

CAREERS GUIDANCE: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE (1)

A. G. Watts

Abstract

The rationales for comparative studies of guidance systems are outlined. The key differences between guidance systems in different countries can be related to stage of economic development, to the political system, to social and cultural factors, to the education and training system, and to professional and organisational structures. The competing pressures towards convergence and divergence between guidance systems are explored.

Introduction

There are at least three rationales for studying guidance systems in other countries than one's own. The first is that it demonstrates the *cultural relativity* of one's own practices. By showing that things are done differently elsewhere, it causes one to question practices which otherwise tend to be taken for granted. The second is that it permits *policy borrowing*. While direct transplanting of practice from one country to another is problematic, new possibilities can be indicated which can be adapted to one's own situation. The third is that it facilitates *international co-operation*. Within an increasingly global economy, the growing mobility of students, trainees and workers between countries means that guidance services need to work more closely together: understanding the similarities and differences between guidance systems can help to facilitate such co-operation and make it more effective.

Studying guidance systems can be a revealing lens through which to seek to understand another country. It brings into focus the education and training system and the economic system, and the relationship between the two. It also illuminates the social and political structure, and cultural factors concerning the relationship between the individual, the family, and the wider society.

Despite all this, the comparative literature on guidance systems is remarkably limited. There are a number of "travel reports", based on studies conducted by brief visitors. Because these tend to be limited to single countries, however, they usually lack a strong comparative framework. The same is true of collections of country-studies like Drapela (1979). Some studies have attempted to develop a comparative framework from separate country-studies provided by other authors (e.g. Watts and Ferreira-Marques, 1979; Plant, 1990; Watts, 1992). In other cases, the methodology has included first-hand visits by the main author(s), so strengthening the comparative frame (e.g. Keller and Viteles, 1937; Reubens, 1977; Watts, Dartois and Plant, 1988; Watts *et al.*, 1994). Further reports and commentaries have

drawn more impressionistically from conferences, visits made over a period of time, and the like (e.g. Reuchlin, 1964; Super, 1974).

The paucity of comparative guidance studies contrasts with the now very extensive and theoretically sophisticated literature on comparative education (for a useful overview, see Halls, 1990). Comparative guidance studies can draw on this literature, of course, but they need a broader frame of reference.

The present paper attempts to develop a framework for looking at guidance systems in an international perspective. It draws from the existing studies, and particularly from various studies in which I have been personally involved over the last 25 years. It pays particular attention to the key differences between guidance systems in different countries, and the reasons for these differences. Many of the points made in the paper are effectively hypotheses based on selective illustrative evidence rather than conclusions based on exhaustive enquiry. It is hoped however that they will encourage more rigorous comparative studies in the future.

Impact of Stage of Economic Development

Formal guidance services are, in part at least, a product of economic development. In relatively primitive societies, based on a subsistence economy, there is little division of labour. As agrarian-based societies become more wealthy and sophisticated, with more trade, there is a greater diversity of roles, but allocation of such roles is determined largely by the family, caste or class into which one is born. It is with the growth of industrialisation that the division of labour eventually extends to a point where such traditional mechanisms of role allocation start to break down, and formal guidance services may be developed to supplement them.

It was accordingly at the end of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th century that the first vocational guidance services began to appear both in the USA and in Europe (Brewer, 1942; Keller and Viteles, 1937; Heginbotham, 1951). In Third World countries, formal guidance services are a much more recent development, and are still very limited in nature (Drapela, 1979).

Stage of economic development can influence not only the extent of guidance services but also their orientation. For countries still in the early stages of economic development, guidance services tend to be dominated by labour-utilisation considerations, channelling individuals into fields of education, training and work that are deemed necessary for the national economy. A common policy role for formal guidance in developing countries, for example, is to encourage young people to move into technical and vocational education rather than aspiring to higher education (Watts and Ferreira Marques, 1979; UNESCO, 1980). It is only in conditions of relative affluence that greater attention may begin to be

given to individual human development (Super, 1954; 1985).

More speculatively, it seems possible that as societies move into a postindustrial stage, with more emphasis on knowledge occupations (Drucker, 1969) and more flexible educational and occupational structures (Handy, 1989), the role of guidance may become more salient and more pervasive than it has been in the past. In industrial societies, labour has tended to be concentrated in large organisations, individuals have tended to stay in such organisations for long periods of time, and any career progression they may have experienced has tended to be managed by the organisation; much the same has been true of the system of education, which has preceded employment rather than being interwoven with it; guidance has tended to be concentrated at the interface between the two systems, supporting individuals in their passage between them. In post-industrial societies, all these generalisations are likely to be less valid. The case for lifelong access to guidance in support of continuous career development, in mediating the "psychological contract" between individuals and organisations (Argyris, 1960; Herriot, 1992) on an iterative basis, and in supporting the construction of self as a "reflexive project" (Giddens, 1991), accordingly becomes stronger and more pressing (Watts, 1994; 1996a; Collin and Watts, 1996).

Impact of Political Systems

If the development of formal guidance services is linked to industrialisation, it also seems to be linked to democratisation. Unless there is some degree of free choice for citizens, guidance services have no role to play. In Maoist China at the time of the Cultural Revolution, for example, all guidance services were disbanded (Weiyuan, 1994). All school-leavers were sent to the countryside, without any choice, to spend a period working in agriculture. Those who went to university were assigned to courses with no consideration for what they were interested in - "that would be individualism, a capitalist vice" (Chang, 1993 ed., p.605). Neighbourhood councils decided what training and occupations a member of the community should embark upon. To quit one's job was to incur severe social disapproval (Brammer, 1985). Individuals, in short, had little or no say in the direction of their working lives.

This is an extreme example, but countries with planned economies and totalitarian political systems, whether right-wing or left-wing, tend to have no space for guidance or to view it as a conservative, social-control process, using directive methods to meet labour-utilisation needs. In the USSR under Communist rule, for instance, there was an obligation on all citizens to work, and on the authorities to find work for them. Jobs were commonly assigned by placement commissions. Advancement was dependent significantly on membership of the Communist Party, and "careerism" in terms of personal quest for career

success was disparaged (Skorikov and Vondracek, 1993). The concept of vocational guidance was blurred with vocational selection (Nowikowa, 1991; Zajda, 1979); the task of vocational guidance was to adjust the individual's subjective view of reality to make it consistent with the objective needs of society (Machula, 1989). Teachers in schools were made responsible for vocational guidance, but their programmes tended to be no more than general orientation on current manpower needs along with appeals to fill the labour quotas (Drapela, 1979).

In Germany in the 1930s, the guidance system was strongly influenced by the overtly racist (and ultimately genocidal) policy of the National Socialist regime. The concern was not just for *social* but for *biological* selection. Even before the concentration camps, Jews and other non-Aryans were forced into the least desirable jobs. Keller and Viteles (1937) reported - in terms that in retrospect seem chillingly portentous - that in testing programmes, great stress was laid upon heredity: "Entire family trees are reconstructed. The characteristics of all the relatives are given, and on the basis of the general pattern the boy is advised as to the kind of work in which he is mostly likely to succeed" (p.135). They also recorded that counsellors were selected with great care and "must have the quality of leadership, as expressed in the tenets of the National Socialist Party" (p.137).

In South Africa under apartheid, a sophisticated guidance system for the white community - strongly influenced by Christian Nationalist ideology - coexisted with a limited or non-existent service for the black community. Severe restrictions were placed on the choice of work for blacks within the white areas - which was where most employment opportunities were located. Migrant workers were classified by labour bureau officers into particular categories of employment, in which they were likely to have to stay for the rest of their working lives. In 1975 there were 30 trained counsellors to provide all psychological services for nearly 3.75 million black school-children. Much of their time was spent administering tests, the results of which were used largely for statistical and research rather than guidance purposes. A section on "vocational guidance" was included in the social studies curriculum: it included a heavy emphasis on "cultivating realistic attitudes, ideals and expectations" and on "the importance of manual labour" (Watts, 1980; Dovey, 1980; Dovey and Mason, 1984). The emphasis was thus on bringing students to accept politically-constructed reality: any attempt to encourage a critical approach to this reality was taboo (much the same has been true of counselling in Arab schools in Israel - see Mar'i, 1982).

All of these are clear examples of the constraints placed on guidance services by totalitarian regimes. South Africa under apartheid was however different from the earlier examples because it aspired to liberal-democratic principles even though it confined the application of these principles to the white community. This led it to permit the establishment of a small number of community agencies, funded mainly by

overseas governments and foundations and by large international companies, which developed careers guidance services for black people. These were part of a wide range of non-governmental organisations in a variety of fields, which played an important role both in developing services and in contesting apartheid (Harding, 1994). The careers centres were concerned to make information on opportunities and on the obstacles to opportunities available, partly to help black people to make career decisions but partly also to encourage them to agitate for political change (Walters, 1989). They therefore provided an example of community-based guidance agencies pursuing a radical social-change agenda in reaction to an official guidance system operating a conservative social-control strategy (see Watts, 1996b). With the end of apartheid and the advent of a new black-dominated government in South Africa, the experience of the community-based careers centres may be crucial in developing an official guidance system capable of addressing the needs of the black communities. The South African case thus provides an example both of contrasting socio-political models within the same country, and of how such models become recontoured when the political system changes.

In general, Countries with market economies and democratic political regimes are inclined to attach more importance to guidance. They are also more likely to view it in liberal-progressive terms, seeing it as an non-directive process or as a process designed to maximise individual achievement (Watts, 1996b). In these terms, guidance can be seen both as a way of making the labour market work more effectively and as a means of affirming the value attached in democratic societies to the rights of individuals to make free choices about their own lives.

In practice, tensions between societal needs and individual needs mean that even within liberal-democratic societies, guidance sometimes comes under pressure to revert to a conservative social-control model. Some countries, however, may attain a sufficient level of democratic sophistication to view these tensions in a different way, and to recognise the validity of guidance as a more radical process of ongoing social change. The most notable case is Sweden, where an official policy statement on guidance issued in 1971 included radical as well as liberal-progressive aims. It suggested, for example, that guidance should develop a critical awareness of sources of information and influences on choice:

"Among other things, a critical attitude implies the querying by pupils of the facts selected in the information they are given and the theoretical foundations of that information. For instance, it is important for them to be made aware of the unreliability of forecasts and tests and critical of categorical statements concerning labour market developments."

It placed individual decision-making within a pluralistic social context in which issues of conflict and inequality were not to be avoided:

"Pupils should ask questions and obtain facts concerning social relations and work-places, the values of different groups, problems such as the goal of activities, pay differentials, occupational status, relations between superiors and subordinates, sex roles etc., and then discuss these matters and relate them to their own problems of vocational decision."

It did not regard obstacles to freedom of choice as given, but instead specifically charged the counsellors to work against them wherever possible:

"SYO [educational and vocational guidance] should counteract restrictions of vocational choice due, e.g., to social background, sex, lack of motivation for the analysis of one's own situation etc., even if this involves questioning decisions taken by the pupil and even if, by increasing the number of alternatives apparent to the pupil, it has the effect of making it more difficult for him (sic) to choose."

It recognised that individual choices could themselves act as agents of change in society, and positively supported such effects:

"One of the tasks of SYO is to supply the individual with true and detailed information, and this may also result conceivably in an increased labour shortage in certain sectors coupled with a labour surplus in others, e.g., due to greater light being shed on the differences between different occupations in terms of remuneration and prospects of job satisfaction. This in turn may lead to long-term changes in the labour market."

Finally, it recognised that some of the social changes necessary to meet the career interests of individuals could not be achieved through individuals working alone, and asserted the links between guidance and the development of political consciousness:

"SYO should among other things be related to instruction and debate concerning trade union and political organisations, and the ability of the individual to influence developments."

In all of these respects, it recognised officially the positive role that guidance could play in promoting constructive social change on an continuous basis.

The reality of guidance practice, however, tended to be more prosaic and limited than these radical aims would suggest (Watts, 1981 a).

A recent further example of the impact of political systems is the attempt in some countries influenced by the "New Right" to explore the application of market principles to the organisation of guidance delivery. This has included encouraging the growth of guidance services within the private sector, and moving public guidance services into quasi-market situations where they have been exposed to the forces of competition. Such developments have been particularly evident in the United Kingdom (Watts, 1995), but they have also been

visible in Australia (Pryor, 1991), in New Zealand (Hesketh and Kennedy, 1991) and to a lesser extent in some other European countries, notably the Netherlands (Watts *et al.*, 1994).

Impact of Social and Cultural Factors

In addition to economic and political factors, the significance attached to guidance and its nature are also strongly influenced by social and cultural factors. In social-structural terms, for example, countries with strong social stratification are likely to have relatively limited needs for formal guidance services: individuals tend to make choices within socially circumscribed limits, and are able to get much of the help they need from their family and from informal networks. In societies with relatively high levels of social mobility, on the other hand, formal guidance assumes greater importance: individuals have a wider field of choice available to them, and their family and informal networks are less likely to provide informed help in relation to the full range of opportunities; accordingly, there is likely to be more recourse to formal guidance services to provide the help that is required.

In countries with traditionally strong class systems, the contestation of such systems seems to lead to more attention being paid to sociological dimensions in guidance (see Watts, 1996b). This is certainly the case in Britain and Scandinavia, where sociologists have made influential contributions to the theoretical guidance literature. In the USA, on the other hand, the guidance field has been almost entirely dominated by psychologists. This seems linked to cultural and historical factors. Even though social mobility rates in the USA are not substantially different from those recorded in other economically advanced societies (Blau and Duncan, 1967), the USA has from the beginning of its independent existence been committed to the proposition that "all men *{sic}* are created equal" and that any American, however humble their origins, can become President. Moreover, the existence of a frontier moving gradually westwards long sustained the possibility of escaping economic and social oppression and becoming wealthy and self-respecting through effort and native wit alone (Turner, 1921). The psychological dominance of guidance thus seems closely linked to the individualism on which American culture is based (Watts, 1981 b). Counsellors in the USA appear to have more difficulty than those in Britain in recognising the relevance of socio-political issues to their work.

Individualism is not, however, confined to the USA. In most western industrialised countries, it is an important element of national culture (Hofstede, 1984). In many eastern and Third World cultures, on the other hand, the role of the individual is subordinated to the collectivity, whether to the nuclear family, the extended family, or the tribe. This is linked to Tönnies' (1957 ed.) classic distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (a community based on

strong common ties in which the individual is not sharply differentiated) and *Gesellschaft* (a society based on individuals forming associations for different purposes). Where *Gemeinschaft* survives, guidance in its individualist form is unlikely to find a place. Esen (1972), for example, pointed out that in Nigeria the central concept of guidance - that of the self-determining individual - was inappropriate, since individual identity was considered subordinate to group - and especially tribal - identity:

"Since the group embodies reality and is the framework within which the people can hope for a degree of self-actualization that would be difficult to attain otherwise, the views of the group's accredited spokesmen tend to become the conscience of the people. Authority, rather than reason or free choice, becomes the guiding principle of the individual's life" (p.795).

Again, Moracco (1979) noted that in Arab families, individuals were subordinated to the group and in decision-making were influenced strongly by the values and needs of the family. If these conflicted with their own, individuals were expected to conform to family values, expressed in most cases by the father. Similar points have been made in relation to Latin America (Espin, 1979) and to Chinese communities (Scaff and Ting, 1972; Saner-Yui and Saner-Yui, 1985).

In some cases, the concept of individual choice may be further limited by religious fatalism. Amongst the Yoruba in Nigeria, for example, it is believed that all individuals have a predestined occupation as part of their *on* - a detailed "blueprint" of the life they will lead and the role they will play within the tribe. To discover this blueprint, it is necessary at each decision point to consult the *batalawo*, an Ifa priest (Ipaye, 1989).

All of these traditions can influence what happens when, as part of the process of industrialisation, formal guidance services grow up in eastern or Third World countries. Thus in countries with a strong emphasis on respect for authority, such guidance is likely to be directive in nature. In Latin America, for instance, students tend to expect the counsellors to tell them exactly what to do, and may judge the counsellor to be incompetent if this does *not* happen. Extensive emphasis on psychometric testing fits well into this tradition (Espin, 1979). The extent to which guidance services are inevitably in conflict with traditional structures, or could and should seek to accommodate themselves to such structures, is an important issue to which we shall return later.

Impact of education, training and employment systems

Within these broad economic, political and social structures, and cultural mores, the organisational structure of education, training and employment systems also have an impact on careers guidance provision. Turner (1960) distinguished between educational systems based on "contest mobility", with weak and late tracking, and those based on "sponsored

mobility", with strong and early tracking. The former are likely to attach much more importance to guidance than the latter. Thus schools in America, Turner's exemplar of a contest-mobility model, historically developed much more sophisticated guidance and counselling systems than did schools in England, his exemplar of a sponsored-mobility model. It was the introduction of comprehensive schools in Britain, with their greater flexibility and less rigid tracking, which gave rise to a significant increase in the importance of guidance systems (Daws, 1968).

The curriculum theory adopted by a particular educational system is also likely to influence the place of formal guidance within it. Nicholas (1983) distinguished three models: European classicism, in which objective knowledge is pursued for its own sake, and the search for wisdom, truth and beauty is regarded as the highest form of human activity, which should not be sullied or tainted by the practical world; Marxist-Leninism, in which the political purpose of schooling is to act as an agent in the production of the new Communist society, inculcating the skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviour which will be needed; and liberal-pragmatism, in which schools are seen as servicing the needs of the individual, in his or her pursuit of freedom and social mobility. Formal guidance would seem likely to have very little place in relation to European classicism, a limited and highly directive place in relation to the Marxist-Leninist model (as already noted), and a much more central though less directive role in relation to liberal-pragmatism. This helps to explain why careers education has been able to establish a place within the curriculum more readily in some countries (e.g. the USA, Denmark, Netherlands, and *realschulen* in Germany) than in others (e.g. France, and *gymnasien* in Germany).

The nature of the vocational education and training system is relevant too. Systems which are largely based on apprenticeship within the workplace are likely to base their main guidance services within labour-market institutions, whereas those which are largely education-based tend to base them within education. Thus in Germany, with its strong apprenticeship system, vocational guidance is a formal monopoly of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, a labour-market organisation. In France with its structure of vocational education, on the other hand, the main guidance services are part of the education system (Watts *et al.*, 1994).

The issue of whether formal guidance services are located in educational or labour-market institutions is important, because it tends to influence their orientation. Services based within education tend to focus on educational-choice processes, to be somewhat detached from the world of work, and to emphasise personal-development aspects of guidance. Services based within labour-market institutions, by contrast, tend to focus on occupational choice and job placement, and to emphasise labour-market realities. The choice of location may not only influence such considerations but also be influenced by them: countries with strong

labour-utilisation rather than individual-development concerns are more likely to base guidance services within employment services and other labour-market institutions rather than within education. Many countries, of course, have guidance services in both sectors, and/or in "agency" structures located between them.

The nature of the employment system also has an effect on the structure and nature of guidance services. In Japan, for example, the "lifetime employment system" means that men in particular tend to make their primary commitment to an organisation rather than to an occupation, and to stay in the same organisation throughout their career (Watts, 1985). Indeed, their corporate membership tends to occupy a major part of their self-identity (Ishiyama and Kitayama, 1994). The result is that guidance and placement services for facilitating movement *between* organisations are not well developed, whereas there has been a growth of services designed to facilitate career development *within* organisations. In addition, in guidance services for young people there is a much heavier emphasis than in most other countries on choice of organisation. Much of the careers information made available in guidance services for young people entering the labour market is accordingly classified by organisation rather than by occupation (Watts, 1985).

Impact of Professional and Organisational Structures

A final set of international differences in guidance provision is related to the professional and organisational structures within which guidance is located. The professional identity and training of those occupying formal guidance roles varies considerably. In many cases their primary professional identity is as psychologists, as teachers, or as labour-market administrators. In such cases, their guidance training is regarded as being incorporated into, or supplementary to, the training for their primary professional role. This explains why their guidance training is sometimes limited in scale and even optional in nature. It is only in a residual number of cases that the primary professional identity of guidance professionals is as counsellors or guidance workers, with their own specialist training (Watts, Dartois and Plant, 1988; Watts, 1992).

To some extent, of course, professional identity is linked to sectoral location: services based in educational institutions will tend to be staffed by teachers; services in labour-market organisations by labour-market administrators; services in separate agencies by psychologists or specialist counsellors. This is not, however, invariably the case. In Sweden, for example, the SYO counsellors are based in schools but are not trained as teachers (Watts, 1981 a). Again, psychologists are to be found in schools and in labour-market organisations as well as in separate agencies. Reuchlin (1964) points out that the delivery of services by psychologists tends to be related to an emphasis on psychometric testing.

The definition of the focus of the counsellor's role also varies between countries. A common conceptual distinction is between *educational* guidance (e.g. on educational options, or on learning problems), *vocational* guidance (e.g. on choice of occupations and work roles), and *personal* and *social* guidance (e.g. on behaviour problems, or emotional issues). In some cases - Germany, for example - there is clear-cut distinction between these forms of guidance, which are allocated to wholly separate agencies. In other cases, all three forms of guidance are brought together: in Belgium, through different roles based in one agency (the Psycho-Medico-Social Centre); in schools in such countries as Ireland, through a single role (the school counsellor or guidance counsellor) (Watts *et al.*, 1994).

The combined effect of professional identity, sectoral location and role focus leads to very varied models of provision across countries in relation to schools in particular. Broadly, there are three main ways in which careers guidance provision is organised within schools (Watts, 1988a).

Firstly, it can be based on specialists outside the school. These specialists may be based in education authorities (e.g. France) or in labour-market authorities (e.g. Germany). They may cover all three forms of guidance (e.g. Belgium) or they may focus mainly on educational or vocational guidance (e.g. France and Germany respectively). They commonly go into schools to offer interviews, give talks, etc., but they do so from an external base.

Secondly, careers guidance can be provided by specialists inside the school. In some cases these are non-teachers (e.g. Sweden). In others, they are initially trained as teachers but have had substantial in-service training in counselling and now spend most of their time on guidance and counselling activities: in effect, their guidance role has taken on the attributes of a sub-profession within the teaching profession. In such cases, their roles usually cover educational and personal/social as well as vocational guidance: this is true of school counsellors in such countries as Canada, Ireland, the Philippines and the USA. Where the role is confined to educational and vocational guidance, the level of specialist training in guidance and of time allocated to guidance roles tends to be much more limited: this is the case, for example, with careers teachers in Greece and the Netherlands.

Finally, careers guidance can be more fully integrated into the school, by encouraging most or all teachers to be involved in it. This may be attempted by seeking to integrate it into academic-subject teaching, which has been tried in such countries as Germany (Busshoff, quoted in Watts and Ferreira-Marques, 1979) and the USA (Watts and Herr, 1976), though it has proved difficult to implement successfully. Alternatively, careers guidance can be integrated into the "pastoral" structure of the school: this is the case, for instance, in Japan, where it is regarded as part of the responsibility of the "home-room" teacher (Watts, 1985); in Venezuela, where all teachers are expected to take on the role of

guidance counsellor in addition to that of specialist teacher of a specific subject (Kim, 1987); and in Singapore, where careers education is being delivered through a curriculum in pastoral care implemented by form tutors (Watts, 1988b).

These organisational models are not mutually exclusive, and many countries have elements of more than one model. In England and Wales, for example, there are elements of all three: careers education and guidance is offered by careers officers based outside the school, by careers teachers based inside the school, and by tutors who form the basis of the school's pastoral-care structure.

The same kinds of distinctions can be drawn in relation to guidance services available to young people and adults after leaving school. These services are in many countries less well-developed than services for young people in schools. But a study of guidance systems within the European Community found significant between-country differences in guidance services in tertiary education, in guidance services for young people based outside full-time education (in apprenticeship structures, in transition programmes, and in youth and community services), and in guidance services for adults (within public employment services, in adult education, in the voluntary and private sectors, and in the workplace) (Watts *et al.*, 1994).

Convergence or Divergence?

Much of this paper has focused on variations between formal guidance systems in different countries. Some of these variations have been essentially organisational in nature; others have been more conceptual and ideological. They have been linked to economic, political, socio-cultural, educational and professional factors. Across societies, these factors are interwoven in complex ways: the implications of these textures needs more detailed exploration than has been possible here.

The focus on variations requires, however, to be balanced by a recognition that there are some tendencies to professional convergence which may transcend such differences. Thus a four-stage model of the development of conceptions of careers guidance in schools - from a focus on information, through a focus on interviewing and then the addition of careers education to the curriculum, to the integration of careers education across the curriculum - originally developed in relation to the UK (Law and Watts, 1977) appears to have a wider validity as a way of explaining such development in other countries too (Watts, 1988a).

Again, it seems that across the guidance systems within the European Community, three common trends can be identified. The first is towards guidance as a continuous process, which should start in schools and be accessible throughout adult and working life. The second is towards a more open professional model, in which the concept of an expert guidance specialist working with individual clients in a psychological vacuum is replaced

or supplemented by a more diffuse approach in which a more varied range of interventions is used and more attention is given to working with and through networks of other individuals and agencies. The third is a greater emphasis on the individual as an active agent, rather than a passive recipient, within the guidance process (Watts *et al.*, 1994). These trends are evident in advanced industrialised countries in other parts of the world too.

Such convergence is supported by international links as mediated through such organisations as the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) and the International Round Table for the Advancement of Counselling (IRTAC). It is also fostered by aid programmes and international use of consultants. Many countries with less developed guidance systems have looked to countries with more developed systems for models and support. International borrowing of this kind can lead to difficulties. In countries like Ghana and Malaysia, for example, individualistic client-centred models of guidance were imported from the USA and Britain which seemed inappropriate to the culture and meant that insufficient attention was paid to basic priorities like the provision of occupational information (Bolger, 1978; Watts, 1978; see also Kim, 1987).

Underlying the issue of convergence or divergence is the extent to which guidance is a technique or a philosophy. Morris (1955) suggests "that guidance is purely a technique, that it is only a means, and that the ends which it serves will be determined both by the cultural tradition within which it operates and by the detailed way in which it interprets that tradition in its modes of operation" (p.124). Patterson (1978), on the other hand, takes the view that counselling "is neither time-bound nor culture-bound; it transcends time and culture, since it is based upon the universal unity of human nature" (p.231). According to Patterson, counselling is concerned essentially with self-actualisation, which "is an ultimate, universal value, not one that is man-made or culture-bound". He is careful to note that self-actualisation is not necessarily identified with western culture and with its "extreme individualism, selfish aggrandizement, and competitive dog-eat-dog ethics, with the devil taking the hindmost". But he argues that the values and forms of every culture "must be judged or evaluated in terms of their contribution to the self-actualization of the individual" (pp.237-238). In this sense, the goals of counselling are universal not culture-specific. These arguments are developed in relation to counselling in general, but could equally be applied to careers education and guidance in particular.

The arguments and evidence presented in this paper offer some support for both these views. Guidance is able to take many different forms. Certainly its organisational features vary considerably, as do its techniques and approaches. But at the heart of the concept of guidance is a set of values which call into question whether guidance services in, for example, Nazi Germany represented guidance in a "true" or "complete" sense.

Formal guidance services, as we have seen, are linked to industrialisation, to democratisation,

to social mobility, and to cultural individualism. In societies where these processes are less evident, the values which are central to guidance philosophy - of respect for the individual, and of concern for individual growth and development - may still be present, if within a very different cultural context. As the pace of change encourages the growth of guidance services in such countries, it is important that such services respect and work with elements of the culture which are congruent with their own.

Notes

1. This paper has been adapted from a chapter on "International Perspectives" in Watts, A.G., Law, B., Killeen, J., Kidd, J.M., and Hawthorn, R. (1996). *Rethinking Careers Education and Guidance: Theory, Policy and Practice*. London: Routledge.

References

1. ARGYRIS, C.: *Understanding Organizational Behavior*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey. (1960).
2. BLAU, P.M., y DUNCAN, O.D.: *The American Occupational Structure*. Nueva York: Wiley. (1967).
3. BOLGER, A.W.: Guidance and Counseling in a Developing Country. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 1 (3), 225-229. (1978).
4. BRAMMER, L.M.: Counselling Services in the People's Republic of China. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 8(2), 125-136. (1985).
5. BREWER, J.M.: *History of Vocational Guidance*. Nueva York: Harper. (1942).
6. CHANG, J.: (1993 de.) *Wild Swans* (first published 1991). Londres: Flamingo.
7. COLLIN, A., y WATTS, A.G.: The Death and Transfiguration of Career - and of Career Guidance? *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 24 (3), 385-398. (1996).
8. DAWS, P.P.: *A Good Start in Life*. Cambridge: Careers Research and Advisory Centre. (1968).
9. DOVEY, K.A.: Politics and Guidance: an Overview of the South African Schools Guidance Service. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 8 (1), 1-10. (1980).
10. DOVEY, K. y MASON, M.: Guidance for Submission: Social Control and Guidance in Schools for Black Pupils in South Africa. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 12 (1), 15-24. (1984).
11. DRAPELA, V. (de.) (1979). *Guidance and Counseling around the World*, Washington, DC: University Press of America.
12. DRUCKER, R.: *The Age of Discontinuity*. Londres: Heinemann. (1969).
13. ESEN, A.: A View of Guidance from Africa. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 50(10), 792-798. (1972).
14. ESPIN, O.M.: A Changing Continent. In Drapela, V. (de.): *Guidance and Counseling around the World*. Washington, DC: University Press of America. (1979).
15. GIDDENS, A.: *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. (1991).
16. HALLS, W.D. (de.) (1990). *Comparative Education: Contemporary Issues and Trends*. Londres: Jessica Kingsley/UNESCO.
17. HANDY, C.: *The Age of Unreason*. Londres: Business Books. (1989).

18. HARDING, D.: *From Global to Local: Issues and Challenges Facing NGOs*. Durban: Olive. (1994).
19. HEGINBOTHAM, H.: *The Youth Employment Service*. Londres: Methuen. (1951).
20. HERRIOT, R.: *The Career Management Challenge*. Londres: Sage. (1992).
21. HESKETH, B. y KENNEDY, L.: Changes and Responsibilities: Policy Challenges Confronting Careers Guidance in Nueva Zealand. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 19(3), 246-257. (1991).
22. HOFSTEDE, G.: *Culture's Consequences*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. (1984).
23. IPAYE, B.: Vocational Guidance in Nigeria. *Prospects*, 69, 65-73. (1989).
24. ISHIYAMA, F.I. y KITAYAMA, A.: Overwork and Career-Centered Self-Validation among the Japanese: Psychological Issues and Counselling Implications. *International journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 17(3), 167-182. (1994).
25. KELLER, F.J., y VITELES, M.S.: *Vocational Guidance throughout the World*. Londres: Cape. (1937).
26. KIM, Y.M.: Student Guidance in Secondary Education in Latin America. *Prospects*, 17(1), 107-114. (1987).
27. LAW, B. y WATTS, A.G.: *Schools, Careers and Community*. Londres: Church Information Office. (1977).
28. MACHULA, C.S.: 'The Soviet School Reforms of 1984: Making Career Development a Matter of State Control. *Career Development Quarterly*, 38(1), 39-56. (1989).
29. MAR'I, S.K.: Cultural and Socio-Political Influences on Counseling and Career Guidance: the Case of Arabs in the Jewish State. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 5(4), 247-263. (1982).
30. MORACCO, J.: Arab Countries. En Drapela, V. (ed.): *Guidance and Counseling around the World*. Washington, DC: University Press of America. (1979).
31. MORRIS, B.: Guidance as a Concept in Educational Philosophy. En *The Year Book of Education 1955*. Londres: Evans. (1955).
32. NICHOLAS, E.J.: *Issues in Education: a Comparative Analysis*. Londres: Harper & Row. (1983).
33. NOWIKOWA, T.: Problems of Vocational Orientation in the USSR. *Educational Vocational Guidance*, 52, 8-15. (1991).
34. PATTERSON, C.H.: Cross-Cultural or Intercultural Counseling or Psychotherapy. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 1(3), 231-247. (1978).
35. PLANT, P.: *Transnational Vocational Guidance and Training for Young People and Adults*. Berlín: CEDEFOP. (1990).
36. PRYOR, R.G.L.: When the Luck Runs Out: Policy Challenges Confronting Careers Guidance in Australia. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 19(3), 283-297. (1991).
37. REUBENS, B.: *Bridges to Work: International Comparisons of Transition Services*. Aontclair, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun. (1977).
38. REUCHLIN, M.: *Pupil Guidance: Facts and Problems*. Estrasburgo: Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe. (1964).

39. SANER-YUI, R., y SANER-YUI, L.: Value Dimensions in American Counseling Theory: a Taiwanese-American Comparison. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 8(2), 137-146. (1985).
40. SCAFF, M.K. y TING, M.G.: Fu Tao: Guidance in Taiwan Seeks a Value Orientation. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 50(8), 645-653. (1972).
41. SKORIKOV, V. y VONDRACEK, F.W.: Career Development in the Commonwealth of Independent States. *Career Development Quarterly*, 41(4), 314-329. (1993).
42. SUPER, D.E.: Guidance: Manpower Utilization or Human Development? *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 33, 8-14. (1954).
43. SUPER, D.E.: The Broader Context Career Development and Vocational Guidance: American Trends in World Perspective. En Herr, E.L. (ed.): *Vocational Guidance and Human Development*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. (1974).
44. SUPER, D.E.: Guidance and Mobility in the Educational Systems of Developing and Developed Countries. *Educational and Vocational Bulletin*, 44, 24-28. (1985).
45. TONNIES, F. (1957 de.). *Community and Society* (traducido por C. P. Loomis) First published 1887). Nueva York: Harper & Row.
46. TURNER, F.J.: *The Frontier in American History*. Nueva York: Holt. (1921).
47. TURNER, R.H.: Modes of Social Ascent through Education: Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System. *American Sociological Review*, 25(5), 855-867. 1960).
48. UNESCO (1980). *Sub-Regional Seminar on the Promotion of Educational and Vocational Guidance in the Arab States: Final Report*. Beirut: UNESCO (mimeo).
49. WALTERS, S.: *Education for Democratic Participation*. Ciudad del Cabo: Centre of Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape. (1989).
50. WATTS, A.G.: Careers Guidance in a Developing Country: Malaysia. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 1(2), 97-105. (1978).
51. WATTS, A.G.: Careers Guidance under Apartheid. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 3(1); 3-27. (1980).
52. WATTS, A.G.: Careers Guidance in Sweden: a British Perspective. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 4(3), 187-207. (1981 a).
53. WATTS, A.G.: Introduction. En Watts, A.G., Super; D.E., y Kidd, J.M. (eds.): *Career Development in Britain*. Cambridge: CRAC/Hobsons. (1981 b).
54. WATTS, A.G.: The Japanese «Lifetime Employment System» and its Implications for Careers Guidance. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 8(2), 91-114. (1985).
55. WATTS, A.G.: The Changing Place of Careers Guidance in Schools. *Prospects*, 18(4), 473-482. (1988a).
56. WATTS, A.G.: Changing Conceptions of Careers Guidance and the Proposed Model for Singapore Schools. *Singapore Journal of Education*, 9(1), 28-36. (1988b).
57. WATTS, A.G.: *Occupational Profiles of Vocational Counsellors in the European Community*. Berlín: CEDEFOP. (1992).
58. WATTS, A.G.: *Lifelong Career Development: Towards a National Strategy for Careers Education*

- and Guidance*. CRAC Occasional Paper. Cambridge: CRAC/ Hobsons. (1994).
59. WATTS, A.G.: Applying Market Principles to the Delivery of Careers Guidance Services: a Critical Review. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 23(1),6981. (1995).
60. WATTS, A.G.: Towards a Policy for Lifelong Career Development: a Trans-Atlantic Perspective. *Career Development Quarterly*, 45(1), 41-53. (1996a).
61. WATTS, A.G.: Socio-Political Ideologies in Guidance. En Watts A.G., Law B., Killeen, J., Kidd, J.M. y Hawthorn, R: *Rethinking Careers Education and Guidance: Theory, Policy and Practice*. Londres: Routledge. (1996b).
62. WATTS, A.G. y Ferreira-Marques, J.H. (1979). *Guidance and the School Curriculum*. París: UNESCO (mimeo).
63. WATTS, A. G., y Herr, E.L.: Career(s) Education in Britain and the USA: Contrasts and Common Problems. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 4(2), 129142. (1976).
64. WATTS, A.G., Dartois, C., y Plant, P.: *Educational and Vocational Guidance Services for the 14-25 Age Group in the European Community*. Maastricht: Presses Interuniversitaires Européenes. (1988).
65. WATTS, A.G., GUICHARD, J., PLANT, P. y RODRIGUEZ, M.L.: *Educational and Vocational Guidance in the European Community*. Luxemburgo: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. (1994).
66. WEIYUAN, Z.: The History and Current State of Careers Guidance in China. *Educational and Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, 55, 1-7. (1984).
67. ZAJDA, J.: Education for Labour in the USSR. *Comparative Education*, 15(3), 287- 299. (1979).