This material sets out recent thinking on career development to inform the future of Connexions and education for citizenship. It contains abstracts of significant publications; summaries of background thinking; references to sources of information and ideas; ways to link thinking to practice; and summary charts. Each of 10 sections is in 2 parts. The first part describes the thinking; the second part is a summary of key ideas in handout form. Section 1 discusses theory. The handout demonstrates the link between theory and practice and lists practice in five theory-related clusters. Section 2 introduces the theories and explains the clusters. Section 3 is on learning for today's world. The handout describes change at these three levels: worldwide causes, changing patterns of employment, and personal and social effects. Examples of the learning objectives the changes imply are set out. Section 4 and its handout sets out key terms for understanding career. Section 5 describes the career-learning theory and its four stages: sensing (Se), sifting (Si), focusing (F), and understanding (U), or SeSiFU. Section 6 discusses the theories in relation to each other, providing a framework for a general theory of careers work. Section 7 correlates SeSiFU with DOTS (Opportunity, Self, Decision, and Transition). Section 8 and 9 present a progression with an explanation of its significance to career learning and then the progression in terms of its learning process. Section 10 provides three sets of ideas concerning career, each answering a question about why it is worth investing energy in work. A conclusion highlights the theoretical pointers that best help enable useful learning for participation in working life and for active citizenship. (YLB)
New Thinking for Connexions and Citizenship

Bill Law

National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling
New Thinking for Connexions and Citizenship

Published 2001 by
The Centre for Guidance Studies for
The Career-Learning Network
Cambridge

The Career-Learning Network aims to make a substantial and distinctive contribution to the careers-work field. Thinking needs to be continuously up-dated and supplemented to bring it into line with changing conditions. The Network offers a flexible and responsive way of developing useful ideas for action and of supporting their use.

The Career-Learning Network
The Old Bakehouse
Brook Street
Eltsworthy
Cambridge UK CB3 8HX

Fax: +44(0)1954 267619
Phone: 07855 293855
e-mail: billaw@macline.co.uk

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The Centre for Guidance Studies was created in 1998 by the University of Derby and five careers service companies (the Careers Consortium (East Midlands) Ltd.). The centre aims to bridge the gap between guidance theory and practice. It supports and connects guidance practitioners, policy-makers and researchers through research activities and learning opportunities; and by providing access to resources related to guidance and lifelong learning.

CeGS aims to:

• conduct and encourage research into guidance policies and practice;

• develop innovative strategies for guidance in support of lifelong learning;

• provide resources to support guidance practice across all education, community and employment sectors.

Further copies of this paper can be obtained by contacting:

CeGS, University of Derby, Kedleston Road, Derby DE22 1GB
E-mail: dmhughes@derby.ac.uk
Centre Director: Deirdre Hughes


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INTRODUCTION: USING THIS MATERIAL

What it contains
This material sets out recent thinking on career development in terms which can inform the future of both Connexions and education for citizenship. It is a technical guide to this thinking containing:

- abstracts of significant publications;
- summaries of useful “deep background” thinking;
- references to where information and ideas can be found;
- ways of linking thinking to practice;
- summary charts in the form of OHP displays.

It is intended for thoughtful practitioners in careers work - including action researchers, trainees, careers-work programme managers, trainers and consultants.

All of the material is strong on content: ideas, the relationships between them and links to practice. Each of the ten sections is in two parts: the first describes the thinking; the second, on the following page, is a summary of the key ideas in “handout” form. These handout pages are copy-waived for your purposes.

Why is it important?
Careers work is undergoing a massive change in policy and orientation - both in careers companies and in schools-and-colleges. The Connexions Service and education for citizenship are part of this climate of change. But it is far from clear how this work should be done. It is critical, then, that we draw on useful, relevant and forward-thinking ideas for action. Policy can provide a framework; but delivery is down to professional knowledge and skill. That is what theory is for. Where any particular theory does not help you in this way, you should look elsewhere. This material will help you to do that.

Using it in action research
In carrying out research or evaluation you could use this material to consider...

- design - focusing the enquiry to probe what are identified here as significant issues for the work;
- methodology - ensuring that it is capable of finding answers to the questions it poses;
- empirical method - designing it with observation, questioning and recording techniques which can find appropriate material;
- sampling - thinking about who and what can provide useful experience, insights and evidence;
- reporting - seeking out published ideas which will usefully frame the way in which the findings are set down;
- use - deciding how to present the findings to different audiences and users.

Using it in staff development
In in-service training, consultancy and open learning, participants can - in groups or individually - use the handouts to highlight and reflect upon ideas which suggest...

- what is important to their clients and students;
- what they are already doing - but could do better;
- what they are not doing - but should consider;
- what is a priority for development.

In groups, it is fruitful to support participants in comparing, and closely examining, their responses to these issues.
SECTION 1: THEORY AND YOUR WORK

Key concepts
The facing page demonstrates the link between theory and practice. It lists practice in five theory-related clusters. The clusters are explained in section 2 - where the theories are also introduced. In conversational terms, the clusters reflect career management as:

A. fitting pegs to holes;
B. allowing myself to be me;
C. negotiating an obstacle course;
D. being with other people;
E. living and learning.

The search for better explanations
Much of the Anglo-American history of careers work can be told in these terms (see the appendix).

A. In the 1900s in the US, Frank Parsons sees career as "finding a fit", and that idea is strong in British thinking until the 1950s.
B. Self-concept theory emerges in the US in the 1950s, here in the 1960s.
C. The idea that the opportunity structure shapes career development is acknowledged here in the mid-1970s.
D. Ways of understanding career in inter-personal relationship emerges in Britain during the late-1970s, some years later in the US.
E. Career as learned-over-time is first proposed here in the late 1990s.

These theories gained acceptance in societies that were ready for them and - in some way - needed them (Law, 1981). But as things change the inadequacies of earlier thinking are exposed. Each later idea depends, then, on preceding ideas, but takes those ideas to deeper levels of understanding (Law, 1996). We must expect this process to continue, and later sections in this material shows how it is now happening.

A related thought concerns programme design: we should lay the deeper foundations early in the programme, and seek to enable people to make "a fit" later on - and only when they need to. For example, to ask people to seek computer-assisted fits - before they have found out enough, met enough people, reflected enough, and sufficiently organised their own thinking - is to invite self stereotyping.


Deep background - why we learn
In Steven Pinker's (1997) phrase "brains are shaped for fitness, not for truth". And so, much of what we think can be understood in terms of its survival value to our ancestors. Learning is, then, best understood in terms of its usefulness to action - an investment of energy that helps us to know what to do in order to get what we need or want. And so the categories we use (such as DOTS) need to correspond in some usable way with the way the world is and the way it works. We seek in our learning a mental model of the world we inhabit. When people fail to find it they lose interest and look elsewhere.

The brain is not a single organ; there is a range of functions - in perception, memory, reasoning, emotion and social relations. This means that what we are doing in any situation is never just one thing. Self is not a single entity. As Steven Pinker observes, "one 'self' may deceive another, but every now and then a third 'self' sees the truth". Consciousness, or what careers literature calls "awareness", is not, then, one thing.

A useful way of seeing self is as part of a map of the way things are, a map the self builds. We can then each be a part of our own map, witnesses to our own lives. In this way we can each think of our selves not just as effects of "yesterday's" causes but causes of "tomorrow's" effects.

Feelings and thoughts are interwoven in the overlapping processes of the mind (Goleman, 1996). Many feelings are negative - responding to frustration and conflict. Steven Pinker lists how we are equipped for this: we can know when to "fight" and when to "flee", to calculate how much risk to accept, to anticipate what kind of reward persistence might accrue, to sense who can be trusted for what and to know when it is worth "pushing at the envelope". An individual who can do this is more likely to survive.

Few career theories take account of more than a small part of these understandings of learning for action.

THEORY AND YOUR WORK

- There are a range of theories about how careers develop (coded below A-E).
- Professional starting points tend to focus on practice and material rather than theory.
- But each type of practice and materials implies a theory about how careers work.

### Types of practice and material

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>self-assessment checklists and psychometric tests</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indexed labour-market information</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>computer-assisted guidance and databases</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;expert&quot; careers advice</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>disclosing and exploratory face-to-face work - such as counselling</td>
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<td></td>
<td>work with small groups</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>records of experience or portfolios</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>role-play and other experiential class work</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>reliable and &quot;neutral&quot; labour-market information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>systems for up-dating labour-market information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>action planning for training and employment</td>
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<td></td>
<td>problem-solving class work</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>&quot;visits-in&quot; &amp; &quot;out&quot;; such as mentoring, widening community contact</td>
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<td></td>
<td>work experience and placement and other community experience</td>
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<td></td>
<td>enquiry projects and other community investigative work</td>
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<td></td>
<td>voluntary service and other community task work</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>class work which progresses from basic to developed learning</td>
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<td></td>
<td>long-block timetabling - shared with other subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diaries, journals &amp; other ways of recording &amp; reviewing learning</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>learning-to-learn in class work</td>
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</table>

- A programme concentrated on one of the five groups is likely to be supported by only a narrow range of assumptions.
- These assumptions may be explicit or implicit; they may be conscious or unconscious.
- In professional work it is better if assumptions are inclusive, conscious and explicit.
New Thinking for Connexions and Citizenship

SECTION 2: WHAT A GOOD THEORY CAN DO

The importance of theory

The facing page contains an analysis of theories of career development. This handout follows the one in the previous section, but this time it points to theory in more detail than practice. (The separate theories are annotated in the appendix.) It leads to an account of what theory can do. Good practice needs to anticipate the effects of action. If practice cannot do that, it is hardly responsible or professional. If it can, then it is making assumptions about how things work, and such assumptions are (whether good or bad) theories. But no theory can move to such anticipations until it has first done the other two things in the analysis: describing the significant features of the situation and setting out an account of how they came to be this way.

Parallel development in policy and theory

Policy has developed along similar lines to theory. Like theory it started with a preoccupation with short-term strategies for entering a career. Only recently has it begun to take more account of deeper, wider and more dynamic underpinning for a process. Until recently policy strongly suggested action in the rows A and C on page 5.

But Connexions is now an acknowledgement of underlying influences - in feelings, social attachments and early learning. And education-for-citizenship is similarly based on the idea that action is value driven and concerned with a person’s response to, and relationship with, other people.

Both initiatives require that we should be looking for more effective ways of undertaking work in rows B, D and E on page 5.

Deep background - contested values in careers work

Ideas about how careers develop are value laden:

- vocationalist - for employability;
- liberal - for constructive social participation;
- humanist - for individual and personal choice.

All are represented in careers work (Law, 1996).

Ruth Levitas (1998) similarly characterises underpinning concerns for exclusion: for people who may, for example, be thought of as problematic because they are not being lifted to employable levels; or because they are being allowed to remain in a condition where they will weaken society; or because they are being treated unfairly.

There are parallels also in careers education in schools. Suzy Harris (1999) characterises it as "a contested concept". She describes how economic change has impacted policy, and how that pressure has been passed onto practitioners - through the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative, the Education Reform Act, and the privatisation of the Careers Service. She judges the impact of policy, on balance, to have been negative. Her thesis is that careers work lacks a robust educational or sociological foundation. She finds four-levels of ideas for careers education: matching talents, finding jobs, producing workers and developing citizens.

Any of these ideologies can variously combine with theory in order to demonstrate favoured points of view. The positions are, however, ideologically defined. Careers work is of interest to government, commerce, careers-work professionals, kite-marking organisations and other groups; and each will attend to some - but not all - of what happens in career development.

Each interest group supports, through investment and research, some of these ideologies - but not all. Their research might, then, show that sought-after benefits can be gained from a particular form of careers work, but that same research may not necessarily show what may be lost in that process. It is in the nature of a contested situation that any gains will incur some losses.

The importance of theory is that it is capable of showing what kinds of gains and losses can come from different forms of careers work - whatever their ideological flavour. Theory can, then, be used to make explicit what practice is not being supported by policy and what issues are not being examined by research.

Nothing else can do this.

### WHAT A GOOD THEORY CAN DO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>key concepts</th>
<th>what each type of thinking says</th>
<th>the theories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **A. “pegs and holes”** | what people can be shown to be like - in their abilities, attainments and personality | > trait-and-factor  
> person-environment match |
| **B. “being me”** | how people see themselves in ability and motivation, and how they come to see themselves in the world | > self-concept  
> constructivist |
| **C. “obstacle course”** | the work on offer - to people in different social positions, some of which are disadvantageous | > opportunity structure  
> social reproduction  
> pragmatic rational choice |
| **D. “being with people”** | who people mix with, who they meet and - among these - whom they most pay attention to | > community interaction  
> social-learning |
| **E. “living and learning”** | how early learning lays foundations for later learning, influencing the sense people can make of things - and therefore what they do | > cultural-capital  
> career-learning  
> hermeneutic |

Each of these theories does three things:

**Describe**

Theory sets out the events of career and draws attention to its key features. If theory is any good it does so on the basis of trustworthy evidence that the events really do take place and the features really do figure in them. That is what theory first needs - evidence concerning what actually happens.

**Explain**

Theory asks "why does it happen this way?". This establishes cause-and-effect links between the features of career - indicating what are past causes of present effects. Evidence might suggest these links - for example by showing correlation between features. But correlation does not prove cause-and-effect. You usually have to do a bit of reasoning with the evidence in order to establish a causal link.

**Anticipate**

Understanding the present effects of past causes helps us to "hunch" the future effects of present causes: understanding "why like this...?" means we can work out "what would happen if...?". This produces a model for careers work. A good model suggests how outcomes change if intervention is changed. This is where theory and practice communicate with each other.
SECTION 3: LEARNING FOR TODAY’S WORLD

The facing page describes change at three levels - the major causes are at the top, the local effects are at the bottom. Examples of the learning objectives implied by these changes are set out on the right.

Looking to policy

Tony Watts (1996) characterises working trends as leading to more short-term, part-time and self-employed work. While the technologically-driven labour market is under-supplied, workers in the service sector are over-qualified. Change is widely experienced as insecurity. But conceiving work in less bureaucratic terms means that we can think of career as under personal control. There are implications for policy:

- Stronger incentives for learning: Though some employers are already providing for the education and training of their people, employers as a whole need greater incentives.
- A more flexible and responsive learning system: Schools and colleges do not serve a rapidly changing working environment. Opportunities to learn need to be more flexible, more diverse and available throughout the life span. Education services need to be less aloof from the world of employment.
- A national qualifications framework: Flexibility in working life requires portability in accreditation. Useful frameworks are provided by vocational qualifications - a lifelong Record of Achievement will help.
- Lifelong access to career guidance: Contemporary conditions require life-long guidance. It needs to be integral to education, to employment, and available through independent providers. A coordinating structure can be provided by the National Advisory Council for Careers and Educational Guidance.
- Stronger intermediary organisations between individuals and employers: Both professional associations and trades unions can offer independent guidance to their members - an individual service.
- More flexible financial support structures: Improved welfare provision, far from increasing dependency, can provide a base for flexible action. There is a strong case for collapsing the tax-and-benefits system into a single minimum-income entitlement.

Deep background - questioning assumptions

Both Jonathan Sacks (1997) and Richard Sennett (1998) argue that contemporary life is being eroded; and what is left is superficial, monotonous and transient - breeding personal indifference and interpersonal disengagement. Both authors move beyond business-oriented accounts of the contemporary working world and both challenge the commercial world’s attempts to influence the direction of careers work. Jonathan Sacks questions the long-term effects of the 1960s which has left society with an impoverished notion of “choice”. Richard Sennett is critical of the business use of “networks” - which can be rapidly dismantled and re-assembled to meet changing conditions. They mean that fewer of us are long-term witnesses to other people’s lives. We are, moreover, required not to be concerned with the inner workings of the groups and processes we participate in. The requirement, then, is for superficial abilities we over-dignify with the term “skill”. For example, says Richard Sennett, “cooperation” means a willingness to work with easy agreements.

Nick Davies (1998, 2000) documents the lives of people in economically deprived areas - his narratives illustrate what he calls "spiritual damage" suffered by the excluded.

Naomi Klein (2000) argues that what people want to do about these and other features of working life are likely to be expressed by people as much in political as in career-development terms.

Synthesising what we know

Other accounts (e.g. Killeen, 1996) point out that change is endemic in any economic system and that current changes can be accommodated - though not without pain.

Page 9 is based on Law (2000). It is radical about “global” trends, but infused with what is known of how change also occurs in what Sennett and Sacks (above) call “neighbourhood” and “character”.

LEARNING FOR TODAY'S WORLD

- The contemporary working world is becoming more complicated - more factors impinging on people's lives.
- It is becoming more dynamic - more changes occurring more rapidly.
- It is becoming more unpredictable - the future is as much a threat as a promise.

World-wide causes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is happening?</th>
<th>What do people need to learn?</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global commerce</td>
<td>&gt; understanding what global and domestic economies do;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We compete - at home and world-wide - in low cost, low-public-investment environments, dominated by multi-nationals.</td>
<td>&gt; understanding how government can and cannot help working lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New technologies</td>
<td>&gt; skills in new technologies at work;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machines transform workplaces, disposing of some, and this fact now confronts all parts of society.</td>
<td>&gt; understanding change in work roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smaller government market</td>
<td>&gt; ability to deal with a flexible labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy releases businesses from regulation, and develops a 'flexible' workforce - which affects the social fabric.</td>
<td>&gt; understanding of a reduced welfare provision.</td>
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Changing patterns of employment

<table>
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<tr>
<th>What is happening?</th>
<th>What do people need to learn?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changing economic structures</td>
<td>&gt; knowledge of causes and effects in changeable work distribution;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects move in waves but also accumulate and their impact varies between sectors and between districts.</td>
<td>&gt; understanding who is most at risk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extending concepts of work</td>
<td>&gt; understanding why people need work;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More of what is done in domestic, freelance, voluntary and other settings is thought of as 'proper work'.</td>
<td>&gt; appreciating alternatives to employment and unemployment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing work locations and requirements</td>
<td>&gt; ability to deal with contemporary work locations and procedures;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firms are smaller, &quot;flatter&quot;, cleaner - more work is done at home - skill requirements are changing.</td>
<td>&gt; ability to respond to changing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal & social effects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is happening?</th>
<th>What do people need to learn?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporary contracts</td>
<td>&gt; ability to find and approach work opportunities;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-off full-time contracts are less common, serial change and portfolio overlap more common.</td>
<td>&gt; ability to negotiate with recruiters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstructed community</td>
<td>&gt; appreciation of supportive social attachment;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work connects people to neighbourhood and community - a stake in society which is now lost to many.</td>
<td>&gt; ability to appreciate who to attend and who should not be trusted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontinuous experience</td>
<td>&gt; ability to make continuing sense of fragmented experience;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual experience is increasingly fragmented offering lower levels of sustained contact.</td>
<td>&gt; ability to maintain identity - even in rejection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION 4: ISSUES WE MUST NOT IGNORE

Ways of thinking about career

The facing page sets out a range of key terms for understanding career. On the left these terms assemble into an account of career which has dominated late twentieth-century policy. One of the reasons for this dominance is that such terms indicate reasonably verifiable facts about career and careers work, and they therefore lend themselves to the drive for target-setting, quality standards, and other indicators of performance. Policy requires such apparatus; but it comes at a cost to the work.

On the right the terms assemble into a different account of career. Because it is not so easy to assemble into units, it is less easy to hold to account. But it accords with deeper ways of understanding human behaviour (below).

It is argued (Law, 2000; NICEC, 2001) that late-twentieth-century thinking has been dominated by the analysis on the left.

But new thinking - set out in the ensuing pages of this material - leads to the analysis on the right.


Deep background - describing how we learn

Drawing on neurological evidence Antonio Damasio (1999) sets out a model with important implications for career management. The central idea is "biographical consciousness".

But the explanation begins with an account of the most primitive forms of consciousness, rooted in the physical organism reacting to its environment. This is a self-regulating, comfort-seeking and sensory "self", which - in its wakefulness - is called "core consciousness".

In the human species, core consciousness extends as fragments of experience are assembled into a continually developing images-and-words portrayal of experience; the metaphor is of "a movie in the brain". This is biographical consciousness, an accumulating account - with both thought and feeling - of what we each know of the world and of other people. It develops the frame of reference from which each individual expresses a point of view. Damasio also calls this development "extended consciousness": ordering what we each know in a range of multiple and overlapping drafts of the way things are. From time to time it re-shapes the account into new patterns. With varying degrees of "fuzziness", the movie develops a basis for understanding how things work. And, in all, it portrays a unified physical-and-social world.

We become yet more fully conscious when we set ourselves in that world, seeing ourselves as part of the world and responding to it. We then see ourselves as the cause of further events. Self and situation become part of a single account of the way things are. And we become actors, each in our own story.

The appropriate metaphor for "self" is not, then, a frozen image in a snapshot separated from his or her participation in the world; the self is a character in a movie, who can change and can change things.

These phenomena can only be understood in a narrative format. The model largely ignores conventional career-development categories of "self", "others" and "the world". In a story each infuses all.

Steven Pinker (1997) bases his account on an evolutionary account of how the mind works. From savannah to suburbia, he argues, we are genetically disposed to be purposeful. There is survival value in working out what to do about circumstances and goals, and not just acting impulsively or on ready-made once-and-for-all rules. The value of such purposefulness increases as circumstances and goals become more changeable.

But the mind needs a clear focus on what should be attended to because "no animal can pursue all its goals, all at once".

People therefore combine the elements of experience into a single account - making different compositions, and testing their usefulness. The concepts that underpin this thinking process are "place", "path", "motion", "causation" and "agency". These concepts resonate with the questions we ask of conventional story telling: where? what? when? who? how? and why?

ISSUES WE MUST NOT IGNORE

- Theories each describe important aspects of career management.
- Career management in the contemporary world requires that we take more account of complexity, change and unpredictability in working life.
- Such thinking needs a more developed frame with places for:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not only...</th>
<th>but also...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>skills</td>
<td>feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>lists</td>
<td>stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>individuals</td>
<td>other people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>making</td>
<td>building up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>choices</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>neutral information</td>
<td>understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>how things work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>&quot;school&quot;</td>
<td>learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>learning</td>
<td>to learn in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>training and &quot;jobs&quot;</td>
<td>breadth of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>working life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Much of the "developed" thinking on the right is not new, but is included in earlier theories - a recovery from professional amnesia!
- There are some elements in developed thinking which are recent; these describe how people learn as a basis for action.
New Thinking for Connexions and Citizenship

SECTION 5: LEARNING FOR ACTION

Stages in career learning

Career-learning theory can accommodate an account of the influence of culture, feeling and prior learning in careers development. And it can do so without jettisoning earlier explanations of career development. The facing page sets out the basic features of the theory. It is important to understand it as an account of how people learn for action.

The process has been set out in four stages (Law, 1996; NICEC, 2001).

Sensing - enough to go on

Sensing is a process of “finding enough to go on” - getting a picture of the way things now appear:
- seeing and hearing things;
- framing them - in lists, maps and stories.

Sensing can apply to learning both about self and the working world. In both cases “enough to go on” means enough to make change-of-mind possible; moving beyond the familiar and obvious. Feelings are evoked where new information is experienced as fluid and disconnected; it can feel confusing – even overwhelming. People may retreat into the more comfortably familiar.

Sifting - useful order

Sensing produces a mish-mash of impressions. Sifting them into order is, therefore, essential to the building-up of knowledge. Sifting makes a working version of how things are; self, others and the world around:
- making comparisons so that likeness and unlikeness form patterns;
- using the resulting similarities and dissimilarities to form categories.

Careers guidance relies on published categories - such "health and hospitals" or "communication skills". But informal and formal social cultures also categorise things, as in "them" and "us". Such categories can be arbitrary, as in "women's work". And they can be value-laden, as in "enterprising". Individuals also form personal constructs, often revolving around "I like" and "like me". The process is, then, an ongoing inner conversation, but one which also makes contact with other people. It can be harmful, where, for example, information is arbitrarily categorised along lines drawn by class, race, gender, age and familiarity. Such points-of-view are often held with some feeling.

Focusing - important to me

Focusing depends on seeing that much of what we say is, indeed, a point of view:
- understanding that other people’s points of view are different from my own;
- arranging what I know, to show how my point of view is different from others’.

The product of these processes is a mental "movie" - a located story, seen through one’s own "lens", of how people, things and events stand and move in relation to each other. I then become an alert witness to my own life, able to locate myself in the movie. The movie shows how some things are more attractive to me than to other people; envisages what I now want to probe; and so, the movie develops learning for action. Learning is, then, for life. But differences in point-of-view are emotionally loaded, and can cause conflict.

Understanding - how things work

Understanding causes and effects as basis for action must be both retrospective and prospective:
- explaining the effects of old action;
- anticipating the consequences of new action.

Retrospective questions include "how does this work", "why do they do that?", "why do I do this?", and "what makes me want to do it so much?". Prospective questions include "how is this situation now going to develop?" and "what can happen if I do this now?". There is, in real life, a rough-and-ready quality to such thinking; we are, after all, dealing with probabilities not certainties. But, without some such appreciation, action can lead into a blind alley.

LEARNING AS A BASIS FOR ACTION

- Career management is learned behaviour.
- The learning is for action
- It comes in a progressive sequence, moving from basic information to developed understanding.

The stages are:

Se. Sensing: getting enough impressions, information and contacts to go on;

Si. Sifting: sorting information into useful order so that similarities and differences are clear;

F. Focusing: knowing who and what to pay attention to and why;

U. Understanding: knowing how things work and what action is likely to lead to what result.

There are eight sub-stages:

Se
1. gathering a range of images and information;
2. setting the information and images in lists, maps, graphics, diagrams and stories.

Si
3. making comparisons, finding patterns, putting impressions into useful order;
4. forming constructs and using concepts showing similarities and differences.

F
5. accommodating other points-of-view - seeing the possibility of points-of-view;
6. assimilating new information to your own developing point-of-view - a story and your inner life.

U
7. explaining past causes of present effects - seeing how action has causes;
8. anticipating future effects of present causes - in your own and others' actions.

Career-learning theory describes how people become witnesses to their own lives-in-the-world.
It shows how they are then able to see themselves and their world as the effects of "yesterday's" causes.
But it also shows how they can learn to see themselves as the causes of "tomorrow's" effects.
SECTION 6: JOINED-UP THINKING

Moving towards a general theory

The facing page sets the various theories in relation to each other - it therefore sets out a framework for a general theory of careers work. (The separate theories are listed in the appendix.) There is some important truth in all theories, but no single one says it all. This is not surprising - complexity and subtlety in career development is as great as in any aspect of human behaviour. A general theory of career development is not, therefore, going to be easy to attain. The facing page sets out dimensions for a general theory (Law, 1996).

Career dimensions

Psychology and sociology

Psychology works with what goes on in the person; it speaks of abilities, dispositions, feelings, self, assumptions and interpretations. Theories based on such terms are sorted to the left in the chart. Sociology works with what goes on around the person; with talk of economy, environment, culture, social class, family and neighbourhood. Theories based on such terms are sorted to the right of the chart.

Structure and dynamics

Theories at the top of the chart are strong on structure; they emphasise factors which change slowly and are not readily accessible to change - such as traits, stratification and habits. Theories at the bottom speak of things which change or can be changed - such as feelings, encounters and interpretations.

Career learning

The two dimensions portray a subtle and complex interplay of influence on career development. So great is the complexity that any general theory requires an explanation of how people learn it. Career-learning theory shows how each strand of learning is developed - so that first impressions are built into a basis for action. This is a third dimension in the chart below - stretching from front to rear. (This chart also re-titles the cells so that they apply more directly to learning needs for Connexions and education-for-citizenship.)

Objective and subjective careers

Some theories, like opportunity structure, describe how things are in a way which operate - "objectively" - in much the same way for everyone. Others, like hermeneutic, describe how a particular person - "subjectively" - puts together the career "movie". The bottom of the facing page shows how career-learning theory portrays the movement between such objectivity and subjectivity in career. What is sensed and understood must be seen in much the same terms by everyone involved; otherwise sustainable agreement will not be possible. Nonetheless what is sifted and focussed will work differently for different people.

New Thinking for Connexions and Citizenship

JOINED-UP THINKING

- A psychology-sociology dimension links thinking about self to thinking about situation.
- A structure-dynamic dimension links thinking about components of career to thinking about change in career.
- A progression dimension links thinking at different stages of learning.

The Se-Si-F-U progression links to other theories at different point in its sequence:

More "objective" theories
- opportunity-structure
- trait-and-factor
- social reproduction
- person-environment match
- community interaction

More "subjective" theories
- self-concept
- constructivist
- hermeneutic

accounts of sensing
accounts of sifting
accounts of focussing
accounts of understanding

> pragmatic rational choice
> social-learning
SECTION 7: BEYOND DOTS

DOTS and post-DOTS

The facing page sets SeSiFU (see pages 12-13) into DOTS and enters some examples of what can be asked and said at each intersection. The original DOTS analysis sets out a four-fold framework for sorting aims: decisions ("D") can be securely made - its says - when people are able to link opportunity ("O") to self ("S") and can present themselves well in the ensuing transition ("T"). This coverage identifies the knowledge and skills that a person needs in order to manage career. Put conversationally, it poses four questions:

S:  "who am I?" - knowing about self;
O:  "where am I?" - knowing about opportunities;
D:  "what will I do?" - ready for a decision;
T:  "how will I cope?" - ready for the next transition.

DOTS was first published a quarter of a century ago (Law and Watts, 1977). Much of what we mean by "S", "O" and "D" were put in place by trait-and-factor thinking (see the appendix). Later, an understanding of the demands of the opportunity structure helped to install the "T" in DOTS. Early versions of DOTS also took account of self-concept theory.

DOTS is, then, theory based; but, if we are to develop a general theory, a new dimension is necessary. It must accommodate post-DOTS thinking - on social context, on unfolding narrative and on feelings.

New-DOTS

SeSiFU is a new dimension for DOTS. It sets out learning processes rather than coverage - how people learn, not what they learn. It accommodates the dynamism and complexity needed for contemporary career theory. (1) Social context is acknowledged in the portrayal of both inner conversation and outer negotiation. (2) Narrative moves from a beginnings towards resolution. (3) Feelings are expressed as motivation, values and point-of-view - and all of these can be supported or thwarted.

The resulting, more general, theory provides a deeper and wider framework. Career-learning theory suggests useful terms. New-DOTS is the result; but New-DOTS does not supplant, it supplements DOTS.

A parallel version of New-DOTS has been developed for spiritual, moral, social and cultural education - including citizenship (Law, 2000b).

The power of complexity

Conceiving New-DOTS in such depth, breadth and dynamism shows how career learning is as demanding as any learning. It also offers a fuller explanation of what can go wrong, and of what can be done to enable the learner to make things go better.

This is important for practice. For example, in development work it is important to understand not only "what works" but why it works. Where the relationship between causes and effects is as subtle, complex and dynamic as we now know them to be, what happens in one place may not work elsewhere. Any proposal for adopting, adapting and developing work must be examined in the light of the complexity of local conditions. Much development in Connexions and education for citizenship must be local development.

Informed action requires enquiry - action- and evaluative-research. The usefulness of enquiry depends upon the pertinence of the questions it poses. Deriving questions is always theory-based, however tacitly or informally that theory is formulated.

The importance of New-DOTS is, then, in the greater range and depth of questions it poses - for both local enquiry and local development. Its complexity makes it a powerful tool for both delivery and enquiry.

Career-learning as narrative

A key concept is narrative (Collin and Young, 1992). DOTS was never a story - no particular place to start, no explicit way to sequence the elements. Stories - and movies - have a particularly useful structure for contemporary educational purposes. And the important elements of narrative - setting, plot, episodes, roles, conflicts and resolutions - belong as much to citizenship (Crick, 2000) as to careers.

16

18
BEYOND DOTS

- DOTS is for the coverage of what is learned; SeSiFu is for the process of how.
- Two dimensions create the New-DOTS "career-learning space".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(opportunity)</td>
<td>(self)</td>
<td>(decision)</td>
<td>(transition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who does what</td>
<td>what you do best</td>
<td>prospects</td>
<td>where you will be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what it is like</td>
<td>what you most like</td>
<td>who has an interest</td>
<td>people to deal with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what it requires</td>
<td>what people say</td>
<td>your chances</td>
<td>what they expect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you can get</td>
<td>who you admire</td>
<td>what you are going to do</td>
<td>that you will cope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how is it changing</td>
<td>what you offer</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>with confidence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Se</th>
<th>finding out</th>
<th>mapping work in the neighbourhood and beyond</th>
<th>describing models of people at work</th>
<th>surveying different ways of making decisions</th>
<th>assembling feedback on own action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meeting</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>noticing</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>setting down</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Si</th>
<th>comparing examples of work in the neighbourhood and beyond</th>
<th>comparing how they act and feel &quot;here&quot; and &quot;there&quot;</th>
<th>examining reactions of different people to the same information</th>
<th>identifying alternative ways of doing different work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>considering defining</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fe</th>
<th>identifying occupational stereotypes in work</th>
<th>articulating own values concerning work</th>
<th>empathising with points-of-view of other people with different values</th>
<th>identifying own preferred style of solving work problems - and saying why</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>appreciating</td>
<td>disclosing</td>
<td>adjusting and highlighting</td>
<td>explaining why some strategies have not been effective and working out how they could succeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disclosing</td>
<td>anticipating</td>
<td>highlighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trying out</td>
<td>social and economic change in work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>convincing</td>
<td>anticipating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>convincing</td>
<td>future experience of work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>convincing</td>
<td>imagining what it will be like</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>convincing</td>
<td>anticipating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>convincing</td>
<td>assessing risks of commitment concerning work in the neighbourhood and beyond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>convincing</td>
<td>explaining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The space is built up - top-to-bottom - over a time, in a story.
- It provides a fuller diagnosis of what can go well and what can go badly.
- It also offers more suggestions for how learning can be better enabled.
- Each new learning sequence need not cover the breadth of DOTS, but must usually pay some attention of SeSiFu.
- The story might be shorter, like an episode; or longer, like a chapter; or longer-still, like a biography.
SECTION 8: NEW THINKING ON PROGRESSION

Progression

The facing page sets out a progression with an explanation of its significance to career-learning. All complex learning must be undertaken progressively. Progression sets the basic elements of learning in place first, and uses these as a foundation for developing the more demanding elements. One of the most progressive subjects in curriculum is mathematics, where - if the "basics" are not taken on board - the "development" cannot occur. Successful later learning depends on the successful accomplishment of prior learning.

Progression sets in place stepping stones from what is now known to what must be known. SeSiFU sets those stepping stones in place - from departure to arrival. Working back from "arrival": understanding requires that - first - a priority is brought into focus; focus requires that - first - information is sifted into useful order; and sifting can be badly misleading unless - first - enough sensing has been done to challenge existing assumptions.

In any complex situation it is rarely possible successfully to leap from sensing to action. It would, in any event, be more like an impulse than a decision.

What can go wrong?

As the facing page also shows, SeSiFU provides a framework for diagnosing what might go wrong in career development. People can get stuck - unable to move on - not because the help that is being offered now is not "true", but because the earlier learning upon which that "truth" depends has not been successfully accomplished.

A telling example of such hampering of learning is in the formation of stereotypes. A stereotype is a prematurely closed construct. It means that - with too little to go on - a person will sift what is known into poorly formed ideas about what people are likely to do or should be allowed to do. That structure will then inform future learning and distort understanding of how the world works.

Due process

Understanding what can go wrong suggests the possibility of understanding how things go well. This would give us an idea of "due process" - not just any learning process, but a process which is likely to lead to sustainable action.

Career-learning theory suggests that due process occurs when a useful understanding is based on adequate focus, that focus depends on having what is known sorted into useful order, which - itself - depends on having sensed enough to go on. But how much is enough? what is adequate? how do we know it can be useful?

- Enough sensing would be enough impressions and information that learning has been expanded to the point where a change of mind is a possibility.
- Enough sifting would mean embedding the information and impressions into a sufficient order that a person can remember them, map them and come back to them for further consideration.
- Enough focus would mean that a person would know what aspects of the overall picture of self and situation are most important or more important to her or him than to other people, and say why that is so, and what therefore needs to be questioned and probed.
- Enough understanding would mean being able to say, with regard to things at the point of focus, how things came to be the way they are and what can now be done about them - with a reasonable probability that it will work out well.


Learning for flexibility

Moving through due process can suggest the possibility of change of mind. Such flexibility is important in the contemporary world. But change-of-mind does not necessarily come from more information. Indeed, more information sometimes pushes people into impulse and inflexibility. Change-of-mind can mean - in due process - re-sifting and re-focusing, so that new learning becomes a basis for changed action. This means that learning which does no more than reinforce existing intentions would not be due process.

Such a due process excludes habitual, impulsive superstitious bases for action.

None of this thinking excludes intuition or imagination (see pages 21-22).

NEW THINKING ON PROGRESSION

Progression sets learning in a sequence which shows how later learning builds on earlier.
Progression describes how things can go badly as well as how they can go well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What progress can be made</th>
<th>What people do</th>
<th>Why this is important</th>
<th>What can go wrong?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>gathering images, impressions and making encounters</td>
<td>expands knowledge of work and self</td>
<td>people can sense too little - giving them no option for changing their mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>sorting impressions into useful order</td>
<td>do something with the knowledge, examining it, making comparisons, finding patterns</td>
<td>embeds learning for future use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Knowing what is important to me</td>
<td>ask what attracts my attention, and why my point of view is different from other people's</td>
<td>develops inner life - a basis for probing and questioning knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>understanding how things work</td>
<td>explain why things are like this - in the working world and in my experience</td>
<td>shows how things can be changed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- This is a learning progression - more basic learning providing "stepping stones" to more developed learning.
- Progression explains why, if earlier learning is not adequately accomplished, later learning will be distorted.
- The progression is an account of learning processes - how people are learning differently at different stages of learning.
- The progression suggests that the process must be a due process - that is a process which take people from forming enough impressions to finding a basis for sustainable action.

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SECTION 9. NEW THINKING ON PROCESS

The process in more detail

The facing page sets out the progression in terms of its learning processes. It uses the eight-fold analysis set out on page 13 - the original form of career-learning theory (Law, 1996). It has been commonly argued in careers work that it is the process that is important. But there are, of course, many kinds of process. Career-learning theory draws on learning theory which suggests what kinds of learning processes best inform action. That is why the concept becomes not just one, of any process, but one of due process.


Learning verbs

The facing page also describes the processes by means of learning verbs - words which describe what the client and student do in process of learning. Because progression is described as process it can be set out most successfully as verbs. This contrasts with DOTS which is expressed in nouns - describing coverage of learning. The distinction is between what you learn (DOTS) and how you learn it (SeSiFU).

It is learning verbs which underpin much of what is known by the term life-skills. Indeed, there are street-level equivalent for many of them - words which describe what young men and women do to "find out", "sort out", "check out", and "work out" what is going on in their lives (Law, 1996). Anyone who means purposefully to be a cause, rather than just an effect, must take control of learning verbs.


Curriculum

The fact that 'Old-DOTS' does not offer a sequence for learning need not matter in guidance. In guidance the sequence is determined by an agenda negotiated between individuals. But curriculum needs a scheme of work - a sequence for manageable learning, which will work in much the same way for everyone. And a sequence needs a starting point, a development and a resolution.

The most fruitful application of the career-learning progression is in a scheme of work; any shorter "hit-and-run" lesson would not offer enough "space". Ideal arrangements require long blocks - of hours, days or weeks - such as are found for work experience.

It is possible though, that progression also occurs over longer periods. It seems likely that more sensing will be done in early learning and more understanding achieved in later stages.


Learning to learn

In the contemporary world coverage rapidly goes out-of-date. This is true of DOTS coverage: the opportunity structure which is learned today will be different tomorrow; and what is true of the changing nature of opportunity is true of changing self, changing bases-for-decision and changing skills needed for managing transition. In all of these areas what was enabled ten years ago would not work in the same way now. And much of what we are seeking to enable now will not work in the same way in five years time.

This is one of the reasons why we say that process is more important than coverage. Coverage changes, but how to "find out", "sort out", "check out", and "work out" - these skills are ageless. Indeed they are of life-long use. When we talk of life-long learning we are talking of the learning verbs (NICEC, 2001).

It is the learning verbs which underpin "key skills" - particularly where they refer to the need to negotiate, solve, learn, work with number and communicate. Conventional analyses of key skills sometimes stop short of the thinking elements in "understanding"; yet, in a changing and complex world, it is understanding that makes action sustainable. Setting out the verbs in detail has, then, the effect of making shorthand versions of key skills look too superficial and simplified for practical purposes.

The learning verbs are an important feature of career-learning theory. The implication is that we not only help students and clients to attend to what they learn but also to how they learn it. In contemporary content-driven curriculum this would be a massive step (Law, 2000).

NEW THINKING ON PROCESS

- Coverage is expressed in nouns, process in verbs.
- Learning verbs are skills, but in a deeper and wider sense than is conventionally understood.
- Learning verbs are the basis for developing life-long transferable learning.

### Examples of Learning Verbs

| Se 1. gathering a range of images and information | ask / enquire / find / look / listen / locate / look-up meet / notice / read / see / seek / question / watch |
| Se 2. setting the information and images in lists, maps and narratives | assemble / clarify / communicate / draw / express / locate record / recount / review / say / set-down / write |
| Si 3. making comparisons, finding patterns, putting information in useful order | arrange / chart / classify / compare / count / group lay out / list / measure / play / sort / survey / tabulate |
| Si 4. forming constructs and using concepts showing similarities and differences | calculate / characterise / clarify / consider / define / disentangle / estimate / organise / place / systematise |
| Fo 5. accommodating points-of-view - seeing the possibility of points-of-view | absorb / appreciate / balance / change / consider / cooperate encounter / harmonise / incorporate / reconcile / share |
| Un 7. explaining past causes of present effects - seeing how action has causes | digest / explain / investigate / probe reflect-on / research / study / try-out |
| Un 8. anticipating future effects of present causes - in own and others' actions | adapt / apply / argue / convince / create / design / develop imagine / invent / make / plan / manage / use |

- This sets out a learning progression in detail - each piece of learning providing 'stepping stones' to more developed learning.
- The practical implications of this are mainly for curriculum development.
- In particular the implications are for extended timetabling slots where such activities can be properly undertaken.
- While the coverage of careers work will change, these learning-to-learn processes are timeless.
SECTION 10: CAREER, CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

Contemporary concepts of career

The facing page sets out three sets of ideas concerning career - each answering a question about why it is worth investing energy in work. No answer is superior to any other; most people will work with each of them at some time or another.

The ideas can be applied to the investment of energy in work roles; but they can be applied to the investment of energy in any other role - including those associated with crime and citizenship. The way in which we answer such questions has much to do with how we see ourselves in the world - identity.

Deep background - pragmatism and idealism

Antonio Damasio (1999, see also page 10) develops his neurological-based account of identity by referring to an extension of biographical consciousness. The extension is into a way of thinking-and-feeling which he characterises as “conscience” - although the term is used in a wider-than-moral sense. He argues that, because we can imagine a life beyond “core” survival and adjustment, we are prepared to risk well-being in pursuit of possibilities thought to be more valuable. This implies a search for a truth greater than the individual has yet known, a beauty more sublime, and a goodness deeper than the achievement of one’s own wishes. It reaches beyond present meanings, towards possible selves in possible futures.

Antonio Damasio’s model of thinking and feeling now extends from basic and instinctive reactions to intuitive and creative ones. Different levels of consciousness give rise to different senses of identity:

- Core consciousness is concerned with immediate and short-term needs - self maintenance;
- Biographical consciousness will sacrifice present comfort for future gain - self fulfilment;
- Imaginative consciousness will sacrifice all for more valued purposes - self transcendence.

Neither Antonio Damasio nor Steven Pinker argue that self-commitment - whether in the arts, religion, morality or philosophy - has a biological function: concern for “the meaning of life” does nothing to enhance survivability. But, Steven Pinker argues, the need to find long-term purposes is genetically enabled. We are pre-disposed to act purposefully, to imagine so-far unseen possibilities, to cooperate with others and to know how to deal in trust. Such dispositions are not ideals, they are for survival. However, because we can do these things to survive, we can also do them to construct ideals. Ideals are not nature’s responsibility, they are what we choose and what our cultures embody.

We are walking the boundary between idealism and pragmatism. It may seem unrealistic to enable people to aspire to what the labour market can’t deliver, the economy doesn’t need, and what doesn’t serve their most obvious interests. But it depends what you mean by “reality”. Work is - by definition - done in response to, with and for other people. If there is room for ideals anywhere it is difficult to imagine why there is not room for them in working life. Indeed, the impoverishment of imagination and purpose, so that survival and gratification become the only worthwhile purposes, is the “spiritual damage” said by Davies (1999, see page 8) to be caused by the state of the economy in many of our inner cities. Idealism is - by its absence or its presence - an issue for working life. And, as many of the theories make explicit (see the appendix) it has powerful social and cultural dimensions as well as individual and instinctive ones. The perspective that deals most successfully with such issues is the interpretative perspective of hermeneutic theory; although that theory will need to be developed to take more account of the public and verifiable events of working life.


Life-role relevance

Understanding that people expend energy only when they can see a point raises a basic question for curriculum. The issue is relevance - which would require that “classroom” learning remind learners of their lives and their lives remind them of their “classroom”. A relevant outcome would, then, need to be more than can be verified by tests; it would need to show that it can be used in life. This is “transferable learning” - learning linked to settings, relationships and tasks in which it can be used. The transfer is to life - as parent, consumer and citizen as well as worker.

CAREERS, CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

Career means different things:

- for maintenance - effort is worthwhile because it keeps things going while you 'hang in' for something better;
- for fulfilment - effort is worthwhile because it brings a reward to the self;
- for idealistic purpose - effort is worthwhile because it pursues a value greater than either satisfaction - or even survival.

Different ideas help us to understand people at different times and situations in their lives - as they move back-and-forth.

What cannot be pursued in a work role may be pursued in other life roles.

Different theories of careers tend to apply to some of these ideas more than to others:

- opportunity structure
- social reproduction
- self-concept
- career-learning
- pragmatic-rational-choice
- community-interaction
- constructivist
- hermeneutic
- core identity
- biographical identity
- imaginative identity

But the underpinning rationale for such thinking lies deeper - in conceptions of identity:

- immediate 'impulsive' instinct - in response to how things are
- reflective and 'orderly' thought about how things work
- insightful and 'inspired' appreciation of how things might become
- maintaining basic equilibrium of survival & comfort
- explaining and anticipating the sought-after consequences of action
- realising new and unforeseen possibilities
- experiencing pain and pleasure - 'the feeling of what happens'
- building from present impressions into a basis for pursuit of future gain
- extrapolating from how things are to an intuition (or creation) of how they might be
CONCLUSION: MAKING CONNEXIONS AND CITIZENSHIP WORK

There is much common ground in any workable rationale for Connexions and for Education for Citizenship. In order to be effective both proposals must work with:

- strong, and sometimes conflicting, learning in a person's early life;
- social attachments, from which these conflicts frequently spring;
- feelings that they always engender;
- a social world, charged with cultural values and commitments;
- values and responsibilities, which are themselves contested.

When people make their moves, they do so in a particular social setting, with different values in mind and on the basis of different prior learning. These observations apply to the students and clients, but they apply also to the advisers and teachers who seek to enable them.

In this context of complex, layered and subtle events, assertions of support for "what works" are virtually meaningless. Nothing works everywhere, for everything and with everybody. That is why theory is essential; it points to the importance of finding ways of linking particular causes to particular effects.

This section highlights the theoretical pointers which best help us enable useful learning - for participation in working life and for active citizenship.

DESIGNING A PROGRAMME

section 1: Theory and your work pp. 4-5
section 2: What theory can do pp. 6-7

Because of the complexity with which it is dealing, Connexions must move beyond the simpler practices listed as A and C on pages 4 and 5. The influence of other people and the impact of early learning provide powerful explanations of what can go wrong in career. The consequences for how Connexions must work are, therefore, spelled out at all levels in the list of materials and practice - but particularly at B, D and E.

Level-B lists exploratory and disclosing "face-to-face" work - and this forms an indispensable part of the personal adviser's role, as it does of well-chosen community-based mentors.

A good career theory explains learning for action. That must also be true of a good theory for citizenship. In citizenship notions of suitability (traits), self (concept), obstacles (opportunity), dealing with others (community) and moving from basic to developed ideas for action (learning) are bound to feature. The kind of practical arrangements listed on page 5 will, then, also prove useful to education for citizenship - particularly at levels D and E. This where a person is laying foundations for both career action and political action.

Indeed, in educational terms it might be unwise to script students for what action they should take in their lives - and allow them to learn for themselves in what life roles their priorities for action are best set.
ENABLING LEARNING IN A CHANGING WORLD

section 3: Learning for today's world
section 4: Issues we must not ignore

As page 9 makes clear, what happens to "the excluded" is about how the labour market is changing, how that impacts local cultures and what that provokes in individual experience. Exclusion is certainly not just about how skilled people are - or are not. A programme of inclusion which does not take detailed account of culture and experience is bound to fail.

Influences based in group membership will override economic concerns. The need to work with the trust and respect of the group is deep in the species. As page 10 suggests, this will require a shift in how we think about career learning - beyond a dominant concern with skills, information and formal learning, and towards a greater acknowledgement of feelings, the influence of other people and prior learning in a local culture.

Citizenship

The cultural and affective factors which influence career learning undoubtedly also influence political learning. Indeed, working decisions frequently have political meanings - where for example they impinge on issues to do with family welfare, race, ethnicity and crime. Few decisions about work are wholly decisions about work. Some have as much political as they do economic significance. What people do about the issues raised on pages 8 and 9 can be achieved as readily through their citizenship as they can through conventionally understood work.

DEALING WITH STEREOTYPES

section 5: Learning for action

One of the most significant inhibitors to career development among the excluded is self-stereotyping - where people do not even put themselves in-the-frame for some opportunities because they are not seen as "for the likes of us". A stereotype is a prematurely closed category.

Overcoming it means re-learning, and page 12 sets out the processes: meeting more people, re-organising how the impressions they offer are categorised, trying out alternative points of view, and recognising the possibility of getting different effects from present causes. Linked to community-interaction thinking, this progression provides a powerful rationale for a well-designed community-linked mentoring programme.

If anything, the possibilities of self stereotyping political roles is even more extensive than for work roles.

In both cases action needs to be based on learning which moves by due process, from getting enough to go on, and leading to knowing how to anticipate the consequences of your own action.
The greater complexity of the model on page 15 supports a greater range of ideas for action.

Dynamic theories offer the most likely bases for achieving change in what people do. A strategy based only on personal traits and labour-market information is limited for enabling change-of-mind. Expanding the range of information helps a little. But it is understanding how information is received through a culture, and is perceived by an individual with feelings, that offers the greater chance of enabling constructive flexibility. And flexibility is, all agree, a key element for career management in the contemporary world - not least for "the excluded".

The elements of narrative are suggested on page 16. Those elements include setting, events, prior experience, personality, episodes, turning points, roles and reciprocal roles, points of view, interpretations, relationships, conflicts and resolutions. They bring together all of the elements set out in the table on page 14. Helping students to deal with complexity through narrative - their own and other peoples’ - will be essential to the future of this work.

Narratives can be found - and made - in writing and graphics; but they can also be encountered in experience. Formative recording and profiling activities are among the most important strategies we have for helping students learn from stories.

Stories always imply a conversation between "subjective" and "objective" view points - set out on page 14. The subjective experiences of self concept and interpretation are necessary to any understanding. But they must be kept in touch with "objective" experience; and experience is "objective" when sane people can (more-or-less) agree on how it applies to self-and-situation. Without such verification, no work is possible; because - in one way or another - all work is conducted with other people.

The framework for a general theory of career development - set out on page 15 - therefore strongly suggests possible parameters for research and development in this field. It suggests what sorts of insights helpers need. It also suggests what kinds of questions research can pose.

The subtlety and complexity which can be accommodated by a general theory of careers work can also accommodate what happens in political action. It is possible to produce a version of the new-DOTS analysis on page 16 for citizenship as well as for working-life issues.

Parameters for research and development set out here for career action applies as much to political action.
LEARNING FOR LEARNING

section 8: New thinking on progression pp. 18-19
section 9: New thinking on process pp. 20-21

The thinking on page 19 can be used to diagnose what might go wrong in guidance work. An interview frequently falters - some clients "get stuck" - because the clients have not "sensed" enough to go on, or because what they know has not been "sifted" into useable order, or so on...

And where poor learning progression is repeatedly noticed in this way, that observation is the basis for feedback to the school or college - an important input into curriculum development. Indeed, because advisers have such close access to the use clients are able to make of their learning (in this and in other ways) such feedback may well be their most powerful curriculum-development role.

Understanding this aspect of career learning can be helpful in other ways. For example, helping students to become aware of their own learning verbs - set out on page 21 - is a tool for enabling them to become managers of their own learning. SeSiFU is learning for action - based on an underlying understanding of how people learn. Ensuring that students are alert, not only for what they learn but how they learn it, is essential to establishing any learning-to-learn programme. That is a particular value of the SeSiFU learning verbs.

Citizenship

SeSiFU - on pages 18-21 - means that learning can be understood by students and clients, not only as a way of accommodating other people's requirements, but for making a difference to how things are. People can't sensibly engage in changing things unless they can learn how they work.

Careers development is, of course, both a way of pleasing other people and changing things. But work in its broadest sense - and citizenship in particular - is a way of changing things. The SeSiFU analysis will, then, prove to be at least as useful to helping people know what to do in their citizenship roles as it is in their work roles.

WHO GETS TO BE FULFILLED AND WHO FINDS PURPOSE IN THEIR LIVES?

section 10: Career, citizenship and identity pp. 22-23

The analysis on page 23 is the deepest and widest in this material, and refers most completely to underlying values of careers work.

It would be a mistake to assume that the excluded are concerned only with survival values. Thinking of work in more fulfilling and imaginative terms is not a luxury that only the well-heeled and well-connected indulge in. The hopes and aspirations of the excluded, however deformed by experience, may or may not be, are as integral to their career development as to anybody's. The need for a sense of identity, which can be valued by self and respected by others, is as deep in "the excluded" as in anyone; indeed, it is a significant feature of their situation.

Being able to imagine possible societies in possible futures is, of course, basic to a commitment to citizenship. It draws upon the willingness to move beyond personal survival and fulfilment into a commitment to social values.

When all such personal and social purposes are linked to learning, it is possible to talk of transferable learning. Indeed, without some such appreciation of the purposefulness of learning, there is no hope of people laying foundations for life-long learning. People need to believe that the investment of energy in learning is an investment worth making. Such calculations of investment and payoff are deep in the species. But, as this section makes clear, not all of the payoff need be for economic gain. There are other values.
APPENDIX: THINKING ABOUT CAREER - NOTES ON THE STORY SO FAR

It is not possible to understand new thinking on career without understanding what has come before. You will notice that almost all past thinking is still represented in current practice; in intelligent careers work older thinking is not supplanted by newer, it is supplemented.

**Early days - 1900-1960**

**Traits-and-factors**
Identifies features of the self, such as abilities and dispositions. Explain career in terms of matching particular people to suitable work. Much of what was once called the "seven-point plan" (Rodger, 1954) - with its use of such descriptors as "aptitude" and "personality" - relies upon such thinking.

**Self-concept**
Explains career in terms of ideas and feelings concerning myself-and-how-I-am-changing - through life stages. In so doing, the self experiences changing motivations and commitments (Super, 1957). Can include references to feelings and values (Roe, 1956) and to the affective, changing, multi-layered and unique experience of each person (Daws, 1968).

**Mid twentieth-century - 1960-80**

**Opportunity structure**
Explains career in terms of social-class positions, relative to the labour economy and its supporting education-and-training. People do not so much choose, as they are chosen for work. They take what is available, and learn to like what they can get (Roberts, 1977). The theory manifests inequality in educational attainment, participation in education and labour-market position (Banks & others, 1992).

**Social reproduction**
Explains the willingness with which the children of working-class families accept relatively menial work. People "reproduce" a limiting class-related world-view - and even collude with it. Describes the interactive processes in which family, peer and neighbourhood attachments (of young males) mediate that social-class-based influence - "how working class kids get working class jobs" (Willis, 1977).

**Community-interaction**
Sets career development in its immediate community context. Explains career in terms of encounters - people often act for, and in response to, other people. Social exchanges such as feedback, modelling and expectation are important in this process. Suggests effects which are entrapping, from a narrow range of contacts; and liberating, from a wider range (Law, 1981).

**Late twentieth-century - 1980-2000**

**Social-learning**
Explains career in terms of person-environment interactions: instrumentally where preferences favour activities in which people succeed; associatively where preferences favour activities which are valued in the culture. In both cases beliefs about self and the world are assembled and modified to take account of the learning from these interactions. Feedback, modelling and influence are features of the process (Krumblitz, 1994).

**Person-environment match**
A subtler form of trait-and-factor thinking, explaining career as a person-fit match. Explains action in terms of ability, needs and stable values, satisfaction by the employee, and harmony with the environment (Dawis, 1994).

**Constructivist**
Emphasises the importance of hard-to-express assumptions and feelings underpinning career development. Explains career in terms of "life themes", which may be rooted in early experiences but persist as repeated patterns of approach and avoidance. This inner life sees opportunities that beckon, and needs that drive a self to action (Savickas, 1995).
New Thinking for Connexions and Citizenship

Pragmatic-rational choice
Enlists the concept of "habitus" which comprises the habitual beliefs, ideas and preferences on which a person acts, but it is rooted in the social-class-related position that the person inhabits. An effect is "pragmatic rationality" which remains for much of the time a part of habitus, but from time to time can be a departure (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1996).

Emergent thinking

Cultural capital
Describes how experience embeds the values, beliefs and habits of - for example - a social or ethnic group. What can be known about a "self" includes this internalised cultural capital. People may experience arbitrary discrimination when they try to negotiate life chances beyond the culture of origin, because the expectations of the one group do not correspond with the values of another (Bloomer & Hodkinson, 2001).

Career-learning
Career is learned behaviour, and requires an explanation of sustainable action. Basic learning is sensing information and impression and sifting it into useful order. Developed learning is focusing a point-of-view and understanding the causes and effects at that point. Developed learning cannot be engaged unless basic learning has been successfully developed to support it. Where this has not happened learning can actually distort perceptions of reality. But all career development can be educated (Law, 1996).

Hermeneutic
Concerned with meaning and purpose in career: career is not what experts say it is, it is what people make of it (Collin and Young, 1992). The proposition is capable of extension, linking earning to spending, working to resting, planning to loving, achieving to enjoying... and so on. This "post-modernist" freedom encourages a widening range of ideas about possible selves in possible futures - many outside conventional employment, such as volunteering and citizenship roles. In order to do justice to such ideas theory needs to understand how imaginative, insightful and intuitive thinking can be enabled as reliable bases for action (Law, Meijers & Wijers, 2001).

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Telephone: 1954 2571111 FAX: 1954 2571111

E-Mail Address: bill@hishiko.com Date: 23/5/07

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