who was interviewed has practised an interview form she likes to call 'work life and career conversations' rather than just career guidance for 10 years. She explains:

Career is a linear concept. Work life conversations offer more associations. Career is part of a work life. If a member is fired, because they cannot express themselves about certain things, I help them to do this in an appropriate way. I can help them prior to an interview so that they present themselves as the best version of themselves. That is career guidance in their work life. (BUPL)

Work life and career conversations focus on the individual's needs and may be based on questions about current work life status, what the individual wants to do in the future and what it would take to achieve that. Alternatively, they may focus on the individual's difficulties at his or her current workplace and how to deal with them. The CG-practitioner takes on the role as an outsider with knowledge of the profession but with no personal stake. The aim of the conversation is that the member leaves with a plan. The scope of the conversation is determined by the member, allowing topics relating to work life in a broader sense to be broached; topics which might fall outside the realm of traditional career guidance. BUPL also offers career guidance from their central office. In 2017, BUPL established a new project, Career Guidance by Phone. This project targets people who have been made redundant and are interested in further education or who do not thrive in their current workplace and aims to discuss career skills and opportunities both within and outside the profession. The project is staffed centrally. The CG-practitioner we interviewed was very enthusiastic about this project and hopes that it will highlight the importance of career guidance in unions and result in the hiring of qualified career guidance professionals.

In HK, the CG-practitioner sees educational ambassadors as a way to signpost career guidance services to members, but also as a way to meet members at their workplace. The CG-practitioners are aware of the idea of training educational ambassadors a result of the latest tripartite negotiations. One of them mentions the idea of training shop stewards in career guidance so they can act as educational ambassadors in the workplace and thereby facilitate a first encounter with career guidance and reach out to members who might not otherwise identify with career guidance. Outreach activities are also being introduced to career guidance practice in a top–down process resulting from the most recent tripartite agreement. Working with educational ambassadors and outreach activities are two forms of guidance that require quite different skills of CG-practitioners than traditional one-to-one consultations. Outreach activities in particular require that CG-practitioners collaborate closely with educational ambassadors and interact with groups of members in their workplaces. This skill has been characterised as social systems interventions (Schiersmann et al., 2016). As part of what it refers to as the 'Career Campaign', HK has a goal that all local branches will offer 'career development days' or 'work life inspiration seminars'. The CG-practitioners that took part in the

interviews all identify concrete initiatives that have the potential to develop and qualify their guidance practice, such as design your life (IDA), the career hotline (BUPL) and educational ambassadors (HK).

The interviewees from BUPL and FOA highlight tasks or work that are both structural and political. Structural work involves active collaboration with local public employers, such as municipal and regional authorities, in order to set up educational initiatives for members. The following initiatives are mentioned: an (accelerated) primary and lower secondary teacher training programme awarding credit for prior learning and job-rotation schemes creating access to education. Political work, typically done in collaboration between trade union officials and guidance professionals, involves improving conditions for members who are municipal employees by influencing municipal budget negotiations. In FOA, this work has developed significantly over the last 4–5 years and the CG-practitioners have moved from a rather periphery position to participating in municipal committees.

Trade Union Career Guidance: Challenges and Possibilities

In the interviews, the CG-practitioners addressed certain themes as challenges and/ or possibilities:

- How can we reduce complexity – especially regarding members' experiences with the competence funds?
- How can we reach out to members to inform them about the services on offer, members' rights and motivate them to engage with lifelong learning?
- How can we fulfil the members' wishes and offer educational choice within a collective framework?
- What role do plans and planning play for the individual and the organisation?
- How can we create opportunities for members through organisational and political work?

There are often two sides to such questions and CG-practitioners describe complex processes within the union, within members places of employment, the wider societal and political context and the delivery of career guidance in unions.

Reducing Complexity in Relation to the Competence Funds

One very important task for the CG-practitioners is to reduce the complexity involved in learning about and applying for competence funds. It should be easy for members to access the funds, but it is a complex process. The CG-practitioner and trade union official from HK, in particular, explain that their members can apply for many different competence funds, each governed by different rules according to collective agreements of different trades. For this reason, most unions have employees whose responsibility it is to know the complex rules and regulations for applying to the different funds. CG-practitioners work closely with these colleagues and stress the

importance of shielding members from the complexity, as it may adversely affect their motivation.

Outreach Activities, Information and Motivation

The CG-practitioners stress the importance of reaching all members via outreach activities. This has always been a goal in their practice, for example via collaborations with enterprises embroiled in redundancy or outsourcing processes to develop upskilling courses for certain employees. However, it is expected that outreach activities will become more widespread as a result of the tripartite negotiations' allocation of funds specifically for this purpose. Some CG-practitioners organise go-home meetings at members' workplaces aimed at informing about the competence funds and the importance of education and training.

> In HK Private, our biggest sector, we want to educate workplace agents [similar to educational ambassadors]. They need to understand the educational system and the competence funds. This way, more people in our organisation share the task of creating interest in education. There are members who seek out further education by themselves, members who can manage with the help of a workplace agent, and, finally, members who will book an appointment with a CG-practitioner. (HK)

Regarding the possibility of booking an appointment for personal career guidance, three out of the four CG-practitioners describe a geographical challenge, as CG-practitioners are typically based in the bigger cities, making face-to-face meetings difficult for members living in rural areas. While they all offer career guidance via electronic media, they also all stressed that face-to-face meetings are valuable and should be a possibility for all members regardless of where they live.

Educational Choice within a Structural and Collective Framework

The emphasis on personal choice in relation to education and training varies among the collective agreements. Employers have a responsibility to ensure that their employees are qualified to do their job. The CG-practitioner from BUPL describes that, while employers, managers and municipalities love the competence funds, they do not always use them as intended. This is partly because of the phrasing in funding documents, which makes it unclear who the funds are for. For instance, some funds are called 'municipal funds', which some municipal employees see as indicating that it is the municipalities that decide which courses they can apply for. Another reason for the gulf between intentions and reality is that the municipalities lack funding for education and see the competence funds as a resource at their disposal. As a result, some municipalities write applications for competence funds on behalf of their employees to attend courses chosen by management rather than the individual employee. In these cases, it becomes a task for the CG-practitioner to inform either

the members or the local shop steward that employees are in fact entitled to choose and suggest courses to management: 'Otherwise no employee will be allowed to choose what they want to study, and that was the intention with the competence funds' (BUPL).

Plans and Planning for the Individual and the Workplace

The successful use of competence funds requires careful planning. Besides learning about and identifying specific educational options, members must find out whether their choice of education is offered locally, if funding is possible, either via the competence funds or with support from their employer, and whether they have time to participate. For the employer, the challenge is to plan for a temporary worker to step in while the employee attends educational courses. Not all agreements include a CG-practitioner to aid this process of complicated long-term planning.

The senior consultant from LO is particularly engaged in the importance of planning. 'Basically, it is a challenge that such activities require planning. And, ultimately, that is probably the most important issue when it comes to people's participation in something that takes place during working hours. The vast majority of companies today think it's horrible. It is bad enough that people go on holiday. And they will, consciously or unconsciously, feel like it's a self-inflicted problem if they prepare something where they know that people are away in the autumn while they do not know in advance whether it will be during a busy period'. The CG-practitioners also consider this situation a challenge, but see it as their professional role to find solutions.

Creating Opportunities through Structural and Political Work

The structural and political work involved in creating educational opportunities for members is particularly evident in the interview with the CG-practitioner from FOA, but it is also present in the interviews with practitioners from BUPL and HK and with the senior consultant from LO. There is an organisational division between centrally developed and local guidance initiatives. For example, in launching the 'career hotline' as a key initiative, HK set up a network group comprising those who man the hotline and local CG-practitioners. They meet every second month to exchange ideas, practices and challenges, providing a forum for discussion of and reflection on guidance in the central organisation as well as locally.

The CG-practitioners describe varying degrees of interest in career guidance in their organisation. While some do not mention it, the CG-practitioner from HK states that the career guidance activities receive a lot of attention because members communicate their satisfaction with the career guidance service to other parts of the organisation.

The CG-practitioner from FOA describes a political effort to create a solid foundation for career guidance work and competence development for members, for

example by entering into agreements with local authorities and securing funding to supplement competence funds.

> As long as you can create a course that is cost-neutral for the municipalities, almost anything is possible. Our competence fund offers DKK 25,000 a year for each member's competence development. It's the best thing that happened to us.

This is particularly important for agreements in which there is a requirement for co-financing from employers. Such co-financing can constitute a barrier for members who are covered by the collective agreement with, for example, the municipal employers, as this agreement requires 20% co-financing.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

In this chapter, we have examined career guidance practice in unions through interviews with CG-practitioners in four Danish trade unions. This study adds to the limited body of literature on career guidance in trade unions through the identification of five themes that the CG-practitioners consider important. First, they stress the importance of reducing complexity in members' encounters with the funds for competence development. Second, they consider how trade unions can reach out to members to inform them about their career guidance activities, promote lifelong learning in general and provide information about rights. Third, they describe the importance of striking a balance between members' wishes and the structural and collective framework. Fourth, they highlight the need for individual plans and organisational planning. Finally, they focus on creating opportunities for members through organisational and political work. In addition to the obvious and acute need for a simplification of the funding schemes for competence development in Denmark, the analysis of career guidance activities in trade unions points to several important issues, which will be addressed in this concluding discussion.

The first issue to discuss is the role of career guidance in relation to the use of the competence development funds set aside for continuing education for citizens in Denmark. Understanding and communicating about the funds is in itself a demanding task not only for the employees but also for trade union CG-practitioners trying to support their members in the long-term planning necessary to make use of the funds. There is a risk that career guidance practitioners spend a lot of time guiding about rules and regulations and navigating the systems rather that supporting members in their personal process of exploring and deciding on the career development.

The need for individual long-term career development plans and for organisational planning at the workplace related to the individual's right to leave is no doubt one key factor contributing to the large sums that have remained unused in the funds. Up until now the unions have not showed a clear and coordinated effort to bring the need for access to career guidance into the tripartite negotiations in Denmark.

The social partners have been primarily concerned with tailoring education and training to accommodate employers' future needs by up-skilling employees rather than providing access to professional career guidance that can support the individual citizen's realisation of needs and aspirations. This means that, while funding for competence development is available, opportunities are not exploited due to the lack of access to appropriate and relevant support structures for individuals. We argue that career guidance is such a support structure. Previous research on how career guidance can become a meaningful practice in people's lives shows that career guidance may be experienced as relevant if it provides a context for action in which participants can join forces with career guidance practitioners to analyse, problematise and create new and shared opportunities in relation to their future educational or vocational participation in society (Thomsen, 2012). The need for lifelong guidance, as emphasised by the European Commission (European Council, 2008), still does not seem to have been addressed and our analysis gives rise to a discussion of potentially enabling institutions or mechanisms. There are various approaches to achieving this goal of guidance provision suited to a society characterised by lifelong learning. Guidance can be embedded in the workplace, offered through trade unions or, as Norway has chosen to do, provided through the establishment of independent, publicly funded regional career centres manned by professional career guidance counsellors (Haug et al., 2019) or as a combination of the three. If a combination model is employed it is likely that the role of educational ambassadors as brokers of not only lifelong education but also lifelong guidance will be enhanced.

Finally, the growth of career guidance activity in trade unions should also be discussed in relation to a broader change in the role and character of Danish trade unions. In the broader labour market policy, the influence of trade unions has declined. Jørgensen and Schultze (2011) argue that trade unions have increasingly been sidelined in labour market policy processes and that the collective trust in partnerships is eroding. Instead, trade unions are increasingly forced to seek political influence through lobbyism. The extent of this change may be questioned, but it certainly calls for new approaches in trade union work, both in pursuing political influence and in promoting member interests in other ways, such as through career guidance. In this sense, access to professional career guidance could be at the centre of trade union interests in future negotiations.

In this respect, we suggest career guidance be considered as a first step in a process of double-loop learning (Argyris & Schön, 1978). Double-loop learning describes a process through which organisations have the opportunity to learn through the exploration of values, norms, desires and beliefs of the members of the organisation and integrate this knowledge in future organisational development. In the case of career guidance in trade unions, career guidance practitioners can gain detailed insight into members' struggles in the course of their everyday working lives and use this insight to feed into the development of future career guidance activities and other types of activities to meet the needs of members. Furthermore, knowledge

about the concrete struggles and needs of trade union members could feed into future policy development in relation to careers in the Nordic countries, where careers are embedded in models of collective bargaining, participation in society through work (see Bakke, Chapter 2, this volume) and the idea of lifelong learning as a collective project.

The idea of career development as a collective project yet again raises other issues of concern and possible future studies. If trade union influence is declining, is it then a good way forward to see trade unions in a central role for the delivery of career guidance for adults in Denmark in the future? Is it possible for trade unions to support the access to career guidance in solidarity with people who are not members? And what could career guidance practices learn from the corporatist view on career guidance which has the potential to support lifelong learning as a collective and solidary project?

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INGER MARIE BAKKE, LYN BARHAM AND PETER PLANT

23. AS TIME GOES BY

Geronto Guidance

ABSTRACT

Demographic trends are leading to increased and extended workforce participation by older workers, raising the requirement for career guidance to serve this population. This chapter argues that older people have distinctive career guidance needs. Drawing upon a small-scale research study, it identifies characteristics of older people and their largely unmet guidance needs. It goes on to propose particular considerations to be borne in mind in planning to meet the needs of older workers.

INTRODUCTION

Most guidance activities are aimed at young people or at adults who are going through education or employment transitions (Watts & Sultana, 2004). With an ageing population, this will have to change. Few guidance activities currently focus on one of the later, but important transitions in life, the process of retiring (Plant, Bakke & Barham, 2018). This chapter explores some aspects of guidance for older people, i.e. Geronto Guidance (from *gerón* (greek): old man, elders). It uses Norwegian research with female academics to suggest that for many this transition is not smooth, nor easy, nor dignified. This small sample of academics does not depict the general situation of retiring people, but it points to a blind spot in lifelong career guidance.

AGEING – A DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGE

Population trends in Nordic countries reflect the demographic trend of most European countries, which are getting older. This is reflected in the European population 'pyramid', which, tellingly, no longer has the shape of a pyramid, due to low birth rates and increased longevity (Figure 23.1). Finland and Denmark come closest to matching the European trend, while Iceland presents a more stable pyramid. In no Nordic country except Iceland do the younger age cohorts equal the larger cohorts of those who are due to leave the workforce in the coming decade (Grunfelder, Rispling, & Norlén, 2018, pp. 24–35).
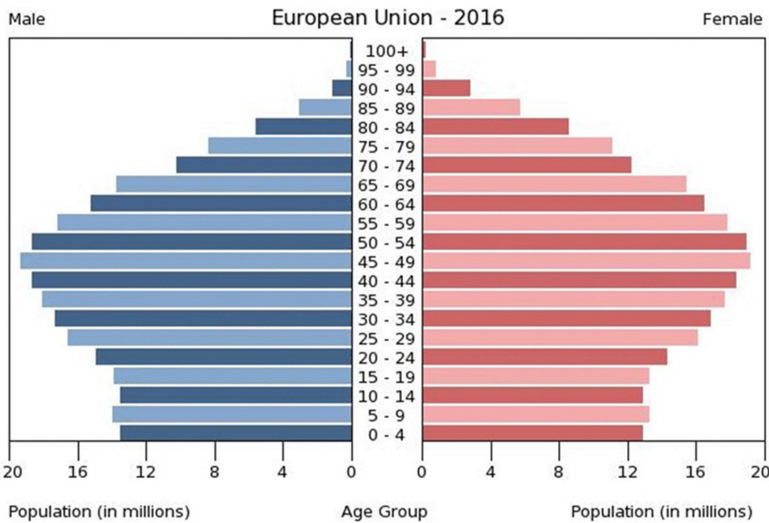
Figure 23.1. Age distribution, European Union, 2016 (Source: Index Mundi, 2018)

An ageing population creates new challenges to policies and practice across Europe (Bergmo-Prvulovic, 2017), with the specific nature of the challenge varying between countries. One common policy response has been pension reforms, enacted in Nordic countries in the first decade of the 21st century, both delaying the age of eligibility for state pension and giving greater freedoms over retirement timing (Hinrichs, 2004). Accompanying measures include providing financial incentives for older workers to remain in work beyond this age (e.g. Andersen, Määttänen, & Volkonen, 2014). Hinrichs (2004) notes that these changes have the effect of transferring to employees, especially older ones, more individual responsibility for complex retirement decisions and pension arrangements.

Least risky amongst the new freedoms is that of working more (Hinrichs, 2004). The demographic shift and policy responses have led to increasing employment rates of older workers, and a lengthening of working life. The European Trade Unions (ETUI), in their Benchmarking Europe analysis (ETUI, 2013, p. 26) make a point of the high rates of Nordic labour market participation (SE: 70%; DK & FI: 60%) of older workers (aged 55–64). In comparison, in Malta, the corresponding figure is 30%. With respect to lengthening working lives, between 2000 and 2017 the effective age of retirement increased in Denmark to age 64.6 (up 1.4 years), in Finland to 65.4 (up 3.6 years), in Norway to 65.4 (up 1.4 years) and Sweden to 66

(up 2.3 years), only declining slightly in Iceland, but from a higher starting point (to 69.8 from an earlier 70.3 years) (OECD, n.d.).

Alterations to pension policy, individualisation of decisions and risks, and later retirement all occur within a social context which – despite anti-discrimination legislation – may include extensive stereotyping of older people. Nordic countries generally evidence less negative attitude towards older people than is apparent in southern and eastern Europe, but still some 20% of older people report some experience of discrimination concerning work (Salomon, 2012). In a Finnish study, this leads Pärnänen (2012) to raise the question 'Policies can be changed, but can also the behavior of employers and employees be changed?' (p. 68). Noting that issues are complex as neither party exists in a vacuum, this study nevertheless records age segregation in parts of the workforce, a preference by employers for recruiting younger workers, and some expectation that 'older workers should give up their jobs for younger colleagues' (p. 76). There is widespread evidence that older workers are a group at high risk in terms of discrimination and social exclusion (e.g. Clayton, Greco, & Persson, 2007; Ford & Clayton, 2007; Truxillo, Finkelstein, Pytlovany, & Jenkins, 2018). This evidences a paradox where employers are content with older workers, but they may be reluctant to hire, retrain or even retain them, often due to negative stereotypes, such as lack of swiftness, more days of sick-leave, or other outdated attitudes (Kirk & Belovics, 2005).

These broader contexts indicate a range of external factors which influence individual people's decisions to continue working into older age. Alongside these sit personal factors including health and well-being, intrinsic job satisfaction, autonomy, work prospects and job security, personal finances, and those working conditions balanced between the workplace and the individual: work–life balance, flexible hours of work, psychosocial aspects of the workplace, and the prospects for alternative meaningful activity. The decisions faced by older workers, in Nordic countries and elsewhere, are at least as complex as those faced by young workforce entrants, but receive only a fraction of the attention from the career guidance profession.

AGEING – A SOCIAL INCLUSION CHALLENGE

The aim of including older people in the labour market has both social inclusion and macro-economic drivers. With regard to social inclusion, work provides one important setting for connecting to other people in one's social and cultural environment (Blustein, 2006) by providing the framework for social contacts, for social recognition, and, in some countries, for access to social services. For each individual, how central work is to their sense of social inclusion will influence their decision about the desirability and the timing of leaving the workforce.

But there is also a macro-economic drive for engaging the older workforce and extending their working years, as pointed out by Cedefop (2010, 2012, 2015) and

Eurofound (2017). We face a paradox that labour-market participation rates of older people could drop over the coming years due to age-related discrimination (Loretto, Vickerstaff, & White, 2007) at a time when the cohort of younger entrants to the workforce is significantly smaller than the age cohort likely to retire.

This leads to the conclusion that truly life-long guidance (European Council, 2004) will be needed even more than previously, as older people could find themselves excluded from meaningful work, and from the links to society that work and other forms of active societal participation (e.g. voluntary work) provide, with the result that national economies lose the employee numbers and skills that they need.

'AGE' AS A CONSTRUCT

One complexity in discussing 'older workers' is defining the group: how old is an 'older worker'? According to the EU Lisbon benchmark the priority group of older workers is those between 55 and 64 years of age (see e.g. European Commission, 2009, p. 64). In the past, statisticians tended to take the age of 45 as the demarcation between being a younger (24–44 years) or an older worker (45–64 years), but the extension of working lives and healthy lifespans has contributed to a more common demarcation at age 50, as productivity is reported to increase until at least that age (Nilsson, 2016).

The UK's commission into the future for lifelong learning (Schuller & Watson, 2009) argued that the traditional model (Table 23.1) of the life course was outdated. They proposed a new model to reflect both later young-adult transitions into full adult roles, and an extended 'third age' period of active life, including employment and voluntary work, before the limitations of ageing affect the majority of people.

Table 23.1. Proposed model of life-course and transitions (from Schuller & Watson, 2009)

	0–20	*21–25*	*25–50*	*50–65*	*65–75*	*75+*
Current model	Youth	Adult/worker			Retired/pensioner	
Proposed model	Extended youth		Adult/ Worker	Third age		Fourth age

Further questions arise both on the experience of age and on perceptions of age. 'Chronological age', a simple measure of years since birth, may not align with 'biological age', which reflects the physical and mental wellbeing of each individual and their life expectancy. Both health services and insurance providers pay considerably more attention to the latter in providing services and setting individualised charges, although other provisions, such as entitlement to state pension payments, attend only to chronological age.

From an extensive literature review on the conceptualisation of ageing, particularly as related to extending working life, Nilsson (2016) identifies two further aspects of

ageing: social ageing, and mental/cognitive ageing. Social ageing is significantly influenced by the attitudes of others, including in the workplace, and affects each individual's sense of possibility for social inclusion, in the workplace and elsewhere in society. Mental/cognitive ageing is partly influenced by hereditary and lifestyle factors. It is also affected by organisational and societal factors offering possibilities, stimulation and motivation.

Perception of age changes for each individual over time. For an adolescent the age of sixty is 'old', but by later middle age, that perception may change significantly. Perception of age can therefore be viewed as a social construct, subject to considerable variation depending on the measurement perspective applied. This has implications for the concept of lifelong guidance, which will need to take these individual perspectives into account, through providing varied guidance services in response to highly differentiated guidance needs. Ambivalence about experience and perceptions of age will be evident in the research participants whom we discuss later.

CAREER GUIDANCE THEORY – FOR OLDER WORKERS?

Career guidance, if it is to be lifelong (NOU, 2016), should encompass the transition to retirement. This transition requires a comprehensive reorganisation of life roles, a change of position in society, and associated developmental and transition tasks. Career guidance theory and practice are however, mainly developed through research and experience in guiding students and young workers. Few guidance activities currently focus on older workers (Plant et al., 2018). Canaff (1997) claims that this 'blind spot' may be connected to the way older workers are portrayed, especially in developmental theory, referencing Super's, Havighurst's and Eriksson's theories that concur that (working) life is over at age 65. She writes: 'this negative stereotype has permeated our culture and influenced our belief that one is no longer productive after 65' (Canaff, 1997, p. 87). Conversely, today, older workers both wish and are encouraged to stay longer in working life. Lytle, Foley, and Cotter (2015) argue that retirement should be considered as a career stage, and ask for additional research to investigate empirically how well prevalent career theories apply to older adults.

Developmental theories, such as Donald Super's (1957) work, addressed the normative stages of career growth, exploration and maintenance at a time of greater workplace stability than now exists. Later exposition of his theory includes life-span and life-space perspectives that are relevant to older workers who are both reaching the end of work 'life-span' and rebalancing activities within their 'life-space'. Career construction theory (CCT) (Savickas, 2005) addresses the need for individuals to maintain a sense of self throughout career development stages in an era when workplaces are less settled or predictable. The concept of adaptability, central to CCT, is relevant to retirement considerations in the 21st century. Adaptability resources include having a degree of concern about the future, the ability to take control of one's own occupational planning, curiosity about roles one might adopt, and the

confidence to pursue one's goals (Savickas & Porfeli, 2012). Career adaptability, a state of psychological preparedness for choice and change, is interrelated with the individual's experience of ageing (positive and negative), and is mediated by belief about time remaining, and opportunities left until retirement (Fasbender, Wöhrmann, Wang, & Klehe, 2019). The challenge to career guidance is not only to help older workers apply career adaptability in making work and retirement decisions, but to raise awareness of the positive and negative experiences of ageing, and to address future time perspectives:

> When aiming to motivate older workers to actively plan for late career, the most direct route to this effect may not be to raise their career adaptability, but to change their thinking about the time and opportunities available to them related to work. (Fasbender et al., 2019, p. 33)

Research shows that older workers benefit from guidance aiming to support reflection on their own occupational role, and how the role is played out in various contexts (Simon & Osipow, 1996). It is also pinpointed that counselors have to be extra sensitive to older workers' particular situation (Canaff, 1997; Brewington & Nassar-McMillan, 2000). Moving from work to retirement, the whole pattern of social roles need to be reorganised as the role of paid worker decreases in centrality.

> Fundamental questions about identity are raised as people switch the balance of their attention … with the prospect of full retirement visible on the horizon. While work identity may typically have had greatest salience for men, it is also important for women who gained much of their sense of identity through work. (Barham & Hawthorn, 2010, p. 264)

Identity is formed through processing social and personal experiences, as an answer to the basic question: Who am I? But this is not a question to be posed just once in lifetime. Working with people in their fifties, Hawthorn (2007) identified 'unfinished business, either educational, emotional or in ambition' (p. 5) which led to them addressing the question 'Who do you want to be now?' This question persists into the last stage for the world of work.

Identity develops through recognition from others. Here we draw upon Honneth's work (1995) on recognition of identity which reflects and extends the processes outlined by Super (1957; Super et al., 1996) and Erikson (1950) in their delineations of developmental stages. Recognition, according to Honneth (1995), starts with a spontaneous claim from each of us: I require you to acknowledge the value I assign to myself, in relation to family and friends, the law and society. You recognise me through letting me experience myself as independent, equal and valuable. Recognition in personal relations, which are the most fundamental dimension according to identity and self, is expressed through emotional and physical closeness. In the legal system, it is a question of equality and being a legal entity. The third dimension points to a recognition of traits and abilities in society. Is contribution to society from the group whom I am associated with (or belong to), appreciated? Recognition is central in all

spheres of life, including the workplace. The recognition sought from society will change over time: it may shift from a claim for recognition of ambition and potential when younger, to recognition for experience and wisdom in older age (Erikson, 1950).

In the Nordic countries, older workers have the same rights and obligations as other people, but the reality may differ. This tendency is confirmed in a yearly published enquiry to map attitudes relating to older workers (Senter for seniorpolitikk, 2018). Here older workers, for example, say they do not have the same access to new knowledge as younger colleges. This can create a feeling of disrespect. Disrespect may be a consequence of not being recognised (Honneth, 1995, 2007). Both recognition and disrespect have consequences for the sense of identity and the self-concept.

With this backdrop, the need for developing Geronto guidance moves up the societal agenda, both in terms of research, and in terms of guidance activities. But how is this need perceived by the people who are affected by downsizing, structural re-organisation, or age-related discrimination? In order to provide some insight into these issues, we conducted research with a small sample of female academics during their final working period. This piece of research is presented below, and it serves as an illustration of some of the life-stage related issues which these women face. Recognition is one such important issue.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND INFORMANTS

This study investigates how Norwegian academic employees experience self and the transitional phase between working life and retirement. Older female academics belong to a group of workers who stay in working life the longest. They represent a group that has benefited from Norwegian education becoming more accessible to all from the 1960s. This entailed both the possibility to finance one's own studies through the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund, and increased possibilities for women from all social classes to study. The proportion of women in the higher education sector has gradually increased, although men are still over-represented in the highest echelons of the academic workforce.

Informants were recruited as an opportunity sample of eight females between 63–66 years who work in teaching and research positions. Information, consent and contact processes met the stipulations of the NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data). The study used a narrative approach to capture the individual's experience of her work situation through a loosely structured interview, striving to allow the individual to talk freely about her own educational and professional choices, and about the experience of being in the final phase of professional life. All interviews were transcribed in full.

A hermeneutic interpretation of the data has been made (see Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Individual statements and the text as a whole are viewed in relation to each other, and each text is understood in light of what it says thematically about the

transition between working life and retirement. Challenges inherent to this phase, as well as the need for some guidance, were also thematised.

The interpretation has taken place at several levels (see Thagaard, 2018) and includes both the informants' interpretation of their own life situation (interpretation of first degree) and the researcher's interpretation of the reality that the informants have already interpreted themselves (interpretation of the second degree). In addition, an attempt is made to interpret the experiences in terms of their underlying meaning (third degree interpretation). As a result, central themes emerged, and are presented and discussed here.

The researcher's interpretation in the second and third phases is not free of pre-conditioning. Knowledge of and personal experiences within the context in which the individual stories are embedded, may have had an impact.

Table 23.2 provides an anonymised overview of the key characteristics of the informants who come from two different higher education institutions, where they represent five different faculties, and have worked variously for between 16 and 40 years in the higher education sector. Three of the informants had been on leave from academia for certain periods in order to work in their field of practice. One of the informants had opted for a contractual pension half a year before the interview took place, another had reduced her position to 60% with the intention of reducing it further. One works in an 80% position, and the other five hold 100% positions.

Table 23.2. Informants

Informant	Age	Years in academia	Position category	Position appointment
Gunn	64	39	Lecturer[a]	100%
Berit	66	26	Lecturer	0%
Lise	65	17	Teacher[b]	60%
Else	66	34	Associate professor	100%
Astrid	63	21	Associate professor	100%
Kirsti	66	40	Professor[c]	100%
Inger	66	29	Lecturer	80%
Klara	65	29	Professor	100%

[a] Secondary education teacher with a master's degree
[b] Secondary education teacher with a bachelor's degree
[c] Full professor

THE OCCUPATIONAL SELF-CONCEPT

Super, Savickas, and Super's (1996) ideas of life-span, life-space and self-concept contribute a framework for understanding the underlying structure of meaning that each person ascribes to events in the past, expectations for the future, and how they

prioritise between different developmental tasks in the present. Each individual's basic personal values are considered to be the most fundamental aspect of their occupational self-concept, as they infiltrate life themes, give meaning to choices and are what the individual manoeuvres after.

This study depicts eight female academics who are highly committed to their work: it is not only their career, but also their calling. Duffy, Dik, Douglass, England, and Velez (2018, p. 426) frame calling as an approach to work that reflects seeking a sense of overall purpose and meaning, in order to help others or contribute to the common good. In this study, women academics explain that they are emotionally attached to, and identify with, their professional role. Their basic values are closely connected to their career, and most women say they want their work 'to make a difference'. According to Duffy et al. (2018, p. 427), there is a difference between perceiving a calling and living a calling. The women in this study invest time and energy in what they consider to be their vocation, rather than just a job, and they seek satisfaction and a sense of purpose from work. The female academics say their discipline is their passion, and they describe themselves as hard-working 'project people', who have been engaged in work more fully than usual. Having this strong commitment to work is connected to living out one's calling, and refers to the level of commitment one has to an occupation or career field. All the academics certainly seem to have lived out their calling – according to their own account, often at the expense of social life and private time with their families.

Nevertheless, most women are of the opinion that it has been worth the effort, and that all-in-all, there has been an adequate balance. As Kirsti says:

> Having had a fairly long working life, I think I have had a good one. It has been very joyful. It has meant a lot, it has been a very important part of my life, I think. And if I judge it myself, I think I've been able to balance the combination of family and working life. Maybe sloppy in ways. Sloppy with the wisdom and understanding, as my former boss said. Maybe it's something I could have done better …

REORGANISATION OF LIFE STRUCTURE

Nordic work culture is traditionally characterised by so-called collectivistic individualism (Bakke, 2018; see also Bakke, Chapter 2, this volume). Collectivistic individualism refers to both supporting strong states and strong forms of collective organisation, and believing that one can act in one's own interests and be autonomous. This may also apply to academia. The female academics consider that their organisations have developed to be more individualistically oriented. The work situation has become more complex and demanding, and they believe that the introduction of the 'New Public Management' approach in higher education has changed values and patterns of thought, and that the focus has shifted from teaching and student learning processes to individually profitable work. This

responds to developments in Norwegian working life in general, as described by both Bakke (2018) and Kjærgård (2018). Attention to younger colleagues in doctoral programmes is mentioned by several as a dominant feature of the working environments represented in this study. All the women have noted that these developments in academia have led them repeatedly to consider quitting before the retirement age. In most cases, this was because the workload was too large, the changes in the organisation happened too quickly, or undermined the personal values which they brought to their work. Some of them say that '*my time is over*' and refer to values and working methods that have changed. They also experience that their own expertise is no longer as sought by management as before, or they feel less appreciated than younger colleagues. Inger said she felt that she '*perfectly matched the wallpaper*'.

On the other hand, these women experience that the skills they have developed are recognised by colleagues and students. They prioritise teaching and counselling, they still work hard and they pose great demands on themselves. At the same time, they feel that their own working capacity has changed. Else puts it thus:

> We are not very attractive … from 50 on. But then there is really a lot of expertise and working power to offer. When you reach 60 and over, you are not as vibrant. But boy, the kind of experience and overview we have. But it doesn't go as quickly; I notice that.

Time has gone by quickly and respondents find it difficult to make peace with the fact that they soon will have reached retirement age. For most of the interviewees, the certainty that 'the hourglass is about to run out' is perceived as an existential crisis. As Astrid says:

> All of a sudden, age is important. This annoys me. I really don't need to be old.

All eight women except one say that heavy workload over the years has made them feel weary now, and all of them have experienced health challenges. However, six of the women think they still have much to contribute: they are not ready to leave working life, or not yet. Their identity is strongly linked to their work in higher education, and several say that they are afraid of losing this when the employment relationship ends. Kirsten says:

> I don't know what will happen to me on the day I won't be coming here. If I've ever felt off-colour, I would nevertheless feel better upon arriving here.

On the other hand, facing the imminent transition to retirement, two of the women (Berit and Lise) have begun to ask questions like '*What does quality of life mean for me?*' They muse more often that life should be more than work, and both say they long for something more. Berit chose to quit when she was 65. She says:

Choosing to quit, is just as much about the longing for something else. Something that gives me something personal.

However, all women look forward to having greater control over how they use their time. They perceive the need to reorganise their life structure, they see opportunity to reconnect with old friends, and also have partly-formed plans to cultivate interests or hobbies in which they have not been able to invest time and effort for years. One says she wants to spend time with her grandchildren, and three have plans to engage in social causes. In this way, these three persons envisage that the values that they held throughout their working life may be transferred to other activities in their life as a retiree, so called bridging activities.

RECOGNITION AND DIGNITY

Social appreciation implies that individuals are recognised as persons possessing abilities of fundamental value to society. Retirement means to step down from paid work, to contribute to a lesser degree. In this study, all the women have begun thinking about how to step down, and they want to do it in a dignified way. They are aware that their working life has an ever-shortening time horizon, and therefore do not want to engage in long-term binding tasks. The women are also concerned with how their own skills can be advanced in the organization, and want a dialogue with the management on these issues. It does not seem as though the institutions are able to comprehend the fact the women wish to discuss this. For example, two have mentioned to their immediate superiors that they plan to reduce the scope of their position or to step down in a couple of years, but without receiving any response. Both talk about leaders who do not know what questions they should ask, or which words they should use.

Only three of the women say they have a close relationship with their immediate superior. However, all women express that it is vital to be able to decide when and how to end a career. They feel that they have 'something they must finish first' and they wish to leave working life with dignity. As Kirsten says,

Still, I hope I'll go out with the feeling that I've done an important job, that has meant something. For the discipline. This is my hope. Would have been very hard if I had gone out after that period in which I really thought about it. It does not have to be the ultimate exit, but still with dignity. I hope it would be.

A successful transition to retirement requires good planning. With the exception of Berit, Lise and Inger, who have gradually reduced working time starting at the age of 62, none of the five others have made plans for workload reduction. They express their attitude that they will *keep going for as long as they can or just wait and see what happens*. Most women have participated in a retirement course organised by the trade union, but say they had little benefit from the information about public

service pension schemes. They estimate that 67 years is a natural retirement age given the existing social security schemes. Beyond this, they have not investigated the possibilities of staying in working life after the age of 67, nor for preparing for a life as retirees.

Stepping down from work is perceived as one of the most demanding transitions in life. However, most of these women state that they feel alone in this process. They are aware of the absence of their own ageing as a theme in employee conversations, and lack support in making comprehensive plans for how to step down in a way that would be best for themselves, their working environment, and the institution. Thus, they seem to be invisible to the employer in the retirement process. To be visible, is an elemental form of recognition (Høilund & Juul, 2005). To be invisible, is perceived as offensive. In this study, the women argue that the lack of attention from the employer's side is perceived to be directly hurtful. Lise, who will be stepping down after the coming school year, says:

> When I reduced the scope of my position to 60%, no one was talking to me. No one said 'Now, we must have a chat' … Not one! No one asked what I was going to do and whether we should reduce workload, no one! Had to figure it out myself. Had to endure. It's a bad policy, indeed!

It is a fundamental feature of our study that ageing in academia is a dignity project that the women themselves must handle to the best of their ability. Throughout a long career, they have developed professional integrity and fought for a valued position, and they want to leave working life in a worthwhile manner. In short, they call for a genuine dialogue with the institution. By contrast, two of the women on their way to retirement found that the employer was only interested in the retirement date: they saw this as highly offensive. Lise sums up her experiences thus:

> They put a bit too much pressure on me. In regard to finding out when I will be stepping down … OK! Wrote an email to the head of department … And he thanked me … Then I felt that patience was running out. And that they were more concerned about it, than about how I was faring at work.

Berit who is the only one of the women who was already retired at the time the interviews were conducted, is very upset by how little attention she herself received when she retired:

> But there's something to the fact a person has worked for almost 30 years within education … there should maybe have been … a conversation. If you've only worked for half a year somewhere, it might not be so important. But after all, it's a person who has spent time on this educational environment and this institution … I think it's utterly crazy!

Others note that ceremonies around retirement seem random and poorly thought through. One of the women mused, for example, on how a thank you for a long career

could be a piece of cake at an institute meeting. Berit summarises her experiences as follows:

> Yes, the organisations dealing with working life have, after all, ensured … that there's going to be a proper ending, one should think about this, that and that. But a university college or university, they do not follow any of the rules. If it's not management, there's no round-off. They do not follow the formalities, it's … just off-handed … It's absolutely terrible, really!

<div align="center">

DISCUSSION: WHAT KIND OF CAREER GUIDANCE
DO OLDER WORKERS NEED?

</div>

This study confirms that transition to retirement is experienced as challenging: one of the major transitions in life. It is associated with grief in letting go of lifelong commitments that have fundamental importance for self-esteem. All the female academics express that they have been dedicated to their work, often at the expense of other life roles. Their identity is strongly related to work, and work is for most of them perceived as a calling. However, the passing of time is irrevocable. At a certain point, everyone is touched by aspects of ageing, and this is so also for female academics. Leaving working life with dignity is strongly emphasised by all of them. Moreover, some of the female academics had to struggle to be recognised and valued during the final years of the careers. They felt invisible and devalued, and rejected when they tried to start a dialogue with the employer about issues concerning the termination. Avoidance of dealing with issues related to ageing can be an example of employers being afraid to discriminate (Women and Equalities Committee, 2018). On the other hand, omissions can be felt personally as violations (Heggen, 2002). This is what we see in this study. If communication is exclusively about clarifying the date of termination, it is perceived as extra humiliating, or as disrespectful, in Honneth's (1995, 2007) terms.

This finding corresponds with earlier research (Clayton et al., 2007; Ford & Clayton, 2007) which pointed out that elderly people are at risk of both discrimination and exclusion at the workplace. According to Honneth (2007), negative experiences, as seen here, can be linked to principles of recognition institutionalised in a society. Subjects only experience disrespect in what they can grasp as a violation of the normative claim of recognition. The lack of recognition of older workers may – as we have seen in this study – be an institutionalized pattern. Organisations should be encouraged to strengthen the culture of life-long learning and development, and to include the workforce in the process (Fasbender et al., 2019). Failure to do so may reflect underlying attitudes towards older workers in general.

As the situation is today, policies regarding senior employers at the organisational level seems to be scarce in the parts of academia included in this study. This supports the impression that management of age-related transitions has increasingly become more individualised (see Hinrichs, 2004). This makes the individual more

vulnerable. However Honneth (1995) reminds us that in order for the individual to be recognised, the contributions of the group he or she belongs to must be valued. Career guidance both on individual and organisational level could contribute in a positive way. In this study none of the female academics mention that they have had any kind of late-career guidance, nor have they looked for it. They have felt that they have been left to their own devices. Career guidance may contribute to a positive change and remind the organisations of the importance of providing a framework for a better process providing time and space for each worker to prepare for the coming transition. Similarly, the employer would have been encouraged to plan how the senior's competence could be disseminated within the organisation, and not disappear with the employee who retires. From this study, we argue that this could be a way both to recognise competence and to safeguard the individual's dignity.

Facilitation of this process can also contribute to more flexibility and freedom of choice when it comes to how long each individual chooses to continue working. It could also help individuals to find 'bridging activities' which enhance the chances for basic values to be continued through activities in settings other than the previous profession. As Erikson and Erikson (1997) and Fasbender et al. (2019) remind us, a healthy progression into older age is linked to informed concern for life itself. In this respect, the organisations' facilitation can be a focal point in achieving the social policy objective of helping people to stay employed longer, and then to continue active engagement in other spheres, thus contributing both to working life and to society.

Recognition is crucial, and applies to all life-stages, including old age. Honneth's (1995) three 'patterns of recognition' are necessary for each individual's development and maintenance of a positive attitude to oneself. Wellbeing in retirement and older age is dependent on traversing the transition to retirement with such attitudes intact:

> For it is only due to the cumulative acquisition of basic self-confidence, of self-respect, and of self-esteem … that a person can come to see himself or herself, unconditionally, as both an autonomous and an individuated being and to identify with his or her goals and desires. (Honneth, 1995, p. 169)

CONCLUSIONS

If only for the demographics, Geronto guidance, i.e. guidance for older people, will be a growing field in the coming years, both in terms of service delivery, and as a field of research. But there is more at stake in terms of the traditional boundaries of career guidance and ties to employment as a means to live a full life, with an income and status. These issues will be challenged to expand into the Geronto guidance field, as depicted above in the study of the retirement years of female Norwegian academics. Honneth's concept of recognition is helpful in this context, as the question for this group, as well as for other less privileged groups, will be: 'Who do you want to be

now?' (Hawthorn, 2007), i.e. now that working life is drawing to an end. This is in essence an existential question which reaches far beyond working life, as Super has illustrated in his life-span approach. It points to a 3D approach to guidance: lifelong, life-wide, and life-deep in nature (Plant, 2006).

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