

===== INVESTIGACIONES =====

**CHOICE, CHANCE OR COMPULSION: THE RECRUITMENT OF
CAREER ADVISERS INTO NEW ZEALAND SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

***ELECCIÓN, AZAR O COMPULSIÓN: LA SELECCIÓN DE ORIENTADORES PARA
LA CARRERA EN INSTITUTOS DE EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA
DE NUEVA ZELANDA***

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ABSTRACT

Career advisers play an important educational role by enabling students to understand how careers are constructed and managed in an increasingly uncertain world. Yet how are career advisers recruited and what knowledge is required? This article draws from data collected from semi-structured interviews with career advisers in a range of New Zealand secondary schools as part my PhD research. The findings indicate many of those who became career advisers were chosen by someone in authority, or fell into the career adviser role by chance. No knowledge about this curriculum area was necessary, nor formal career-related or teaching qualifications required.

Key words: Career, education, schools, recruitment, qualifications.

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RESUMEN

Los orientadores juegan un papel importante en el ámbito educativo, al ayudar a los estudiantes a comprender cómo se construyen y gestionan las trayectorias profesionales en un mundo cada vez más incierto. Por ello es fundamental plantearse cómo se selecciona a los profesionales de la orientación y qué competencias se le exigen. Este artículo se basa en los resultados parciales de un estudio llevado a cabo por el autor del mismo, como parte de su tesis doctoral. La información cualitativa se ha obtenido a través de la realización de entrevistas semi-estructuradas a orientadores de diversos centros de secundaria de Nueva Zelanda. Los resultados indican que muchos de los orientadores fueron seleccionados por alguien en una posición de poder, o llegaron a esta profesión por pura casualidad. No se les exigía conocimientos específicos sobre las funciones a desempeñar, ni se requería una titulación en orientación, ni siquiera en el ámbito de la enseñanza. A pesar de estar contextualizado en dos ciudades de Nueva Zelanda y de que el acceso a la profesión de orientación difiere de un contexto a otro, las cuestiones suscitadas a lo largo del artículo y las conclusiones tienen mucha relevancia para el campo de la orientación e invitan a realizar una mayor reflexión y estudios sobre estas cuestiones.

Palabras clave: Carrera, educación, centros educativos, selección, cualificaciones

Introduction

Career education for life: a New Zealand context

Career education straddles the boundary between compulsory schooling and the wider social, political and economic world. Moreover the concept of career which has traditionally been understood in relation to progression routes within occupational hierarchies (Walton & Mallon, 2004) is also changing. For example, the latest Ministry of Education (MoE) guidelines for career education and guidance in New Zealand schools states that a career “embraces life roles in the home and the community, leisure activities, learning and work . . . Everyone has a career” (MoE, 2009, p. 6). Thus the boundaries are being redrawn, creating spaces for the emergence of an all-encompassing lifecareer which allows for multiple ways of being and incorporates all aspects of life, not only that of paid employment. As the concept of career becomes more complex and fragmented, new demands will be placed on the degree of understanding and expertise required by the career adviser. If they are to prepare their students to become active and critical citizens and workers (Apple, 2001) who are able to shape career(s), individually and collectively, career advisers will need to acquire a deeper and broader understanding of social life by looking beyond labour market participation and the incessant demands of the economy which has a tendency to dominate (see Inkson, 2007).

At a practice/practical level the career adviser within New Zealand schools, as in many other Western countries, co-ordinates all aspects of the career-related curriculum (including the provision of career information), organises and/or delivers a range of career education activities, links with staff in other curriculum areas, and liaises with parents and the wider community on career-related issues. In addition they often provide personalised career advice and guidance to students across their school, and may also be involved in a range of work-related activities. Thus career advisers occupy privileged positions, relatively free from the curriculum constraints experienced by most subject-specific teachers. This gives them a degree of flexibility to “interpret policy, define career, construct career-relevant knowledge, determine curriculum content, and relate this to the post-school arena” (Irving, 2010a, p. 58).

Paradoxically, the room for manoeuvre within career education is also its potential weakness. Career education sits on the curriculum margins, neither a recognised subject in its own right, nor included in the national curriculum which is being introduced into all New

Zealand schools (MoE 2007). Furthermore, career advisers are not acknowledged as 'curriculum specialists' (Ruff, 2001). As a result career advisers are also likely to be positioned at the curriculum margins (Harris, 1992; Ruff, 2001), lacking academic status and institutional authority. There is also a tendency for the career adviser to be associated with broader student support services which may include pastoral care and/or personal guidance counselling. Notwithstanding, the complexity of the career adviser role, the breadth of their work, their place within the curriculum (MoE, 2009), and potential contribution they might make to assist students to make sense of the/their future(s), and career(s), in a socially just way should not be understated (Irving, 2005, 2010b).

Yet how, and why, do individuals become career advisers? British research reported by Harris (1999), and Andrews and Barnes (2003) into how careers teachers/co-ordinators (these are interchangeable terms and equate to that of the New Zealand career adviser) are selected and recruited is particularly informative. Harris (1999) found that the decision to become a career teacher "was not stimulated by a prior interest in or, more significantly, any knowledge about careers education other than personal experiences" (p.20). Andrews and Barnes (2003) take this further, identifying that of the 200 respondents to their questionnaire most had not considered becoming a careers co-ordinator until after they were approached by someone in their school. In this article I consider whether the questions raised by this British research are salient within the New Zealand context, and identify potential challenges for the future, both here and elsewhere.

Methodology

This article follows feminist conventions (Jones, 1992) and includes the voice of myself and my participants in the reporting of the results. Hence the researched are not objectified by the researcher, but situated within the process as active subjects with stories to tell. This allows for greater reflexivity in the discussion of the findings, challenging the positivist notion that 'neutral language' reflects objective and impartial 'truths' which emanates from distant and disembodied 'others'. Therefore, within the context of this article, I wanted to ensure the voices of my participants would be heard and their experiences made knowable before sharing my own understanding of what they had to say.

I drew the data for this article from my PhD study which is looking at how social justice is understood within career education in New Zealand secondary schools. This research is located within a critical social theory framework that critiques processes of domination and subordination, and promotes emancipatory interests (Anyon, 2009). A qualitative methodology was used as this provided me with opportunities to engage with significant issues at a deeper level (Davidson & Tolich, 1999), and pursue the meanings beneath the text.

When choosing my sample I sought to recruit participants from a diverse range of school settings as a means of providing rich data. After contacting a number of career advisers by email, and providing them with an information sheet, eleven agreed to take part: two non-qualified teachers with formal career qualifications; four qualified teachers with formal career qualifications; five qualified teachers without any career qualifications. Their schools encompassed a range of student cohorts (i.e. girls', boys' and co-educational schools), deciles (which reflect the socio-economic make-up of the school's cohort), and size. Nine were in a major cosmopolitan city with a multicultural population, whilst two were in a provincial city where the students were predominantly of European descent. All of the participants were sent copies of the interview schedule prior to our meeting, and the interviews took place in the safe and familiar surroundings of the participant's school. Using semi-structured interviews with the participants allowed me to focus on key issues yet allowed for breadth of coverage yet also provided a degree of flexibility. Consent forms were

signed and pseudonyms applied to protect their anonymity.

The participants' responses to the following set of questions were used to inform this article. I asked them how and why they became career advisers; and whether they had received any training in career education. In terms of the analysis I disaggregated the data from the wider study, looked for common themes and grouped the participants' experiences accordingly. These categories enabled me to analyse each theme more deeply in relation to the multiple discourses they drew on (Cameron, 2001) concerning how they are positioned, and position themselves, in relation to such, at times contradictory, discourses (Luke, 1995-1996).

Whilst my study is limited in terms of the number of participants, and its location within two cities in New Zealand, it does provide a rich insight into the recruitment practices of schools within a number of localised settings. Moreover, acknowledging that my findings are not generalisable and do not explain how career advisers are recruited throughout New Zealand, they do build on the qualitative research reported by Harris (1999), and the quantitative study of Andrews and Barnes (2003) which raised important questions about the recruitment and positioning of career advisers in Britain. Therefore my findings add a further dimension to this neglected area of inquiry. Therefore I hope colleagues in Spain (and elsewhere) will listen to the experiences of my participants, engage with and interrogate my findings, examine my conclusions, and explore the issues raised within their own localised settings.

Results

Being the right person: an un/qualified opportunity

As mentioned earlier, career education is not recognised as a curriculum subject in New Zealand secondary schools. From her British study Harris (1999) found that of the 12 career teachers she interviewed, "many had moved into careers education in an ad hoc fashion [with] circumstance and opportunism the factors most often associated with [this]" (p. 20). Thus I was interested in knowing whether the participants in my New Zealand study followed similar patterns. In the themes below I share my participants' understanding of how and why they were recruited as career advisers, and what may have influenced this.

The chosen few

For Belinda, Gaynor, Patricia, Bryony and Joanne the pathway into the career adviser role occurred as a result of the Principal, or another member of staff in their school, identifying them as being 'the right person' for the post. This process of identification by a person in authority was particularly noticeable as Belinda talked about how, after joining her current school in a long-term relief teaching capacity in 1999, the career adviser position became available at the end of that year due to the retirement of the existing post holder. She explained that the post:

was a combination of science and teaching in careers, and the current Principal asked me to apply for the careers job and I said naively, well it's with science and I'm not a science teacher, and she said no no no, the combination of subjects is . . . open, but she said it's the careers I'm asking if you're interested in . . . I said [to the Principal] well I've never done it before, and she said well I did it at my last school and I hadn't had any train[ing], you know you learn it on the job and you get trained on the job etcetera, so um with her reassurance I considered it and decided to accept it, so that's, I've been sort of in the area since 2000.

It appeared that the Principal was more concerned with retaining Belinda at the school than she was with filling the vacant career adviser post. Though Belinda had no knowledge of what was involved in the careers role her Principal did not perceive this to be a problem as she herself had done it in the past without any training, drawing on a discourse of 'common-sense'. The implication being that career education can be done by anyone, can be learnt "on the job", as does not require prior knowledge, training or specialist qualifications. Belinda has now been in the career adviser for over ten years yet remains unqualified.

Gaynor's recruitment to the career adviser role is somewhat similar in that she also had no knowledge of the career advisor role when she was "shoulder tapped at the end of [her] first year to come and do this, the careers advice thing". Moreover, although she was qualified to teach economics, she could not see how this related to career education:

I've got a B.Comm in economics with a minor in management, so I teach economics as well, and I've got most of a degree in politics as well which I'm going to go back to finish at some stage, and I've got a Dip Grad in teaching, so there's nothing specific to careers education

A different reading of Gaynor's experiences might suggest that when career education is narrowly positioned within a neoliberal discourse that emphasises the importance of education progression, employment and/or employability, Gaynor would appear to be very well qualified given her recent university experiences, academic qualifications and teaching area. Gaynor however partially explained her recruitment due to being "quite an organised person, I like a challenge as well". This explanation is consistent with one of the key findings reported by Andrews and Barnes (2003) which identified that other teachers often see the career co-ordinator as being an *organiser* of activities. Other factors may also have been at play as Gaynor's age is close to those of her students (having recently left university), she is new to the profession (having only taught for two years), and she identified that in her teaching philosophy "relationships are really important". Thus it could be that these personal characteristics brought her to the attention of the Principal. Moreover, whilst Gaynor told me she enjoyed the career adviser role she was not intending to pursue a formal career-related qualification at this point in time, yet was planning to complete her politics degree.

The link between external influences, and how a narrow understanding of career education may have influenced who was 'chosen' to be a career adviser is noticeable in the stories of Joanne, Patricia and Bryony. For example, Joanne was offered the career adviser post after deciding she no longer wished to be a Dean due to it increased disciplinary role as she "was not very good at chewing gum brigade and I break rules if I have to for the kids, so I was going back into business, so I had resigned". Therefore, rather than see her leave the school Joanne told me "my current boss at the time said oh please, can you, would you look at this, and I said I know a little bit about careers because I'd been a year 13 Dean". It would appear however that keeping Joanne at the school in some capacity was more important for her school Principal, yet Joanne's limited knowledge may have influenced decision to stay. Joanne is now has a formal career qualification.

The following excerpts from my interviews with Patricia and Bryony reveal more about the factors that might influence the choice of particular in individuals:

in 1991 . . . the position of careers adviser became available because there hadn't been a lot done in careers in the school prior to that, and it had always been a kind of fill in, kind of whose around . . . and the Principal approached me and said would I be interested in being involved with careers, and I think her thinking at the time may have been because my husband's an academic at the University and I used to feed information through about what was going on in the University. (Patricia).

I'm actually primary trained, and have been here at the school for seven years [Bryony was actually a past student] . . . and the way that it kind of came about was that . . . in the third year of teaching year 8 the careers job came up, and I think the thing is that I am a big believer that you need to know a little bit about the workforce, and you need to have some kind of a concept and understanding of university and how all that system works, to offer fair advice . . . so I was kind of approached and asked how I would feel about the job. (Bryony).

Unlike the previous participants in this category, Patricia appeared to have been approached because they had some understanding of post-school pathways, whilst Bryony also had knowledge of the workforce. These particular forms of knowledge are often positioned as a prerequisite for the career adviser role when it is focused learning for careers in terms of linear trajectories, rather than gaining a critical understanding of the multiple conceptualisations of career(s). Bryony further suggested that she may actually have been chosen for other reasons, more specifically her experience of, and interest in, “working with kids on the margins”:

[in] my teaching careers I always seemed to be landed with those kinds of kids . . . so I think that's why I was asked to do the job really, because I had a good kind of grasp of those kids that need a wee bit of extra care and attention, and I would say that in the beginning 80% of my careers clientele were those kinds of kids.

There is a sense of benevolence here, a wanting to help those who are not fitting in to the expected educational mould. Thus whilst career education may contribute to the increased likelihood of positive school outcomes (in some form) for some students identified as being ‘at risk’ (McLaren, 2003), attention can also be deflected away from wider structural or educational concerns that impact on the life chances of students. Thus career education can become a technology of control, focused on a desire to reduce ‘failure’ by problematising the students themselves due to their assumed lack of commitment, aspiration and ambition to meet the educational, economic and social goals set for them (Irving, in press).

Overall, the participants within this group appear to have been chosen by an authority figure who assumed that they had the necessary personal qualities and/or rudimentary knowledge of career education and would thus be appropriate candidates. Whilst some of the participants made educated guesses as to why they may have been chosen, the reasons they gave were not always clearly articulated or apparent, even to themselves. Moreover, this group of participants appeared to have little knowledge or direct experience of career education, and had not actively considered this role before being approached directly.

A further reading of the data in relation to the experiences of Patricia, Bryony and Joanne illustrates the multiple ways in which those who are appointed to the career adviser post may be chosen for instrumentalist purposes. This involves knowing *about*, and preparing students *for*, the ‘world of work’ and post-school educational opportunities on the one hand, yet acting as a disciplinary practice on the other by depoliticising the process (Hyslop-Margison & McKerracher, 2008). Moreover, whilst Patricia and Joanne had gained professional career-related qualifications, Bryony remained unqualified.

A chance encounter: Being in the right place at the right time:

None of the participants within this group (Rosemary, Marjorie and Lara), were identified by an authority figure as being the ‘right person’ for the career adviser role, nor had they actively sought out such opportunities in their schools. They just happened to be ‘in the right place at the right time’, working in schools where the career adviser post became vacant. Rosemary was employed as a science teacher and Dean where she told me she “was working to motivate students to improve their attendance and achievement, so I started to be interested in . . . working as a careers adviser”. Whilst she signalled a desire to work in this area, the opportunity arose by chance when “the school I was at the careers adviser job

came available so I applied for that and developed my skills that way”. There is also a connection with Bryony’s experience, discussed earlier, where the career adviser role is equated with supporting those students deemed to be ‘at risk’ of academic failure. Rosemary, like Belinda, also made reference to the ‘common-sense’ notion that skills could be learned on the job.

Marjorie’s experience was a little different. She accessed her current post through personal networks, beginning in the school as the Gateway co-ordinator (who organises work experience) on a job share basis with a friend. She told me that “when [her friend] left I took on her role as careers adviser, so it’s networking”. There is little in our interview to suggest she knew much about career education when she progressed into the career adviser post. It appears that Marjorie not only happened to be ‘in the right place at the right time’, but also had the ‘right’ attitude and ‘networks’, through which access is provided to job vacancies which are not openly advertised. This highlights the old adage that it may not be ‘what you know’, but ‘who you know’, to which I might also add ‘who knows you’, that may create opportunities for some, regardless of their knowledge, skills, understanding and qualifications, whilst closing down opportunities to others. Marjorie was however completing a career-related Masters degree when interviewed, and can thus be seen to have embraced this chance encounter.

In a similar way to Marjorie Lara “got involved in careers education through the Gateway programme”. After three years in this role she became a careers adviser. However progression into, and within, this role has not been straight forward as she is not a qualified teacher. Lara commented that:

it depends where you start. I didn’t start with a teaching qualification so it’s different for me. I started as a careers assistant and moved up from there, but I think if you’re starting with a teaching qualification . . . I mean our careers counsellor is acting Head of House at the moment . . . so I think . . . maybe the changing curriculum, and the way things are going it’s maybe more important than some of the other head of Department roles.

Whilst her progression into the career adviser role appears to be attributable to chance, it remains unclear what the impact would be if the current careers counsellor relinquished his role as Head of House. Interestingly Lara’s reference to the ways in which not being teacher qualified could impact on future opportunities within the school may perhaps reflect her fragile position. However, at the time of the interview Lara, who had acquired a professional career-related qualification, was in the process of leaving the compulsory education sector.

For the participants within this group the opportunity to become a career adviser was actively sought when it arose. However these opportunities could also be seen to have arisen by chance as it is uncertain as to whether they would have looked elsewhere had the opportunity not arisen in their current schools, where they have remained ever since. Some knowledge of career education appeared to have been helpful, but not essential in relation to their decisions or the reasons for their recruitment. Lara also alludes to the professional status of the career adviser, an issue I will return to later.

A conscious choice

Not all of the participants in my study were *chosen* by authoritative others, nor became career advisers as a result of *chance*. Three participants talked of how they *wanted* to be career advisers and actively sought such a role, yet for different reasons.

Ken’s entry into career education highlights how past experiences can influence later decisions. Ken’s first experience was “a very long time ago” when he worked with the school’s career adviser to put together a work preparation and experience programme for a

group of final year secondary school students who were not going to achieve University entrance. Ken “didn’t have anything to do with careers education for probably another 15 years [but it was] something that I was always interested in but just never had the opportunities”. The opportunity arose when he was employed at a school where:

the careers tea[cher], the careers adviser left and they didn’t really want to allocate any time for another careers adviser so they asked who was prepared to do it and I was . . . so they took some of the time off me that I had to do the library and gave it back to me to do careers, so that’s, and I’ve been working in careers ever since, so probably about five or six years there, then a year with Careers Services, and then four years here [as a career adviser].

Unlike many of the other participants Ken has worked as a career adviser in two schools, as well as spending time with the New Zealand Careers Service, and whilst his first foray into the career education field may have arisen by chance, subsequent opportunities have been consciously sought out. Whilst Ken demonstrated a long-term interest and commitment to the career adviser role he does not hold any formal qualifications in this curriculum area.

Jenna is a qualified teacher and does have a career-related qualification. Her reason for wanting to be a career adviser differs significantly from all of the other participants. She told me that working as a career adviser enabled her to move beyond the confines of specific curricula subject knowledge, and the isolating experience of being a classroom-based teacher. Thus she could retain an interest in education but engage with students in other ways. Significant emphasis was placed on the career *advice* aspect as she felt that career *education* should be fully integrated into the curriculum. What this illustrates, in part, is the potential rupture between career as an educational concept, and career in relation to advice, guidance and counselling. Thus Jenna’s choice to be a career *adviser* rather than a career *educator* reflects a tension that often surrounds these different roles within a school context.

The final participant, Louise is unusual in that whilst not a qualified teacher she holds a professionally recognised career guidance qualification from the UK where she worked for a number of years, and is also a certified counsellor. Louise actively sought a career adviser post after migrating to New Zealand, although this was a departure from her earlier role:

my background is as a careers adviser in the UK but when I came to New Zealand that job doesn’t exist, so looked around and ended up in a school careers adviser counsellor position, and that’s where I um got involved with careers education.

In the UK, traditionally career advisers were not usually employed *by* schools but worked *in* and *with* schools, where their primary responsibility was the delivery of individualised career guidance. They may also have had some involvement with, and given advice on, career education programmes and processes, yet the responsibility for career *education* rested with each individual school’s career teacher/co-ordinator (see Harris, 1999). Louise is the only career adviser in her current school and she commented that progression opportunities are limited, “really the only progression . . . is to become a head of careers at a larger school”.

Like Lara, Louise also talked more broadly about the status of the career adviser in New Zealand schools, suggesting that it is not highly regarded either in a professional or educational sense. As we talked about the challenges ahead she told me that:

You know we have, even here, we have things like work education transition taught by anybody who doesn’t have a . . . full timetable, with no background knowledge or whatever of the area, um, you know so when you’re saying that anybody can do it, then anybody will do it.

Thus the ‘common-sense’ discourse re-emerges with Louise’s observation that there is a general view that little specialist knowledge is required for the delivery of career-related curriculum areas, and can thus be taught by anyone.

What emerges from this final group of participants is that the pathway into, and progression within, the career adviser role is dependent on a range of variable factors. Moreover, what is also highlighted is the lack of clarity in relation to what role the career adviser is, and what career education might involve.

Tying the strands together

Looking across the data, my findings suggest that career advisers in New Zealand tend to be appointed by the schools in which they are already employed. Many were 'chosen' by influential others, such as the school Principal, and/or recruited through chance opportunities when the post just happened to become vacant. Accompanying this is also an undercurrent of compulsion for some, as taking on the career adviser post appeared to be a requirement if they were to retain employment within their schools. It is important to note that whilst the Board of Trustees of each individual school ostensibly advertises for, and appoints, their career adviser(s), the Principal is often the key decision-maker in the process.

What is also apparent from the data is that the majority of the participants at the time of their appointment, and those recruiting them, had little understanding of career education as a subject or curriculum area and lacked any detailed knowledge of the career adviser role. In addition at the time of their first appointment only Louise held a career-related qualification. There is also a sense of patronage in the recruitment process, whereby an authority figure acts in a beneficent way, conferring an opportunity on a member of staff, regardless of their apparent qualifications, experience and/or suitability for the post. This is not to suggest that the participants in my study were not effective career advisers; the key question that remains is why so many had not actively considered this role previously.

The notion that career education is a 'common sense' curriculum area that can be facilitated by anyone and be learnt on the job is also a strong theme. As a consequence it would appear to be the person, rather than their suitability and qualifications, which influences their recruitment. Thus there appears to be little incentive for qualified teachers to take up professional career-related training opportunities as this is not a current requirement for the role. This appears to reflect the value attributed to the career adviser role with regards to its lack of specialized expertise or knowledge, its low academic status, (Harris, 1999), and limited progression opportunities.

Conclusion and implications

So why is this important, and what is to be done? A career is not simply something an individual possesses and performs, it also functions as a collective signifier for who, and what, are valued activities within society (Coupland, 2004). Thus, as Andrews and Barnes (2003) note: "If schools are to provide effective careers work it will be important that people with necessary skills and qualities are appointed to the role of careers co-ordinator" (p. 1).

Therefore, given the changing nature of the concept of career, the career adviser of the future is likely to require a broader knowledge of the social, economic and political world, and a deeper understanding of the complex way(s) in which career(s) might be multiply constructed, culturally informed (Malik & Aguado, 2005), critically interpreted (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006), and located within an educational context (Irving, 2010b).

To facilitate this change there is a need for the development of accredited career *education* qualifications at a range of levels (Andrews and Barnes, 2003) as current provision is focused on guidance and counselling. Such courses should be made available to teachers at both the initial training and post-certification stage (Andrews and Barnes, 2003). I would

also contend that *all* career advisers in the compulsory school sector should be required to hold (or be working towards) an appropriate career *education* qualification in order to practice. Such qualifications however should be embedded within a critical educational philosophy that examines and explores the concept of 'career', yet also include *some* aspects of guidance and counselling. By disentangling career education from advice, guidance and counselling would add greater clarity to this particular curriculum area, and may attract a broader pool of talent.

Putting career education on a professional footing would, I believe, enhance its academic credentials; establish its place within the subject hierarchy; raise awareness of the complexity and importance of the role for academic staff, Principals and Boards of Trustees; add to the effectiveness of advice, guidance and counselling; elevate the profile of the career adviser; and ultimately attract greater numbers of new and existing teachers into the career arena. Clearly the preparation of our children to become critical and active agents in the shaping of how careers are constructed and enacted in the future is too important to leave in the hands of, albeit often well intentioned, career advisers who are often recruited due to beneficent choice, chance encounters, or enforced opportunities.

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Fecha de recepción: 08-03-2011

Fecha de revisión: 03-07-2011

Fecha de aceptación: 05-07-2011