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Editor

Anthony Barnes

NICEC
Sheraton House
Castle Park
Cambridge
CB3 0AX
Tel: 01223 460277
Email: anthony.barnes@vtplc.com

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NICEC
Sheraton House
Castle Park
Cambridge
CB3 0AX
Tel: 01223 460277
Fax: 01223 311708
Email: julia.jones@crac.org.uk
Website: www.crac.org.uk/nicec/journal/journal.htm

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Contributions are welcomed. Main articles should normally be 1,000-3,000 words in length. They should be submitted to the editor by post or email at the above address. Taped contributions are welcomed.

Career Research and Development: the NICEC Journal is published by CRAC (Careers Research and Advisory Centre), an independent educational charity founded in 1964. CRAC aims to promote the importance of and encourage active career development and career-related learning for the benefit of individuals, the economy and society.

Aims and scope

Career Research and Development 'the NICEC Journal' is published for:

- Career practitioners working in schools, colleges, Connexions partnerships, higher education careers services, adult guidance agencies, companies, community organisations, etc.
- Trainers, lecturers, advisers and consultants working with career practitioners.
- Individuals working towards qualifications in career education, career guidance and career management.
- Government departments and business and community organisations with an interest in the work of career practitioners.

It sets out to:

- Promote evidence-based practice by making theory, policy and the results of research and development more accessible to career practitioners in their day-to-day work.
- Encourage discussion and debate of current issues in career research and development.
- Disseminate good practice.
- Support continuing professional development for career practitioners.
- Help practitioners to develop and manage career education and guidance provision in the organisations in which they work.

Better practice

Anthony Barnes, Editor

When NICEC launched ***Career Research and Development*** in 2000, the avowed intention was to make practice thoughtful and theory practical for the reader. As readers will know, the impetus for improvement in career education and career guidance practice comes from many directions: policy, theory, research and practice; but wherever the trigger for change comes from, the starting point is the same. Someone asked a challenging question such as:

- What could we do differently or better here?
- Have we got it right or are we missing something?
- What don't we know about this?

Restless minds are the spur to better practice. The contributors to this issue would probably all agree that we have more to fear from 'unquestioned answers' than 'unanswered questions'! For those of us working in career guidance organisations and organisations which provide career guidance for their people, the problem is how to respond to the challenging questions that are posed to us. Mathieu Weggeman's ideas about R-professionals and I-professionals have something to offer us here. 'Knowledge-intensive organisations' need a mix of Routine professionals and Innovative/improvising professionals. R-professionals strive for efficiency – they are good at doing the same, predictable things better. I-professionals strive for effectiveness – they are good at developing new activities and doing things differently. They organise creative ideas and concepts in an understandable and practical way.

This analysis inevitably leads professionals to ask questions such as 'What sort of professional am I?' and 'Is one sort of professional better than the other?' The extremes rarely exist so it is quite possible to conclude that you are a mix of the two types. It is also quite likely that you will realise that both extreme orientations have their pitfalls and, as both types of professional are needed in successful organisations, the challenge is to maximise the advantages of your style and minimise its disadvantages. One of the problems for R-professionals to avoid, for example, is that as their careers develop they continue to get better at doing things that are no longer as relevant and appropriate as they once were. This can be tackled by making a conscious commitment to investing in lifelong learning.

In one way or another, all of the contributors to this issue are asking us to break old patterns, to avoid simplifying the situation and to question standardised solutions. Our previous skills and experience are no longer a sure guide as to what needs doing in the future. It is only by functioning as reflective practitioners that we can avoid developing the skilled incompetence of the unchanged R-professional!

The first article by Jim Hillage of the Institute for Employment Studies explores the difficult process of designing evaluation research into IAG (information, advice and guidance). It is based on the lecture he gave last October in memory of John Killeen, a senior fellow of NICEC, who died at the end of 2003. Jim commented that he never met John but nevertheless knew of and admired his work. His article is in part a dialogue with John's methodologies from his previous studies.

Many readers will remember the first 'Cutting Edge' conference held in Leicester in April 2000 and reported in the first issue of this journal in October of the same year. The aim of the Cutting Edge conferences is to stimulate debate about guidance-related issues and especially to focus on the role of research. In April 2003, 'Cutting Edge II: learning from research' was held in Coventry. As we prepare for 'Cutting Edge III' in December 2006, it seemed highly appropriate to recall the key achievements of that second conference. Published for the first time is the presentation by Wendy Hirsh and Jenny Bimrose who gave their personal view of 'What are we taking away?' followed by Ruth Hawthorn's notes on the discussion from the final panel session.

In this issue we also have two articles by Helen Colley who is Senior Research Fellow at the Education and Social Research Institute, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK, and a Fellow of NICEC. The first is about formality and informality in mentoring for career development, both in business and for disadvantaged young people. The second is called 'Do we choose careers or do they choose us?', and it reflects on some of the lessons for CEG practice from the ESRC's Teaching and Learning Research Programme.

Finally, Grace Maduka and Ivan Robertson report the findings of their research into the occupational aspirations, choices and developments of three groups of adolescents: Asians, Afro-Caribbean and White Britons in Liverpool and Manchester during their immediate periods of transition from school to work.

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John Killeen Commemorative Lecture 2005 'Known knowns and known unknowns': What can evaluation tell us about labour market impact?

Jim Hillage

It is with some trepidation that I accepted the invitation to give this lecture. I did not know John Killeen, but I do know of, and have always been impressed by, his work; and we sought his advice on the recent Institute for Employment Studies (IES) study on the impact of advice and guidance, but by then he was unfortunately too ill to help.

My trepidation increased when, in preparing for this lecture, I realised:

a) how little I knew about careers information, advice and guidance, although as a jobbing researcher and evaluator I have been involved with a number of studies in the area over the years, and

b) how much John had contributed to our understanding in this area.

By then, however, I had already chosen as my text the now famous quote by Donald Rumsfeld, US Defense Secretary:

'Reports that say that something hasn't happened are always interesting to me because as we know, there are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns - the ones we don't know we don't know.'

This quote, rather unfairly I think, won the Plain English Campaign's 'Foot in Mouth' Award in 2003. Unfair because I think it is actually clear and certainly less ridiculous than Chris Patten, ex-Conservative Cabinet Minister and Governor of Hong Kong, who was runner up with:

'The Conservative Party has committed political suicide and is now living to regret it.'

Now I am not suggesting that there is any similarity between John Killeen and Donald Rumsfeld. However, I like to think he would have agreed that with the idea that a researcher's job is to understand what we know and concentrate on the things we don't know and identify the things we did not realise that we needed to know. After all John finished one of his last published works with the statement:

'More research required is a common conclusion, but it is important that this does not keep starting at square one - of this we have had enough.'
(Hughes et al., 2002)

So I set myself the task of reviewing what was known and not known about the labour market impact of information, advice and guidance (IAG). With the Government's upcoming review of adult guidance and the recent publication of the baseline report on IES's study on measuring the impact of advice and guidance it seemed an appropriate, if not original, brief as there have been a few reviews over the years. However, I will present my interpretation of what we know or don't know not just in terms of the evidence, including some of the more recently published studies and other relevant research, but also in terms of the research techniques which underlie it.

I thought I would start with a model.

At the heart of any evaluation is a model which seeks to map the link between the intervention, in this case careers information, advice and guidance, and what happens as a result, in both the short-term and the long-term.

In any evaluation the model is determined by the nature of the intervention and the reasons for making it – its aims and objectives, *i.e.* what you are trying to achieve and how it is to be measured.

It still surprises me in this age of evaluation how difficult policy-makers can find it to answer this question clearly (and even more the practitioners who are tasked with implementing the policy). This probably reflects the multiplicity of policy goals that the designers hope to achieve. It does not help that, when they are expressed, the goals are generally set at a high level, e.g. to improve productivity or social inclusion, while the objectives are not clearly linked to either the intervention or the goals and/or are subject to change as the policy framework develops. While unspecific outcomes certainly make the job of the evaluator more difficult, I'm not sure they help the people on the ground trying to deliver the policy either. A clear 'line of sight' between strategy, policy and practice serves to explain why certain actions are being undertaken or certain groups are being targeted and, therefore, improves the likelihood of effective implementation.

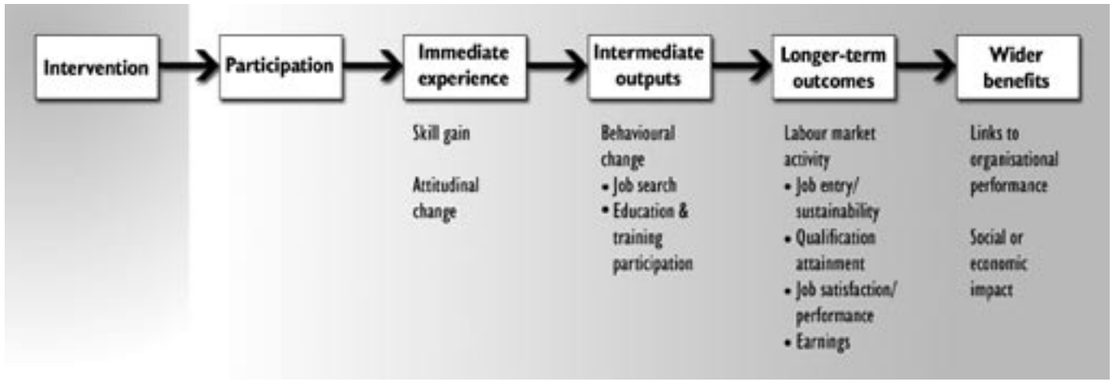
Clarity in establishing the connections between participants' intended involvement in policy interventions and their subsequent labour market or other actions helps the researcher too in establishing what they are trying to measure and how.

In conducting an evaluation at IES we increasingly seek to establish a clear evaluation framework at the outset, defining the indicators we will use to measure the success or otherwise of the policy and how we propose to measure them. These frameworks tend to follow a traditional chain of impact, from the intervention itself (*i.e.* the inputs) through to wider outcomes as a result (*i.e.* the outputs). This is not rocket science and similar sorts of models can be traced back to Kirkpatrick (and probably before), who in 1959 developed an approach to measuring the effectiveness of training based on assessments at four levels: individuals' reactions, the learning they gained, consequent behaviour change and finally the effect on the organisation.

Such models have also been used in the evaluation of IAG activities, for instance IES's evaluation of the University for Industry (Tamkin *et al.* 2003). Similar models underpinned John Killeen's *Gateways to Learning* evaluation (Killeen, 1996) and featured in the Centre for Guidance Studies' invaluable review of the economic benefits of guidance (Hughes, 2002).

An abstraction of the model is set out in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Simple model of labour market impact



Source: IES

It provides a simple theoretical underpinning to any investigation. I realise that there are other bases for constructing a model, e.g. assessing the value added to an individual's human capital (e.g. Mayston, 2002) which might form an alternative basis of analysis, although it is not clear whether the theories that apply to IAG have been empirically tested.

I refer to the model for three reasons:

- Firstly, it helps to martial the evidence across the chain of impact and to identify the known knowns and, therefore, the unknowns
- Secondly, it illustrates the problems faced by those tasked with assessing the impact of information, advice and guidance
- Thirdly, it may help to identify possible ways forward.

So as a researcher we are interested to see who takes part in a given intervention, their immediate reactions, what skills they gain or attitudinal change place as a result leading to changes in behaviour such as looking for a job or taking up a training course. In the literature, the precise components and titles of each of the links in the chain – the individual boxes – vary and although this serves as a general model, more specific indicators would apply to the evaluation of specific interventions.

There are obvious problems with evaluations across the chain at this level, e.g.:

- the time lag between intervention and behavioural change and subsequent labour market activity. A person may as a result of a careers intervention decide to change their job but it may not happen immediately, although you would hope to be able to see some intermediate changes, e.g. in their job search behaviour, let alone get another job which might improve their economic position
- there are also other factors which might intervene and affect progress along the chain such as changes in the education and training infrastructure; changes in labour market activity or changes in an individual's personal circumstances.

All of these points need to be accounted for to establish a causal chain. The longer the time-span between cause and effect the more difficult it is to disentangle the influence of the intervening factors from the original intervention. But as a general model, I think there are a range of other problems too.

The intervention is too heterogeneous, the general participation is too diverse and the links across the chain are not as clear cut or as distinct as we would like. Also some steps are bigger than others.

For example, as a result of an IAG intervention an individual may be more interested in taking a course – but then any subsequent steps depend on the nature of the course, the skills they gain and their value in the labour market. The training may be a bigger intervention than the original information, advice or guidance.

However assessing the impact of training and, for example, the attainment of qualifications is a separate task. If we can link the IAG to the qualification, then other research can take us further down the line.

Guidance might have a positive effect in say increasing the chances of someone obtaining an NVQ level 2. However, while we know that obtaining qualifications has a largely positive effect on employment and earnings there is much less evidence that this general rule applies at NVQ level 2. The guidance may have been successful in helping the client reach their goal but the wider impact is limited by the value of the training itself.

What is the intervention?

The model starts with the intervention itself, but could in some evaluations start with 'the market', i.e. the population at which the intervention is aimed and their knowledge and understanding of the intervention and its value. It could be argued that marketing a particular policy is part of the overall intervention itself. Thus raising an individual's awareness about the opportunities for and value of IAG could cause them to reflect on their skills and career and move them into a different state of mind and career intentions than before.

It is therefore critical in any investigative research or evaluation to have a clear idea of the size, scope and nature of the intervention under examination.

The intervention can be defined by the user, i.e. by asking them what service they have received or defined by the provider. However, user-definition can be a problem, especially if it is important, as it usually is, that we have some confidence that participants receive the same sort of intervention. This is particularly problematic in the case of information, advice and guidance, where the words can mean different things to different people. They may have a specific meaning to those engaged in providing or researching IAG services but also a general meaning to the world at large, which can lead to ambiguity at least.

The recent MORI study for the Guidance Council (Taylor *et al.*, 2005) used a fairly general definition when asking about respondents' involvement with 'information, advice and guidance in the areas of education, training and work' and it is clear from the results that respondents included a wide variety of sources and types of support. So when the survey found a drop in use of IAG from 52 per cent in 2000 to 42 per cent on 2005 we are not sure whether this reflects a decline in use or a change in understanding of the term between the samples.

In the evaluation of the Employer Training Pilots (ETP) we have conducted at IES, we wanted to assess the extent to which participants had accessed the information, advice and guidance provision, and the effect that it had. While a very few had actually accessed the formal provision, e.g. at the end of their course, when we asked learners, around half said they had received some form of (face-to-face) IAG – mainly from either their employer or their training provider.

In the IES impact study we found that participants could not easily distinguish between advice and guidance, although could see them as distinct from information and we, therefore, bracketed advice and guidance together.

This suggests to me that any research requires fairly careful questioning to identify the nature of the intervention and I agree with Malcolm Maguire when he argues that '*the development of common accepted terminology for the range of IAG activities would assist in enabling evaluation or measurement of initiatives*'. (Maguire, 2004).

The problem with provider-based definitions is linking the provision to the user, especially in these days of protection of personal data.

In the IES impact study we were not able to link administrative data on the nature of the intervention (i.e. I or A/G) to the personal data used for sampling. As a result, the survey had to determine the level of intervention for each individual by relying on their personal recall.

This highlights the need for better and more consistent administrative records and its potential importance as a source data in research.

Ideally we do not want to rely on the participant to define the intervention but combine what they say with the provider's specification. The combination is important and can raise interesting conflicts between what the provider says people have received and what the participants think they have received, reflecting the lack of uniformity of provision (as well as problems of participant recall). It is interesting when researching in

workplaces to compare what the HR Department says is the policy or practice on a particular issue and the views of the line managers or employees on the ground. The differences can often highlight the gap between the HR rhetoric and the workplace reality.

But the problem of defining the intervention is not just one of language or administrative records.

The nature of the intervention varies in so many ways, for example by:

- **Context** – IAG is provided at work; in educational settings; in the community. It is also often provided in a variety of circumstances, e.g. as part of programme of support to the unemployed or linked to some form of learning provision. This gives us a problem of isolating the IAG intervention.
- **Nature of the provider** – ranging through employers (where IAG is generally delivered by a line manager), training providers, specialist IAG providers, Job Centres, friends and colleagues, etc.
- **The type and intensity of the provision** - IAG covers a wide range of support, from simple signposting or the provision of information, through specific help with CV preparation or identifying learning or employment opportunities through to a series of investigatory and guidance sessions combining a range of activities.
- **Quality of the provision** – and the knowledge and skills of the provider.
- **Form of provided** – face-to-face, telephone, computer, written materials, etc.
- **Frequency of provision** – e.g. one-off or time-limited provision or a series of interventions.

The list is almost endless and compounded if IAG is viewed as a process rather than a discrete activity, *i.e.* a series of interventions and personal reflection over a period of time. That said, most significant labour market interventions (e.g. training or job search assistance) could be seen more as a process than a single activity. However the more the intervention is boundless and multi-faceted, the more difficult it is to define and the more difficult the impact is to measure.

Therefore, from a research point of view, the greater the homogeneity of the intervention (and the larger the consensus between provider and participant about what actually happened) the better. The wider the range of provision being investigated the greater the difficulties for the researcher as the intervention then becomes a range of variables rather than a single variable in any explicit or implicit equation.

In the ETP evaluation we faced a number of problems in trying to identify the effect of the IAG element as provision varied dramatically across the pilots. Some provided support to learners either face-to-face or in the form of written materials at the start of training. In other areas there was a 'call-down' service with learners given a phone number to call if they wanted support (and few did). Some only provided information or advice and not guidance because they thought it would put employers off. Others attempted to give all learners access to an IAG provider at the end of their training, although in some areas this was more of an 'exit' interview than a 'next steps' interview.

I draw two lessons here:

- do not assume that a programme will be universally applied, especially when there are different providers supplying a notionally similar service;
- tracing the impact of IAG as a general process or what a range of individuals receive is far more difficult than tracing the impact of a specific IAG measure targeted at a specific group of people.

Again John provided us with indications of the way through this problem by focusing sharply on one particular intervention and collecting a wide range of data around it. However, I am not sure he would agree with this, it also highlights to me the importance of qualitative research in this respect.

Who takes part?

Having established the intervention we are obviously interested in who takes part, particularly compared with who does not and ultimately the effect the intervention has on them.

In passing it is interesting to note that according the recent MORI survey (Taylor *et al.* 2005), IAG users are more likely to be: young, relatively well-qualified, have recently taken part in training or learning and more likely to have higher aspirations in terms of their future career. They already have a reasonable stock of human capital and are either looking to acquire more or looking for ways to exploit better what they have. This would seem to bear out the 'wise search' hypothesis that John Killeen articulated in the Gateways evaluation (Killeen, 1996), i.e. that people who use guidance provided under any voluntary programme may be demonstrating the superiority of the general search strategy. There is less evidence that guidance (or at least information, advice and guidance in the MORI survey) is used by John's other 'deficit' group, i.e. people who need a remedial activity to help cope with their adverse labour market circumstances.

This begs a question for me about whether guidance is reaching the people who need it most and what interventions work best for the 'hard-to reach'.

Outcomes

Moving on to the outcomes of guidance, the key question in measuring impact, clearly articulated by John Killeen and Michael White in their study of the impact of guidance on employed adults, is what would have happened in the absence of the intervention – i.e. the counterfactual position (Killeen and White, 2002). The now established way of measuring this is through a comparison between the participants and a control group. The trick is to ensure that the controls mirror the participants.

The problem is that establishing a control group from the general population builds in an immediate problem of selection bias. Voluntary participation in IAG is often triggered by either the desire or need to change and, in that respect, participants are qualitatively different to the rest of the population.

The gold standard is to establish 'an experimental design' and randomly assign individuals to the participant group or the control. The control group provides the counterfactual data on what happens in the absence of the intervention and any subsequent differences in outcomes between the two groups can, therefore, be ascribed to the intervention. Such evaluations are common in the US for active labour market policies, but very rare in the UK, primarily due to practical and ethical considerations and the speed of the policy development/implementation process.

There are ways round this problem, e.g. by operating policies in certain institutions or areas of the country and not others, rather than organising assignment at the level of the individual.

For instance the Employer Training Pilots were established in their second phase in a number of LSC areas which were specifically chosen for their similarities to two control areas we had selected. Data were collected before the pilots started in the pilot areas and the control areas and then one year later to see whether there was any relative difference in the established effect measures (e.g. the provision of qualification-based training to employees without Level 2 qualifications).

These sort of methods could be adopted to test any new policy developments on IAG but they do involve designing the policy with the evaluation in mind. All to often even now evaluators are pulled in after a policy has been designed or even started and therefore have to start after the event or a policy is applied in a such a way that it is impossible to establish effective controls or baselines.

In the IES impact study, we had no such luxury of an experimental design. The design does attempt to control for selection effects, by comparing information users with advice and guidance users.

There may still be differences between the two groups, although we have tried to control for that by matching individuals in the two groups through a propensity score matching process and pair off individuals in both groups with similar characteristics (e.g. age, gender, employment and learning experience, etc.). However there may still remain unobserved differences between the two groups which may prove important in explaining any differential outcomes.

One problem we had was that the baseline data collection took place after the intervention, in order to allocate respondents to either the information or the advice and guidance group. In the matching process we decided not to control for various attitudinal measures which could have been affected by the intervention itself. This has led to some criticism that we have not matched like with like and the 'treatment' group of advice and guidance recipients could be qualitatively different than the control, e.g. they were generally more positive and this could explain some of the initial findings.

However, if further funding is forthcoming for the planned subsequent waves we can re-analyse the data to assess the impact of and try to control for this issue. It is important to remember that we have only drawn a baseline so far, and the initial findings are not based on tracking participants over time.

We don't yet know whether there will be a further wave of the study, although there are some indications that there might be. In longitudinal studies, as this is designed to be, it is important to minimise sample attrition which can be significant and I am pleased to say that we have just had indications that the DfES is going to fund us to send a re-contact card to the survey participants.

What do we know?

Do participants like what they get?

Lots of surveys report high levels of satisfaction among users of IAG services and users generally find the service they have received helpful or useful (Taylor *et al.* 2005., Milburn *et al.* 2003, Barnes, 2005).

In the early 1990s I was involved in a study about developing approaches and tools for measuring satisfaction with the then Careers Service. We encountered some concern among the careers community. In particular it was argued that a good guidance session could be quite challenging for the client, especially if they came out realising that their proposed career path of being a pilot or a rock musician was unrealistic – the so-called 'positive negative' – and they might register negative satisfaction, although the session may be seen in the long-term as useful. I note that most measures now talk about how useful or helpful the service was and I also note that they generally find very positive responses.

Obviously high levels of satisfaction, however measured, are better than low ones, but it is important to set any findings in some sort of comparable context. In the Employer Training Pilots evaluation we also found high levels of satisfaction among the ETP learners, a fact that has been highlighted by Government as indicating the value of the initiative. However, the satisfaction levels are no higher than that recorded (using a similar scale) by the LSC surveys of learners in FE colleges and work-based learning.

Participants in development activities of any sort generally report that it was a positive experience. A further note of caution into reading too much into such immediate measures comes from the training evaluation literature which suggests that there is relatively little correlation between learner reactions and measures of learning or subsequent measures of changed behaviour.

Do we know what drives satisfaction?

However it can be important to see what users find most useful about a careers intervention both to contribute to practice development and identify the sources of any impact. This is an area where rigorous qualitative research, which can cope with the range of variables involved, can provide particular insights. The IER longitudinal case studies (Barnes, 2005) looks like being a really useful study in this respect.

For example, it found that all but one of the clients studied thought the guidance useful with the main ingredients being:

- **Exploring and challenging client perceptions**, together with giving direction and a new awareness of learning or employment opportunities;
- **Giving clients access to networks, information and knowledge** enabling them to be better informed;
- **Encouraging constructive change**, e.g. increasing the client's self-confidence; developing skills; developing understanding which broadened ideas; as well as motivating, inspiring and encouraging the client;
- **Providing the client with a positive experience by**: creating the opportunity for reflection and in-depth discussion; and by reassuring, confirming and/or clarifying plans and/or progress.

The key appeared to be the skills of the practitioner.

This finding is also reflected in the MORI survey (Taylor *et al.* 2005) which found that around seven in ten IAG users of found it helped them decide what to do next and increased their awareness of training and job opportunities. Users of more formal IAG services were significantly more likely to find the service helpful than those who had used more informal sources. In a regression analysis, some of the key drivers in generating positive outcomes appeared to relate to the quality of the service offered, i.e. the knowledge and professionalism of the providers and the provision of a comprehensive and accessible service.

Another interesting point to emerge from their analysis was that participants with the lowest level of qualifications were much less likely than others to have found the service they had used helpful. Unfortunately, it is not clear why, but as this group could, at least in theory, benefit from any support IAG provided in getting them started on the learning ladder it would be interesting to know more about what works with these individuals.

What difference does it make?

There is a growing body of evidence that participation in information, advice and guidance can generate attitudinal and motivational change. John Killeen found in a particularly interesting meta-analysis (in Hughes *et al.*, 2002) that career interventions positively influenced things like career or opportunity-related knowledge and associated skills; career maturity and information-seeking behaviour.

Other evidence suggests it can positively influence individual's propensity to take up learning or some other opportunity.

The IES impact study, for example, found that those who received advice and guidance felt more able to plan their future career and learning needs, were better informed about the opportunities available to them and more confident about taking those opportunities, than the information group. The advice and guidance group were also more likely to report that they were more motivated and confident about doing a course or some other training opportunity as a result of the help they received.

In the ETP study we found that learners who said that they had received some form of information, advice and guidance at the end of their training were more likely to express an intention to take part in further learning than those who did not.

What happens as a result?

We also know that IAG can translate intentions into action with participants more likely to enter employment or education and training than if they had not received the intervention.

For instance, John and others have concluded that there is '*growing and persuasive evidence that job-search interventions for unemployed people do actually work*' (J. Killeen in Hughes *et al.*, 2002). Other studies have similarly found that, generally quite intensive job search can increase the flow into employment (Hughes *et al.*, 2002).

In the evaluation of the New Deal for Young People, Van Reenen (2001) was able to quantify the effect that the job assistance element had on the flow into employment and show that it was more important than other elements of the New Deal such as the job subsidy. They were able to make the finding partly because it was a well-funded study that looked at a range of factors but also because they were able to isolate the specific intervention and focus on clear effect measures.

Although, Killeen and White (2002) found that guidance participants benefited through increased entry rate into education and training, producing 'an enhanced rate of qualification', we appear to know less about the effect of guidance on attainment. The reviews I have read suggest that 'hard evidence is limited here' (Maguire, 2004). If this is right, then it seems surprising and a link in the chain on which it is worth concentrating.

In the IES impact study although the advice and guidance group felt better able to make a change to their job or learning, they were no more likely to have made progress than the information group. For example, in each case about a half had started a training course. However, when asked, the advice and guidance group were significantly more likely to attribute their participation in a course to the intervention they had received, particularly younger people and those with a recent history. This suggests two things:

- the information group were more likely to have done the course anyway, without the help they had received – they were already set on what they intended to do, or closer to doing it and the support they received, therefore, made less of an impact on their intentions;
- making a change, like taking a course or changing job, is a bigger step to take for older people and those without a recent learning experience than younger people with recent learning experience.

Hopefully in the future we will be able to examine these and other issues like qualification attainment in more detail.

Economic effects on employment and earnings

Towards the end of the chain the evidence trail peters out. There is very little conclusive evidence on the longer-term economic effects of guidance. For example, Killeen and White (2002) found no effect on job satisfaction and '*no indication that the guidance group improved its earnings more than the comparison group, despite some exhaustive examination*'.

Does this mean that there are no economic effects? I am reminded of the old researchers' adage that the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

Does it mean that it is impossible task to measure the effects so far down the chain? Well it is certainly difficult, but nothing is impossible.

For example we can again look to the US for inspiration as an evaluation of an intensive welfare to work programme in California in the 1990s was able to demonstrate, albeit through random assignment, that the programme produced a 12 per cent increase in employment and a 22 per cent increase in earnings between the treatment and the control group (Riccio *et al.*, 1994).

Known knowns

So to sum up, what do we know? Beginning on the research front:

- **Measuring the impact of guidance is difficult**. Various reviews highlight a large number of studies, producing lots of associative findings, but few 'killer facts', especially further down the chain of impact. This is due to the variety of the interventions, the diversity of the participants and the complexity of the chain of impact with which available research techniques have so far been unable to cope.
- **The search must go on**. There is general consensus on the need to continue to look for impact and to understand the causalities involved in the field of information, advice and guidance. It is important for policy justification and allocation of public expenditure, with the forthcoming comprehensive spending review and the current commitment to evidence-based policy in mind. It is important for the design of policy, with the review of adult guidance in mind. If more had been known about how best to provide IAG in the workplace, what the demand was and how best to meet it, the IAG element in the Employer Training Pilots would have been more effective. It is also important for and will help focus the actions of practitioners on what works best to meet specific policy goals.

In so doing I think there is also a fairly strong consensus on the ways forward:

- **more longitudinal research and tracking studies**, and hopefully further waves of the IES impact study and the IER longitudinal case studies can contribute in this respect. The problem is that such studies take time (and money) to generate substantive findings – policymakers can't wait. But they are still worth doing as the same policy questions keep coming back.
- **more focused studies** concentrating on specific groups and specific interventions and on specific outcomes, trying to trace a series of thin lines of impact along the general chain or breaking up the chain into manageable chunks. A number of things would help here:

  - o the establishment of clearer terminology and typologies about the types of intervention made
  - o the development of standardised measurement criteria to clearly assess whether progress has been made so we can better aggregate findings and set them in a comparative context
  - o improving administrative data for example on who has received what intervention and linking that data to other labour market actions the participant may take – the single learner record will be useful here.

- **Linking in with other areas of research,** which has already established the links further down the chain. For example, there is now a considerable body of knowledge about the rate of return on earnings of obtaining specific qualifications. If clear connections between the receipt of guidance and qualification attainment at specific levels can be established, we can use existing knowledge to infer the wider impact.
- The process does not just require quantitative research. There is **a continuing role for well-conducted smaller scale studies and qualitative research,** e.g. to investigate what people actually get from a guidance intervention or to understand more about the process of impact and movement along the chain. Such studies are now especially relevant with the development of meta-analyses and systematic reviews which can be used to collate findings and make them more generalisable. We are currently conducting a systematic review at IES and it is a tortuous process but it has highlighted the value of tight research questions and clearly articulated methodologies if you want to aggregate research findings – putting pieces of the jigsaw together to obtain a clearer picture.

- **Better research also needs the help of policy-makers** not just in the involvement of evaluators in policy design but also the establishment of clearer intermediate outcome measures, starting with what you are trying to achieve and then designing an intervention to fit the target. Fewer, but larger, initiatives with time to make an impact would help too. When you are trying to see the wood for the trees the last thing you want is people planting more trees!

But as John reminded us in conducting further research we should build on what we know and concentrate on what we don't know. In the realms of guidance we know that:

- IAG positively affects participants' career development skills, their confidence and motivation to change and their entry into jobs or education and training – but there is still more to find out about how and what forms of intervention are most effective.
- IAG can be effective when combined with other interventions – but how does this work and why and in what circumstances?
- Where an effect can be measured, bigger interventions such as guidance have more of an effect than just information - but there is more scope for finding out about different techniques and what works best and why and in what circumstances.
- Quality of provision is important – but how to secure it and what is the effect of quality standards?

Known unknowns

And there are many things we still know that we don't know much about, and I highlight just three:

- **What happens in the workplace** – important for policy as it focuses more workplace interventions, but also for employers. Workplace interventions are even more focused on the wise searchers, for example the well-qualified. There may be large amounts of unidentified need as well as unmet need among the less qualified and those under threat of enforced job change.
- **What works best for people most disadvantaged in the labour market** – particularly older workers at risk of enforced job change or individuals without any qualifications? How can IAG reach the hard-to-reach and where it finds them, can it help them stock up or restock their human capital in such a way as to equip them better for the future?
- **Cost and cost effectiveness** – although some forms of IAG may be more effective than others, taking costs into consideration may produce a different conclusion. Although the GAIN program in California I referred to earlier found positive employment and earnings effects, the net cost benefits (i.e. taking into account the costs of the programme and the reduction in welfare payments, etc. to participants) were only positive in two of the six areas where the programme was introduced. Examples in the UK of cost-effectiveness are particularly rare.

By definition, I don't know what the unknown unknowns are!

There is no magic bullet. No one study will provide the map in our journey towards understanding:

'The general value of guidance, as of other programmes, can only be established by repeated studies. A single study contributes to the build-up of evidence, and may stimulate further investigations.'
(Killeen and White, 2002)

As I have tried to show, the terrain is just too difficult to map out the single path in one attempt. The destination is slightly different with each study (though generally in the same broad direction). It is impossible to trace general impact with a single study – but studies can and should build on each other and add stepping stones towards the goal. However, we have made progress and it is important that we regularly take stock, reflect clearly on what we know (and don't know), concentrate on the latter and move on. There are some known knowns, some stepping stones towards the goal of understanding the impact of information, advice and guidance.

John laid more than his fair share of these stones. Let's stand on them and move forward.

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Notes

John Killeen was a senior fellow at NICEC from 1977 to 2003. The next commemorative lecture will be given in October 2006 by Jenny Kidd who collaborated with John on numerous projects. Details will be available on the CRAC/NICEC website later this year.

For correspondence

Jim Hillage
Institute for Employment Studies
Mantell Building
University of Sussex
Brighton
BN1 9RF
Tel: 01273 686751

At the Cutting Edge II
Learning from research, 28-30 April, 2003

What are we taking away?

Wendy Hirsh and Jenny Bimrose

This session was designed to stimulate the final plenary panel session. It highlighted a few themes from the conference and posed some question to the delegates. It was impossible to attempt to summarise everything that had been said at such a wide ranging event, so the view presented here is selective and personal.

Themes and tensions in career guidance: what is our story?

The Cutting Edge conference pulled in researchers and practitioners from a number of different fields within guidance, working in different ways and with different client populations.

In many ways, the conference has helped us all celebrate the *diversity* of our work. However, there is a fine line between diversity and *fragmentation or incoherence.* In recent years, when the context of guidance has been changing rapidly, it has been important to be able to communicate what we do to others outside our field. The guidance community does not seem to find this easy.

One of the strongest themes in the conference has been that of *narrative:* the power for individuals of being able to tell the story of their lives, and the impact of research which conveys those stories to a wider audience.

Perhaps this theme of *story* is way of us looking at where we are and explaining it to each other and to the wider world. If we seek to do this, there seem to be five strands of the story on which we should be focusing. Each story revolves around a set of questions which others might reasonably expect us to be able to answer.

- The guidance story - how do we explain the nature of career guidance (or whatever we call it)?
- The story of who we are - who gives career guidance to other people and what skills or knowledge do they have which makes a difference?
- The story of our ideas - on what theories and evidence is our work based?
- The lifelong story - what does it really mean to have lifelong or all age guidance?
- The story of managing change - what is the relationship between our views on guidance and the public policy context?

1. The guidance story

The guidance story needs to tell others something about the *core purpose* of guidance, that is why it is important and what is the *centre of gravity* of what we do. Listening to the conference, we make big assumptions that we know what 'guidance' is and of course assume that it is of great benefit to individuals. But how to we justify these views to those who might be committing time or resources to this activity?

One of the recurrent problems with the guidance story is that we have become very hampered in the language we use when talking about our work. By attributing technical meanings to commonly-used words we seem to have deprived ourselves of all the words that normal people use to describe what guidance is about. Some of the words which people had trouble with during the conference included: careers, guidance (pretty tricky if we want to explain career guidance), options, choices, plans, paths, and decisions. Many of these are the words which individuals use when they talk about their working lives. Some of the most vivid sessions dealt with central words like work, lives, and families. Often, however, when we turn to policy matters we lose these powerful anchors for our story, succumbing to terms like 'IAG' - an expression curiously devoid of meaning to anybody. And why do we talk about 'guidance' rather than career guidance? People get guidance on all sorts of matters and need to know what kinds of matters we are talking about. So no apologies about writing here of career guidance not IAG!

On the more positive side, some interesting words and phrases appeared in the conference. Some of the striking ones included:

- The need to raise the *productivity* of guidance
- The danger of the *commodification* of guidance & learners
- Practitioners as *critical consumers* of research
- Information being *necessary but not sufficient* to supporting career decisions

If we can reclaim a more straightforward vocabulary for our work, these are some of the things which the guidance story needs to explain:

- What can individuals expect career guidance to be, and what should they expect out of it?
- How do we explain the links between career guidance and other related issues such as the school curriculum, forms of social support, worklife balance issues, etc.?
- Can we tell the story of guidance in the UK (not just England!) in the context of a wider international appreciation of how different countries and cultures address the same issues?
- How do we explain that career guidance is at the centre of the agenda about work and learning in people's lives, not an optional extra?
- Have we got adequate research on the need for, and impact of, career guidance?

2. The story of who we are

The second story we should be able to tell concerns the people who give career guidance. Some of the conference inputs have celebrated the kinds of guidance given by people to each other, often with little formal training, and in very informal settings. On the other hand we have heard considerable concern about guidance as a highly skilled occupation in danger of being lost, and a dissipation of expertise. And yet recent international research shows the UK to be relatively well resourced with trained practitioners - a finding which somewhat surprised many of us at the conference.

The story of who we are need to explain why career guidance deserves to be taken seriously as a professional service:

- What do career guidance professionals have, or what can they do, which adds particular value?
- What different roles can they play in different settings? This question is essential before we can usefully address the issue of professional training.

Once we are clearer about what career guidance professionals really do, we can address:

- How do we provide leadership for others we work closely with? This is especially important in the many situations where a small number of people with formal training in career guidance are supporting delivery by much larger numbers with very little formal training. This is the case in education, employing organisations and community settings.
- How do we equip and support ourselves? What kinds of initial and continuing professional training do we need? What structures do we need in place to supervise and support practitioners?

3. The story of our ideas

If career guidance wishes to be seen as a profession, it needs a clear body of knowledge and shared ideas (or theories) which underpin practice. These theories undoubtedly exist, but are not widely or clearly articulated. There also needs to be on-going research and development to keeps ideas developing and flowing into practice. We should be able to explain to others what good guidance should look like, independently of short-term government agendas.
Some of the questions we need to be able to answer might be:

- What do we know about careers? For example the social, political, economic and psychological contexts, how people deal with work, how labour markets work and how they are changing.
- How do we research and learn about careers and guidance? How do we make research findings available to practitioners in a form they will feel is both interesting and useful? How can researchers more easily access the insights and concerns of practitioners? How can we fund wider research on career guidance?
- Given what we know about careers, what feels problematic in current delivery of guidance? Do we have evidence for this?
- How would we deliver if we really could choose (i.e. independently of current public policies)? How would ICT or other options support our models of ideal delivery?

4. The lifelong story

Guidance researchers and practitioners are closer than most to a real understanding of the need for lifelong learning and how this relates to working life. Yet publicly funded guidance for adults either targets only some groups (e.g. the long term unemployed) or consists of 'pilot' schemes which then fold when funding ceases. Most career advice given to employed adults is little influenced by 'professional' career guidance which, as a result of funding regimes, is overly concentrated on those still in education or those out of work.

- What might be more sustainable models for adult guidance, for employed as well as unemployed adults?
- How can the 'market(s) for guidance' develop to make all age guidance a reality? How could we combine public funding with other sources of finance, and employer support?

5. The story of managing change

The final story is about how the guidance community can deal positively with a changing context, especially of public policy. We have to be mature enough to deal with such change, make the most of opportunities offered, and influence policy for the better.

- How can we recognise the reality of public policy, without seeing ourselves overly constrained by it in both research and development of practice?
- Can we maintain a line of sight with firm ideas while dealing with the ever-changing funding and policy hoops of the publicly funded guidance sector? Do we have the skills to roll with these punches without losing confidence in our principles and our skills? The diagram shows the ideal of keeping a strong link between research and practice, whatever the public policy structures in between.

Research POLICY Practice

- How can we better influence public policy and the policies of other key groups (e.g. employers, voluntary sector organisations, educational institutions)? Can the guidance community speak with a clear and united voice on public policy issues?

If the guidance community, of both practitioners and researchers, offers a fragmented and incoherent message to its stakeholders and sponsors, we should not be surprised if we feel uncomfortable with public policy.

This conference has shown that practitioners and researchers are ready to answer these questions and to develop much more dynamic and coherent 'stories' of what career guidance is, how it can help and where it should be going.

The final panel session
Ruth Hawthorn

The final session of the conference was a panel discussion chaired by Jenny Bimrose. The panellists were Cathy Bereznicki (Chief Executive, Guidance Council), Malcolm Maguire (Director, NICEC), Tim Oates (QCA), and Dr Linden West, Canterbury Christ Church University College. During the conference the home groups had drawn up questions that arose from their discussions that they wanted to address to the panel members. Jenny had grouped these as follows:

Effectiveness

What are the characteristics of effective guidance and how can they be sustained in the current policy context? Cathy Bereznicki recalled the research carried out by MORI (2001) that looked at what people wanted – people want 'help'. The relation between guidance and policy is a dynamic, and an inevitable one. We need to be confident about the framework of what we do, and put it in context and not beat ourselves because we are being honest about the uncertainties in what we do. The Guidance Council (GC) is looking at guidance from between 3 and 93 and effectiveness must be judged against the whole journey. The GC had already noted that guidance for the 14-19 phase was not well connected with other government policies.

How do we want to be measured? Tim Oates responded that we need to know what we do, who we see, and what they want. We know from the QCA that the measures we adopt will shape what we do. Later he reminded colleagues that we must identify our own measures and apply them ourselves and not wait for outside agencies to do it for us. He pointed out that the same issues were being debated in medicine and education. Linden West urged us not to underestimate de-professionalising forces at work across all communities of practice and reminded us of the significance of language in discussions both with clients and policy-makers. Language doesn't just reflect reality, but shapes it, so we need to think whose language is being used and what the significance of that is.

What should be the current drivers of the guidance community that would create a 'centre of gravity' and ensure independence? Linden West commented that the guidance community needs to be able to identify what it is grounded in, and what it wants to 'talk back' to power about, or it risks losing its centre of gravity. Jenny Bimrose commented that perhaps across all sectors it is the client that is the centre of gravity. Tim Oates suggested that we should think about careers guidance as a public service and urge that it be seen as a public institution by policy-makers

Research & practice

How can we use research evidence to inform delivery and practice? Malcolm Maguire pointed out that we need to be sophisticated about what research can do. Although research findings provide some answers they also provoke more questions. Also he warned that all 'findings' are open to interpretation and practitioners as well as policymakers can be selective in the evidence they use.

What are the conditions which have to be met if practitioners are to be 'critical consumers' of research? Linden West warned that research can mystify as well as illuminate. It can also seem very remote – 'so what?' But there is great potential for teachers and guidance workers to be researchers themselves. It may also help address the all-too-prevalent initiative fatigue: autobiographical reflection can be good way to re-invigorate a professional (why did I do this in the first place?). This kind of research doesn't attract a lot of money but it's not very expensive either: we don't have to wait for those in power to give us permission (and it can be done as part of a Masters degree).

What action would you suggest to build links between practitioners and researchers? Tim Oates commented that researchers inhabit a very different world. They need to be specialists and some are spectacularly bad at communicating and at relating their work to practice. Practitioners should ask questions all the time, for example, to deconstruct ideas like flexibility. They should contact local higher education institutions when meeting with local networks; build workshops into conferences, put 'keeping up to date with research' into job descriptions. Guidance should be on the agenda of NERF and other DfES research centres.

How can the National Careers Research Forum develop to support research? Cathy Bereznicki reported that the GC consultation had shown enthusiastic support for a forum but that it shouldn't be too bureaucratic or monolithic in the way some other research councils are. It will develop over the next two years in response to need, aiming to be efficient and effective, not to duplicate other activities, and be independent. The Guidance Council did not aim to run it but during this time to hold it 'in trust' for the guidance community.

Influencing policy

How do we/ could we influence policy? Cathy Bereznicki made a four-step suggestion: carry out independent research; present the issues from an authoritative perspective; package them constructively and intelligently to influence public policy makers; do the same for the other key stakeholder groups. In short, create an issues agenda and gather people around it. Indeed, for its tenth birthday in October the Guidance Council is planning to publish an agenda, with five or six key campaigning points, backed up by case studies. This will be linked to a state-of-the-nation report on guidance in the UK that could serve as a benchmark to be revisited in successive years.

'Career guidance is a high priority for public policy making at the international level, but in England is under threat.' Does the panel agree? Malcolm Maguire did not agree that career guidance was under threat within current policy, and mentioned the numerous ways in which guidance had risen on the policy agenda in recent years. Tim Oates pointed out that the government is adopting the US economic strategy of de-regulation, but that the Chancellor is interested in the more European agenda of social cohesion/inclusion, so we need to link guidance to that. Linden West thought that the divisions between policy and research were a particularly English phenomenon and were not so apparent in Scotland and Wales.

Jenny then turned the questioning to the participants and asked them:

What actions would you like to see coming out of this conference and who should take them forward?

On measures of effectiveness:
Margaret Dane, of AGCAS, supported the call to focus on better measures of effectiveness, pointing out that this can be long term, or developmental, and that we need to include whether or not the person themselves feels it makes a difference to them. Dierdre Hughes, of CeGS (Centre for Guidance Studies), thought that the characteristics of effective guidance were that it should be: inspirational, underpinned by intelligence, innovative, and inclusive, covering all age, all sectors. Saskia Kent, of WEETU (Women's Employment Enterprise and Training Unit) in Norwich pointed out the paradox that effective guidance is often invisible. But it is easy to demonstrate there is a need: thousands of people ring up her service every year asking for it!

On practitioners' use of research:
Margaret Dane pointed out that for practitioners the use of research is a matter of habit. There'll always be too much work and we need to find ways to make it easier to access – but the main gain is that it helps us to see things differently. 'Take time to think, take time to read. Let it influence our practice'. Lyn Barham of NICEC pointed out that the concept of 'the guidance community' was problematic, and there wasn't a straightforward description of the relationship between research and practice in the community as a whole. For example, in the voluntary sector, practitioners may be critical users of research in their special areas while unaware of guidance research.

On influencing policy:
Saskia Kent expressed her concern about future of adult guidance, because of the government appears to be diverting resources to the Connexions service and away from adult work, so she called on the conference to looking for ways of arguing for more funding. Although we often feel compelled to offer 'numbers' to policy makers, Wendy Hirsh reminded colleagues of the considerable power of qualitative research that reports findings in the words of the people who say it. She thought the debate between the relative worth of large scale quantitative research against small-scale qualitative was unhelpful. Large scale surveys can still include open-ended aspects that allow for some more personal stories. Similarly, if qualitative work was conducted on larger samples, we could combine the power of personal narratives with analysis of such data to improve our understanding of career and guidance issues.

Notes

Wendy Hirsh is a NICEC Fellow and Associate Fellow of the Institute for Employment Studies and Jenny Bimrose is Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for Employment Research at the University of Warwick. Ruth Hawthorn is currently Deputy Chair of NICEC. The *Cutting Edge III* conference will be held in Swanwick in Derbyshire from 11-13 December 2006.

Mentoring in career guidance and career development: problems in formalising an informal practice?

Helen Colley

Introduction

This paper presents one aspect of a much broader review of the literature on informality and formality in learning, commissioned by the Learning and Skills Research Centre (see Colley *et al.*, 2003, Colley, 2005), and also draws on my own research on mentoring (see Colley, 2003a). European lifelong learning policies in particular have created much interest in what they term 'non-formal' modes of learning. These introduce new elements of formality – assessment, recognition, the use of learning facilitators – into learning that is usually regarded as informal, such as in the workplace or community. On the other hand, there is a parallel tendency to introduce more informal elements into learning situations typically regarded as formal, such the use of mentors alongside or instead of more traditional pedagogical roles in schools, colleges and universities.

Mentoring offers a particularly useful exemplar for studying these trends. It is a learning practice that has become increasingly formalised over the last 25 years, as myriad planned mentor programmes have been introduced across a wide range of contexts. Yet at the same time, it is a practice that is generally defined as inherently informal, essentially founded on a trusting personal relationship, and often carried out by volunteers or co-workers replacing the former remit of professional trainers, teachers and so on. Moreover, from the earliest moments of public interest in mentoring in the 1970s, debates have polarised around different concepts of formal and informal mentoring. It, therefore, allows us an opportunity to investigate this parallel process of formalisation/informalisation over time and to analyse some of its consequences. Here, I trace the evolution of mentoring in two contrasting career-related contexts: career development for business managers, and career guidance and support for socially excluded young people.

Mentoring for career development of business managers

The first influential studies of mentoring in the US (Levinson *et al*., 1978, Roche, 1979) focused on the field of business management. They revealed that it was predominantly an unplanned activity sought out by young executives, and provided voluntarily by their senior colleagues. The most highly-rated benefits provided by mentors included not only sharing knowledge and counselling the protégé through difficulties, but also providing insights into the politics of the organisation and using rank and status on the protégé's behalf. However, mentoring also tended to reflect the 'old boys' network': women found it difficult to obtain a mentor, and there were few women in senior positions who might act as mentors. Black people experienced similar problems.

These studies created intense interest in planned mentoring programmes to replicate these benefits more widely. Firstly, the world-wide economy was becoming globalised and increasingly competitive, and knowledge-production was viewed as overtaking manufacturing. Economic recessions following the 1973 oil crisis led to the 'de-layering' of organisations, with the ensuing loss of in-house training and development programmes and personnel. Planned mentoring was seen as a way to maximise on-the-job learning while minimising expenditure on development activities. Secondly, the advances of the civil rights and women's movements had resulted in affirmative action legislation. Critics of unplanned mentoring protested that it favoured middle-class white men and reinforced inequalities, and they argued for planned mentoring programmes to support female and black employees in gaining equal access to career development opportunities.

However, at the first international conference on mentoring in 1986, Hunt (1986) noted that increased benefits might be expected from planned mentoring, but these could be weakened by important differences in style. More formal mentoring programmes promoted organisational goals over those of the individuals involved; the relationships it created were less voluntary and less intense; and its processes tended to become more directive and less negotiated. Hunt also posed a crucial question. Despite the introduction of planned mentoring, unplanned mentoring seemed likely to continue: would there be conflict between the two?

Subsequent evidence of the 'dark side' of mentoring, although under-researched, suggests there have indeed been problems in transferring mentoring practice onto a planned footing. For example, Kram (1988) found that mentoring still remained unavailable to many women, and that cross-gender mentoring exposed some women to sexual harassment or sexist prejudice. More recently, I have suggested that planned mentoring has shifted from paternalistic models to a more 'maternalistic' form, in which mentors are more often female, and are exploited by expectations that they will fulfil this task over and above their regular duties in a self-sacrificing way (Colley, 2001). Thus, despite the benign intentions of formalised mentoring programmes, intended positive consequences can fail to materialise, while unintended negative consequences can arise. At the same time, the negative consequences of unplanned mentoring may remain unchallenged. A similar history can be traced in mentoring young people for social inclusion.

Mentoring in career guidance and support for disadvantaged youth

Interest in mentoring for young people also came to prominence in the late 1970s, focusing on the transitions of 'at risk' adolescents in poor communities (e.g. Rutter, 1979, Werner and Smith, 1982). A series of studies showed that resilient young people had often sought support from an adult within their family or community, and that this appeared to be a key protective factor in surviving adversity. Philip (1997) argues that such mentors include youth workers, and that they are effective because of their highly localised knowledge, and because, while that may have status within the community, they are not in a position of direct authority over the young person. The mentoring process is unplanned, yet intentional, socially close and trusting, and its agenda is controlled by the young person. Its goals may, therefore, include not only conventional achievements such as succeeding in school examinations or entering employment, but also experimentation – with identity, sexual activity or drug use – which dominant value-systems construct as risky or deviant. (There is, however, insufficient research into the potential for negative outcomes for this kind of mentoring so these findings must be treated with some caution.)

Just as in the field of business management, these studies spurred the introduction of planned youth mentoring programmes on a massive scale in the US, UK and elsewhere from the 1990s onwards. Here too, there are both economic and social justice rationales. Faced with the imperatives of economic competitiveness, policy-makers need to reduce spending on welfare as well as social services, and Freedman (1999) argues that governments use mentoring by volunteers as a 'cheap fix' to reduce both. Others believe that middle class mentors working with socially excluded young people can generate social solidarity, and help to undermine class, gender and racial inequalities in the labour market by enhancing young people's social and cultural capital (e.g. Aldridge *et al*., 2002).

As a result, planned mentoring has become a central element of recent government polices on career guidance and other forms of youth support in the UK, particularly with the introduction of *Connexions* as a new form of generic youth support service, and with substantial Treasury funding for the National Mentoring Network. In my own study of mentoring (Colley, 2003a, 2003b) I have reviewed this process of increasing formalisation, referring to the dominant model as 'engagement mentoring', due to its explicit targets of re-engaging socially excluded young people with the formal labour market.

As with planned programmes in business management, engagement mentoring introduces external goals, determined by institutions, into the supposedly dyadic mentor relationship. Often there are elements of compulsion – legal or financial – on young people to participate, and the agenda is negotiable only within tightly-framed, employment-related outcomes. The primary goal is often that of altering young people's attitudes, values and beliefs in line with 'employability', rather than attempting to challenge the context of education, training and employment which often alienates and excludes them.

My research showed how counterproductive engagement mentoring can be, since it takes no account of the agency and resistance that young people exercise within mentor relationships. Ironically, it can often result in the young person's re-exclusion through a process that is supposed to promote inclusion. Once again, there is the possibility that unplanned mentoring continues to operate alongside – and possibly in conflict with – more formal mentoring, particularly since the latter often seeks to prise young people away from their peer groups and even their families. All these problems indicate that, as for women and black people in our previous example, young people can find themselves in mentor relationships that do not challenge wider systems of power relations in society, but reproduce them.

Understanding informality and formality in mentoring

Our report on informality and formality in learning (Colley *et al*., 2003) argued that, rather than treating 'formal' and 'informal' learning as separate and distinct, it is more helpful to understand that any kind of learning (including mentoring) comprises both formal and informal aspects. It is the balance of in/formality that is significant, and which we need to analyse carefully. Mentoring offers a case study of a practice in which policy-makers have altered this balance without clearly understanding the implications. Instead, they have assumed that the practice and its benefits can be straightforwardly transferred from the informal to the formal domain. However, as the balance has shifted towards greater formality with planned mentoring programmes, tensions are created as unplanned mentoring continues to function. The interests of institutions and dominant social groupings intrude into mentor relationships, altering their power dynamics, their locus of control and the degree of autonomy for individuals involved. This raises issues of both ethics and social equity, particularly in career guidance and career development contexts.

Note

A longer version of this article, along with other research papers about European policies on non-formal learning, can be found in Chisholm, L. & Hoskins, B. (Eds.) (2005) *Trading Up: potential and performance in non-formal learning*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Helen Colley is Senior Research Fellow at the Education and Social Research Institute, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK, and a Fellow of the National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling.

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For correspondence

Dr Helen Colley
Senior Research Fellow
Education and Social Research Institute
Manchester Metropolitan University
799 Wilmslow Road
Didsbury
Manchester
M20 2RR
Tel: 0161 247 2306

Do we choose careers or do they choose us? Questions about career choices, transitions, and social inclusion.

Helen Colley

Introduction

Choice is at the heart of career guidance practice. We try not only to help clients make choices about their careers, but also to maximise the range of choices open to them, with regard for equality of opportunity.

Here in the UK, choice is also at the heart of government policies for education and training, as provision becomes marketised and ever more diverse. 'Better Choices' was one recent slogan for our former careers services (now absorbed into the *Connexions* youth support service), symbolising the logic that has underpinned career guidance policies across the world (see OECD, 2003):

- clients need excellent information about the provision on offer
- if they have this, they will be able to make well-informed choices
- well-informed choices will ensure smooth and successful career transitions
- such individual transitions will facilitate the functioning of the education and labour markets and ensure social inclusion.

Choice: what does it really mean?

Choice has therefore become a highly-charged concept. At one and the same time, it expresses guidance practitioners' duty to ensure that clients exercise the greatest possible freedom of individual action; it sets that freedom in the context of market mechanisms; and it acts as the guarantor of successful outcomes. It seems to convey a very benign and complementary set of meanings. But whenever a particular word or idea takes on such totemic status, it is always useful to do some 'archaeology': to dig down into its layers of meaning, and discover what lies beneath its surface. There are some important questions we need to ask:

- What assumptions lie beneath the visible meanings of 'choice'?
- How can we make those assumptions visible?
- And what becomes invisible when 'choice' is such a high-visibility idea?

Challenging idealised meanings of choice

There are a number of difficulties with the idealised scenario offered by the policy focus on choice. First of all, it assumes that career choice – and therefore careers education and guidance also – is a linear process, and it treats that process as a technically rational formula:

Perfect information + career management skills + sound choice = successful outcome

However, a number of in-depth case studies (see Ball *et al*, 2002; Bowman *et al*, 2003; Hodkinson *et al*, 1996; Okano, 1993; Reay *et al*, 2001) suggest that perhaps we need to take a reality check about how people *actually* make choices. Career decisions can usually be seen as rational, but in a pragmatic rather than a technical sense (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997). Personal contacts, local 'grey' economies, family situations, friends' experiences, encounters with prejudice and discrimination – these are just some of the many influences on the real-life choices people make.

Research based on large-scale surveys (e.g. Byrne, 1999; Roberts, 1995) also reveals that powerful social inequalities continue to shape most people's lives, including their career trajectories. Both types of research shows us that the reality of career choice is:

- messy rather than straightforward
- often influenced at least as much by chance as by planning
- both constrained and enable by clients' 'horizons for action' (the choices they believe possible for themselves)
- strongly influenced by social structures such as class, gender and 'race'.

Challenging the context of choice

A second set of assumptions that underpin the meaning of 'choice' are pervasive in career education and guidance. They are summed up in the dominant messages that herald a 'new world of work' in the 'knowledge economy'. Gone are the Fordist work practices into which we could settle, gone is the 'job for life', and gone is the kind of work that required only unskilled or semi-skilled labour – or so it is widely supposed. In the 21st century labour market, flexibility, commitment and lifelong learning are held to be the responsibilities we must shoulder in

order to earn the right to work. The choices on offer are presented as more glamorous than those of our predecessors… but the demands they make on us are all the greater too.

A major programme of national and international research on 'The Future of Work', funded by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council has recently presented its findings. The programme's Director (Nolan, 2003) argues that many contemporary commentaries on the 'new world of work' are misleading. Not only have economic and social disparities increased significantly in the advanced countries. But also, while a minority probably can enjoy more flexible and creative work that is well-balanced with their family and social lives, far more people are trapped working long hours in unglamorous manual and service sector jobs. Hairdressing and shelf-stacking are two of the fastest-growing occupations in the UK, putting a rather different face on the 'choices' on offer.

All too often, career education and guidance are expected to elide the difference between this rhetoric and lived experiences of the world of work by emphasising the importance of 'realistic' choices to clients (Colley, 2000). As Watts warned almost a decade ago, guidance can be used by political systems to:

> *'adjust the individual's subjective view of reality to make it consistent with the objective needs of society…[cultivate] realistic attitudes, ideals and expectations… [and bring] students to accept politically-constructed reality'*
> (Watts, 1996: 368-9).

We might even question if there is such a thing as 'the objective needs of society'. Perhaps different social classes in fact have different, and subjective, interests within a context of unequal power relations – where some groups' needs are far more fully met than others.

Young people's view of choice

Perhaps most importantly in the field of career guidance, we need to listen to young people's views, and try to understand how they experience career choice. A number of studies have shown that many school-leavers are not able to choose their destination freely.

Bates' (1994) study of young women training in elder care shows that most of them had aspired to be nursery nurses, but were rejected as not being able enough. In my own study of trainee nursery nurses (Colley, 2006), most had wanted to be teachers or nurses, but were similarly rejected from that career path. A number of engineering apprentices in a related study (James & Diment, 2002) had entered this route only after experiencing failure in higher education. This process of 'cooling out' and the *lowering* of aspirations, partly through the career guidance process, has been explored in many other contexts (e.g. Roberts, 1995; Wrench & Hassan, 1996; Wrench & Qureshi, 1996).

However, there is a further important finding in such case study research. Young people who are diverted into a career path they did not initially desire tend eventually to reconstruct their experience as a positive choice. As one of the elder care trainees put it, she had found 'a job that is right for me'. Their career transition does not end upon entry to a two- or three-year course, but the whole of that course may be seen as a period of transition. Students not only reconstruct the occupation as 'one that is right for me', but they also have to reconstruct themselves as 'the right person for the job' (Colley *et al*, 2003).

Career choice therefore cannot simply be thought of as a search for person-environment fit (cf. Holland, 1997). Learning is itself a process of becoming a different person, of developing an identity that allows membership of the vocational community one has entered. As Lave and Wenger (1991) have noted, any such community tends to attract people with 'characteristic biographies/trajectories', who have personal dispositions and social predispositions (structured by class and/or gender) that are necessary for them to adapt to the culture of that occupation. In this respect, we might reflect that careers 'choose' certain people as much as people choose careers.

On the nursery nursing course, for example, those who were most successful were young women from upper working class backgrounds and stable families, who displayed the appearance and demeanour of 'nice girls'. Those living in more disadvantaged circumstances tended to find themselves either excluded from the course, or were marginalized by their classmates who saw them as 'rough' and unsuitable.

Nevertheless, even well-integrated students had to work hard on their own identities, in order to become the 'right person for the job'. Their existing *habitus* may have been necessary, but it was not sufficient without mediation by the course. Both in college and in their regular work placements, they found they had to learn difficult emotional skills to bond with colleagues and parents, and to cope with the care of young children. By the end of their training, they described how they had learned to manage their own and others' feelings, developed stamina and patience for this work, and noticed these changes in their lives outside college and the workplace too. As a result they felt they had 'become a nursery nurse'.

Such findings suggest that we need to be cautious in interpreting young people's positive perceptions of choice once they have entered particular career pathways. It may sometimes be a psychological protection which they construct retrospectively, having experienced powerful structural constraints upon their choices at an earlier stage.

Choice, transitions and social inclusion

In terms of government policy in the UK, these young nursery nurses represented successful outcomes of the guidance, education and training processes. By all official definitions, they represent the logic of guidance policy: a 'realistic' choice, followed by straightforward transitions into vocational education and then into employment in the related occupation. Since (in the UK at least) social inclusion is narrowly defined as participation in the labour market, this too should be guaranteed for them.

Yet the reality of their success also includes the experience of being rejected for professional career paths, having their career 'choice' effectively made for them by others, entering an occupation that is very low-status in the UK, and anticipating a future of long and stressful hours working (in many cases) for the minimum wage. Their stories raise an important question about the outcomes of their choices and transitions:

> If these young women have developed cultural and social capital that can only be realised in a very limited and subordinate field of employment, are they not the victims of social inequality and injustice, even though they may be 'socially included'?

Perhaps we should borrow the phrase of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and talk about the 'choice of the necessary' that confronts so many of our young people, but which becomes invisible when we see only 'choice' alone. The concept of 'pure' choice is a dangerous one, smuggling in the assumption that each individual is a wholly free agent, whose actions are in no way determined:

> *'…choices are infused with class and ethnic meanings, and…choice-making plays a crucial role in the reproduction of divisions and hierarchies… [T]he very idea of choice assumes a kind of formal equality that obscures the 'effects of real inequality"*
> (Ball et al, 2002: 51).

We could, of course, add gender, disability and other inequalities to the list of meanings that infuse choice.

Conclusions

Such a critical archaeology of 'choice' has a number of implications for career guidance. We need to:

- provide guidance which responds to the pragmatically rational way that clients actually make career choices;
- recognise that not all choices are available to all young people, and that social inequalities still play a powerful role in career 'choice';
- raise our own awareness of the way that certain groups of young people are still 'allocated' to less desirable opportunities in stereotyped trajectories;
- learn more about the way that education and represent periods of transition and that vocational cultures actively *transform* identities;
- question the rhetoric of the 'new world of work' and base our practice on research into its realities;
- ensure that issues of social inequality and social injustice *within* the labour market are not obscured by a limited agenda for social inclusion.

Notes

1. Much of this paper is based on research from the project 'Transforming Learning Cultures in Further Education', funded within the ESRC's Teaching and Learning Research Programme, Grant No. L139 25 1025. The project website, with details of all project publications, is at: www.ex.ac.uk/sell/tlc/
2. This article was first published in the Danish journal *Vejleder Forum*, with thanks to the editor Peter Plant for permission to reproduce the article here.

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For correspondence

Dr Helen Colley
Senior Research Fellow
Education and Social Research Institute
Manchester Metropolitan University
799 Wilmslow Road
Didsbury
Manchester
M20 2RR
Tel: 0161 247 2306

Transition from School to Work

Grace Maduka and Ivan Robertson

Abstract

The research examined and investigated occupational aspirations, choices and developments of three groups of adolescents: Asians, Afro-Caribbean and White Britons during their immediate periods of transition from school to work. In total, 456 adolescents participated in the research. A questionnaire was employed as the main focus of this study comprising the pupils' questionnaire and self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965). The results were analysed using ANOVA. There were no statistically significant differences among the groups on self-esteem, however, there were some statistically significant differences among the groups on their beliefs about the influences on transition from school to work. These findings are discussed in the context of other studies of ethnicity and occupational aspirations. Limitations and implications of the findings are explored. Recommendations for future research are also addressed.

Introduction

Transition is defined as 'a change or passage from one state or stage to another'. (*Collins Concise English Dictionary*, 1992, p.1433). This research is concerned with one specific transition that is made by virtually all members of society at some stage in their life cycle: the transition from school to work. The significance of transition from school to work has become increasingly apparent with implications for individuals, families, institutions and the entire country (Verma, 1999). The potential importance of work in the life of each individual makes it imperative that educators, career guidance counsellors and occupational psychologists examines both the process of career and occupational development and the factors that promote or impede its growth (Hodkinson & Bloomer, 2003, Verma, 2001).

The current research examines and investigates occupational aspirations, choices and developments of three groups of adolescent school leavers (Asians, Afro-Caribbean and White Britons) from multicultural inner-city areas of Liverpool and Manchester during their immediate periods of transition from school to work. In addition, the research examines factors that might be related to occupational aspirations, choices and developments such as personal/psychological factors, formal and informal career guidance systems and job search strategies. These factors are unlikely to be divorced from demographic information, ethnic background, situational/environmental influences, and personality (for example self-esteem), interests, and occupational knowledge. The factors outlined are all partly moulded by the home and school environment. Throughout the occupational literature, theorists and researchers (see, for example, Bagley *et al*., 1979) have assumed that Afro-Caribbean adolescents have low self-esteem, external locus of control and consequently negative concepts of work.

Very few objective empirical studies have been carried out in this area. New research is needed as there is relatively little published material on inner city adolescents, particularly those young people approaching school leaving age who are now known as 'Britons', this includes the 2nd/3rd/4th generations of ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, the field of occupational aspirations/choices/developments has as yet been relatively unexplored in relation to important and diverse factors that might be related to inner city adolescents' occupational aspirations, choices, and developments. This research aims to fill some of these gaps.

Ethnic minorities

Defining an ethnic minority group is by no means straightforward. In general, the term is used in the U.K. by the Commission for Racial Equality and government agencies to refer rather loosely to groups of individuals who share some or all of the following: a religious affiliation, a linguistic or cultural heritage, a common history and experience, a common geographical origin. They may also share colour of skin, hair type, facial features, personal mannerisms or style of dress.

Many methods of classifying ethnic minority group exist. According to Kandola (1985) the essential ingredient of all the classifications on whatever criterion they are based is that they attempt to reliably identify disadvantaged groups.

Major ethnic minority groups who have settled in the United Kingdom include people of West Indian/Afro-Caribbean/African-Caribbean and Asian descent. Initially, teachers described their children as immigrant (see Ballard, 1983; Milner, 1975). As most of their children were born in United Kingdom, many prefer the term Afro-Caribbean, rather than West Indian or African-Caribbean, as it denotes the full historical origins of this group; others choose to use 'Black British'

which acknowledges fully their status as British. New terminology such as Asian Britons or Afro-Caribbean Britons or Black Britons might help reflect pupils' bicultural status. Throughout this paper the terms Black youth/Black or Black Briton are shorthand for all young people of ethnic minority origin, be it West Indian or Afro-Caribbean or Asian. Of course the authors recognise that there are vast differences between these groups, and all the research (see for example, Modood, *et al*., 1997; Wrench *et al*., 1997) shows that disadvantages, discrimination and problems related to occupational issues are to a greater or lesser extent common to all. The term Black is used, where appropriate, to maintain language consistency when citing earlier studies.

Research on factors influencing occupational aspirations/choices

The transition from school in the final year of schooling is regarded as a crucial time in a school-leaver's educational/occupational career. Smith & Rojewski (1993) claim that the transition from school to work is not a single event in the lives of youth but rather an extended process with several milestones. The transition is influenced by the individuals' occupational aspirations and choice, which in turn is related to a variety of issues. (Rojewski and Yang, 1997). Some decisions will be made relating to whether the individual leaves the formal education system and obtains a job or continues in further education. Whatever transition the school-leaver makes will be difficult for various reasons. At this point of difficulties, parents/teachers/career advisers and other significant others often provide advice on the best options to follow.

In the United Kingdom, ethnic minority groups (Asians and Afro-Caribbean) have had highly disadvantaged situations in the occupational field, evidenced not only by lower wages and salaries but also by concentration in less desirable occupations and under-representation in more highly-paid occupations (Brown & Gay 1985; CRE, 1998, 2003; EOC, 1994, 1999, 2004; Penn & Scattergood, 1992; Philips, 2004).

It has been consistently demonstrated that Asians and Afro-Caribbeans suffer from multiple disadvantages (Archer & Yamashita, 2003; Basit, 1996; CRE, 1978, 1988; Gillborn & Mirza 2000; Modood *et al*., 1997; Smith, 1976), and restricted education and employment opportunities (Dooley & Prause, 1997; Forsyth & Furlong, 2003; Sly, *et al*., 1999; Verma, 1981, 1999, 2001). Research studies (see, for example, Mirza, 1992; Taylor, 1981) have shown that Asians and Afro-Caribbean adolescents have 'over-aspiration' and 'under-achievement'. Both these phenomena have been ascribed to cultural factors (Baker, 1978; Beetham, 1967; Dale *et al*., 2002; Gupta, 1977).

More recent studies (see, for example, Verma, 2001) point out that ethnic minority youths are more ambitious than their counterparts and they desire upward social mobility through education and careers and whilst at school have high self-esteem. (Basit, 1996; Mirza, 1992; Verma, 1984, 1999). However, research (for example, Basit, 1996) shows that the future facing ethnic minority youths does not appear to be much brighter than the situation their parents had to contend with in their search for jobs. (Basit, 1996; Drew et., 1991). A recent quote by Philips (2004) makes an interesting point: 'We have known for some time that whatever class you belong to, your race is an obstacle all by itself'.

There are however, various factors to be taken into account when one is examining the employment and occupational behaviour or development of ethnic minority pupils. Major issues include the entire concept of career or occupational choices and development, the career maturity of youths, the types of intervention strategies used and the measurement devised to gauge their career progress, interests and choices. What influences do personal/psychological factors, background/situational/environmental factors, formal and informal career guidance system/job search strategies assume in an individual's career or occupational behaviour? To what extent may patterns of employment be explained by occupational values, expectations, aspirations/choices, or by one's ethnicity?

The relevance of occupational choice theories to the career choices and aspirations of ethnic minorities

Both psychologists and sociologists have for many years studied the ways in which individuals choose occupations. The results of these studies have supplied the raw material out of which a variety of theories have been built as well as providing much-needed information for those who advise and guide others through the transition from education to work (Kidd *et al*., 1994).

Career development theory, research and practice have been severely criticised as inadequate for ethnic minorities. (Brown, 2002; Diamond, 1987; Greenhaus, 1971; McWhirter, 1997; Osipow, 1983; Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). In spite of these difficulties, certain observations about the current state of ethnic minorities strongly support the following observations about the special needs of ethnic minority groups. Firstly, ethnic minorities are under-represented at professional levels (Lerman, 1994; Smith, 1980, 1994; Wentling & Waight 2001; WFM, 2004). Secondly, ethnic minorities face special obstacles in the world of work. Racism is one obvious obstacle, which suggests that there is a need to help ethnic minorities to develop strategies to deal with discrimination. Lower class, inner-city (Black) youths may need additional help with learning job interview and job search skills (Lee & Wrench, 1983, 1984). Thirdly, the effect of the barriers on the (individual) ethnic minority group member can be multiple and far reaching. Gottfredson and Becker (1981) believed that limited opportunities affect aspirations. Smith (1975) asserts that society imposes negative self-images on Blacks, and theorists (see Bagley, *et al*., 1979) associate low self-esteem with Black youths. Hauser's (1971) studies showed that Black youths foreclosed vocational and self-identity exploration; these findings suggests that the youths are defeated before they even start.

There are few research studies in the United Kingdom on occupational aspirations, choices and expectations of Black youths. Although some contradictory studies exist, considerable research (see Archer & Yamashita, 2003; Verma, 2001) suggests that occupational aspirations, choices and expectations of Blacks are not lower than those of Whites. A certain amount of information can be gleaned from previous studies in related areas.

Earlier studies carried out on Black youths, particularly, Afro-Caribbean youths pointed to the very disappointed and depressed aspirations of these youths (Bagley, *et al*., 1979; Banton, 1955). Later studies (Figueroa, 1969; Walker & Biye 1997; Wrench, *et al*., 1997; Wrench & Qureshi, 1997), however, emphasised that there were no significant differences between their aspirations and those of their White counterparts. Beetham's (1967) study found that Asian and West Indian (Afro-Caribbean) school children had higher educational and occupational (job) aspirations than their (English) White counterparts. He saw these expressed aspirations as unrealistic, based on their school achievement and the local job opportunities in their area. Beetham (1967) also found that the main influence on Asian and West Indian children's career aspirations were their parents who were prepared to enable them to stay on for further education.

The findings of Wrench *et al*., (1997) indicated that Afro-Caribbean youths, despite their low performance in educational systems, still hold the positive values and high aspirations expected from second and third generations of an ambitious migrant population. The study by Wrench and Qureshi (1997) of young men of Bangladeshi (Asian) origin also identified high aspirations and strong parental support among their sample.

Gupta (1977) studied the effect of race on educational and occupational aspirations and inter-generation occupational mobility. He found that Asian pupils were much less likely to consider leaving school at the age of 16 and were considerably more ambitious in their educational aspirations than their English (White) counterparts. Asians also had significantly higher job intentions compared to the English (White) group. Gupta (1977) suggests reasons for this difference between the races. He finds evidence that Asian parents are seen by their offspring to be more involved and to exert more pressure on their children's aspirations. Gupta (1977) and others (see Abbas, 2002; Verma 1984, 2001) have pointed out, however, that the high aspirations of Asian school-leavers may be attributed to their higher parental occupational status.

In summary, Baker (1978), Basit (1996), CRE (1988), Gupta (1977), Fowler *et al*., (1977), Siann and Knox, (1992), and Verma (1981, 1984, 2001), have all discussed the relevance of 'cultural' influences on occupational aspirations/choices and expectations. The results obtained by these studies are remarkably consistent in that they all conclude that Black youths in particular the Asian youths had higher aims than their White counterparts. Fowler and her colleagues (1977) also reported a stereotyped viewpoint on the part of career officers in Glasgow, where over-aspiration was seen as a barrier to appropriate job choice for 'Asian' youths. These researchers, however, found that this theoretical framework was inadequate to explain disappointment and failure in the labour market. They also produce evidence-showing unfamiliarity on the part of the sample studied with application procedures, educational requirements and job availability.

The general picture, which emerges from various studies conducted in the past, is that there exist differential aspirations. Most of the explanations have concentrated upon cultural and social influences. What has been lacking from most analyses one would argue, has been an adequate treatment of the way in which these aspirations are constructed, both socially and psychologically. Such factors are moderated by personal factors. In addition there is an indication that negative attitudes and discrimination by others in education, social and occupational fields may negatively affect the Black youth's self-esteem, academic achievement, occupational aspiration/choices, expectations and employment prospects.

In summary, much of the research findings pertinent to the Black adolescent's occupational aspirations/choices/expectations have produced conflicting hypotheses and results. Some questions, among many, that need answering are 'Are there significant differences in self-esteem, occupational aspirations and choices of Black and White adolescents?' and 'What factors influence occupational aspirations/choices/expectations of Black and White adolescents?' It is not the intention of this paper to address all the above questions raised. This particular study focuses on two key areas: the self-esteem of groups with different ethnic backgrounds and the factors that they believed exert (positive or negative) influences on their occupational choices.

Method

Participants

In total 456 students took part in the study. All participants were defined as a 'school leaver' by Manchester and Liverpool education authorities. This definition of 'school leaver' consisted of males and females aged 15-16 who were finishing compulsory education. The 456 subjects were derived from ten different schools, comprising, five from an inner-city area of Manchester

and five from an inner-city area of Liverpool. The decision to select ten schools from inner-city areas was to ensure ethnic representation. The schools in the inner-city areas of Manchester and Liverpool varied in size, ethnicity and gender. Table 1 provides details of the total number of students in each school.

Table 1: Sample sizes by school location and gender

SCHOOLS*	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1L	20	11	31
2L	17	31	48
3L	21	19	40
4L	0	57	57
5L	48	0	48
6M	29	32	61
7M	22	19	41
8M	0	30	30
9M	25	24	49
10M	26	25	51
TOTAL	**208**	**248**	**456**

*1L-5L = schools located in Liverpool area.
6M-10M = schools located in Manchester area.

In total, there were 248 (54%) females and 208 (46%) males. The gender of the students was not controlled. However, social class and ethnicity were controlled to a certain extent due to the fact that schools were selected from as near as possible to the inner-city areas of Liverpool and Manchester in order to obtain a more ethnically diverse sample. Based on participants' self classifications and perception of their ethnic origin, they were grouped into Afro-Caribbean (African/West Indian/Caribbean, British Afro-Caribbean, Other Afro-Caribbean), Asians (Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, British Asians, Other Asians), and White (White British, White Other). At the time of the study the CRE office in Manchester approved the classifications and terminology used. On the basis of participants' self-reported information on ethnicity, adolescents (pupils) of three different ethnic groups (Afro-Caribbean, Asian and White) were represented in the sample. The Afro-Caribbean group consisted of 45 (10%) adolescents (24 (53%) female, 21 (47%) male). The Asian group consisted of 98 (22%) adolescents (48 (49%) female, 50 (51%) male). The White group consisted of 313 (68%) adolescents (176 (56%) female, 137 (44%) male). The proportion of participants for each group was a close approximation of their ethnic representation in the schools' pupil population. The age of students ranged from 15 to 16. The students belonged to diverse socio-economic groups.

Measures/Instruments

The Rosenberg **self-esteem scale** (RSE) (Rosenberg, 1965) is a 10-item Guttman scale designed to measure self-esteem. Two-week test-retest reliability studies indicate correlations of .85 and .88. The RSE also has a .92 Guttman scale coefficient of reproducibility (Fischer & Corcoran, 1994). Concurrent construct, and predictive validity have been well documented (Rosenberg, 1979). Construct validity has been demonstrated by significant correlation with theoretically similar measures (e.g., Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory) and by lack of correlation with dissimilar measures. The self-esteem scale by Rosenberg was designed to measure attitudes towards the self along a favourable-to-unfavourable dimension. It expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicated the extent to which the individual believes himself/herself to be capable, significant, and worthy. Rosenberg (1965) designed the self-esteem scale with several criteria in mind. One was his conception of self-esteem:

'When we speak of high self-esteem… we shall simply mean that individual respects himself, considers himself worthy, he does not necessarily consider himself better than others, but he definitely does not consider himself worse, he does not feel that he is the ultimate in perfection, but on the contrary, recognises his limitations and expects to grow and improve.'

The RSE has been widely used in the United Kingdom and the United States and claims to be a reliable and valid measure of self-esteem. (Robinson and Shaver, 1973).

The **pupils' questionnaire** was validated to ensure construct validity. As well as collecting demographic information on such variables such as age and race/ethnicity, the questionnaire investigated three main areas that might be related to occupational aspiration/choice: a) personal/psychological factors, b) background situational/environmental factors and c) formal and informal career guidance and job search strategies. The questionnaire was divided into 11 subscales utilising factor analyses. These subscales measured respondents' beliefs about the influences on them. The calculated subscales reliability coefficients (Alpha) range from 0.65 to 0.87 and the subscales overall contained 32 items. The subscales are:

a. Importance of background factors in getting a job. (Sample item: 'when discussing my choice of career, the teachers make assumptions according to my race').
b. Negative influences on school performance - self. (Sample item: 'the following people have prevented me from doing well in school, for example – myself').
c. Negative influences on school performance-others. (Sample item: 'the following people have prevented me from doing well at school, for example - friends, parents, teachers/career advisers').
d. Factors believed to influence job prospects. (Sample item: 'I believe that the following are important in getting a job - good career advice, good school record, help from parents/teachers').
e. Negative influences on job prospects. (Sample item: 'the school career adviser has not been interested in my career choice').
f. Do well in school - friends. (Sample item: 'the following people have helped me to do well at school, for example - friends').
g. Do well in school - parents. (Sample item: 'the following people have helped me to do well in school, for example - parents').
h. Do well in school - career advisers. (Sample item: 'the following people have helped me to do well in school, for example - career advisers').
i. Job information - parents/family. (Sample item: 'the following people/places have already given me information about jobs, for example - parents/family').
j. Job information - friends. (Sample item: 'the following people/places have already given me information about jobs, for example – friends').
k. Job information - career centre. (Sample item: 'the following people/places have already given me information about jobs - career advisers/career centre').

Procedure

Pupils from 10 different schools took part in this study. They were invited to participate in a study investigating transition from school to further education/work and in particular occupational aspirations/choices of school leavers. Before the study took place permission from the education authorities both at Liverpool and Manchester was sought. A letter explaining the purpose of the study was sent to the education authorities. Follow-up contact (i.e., phone calls, visits, individual meetings) was made to answer any appropriate questions regarding the research. Permission was granted by the chief education officers to carry out the study in any schools within Manchester and Liverpool via formal letters. A list of all of the secondary schools in Liverpool (L) and Manchester (M) was obtained from the education authorities. Five schools from each city were chosen by random selection. The schools were chosen by their proximity to the city centre. Schools closest to the city centre were chosen because of their higher ethnic diversity in comparison to schools on the outskirts of a city centre. After discussion with either the head-teacher, the head of careers or the head of Year 11, five schools in each city agreed to participate in the study (see Table 1). Once all of the ten schools had agreed to co-operate with the research, dates and times were arranged to visit the school and administer the questionnaire. Once at the schools, the questionnaire was administered randomly to appropriate year groups at each school. The questionnaire was handed out to every individual in classes selected at random and a simple set of instructions was stated as follows:

'Please complete the whole of the questionnaire on your own as honestly as possible. It is not a test or exam. Your answers will be kept confidential. No teacher or head-teacher from your school will view your answers.'

The pupils were then asked to begin. At every school it was ensured that all pupils completed the questionnaire individually. There was no time limit specified, yet all of the questionnaires were completed within a maximum time length of 40 minutes. Other methods of administration such as postal or delivering them and returning a week later for collection were considered. However, these were viewed as expensive and unreliable in some cases and thus not undertaken in this study. After completing and returning the questionnaires the participants were debriefed about the study. Once all of the questionnaires were completed/collected, the results were recorded. For each question following the Likert scale format the answers were scored from '4' to '1' for positively phrased questions with '4' depicting 'Strongly Agree' and '1' representing the response 'Strongly Disagree'. For the negatively phrased questions '1' characterised the response 'Strongly Agree' and '4' stood for 'Strongly Disagree'. Item scores were reversed where necessary, indicating either high (Hi) or low (Low) score. The data was analysed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

Results

Table 2 shows the measures of self-esteem for the three ethnic groups: Afro-Caribbean (Afro-C), Asians and White adolescents. To determine if differences existed among the groups on self-esteem, a one way ANOVA was conducted. The one-way ANOVA was not statistically significant (F=1.65, p=.19) indicating no differences among the groups on self-esteem. From observation of the means of the group, all ethnic groups in the sample had high self-esteem, with Afro-Caribbean scoring the highest (31.27) compared to White (29.93) and Asian (29.82).

Table 2

SELF-ESTEEM ONE-WAY ANOVA

	Number of cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	F	Sig.
Afro-C	37	31.2703	5.1782	.8513	1.656	.192
Asian	89	29.8202	4.3211	.4580		
White	291	29.9347	4.2854	.2512		

Table 3 summarises the results indicating ethnic groups' differences in relation to the 11 subscales in the pupils' questionnaire.

Table 3 Beliefs about influences on transition from school to work

	Ethnic Group	N	Mean	F	Sig.
a) Importance of background factors in getting a job 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	42 95 304	2.09 2.09 1.76	14.415	.000
b) Negative influences on school performance - Self 1 Hi 4 Low	Afro-C Asian White	40 87 293	2.92 2.67 3.00	4.932	.008
c) Negative influences on school performance - Other 1 Hi 4 Low	Afro-C Asian White	40 89 296	3.07 2.88 3.08	4.296	.014
d) Factors believed to influence job prospects 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	43 97 311	2.84 2.99 2.76	10.478	.000
e) Negative influences on job prospects 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	42 94 303	3.09 3.13 3.17	.733	.481
f) Do well in school - Friend 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	41 92 298	2.56 2.83 2.74	2.301	.101
g) Do well in school - Parent 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	41 92 298	3.24 3.44 3.43	2.064	.128
h) Do well in School - Career Adviser 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	41 92 298	2.92 2.83 2.61	4.542	.011
i) Job Information - Parents/ Family 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	42 93 298	3.04 2.90 3.10	4.115	.017
j) Job Information - Friends 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	41 91 298	2.75 2.84 2.80	.299	.742
k) Job Information - Career Centre 4 Hi 1 Low	Afro-C Asian White	41 92 299	2.95 3.09 3.00	.643	.526

The findings on beliefs about influences on transition from school to work are summarised below under appropriate subscales:

a) Importance of background factors in getting a job: Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths compared to White youths appeared to regard background factors as more important in getting a job. This result was statistically significant. Mean scores for Afro-Caribbean, Asian, and White were 2.09, 2.09, and 1.76 respectively. Comparisons between all three ethnic groups showed statistically significant differences in their mean scores.

b) Negative influences on school performance – self: This result was statistically significant. Asian compared to Afro-Caribbean and White youths did not see themselves as negative influences on school performance. They appeared more positive. Mean scores for Asians, Afro-Caribbean, and White youths were 2.67, 2.92, and 3.00 respectively.

c) Negative influences on school performance – others: This result was statistically significant. Asians were more likely than Afro-Caribbean and White youths to claim that others were not negative influences on their school performance.

Other noticeable statistically significant results were:

d) Factors believed to influence job prospects: Asians and Afro-Caribbean youths appeared to see the role of parents, career advisers and teachers as significant influences in getting a job compared to White youths.

h) Do well in school - career advisers: Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths believed that career advisers were more influential in helping them to do well in school compared to their White counterparts who saw career advisers as not influential.

i) Job information - parents/family: Asians believed that job information from their parents were not influential compared to their Afro-Caribbean and their White counterparts. There were no statistically significant differences between the groups on any other sub-scales.

Discussion and conclusions

This study was conducted to investigate transition from school to work.

The present study aimed to examine three ethnic group transitions from school to work by raising a number of questions. The results regarding self-esteem (see table 2) indicated no statistically significant differences between the three ethnic groups. All ethnic groups in our sample had high self-esteem. This result may be cautiously interpreted to agree with the conclusion that ethnic minorities, in particular Afro-Caribbean in our sample, do not have low self-esteem. This finding is consistent with most previous research carried out, particularly those carried out in the USA (e.g. Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991; Gray-Little & Hafdahi, 2000; Hughes & Demo, 1989; Phelps, et al., 2001; Twenge & Crocker, 2002) where the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy resulted in programmes aimed at redressing negative attitudes and low self-esteem.

There are some minority findings in the UK (e.g. Stone, 1982, Verma, 1999) that have found similarity in the level of self-esteem of ethnic groups which have been attributed to cultural values, perceptions, attitudes towards education and the nature of schooling. Whilst at school it was argued (e.g. Verma, 2001) that these youths had high levels of self-esteem as some had not yet been relatively exposed to the wider world of work and employment where racism is seen as norm for ethnic minorities in Britain. (CRE, 1998; CRE, 2003; Verma, 2001). It is perhaps possible to suggest that despite differences in life experiences and group experiences in relation to widely held view of discrimination in British society that high self-esteem is maintained whilst still at school for some ethnic groups.

Some writers (see Bagley *et al*., 1979; Verma, 1999) have suggested that ethnic minority youths are more likely to experience discrimination when applying for a job, the consequences of this is low self-esteem and negative attitudes towards work. However, there is little systematic research to support this assumption. The label that is often given to Black youths is one of low achievement/ low self-esteem. It is quite clear from this empirical research that the participants in this study do not fall in to the mode of 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. Researchers must further seek to understand the current results as they relate to the Black-Britons. Researchers also need to continue to examine and ascertain whether the current results are applicable/generalisable and in particular the exact meaning in the light of the current situation in transition from school to work in multicultural Britain.

Existing reviews also seems to indicate that ethnicity and self-esteem have implications for a wide range of situations, for example, psychological functioning, occupational aspirations/choices, and career guidance. These variables according to researchers (Bhaget, *et al*., 1990; Gottfredson & Becker, 1981; Verma, 2001) can have a significant impact on the personal lives of Blacks.

Researchers (see Louden, 1983; Verma, 1999) have consistently maintained that individuals with high self-esteem are psychologically better adjusted, internally controlled, achieve better academically, better adjusted educationally, and are not easily influenced by others. (Louden, 1983; Maqsud, 1983; Rosenberg, 1979; Spring & Khanna, 1982; Verma, 1999). Furthermore, research (see Bagley *et al*., 1979; Mansfield 1973) evidence has demonstrated that self-esteem plays a major role/part in predicting occupational aspirations/choices. Mansfield (1973) indicated that individuals high in self-esteem seek occupational roles which are congruent with their self-perceived characteristics, and are more adept at making a better fit. Other previous researchers (see Hughes & Demo, 1989; Louden, 1983; Verma, 2001) have consistently identified that individuals with higher self-esteem were more likely to have higher educational, occupational aspirations/choices. It is clear from the present study that all ethnic groups in this sample had high self-esteem despite negative stereotypes pertaining to Black youths. Self-esteem as a variable clearly needs to be taken into account when one is analysing factors believed to influence transition from school to work.

In addition to self-esteem, the study was done to explore any ethnic groups differences in relation to beliefs about factors that influence transition from school to work. These findings are discussed below.

The findings from this study suggests that Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths compared to White youths regards background factors as more important in getting a job. This result was statistically significant (see (a), table 3). What this finding suggests is that at this early stage of transition, Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths received disadvantages in the job market which the White youths did not. Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths perceived background factors such as race, skin colour, ethnic group, gender, being born in Britain, family background, and perception of teachers in relation to race and career choice, as important in getting a job. Based on our current findings, White youths clearly disagree with this. Other findings (CRE, 1998, 2003; Drew, *et al*., 1992) support this result, in that Black youths feel disadvantaged in the labour market due to perceived discrimination in the world of work. This perception often means that the youths are defeated. The current results suggest that there is a need to help ethnic minorities, particularly Asian and Afro-Caribbean youths to develop strategies to deal with issues of discrimination and to prevent lack of aspirations. Researchers such as Gottfredson & Becker (1981) and Verma (2001) have argued that discrimination and limited opportunities affect educational, occupational aspirations/ choices. It is vital that prevention becomes the basis for recommendations.

The result on perceived negative influences (self) on school performance was statistically significant (see (b) table 3). This result identified that Asians compared to Afro-Caribbean and White youths did not see themselves as negative influences on school performance. Asian youths appeared more positive about their transition from school to work and seemed to be taking some form of responsibility in attributing blame on themselves if they were unable to secure a job or do well in school.

Results and findings, relating to negative influences

(others) on school performance was statistically significant (see (c), table 3). Asian youths were more likely than Afro-Caribbean and White youths not to see others as negative influences on school performance which again suggests they are taking more responsibility. This result indicates that Asian youths are less likely to blame others such as teachers and career advisers as negative influences on their school performance and transition from school to work, compared to their counterparts.

Asian youths may have a different set of cultural values and norms which enables them to take more responsibility (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999). Researchers (e.g. Siann & Knox, 1992) suggests that cultural and religious traditions influence and inform attitudes to both education and work, set Asians youths apart from their counterparts as they are positively encouraged by their culture and parents to take responsibilities.

Other interesting findings from this study relate to factors believed to influence job prospects (see (d) table 3) which was statistically significant. The result indicated that Asians and Afro-Caribbean youths appear to see the role of parents, career advisers and teachers as significant influences in getting a job compared to White youths. Other studies (Arnold *et al*., 1988; Dale *et al*., 2002; Lightbody, *et al*., 1997) have consistently demonstrated how vital the influences of parents, teachers and career advisers are in youth transitions from school to work. Evidently, most researchers tend to agree that Asian and Afro-Caribbean parents have high aspirations for their children and are likely to be supportive of their children's education and occupational aspirations/choices (Basit, 1996; Beetham (1967); Davey and Norburn, 1980; Foner, 1977; Gupta (1977); Pollak, 1979; Pryce, 1979; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Taylor (1981); Verma, 2001). They also tend to agree that for a variety of cultural reasons these parents value education as a means to occupational and vocational success (Basit, 1996; Louden, 1983; Wrench et al., 1997). Good career guidance and help from teachers, career advisers and parents significantly influence transition from school to work for Asian and Afro-Caribbean youths.

This current study also discovered that Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths believed that career advisers were more influential in helping them to do well in school compared to their White counterparts, who saw career advisers as not influential. This result was statistically significant (see (h) table 3). Researchers (Arnold, *et al*., 1988; Lightbody, *et al*., 1997) have argued that school influences particularly the influence of career advisers often depends on the length in school and when career guidance began. Findings from the current study suggests that Asian and Afro-Caribbean youths are more likely to perceive the school and career advisers as helpful and reported that career advisers had a positive influence on their occupational aspirations/choices.

Further interesting findings from this study relate to sources of job information. Evidently, from our current study, it was discovered that Asian youths believed that job information from their parents was not influential compared to their Afro-Caribbean and White counterparts. Again this result was statistically significant (see (i) table 3). This result does not necessarily contradict previous findings (see Allen, 1998; Kalra *et al*., 1999). Asian parents may have high aspirations for their children, however, they may not be knowledgeable about how to obtain relevant job information. These parents may lack knowledge of criteria needed to attain appropriate jobs. Research (see Allen, 1998; Verma, 2001) has consistently shown parental influence to be the single most important factor for youths in their transition from school to work (Arnold *et al*., 1988; Lightbody *et al*., 1997). However it has been claimed that parents from an ethnic minority background who may not have been educated in the UK may lack relevant information regarding jobs. Arguably, this finding may suggest that Asian parents are likely to be ill-equipped, and may be attributing unrealistic aspirations due to lack of knowledge in the area of job information. It is difficult to compare findings of other researchers in this area as methods varied enormously. However, in earlier research findings, (see for example, Arnold, *et al*., 1988; Allen 1998; Kalra *et al*., 1999) in nearly all the studies the influence of parents play a bigger part than that of formal influence such as teachers and career advisers. More recent studies (Archer & Yamashita 2003; Dale *et al*., 2002; Johnson, 2004) have outlined some positive formal influences depending on resources available and the provision of career guidance. In view of our findings, the importance of involving parents in career education, information, and guidance programmes cannot be over-stressed, and clearly this has implication for career guidance and counselling.

It is imperative that more thought is given to the education of parents, careers teachers, and careers advisers in the area of career guidance and counselling as the nature of career guidance would continue to change to meet the needs of a growing number of ethnic minorities in Britain.

The available evidence from this study clearly indicates that the actions and attitudes of young people themselves must be considered in any exploration of causal factors in the association between occupational aspiration/choices, attainment and labour-market outcome.

It is likely that the occupational aspirations of youths will be affected by combinations of personal/psychological factors, environmental influences, ethnic background, family, schools, career guidance systems and significant others. This research area could be improved by more replication of studies and by publications and dialogue between researchers, participants, teachers, career advisers and parents.

The present study certainly paves the way for future investigations into transition from school to work. Future research should consider a longitudinal study and a larger sample size covering a wider location beyond the North-West of England. More research of this type is needed to continually address issues raised in this research, particularly with references to ethnic minority youths in Britain.

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For correspondence

Dr Grace U Maduka
Robertson Cooper Ltd.
Williams House
Manchester Science Park
Lloyd Street North
Manchester
M15 6SE
Tel: 07711335202
Email: graceumaka@yahoo.co.uk

Professor Ivan T Robertson
Manchester Business School
The University of Manchester

NICEC News

Personnel changes

Congratulations to Jeffrey Defries on his appointment as Chief Executive of CRAC and Director of NICEC starting in April 2006. Jeffrey has experience as a freelance consultant and facilitator, working primarily for the European Foundation for Management Development and as a lecturer for the Civil Service College. Prior to this, Jeffrey held a number of directorships including Director of Corporate Affairs at the NHSU (the corporate university of the NHS), Deputy Dean at the London Business School and Assistant Director at the Science Museum.

NICEC also has a new 'Chair'. David Andrews, an existing fellow of NICEC, has agreed to take on the role of chairing the network. David Andrews has been a Fellow of the National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling (NICEC) since 1992. He works as an independent education consultant and trainer, specialising in careers education and guidance and in the Queen's New Year's Honours List 2003 he was awarded an OBE for services to careers education. David thanked Ruth Hawthorn for her achievements in leading the network over the last year. Ruth has stepped down from the role of Acting Director but will serve as Deputy chairperson.

NICEC would like to welcome its two new overseas fellows: Professor R. Sultana of the Faculty of Education, University of Malta, and Dr Gideon Arulmani of the The Promise Foundation in Bangalore.

At the Cutting Edge of Careers Education and Guidance
Swanwick, Derbyshire 11-13 December 2006

The National Institute of Careers Education and Counselling's 'At the Cutting Edge' event is a three-day residential conference which aims to push forward the careers education and guidance agenda through discussion and debate amongst practitioners, researchers and policy makers. The 2006 event will focus on the reciprocal relationship between research, policy and practice taking in issues from all age careers guidance, the growth of independent and private sector guidance and the differences in provision between nations.

It will be of interest to:

- careers practitioners in schools, colleges and HEIs
- academics
- independent and private sector careers advisers
- employers who inform the careers guidance agenda
- public policy makers
- Connexions Service advisers
- Learning and Skills Councils staff.

As a result of attending this conference, participants should:

- o have a clearer understanding of current and emerging policy and strategy, recognising the factors that influencing its formation and the impact on practice that will result
- o be better informed about recent and current research in the field of career guidance
- o be more aware of the respective roles of policy makers, researchers and consumers
- o be more confident about your role in contributing to, using, disseminating or doing relevant research
- o have developed a greater understanding of definitions of terms like 'guidance', 'career' and 'occupation'
- o have some insight into the different systems in place in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
- o have had the opportunity to explore the role and contribution of other academic disciplines, such as psychology and economics, in guidance research and practice

For further information, please contact Julia Jones (Email: Julia.jones@crac.org.uk Tel: 01223 460277).

NICEC Network members

Senior Fellows

David Andrews (Chair)
Lyn Barham
Anthony Barnes
Ruth Hawthorn (Vice Chair)
Dr Charles Jackson
Barbara McGowan

Fellows

Helen Colley
Geoff Ford
Lesley Haughton
Leigh Henderson
Dr Wendy Hirsh
Dr Bill Law (Founding Senior Fellow)
Professor Tony Watts (Life President)

Associates

Cole Davis
Dr Jenny Kidd
Ewan Munro
Tricia Sharpe
Sylvia Thomson
Penny Thei

International Fellows

Dr Gideon Arulmani
Lynne Bezanson
Col McCowan
Professor Edwin L Herr
Dr Peter Plant
John McCarthy
Professor James P Sampson Jr
Professor Ronald G. Sultana

NICEC Office

Julia Jones