

Career education and guidance and race (in)equality in England

Charlotte Chadderton

ORCID: [0000-0001-6022-6931](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6022-6931)

Abstract

In this chapter I explore the links between careers education and guidance, neoliberalism and race inequality through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Employing the example of careers guidance policy for secondary schools in England, I analyse recent government guidelines from the Department for Education. Drawing on insights from CRT, a theory of structural racism which originated in the US but which has been employed by education scholars in the UK to examine the way in which racial inequality is maintained by education policy, I argue that career guidance policy in England fuels neoliberal race inequality. English career guidance policy does this in a number of ways: it promotes neoliberal narratives of colour blindness and meritocracy; it promotes the myth that young people's barriers to success on the labour market are due to low aspirations, stereotypical thinking and a lack of resilience and hard work, rather than racial structures and white supremacy; it calls up longstanding stereotypes of cultural deficiency among ethnic minority populations; and it devalues minority groups' social and cultural capital and legacy of resistance to racism in the education system and labour market. I conclude by considering what career guidance policy and practice might look like if it were informed by insights from CRT.

Neoliberalism and education, learning and work

We are living in neoliberal times. Since the oil crisis of 1973 and the global recession it provoked, 'the new capitalism' (Sennett, 2006) has transformed economic and social conditions. Neoliberal policies promote economic competitiveness rather than the welfare of citizens as the primary task of governments. Neoliberalism transfers wealth from the poorest to

wealthiest, and from public to private coffers (Harvey, 2003). The new, neoliberal economy tends to be associated with narratives of inevitable global ‘progress’, which it is seen as impossible, and even nonsensical, to resist. Scholars have outlined the implications of neoliberal regimes for education, learning and work:

A key consequence of neoliberal change has been the growth of unemployment and precarious, low-paid work, creating large communities of ‘unemployable and invalid’ people (Bauman, 2004: 51) across the globe, for whom there is no work in the new economy. Characteristics which are valued in neoliberal regimes include competitiveness, an entrepreneurial attitude, individualism, flexibility, self-interest, aspiration and resilience (Giroux, 2004; Chandler and Reid, 2016). The risk and responsibility for lifelong education, employment and well being is being shifted to individuals. Disadvantage is seen to be the result of bad choices and individual decisions. The cultures of the most disadvantaged populations are pathologised in order to legitimise the reduction of the welfare state, and blame the poor and disadvantaged for their own disadvantage, allowing them to be identified as the blockage to future global competition and national economic prosperity.

A main focus of education and learning in neoliberal regimes is to change individuals’ behaviour in face of insecurity, precarity and risk, rather than changing wider conditions to address these insecurities. Pedagogies in neoliberal regimes focus therefore on individual or community capabilities, on capacity-building and empowerment of the subject to make better decisions, on teaching people to make better lifestyle choices, and on resilience-building (Chandler, 2016) as well as instilling characteristics such as competitiveness, an entrepreneurial attitude, flexibility, self-interest and aspiration in individuals, characteristics which as I show below, are viewed by the UK government as important in careers work (Department for Education, 2017). Before considering careers work in more detail, I briefly explore some of the main implications of neoliberal regimes for race equality.

Neoliberalism and race

In neoliberal regimes, the role of social structures such as class, gender and race are somewhat masked, because differential outcomes are seen as based on subjective choices rather than structures (Chandler, 2016: 47). Mainstream academia has typically focussed more on the implications for class of neoliberalism than race, however, scholars of race argue that neoliberalism is also a racial project, and produces racially unequal societies (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010; Kapoor, 2013; Goldberg, 2009; Omi & Winant, 2015, Cole 2017). It has also been argued that globally, the neoliberal project is ultimately a neo-colonial one, involving the continuation of colonial power relations through processes of economic dependence, conditional aid and cultural hegemony (e.g. Hardt and Negri, 2000). There is little work, however, which explicitly links neoliberalism, neo-colonialism and race, and which examines how these inter-connected projects play out in educational agendas in the wealthy countries of Europe or the US, the intellectual homes of neoliberalism (see, e.g. Giroux, 2006, 2010).

Dominant political narratives in neoliberal systems claim meritocracy and ‘colour-blindness’, where all individuals have equal opportunities and where race no longer matters. Racism is seen as having been dealt with and it is sometimes claimed that we are living in a post-racial society. In many western countries anti-discrimination laws have been introduced to prevent race inequality, the UK’s Commission for Racial Equality has been merged into the Equality and Human Rights Commission as it was regarded as unnecessary to have a separate body dealing with race equality. In fact, neoliberal regimes further marginalise minority ethnic populations and populations of colour and polarise racial identities. For example, poverty rates remain higher across ethnic minority households compared with white British households in the UK, (Hughes, 2015), and equally across African American households compared with white American households in the US (Omi and Winant, 2015). The disproportionate levels of poverty and disadvantage among minority ethnic people and people of colour render the impact of neoliberal policies harsher on these groups in general (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010; Omi and Winant, 2015; Cole, 2017). Since the financial crisis of 2008/9, unemployment has increased

disproportionately among the minority ethnic population in the UK, for example, the level of unemployment for minority ethnic groups stands at 9.9% in comparison with 5.4% in comparison with the overall population despite a recent improvement (Department for Work and Pensions, 2016). In the US, the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008 more than doubled the already large wealth gap between white and black, and white and Hispanic people (Omi and Winant, 2015: 227).

Labour markets in Europe and other western countries have been racially segregated throughout the 20th century (Roedinger, 1991, Penn; 2004), and racial segregation in the labour market is still significant (Chadderton & Wischmann, 2014; Hughes, 2015). Despite minority ethnic people being reasonably well represented in some, high status and highly paid jobs, such as medicine or academia, particularly in countries such as England and the US, they are still under-represented in the highest positions, and over-represented in part-time, more precarious posts (Bhopal & Jackson, 2013). In countries such as Germany, ‘people from migrant backgrounds’ (the term used to refer to individuals whose origins are non West European) are under-represented in all high status jobs (e.g. Ha, 2012). The ‘ethnic pay-gap’, which describes the situation in which white people earn more than minority ethnic people, is well-documented in England (see e.g. Brynyn & Guveli, 2012; Bhopal & Jackson 2013), perhaps less so in countries which do not ethnically monitor such as Germany. Brynyn and Guveli have argued that the gap is mostly explained by occupational segregation, while within occupations this gap is less substantial although still present. Again, despite common neoliberal narratives which claim that educational and training systems are meritocratic and race is no longer a factor shaping opportunity and experience, vocational education and apprenticeships are very raced in Europe and the US (Penn, 2004; Chadderton & Wischmann, 2014). However, the complex interplay of social structures, including class, gender and race, which fuel and sustain these inequalities continue to be masked by neoliberal discourses which suggest the individual is responsible for her own educational and labour market outcomes.

Careers work and race

Guidance theories such as multi-cultural counselling theories tend to take into account that race/ethnicity is a factor in decision-making, however, the influence that career guidance policy and practice can have on the reproduction of racial disadvantage is often underplayed (e.g. Stitt-Gohdes, 1997), while many guidance theories do not take race and race-related issues into account at all. In European countries such as Germany and Austria, when ethnicity is considered, work tends to focus on the (perceived) deficits of students such as migration status, lack of citizenship or assumed lack of social networks and assumed language problems (e.g. Wieser et al, 2008; Horn and Horsch, 2010). Over the last thirty years, a few more critical sociological studies have shown that careers work with young people has contributed to the stereotyping and racialisation of young people which has had implications for education, training and work decisions (Cross, Wrench & Barnett, 1990; Mirza, 1992; Reid, 2005; Solorzano et al, 2005; Beck, Fuller & Unwin, 2006). Scholars have argued that careers work is based on a legacy of oppression and postcolonialism (Reid, 2005), that guidance models and practices are based on an idea of an ideal client being white, middle class and male (Cook et al, 2002; Malik & Aguado, 2005), that 'culture' tends to be regarded as an essentialised, narrow and homogenous set of values and beliefs tied to the student's perceived ethnic background (Sultana, 2017) or something which is holding students back and they need to escape from (Reid, 2005; Solorzano et al, 2005). Research across several years has found that careers advisors and teachers push people of colour into stereotypical occupations or towards low status vocational routes partly based on deficit-based stereotypes about their academic ability (Cross et al, 1990) (Mirza, 1992; Solorzano et al, 2005; or towards technical and vocational education and training when they wanted a job (Cross et al, 1990; Britton et al., 2002); that teachers, vocational trainers and careers advisors often assume that minority ethnic young people aspire only to jobs which require a university degree, despite these young people actually having similarly diverse aspirations to white young people (Black Training and Enterprise Group 2008: 10).

Critical Race Theory analysis

David Gillborn, critical race theorist in education in the UK, states that '[e]ducation policy is not designed to eliminate race inequality but to sustain it at manageable levels' (Gillborn, 2008). Gillborn argues that it is not a coincidence that the education system is racially unequal, and in fact, education policy designs the system like that. In this chapter I employ Critical Race Theory (CRT) to argue that careers guidance policy in England fuels neoliberal race inequality.

Although CRT originated in the USA as a response to the critical legal studies movement, which critiqued the alleged objectivism of the legal system (Ladson-Billings, 1998), it has been adapted as a research tool to challenge assumed neutrality and meritocracy in education in the US (e.g. Ladson-Billings, 1998; Yosso, 2005) and the UK (e.g. Gillborn, 2008; Chadderton, 2013) by revealing deeply engrained racial structures in systems often assumed to be equitable and fair. It should be noted that CRT cannot be unproblematically employed in a European context which is so different historically and racially from the US. However, insights from CRT provide a useful framework which foregrounds the role of racial structures as a central aspect of analysis to challenge common neoliberal narratives of objectivity and individual responsibility in careers work as well as to situate career guidance policy in the context of wider racialised social structures.

CRT is a tool to analyse race and racism in social interaction as a structure and discourse which shapes the interaction. Importantly, even if race is not specifically mentioned, the starting point is that race plays a role in social interaction (Duncan, 2002:87)

CRT consists of a large and diverse body of work. However, there are several tenets upon which most critical race theorists would agree; those upon which I draw for this chapter follow (Tate, 1997; Lynn, 1999; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Bergerson, 2003; Delgado, 1995; Gillborn, 2006; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Yosso, 2002; Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2004, Gillborn 2008).

- Race and racial ‘difference’ are socially constructed and culturally and historically located.
- CRT foregrounds race and racism as a central aspect of any analysis.
- CRT views racism as so endemic to everyday life and so deeply engrained in society that it is considered normal, rather than aberrant. It therefore frequently goes unnoticed by dominant groups, and sometimes also by the oppressed.
- It challenges dominant liberal (and neoliberal) concepts and approaches, including neutrality, objectivity, meritocracy, universality and colour blindness. Critical race theorists argue that systems and spaces which tend to be considered neutral and meritocratic such as education or the labour market are in fact not only racially stratified but they reproduce race inequality and unequal outcomes.
- It challenges ahistoricism and emphasises the importance of context.
- Some critical race theorists write about white supremacy, which in this case does not refer to neo-Nazism or apartheid (although these are products of a white supremacist system), rather it ‘is seen to relate to the operation of forces that saturate the everyday mundane actions and policies that shape the world in the interests of White people’ (Gillborn, 2008:35). This does not mean that all white people are inevitably privileged in every way, and recognises that they could be marginalised by class, gender, disability or sexuality, however it does emphasise that white people benefit as a group from the disadvantaging of minority ethnic people.

White people are the beneficiaries of racism, and are complicit in maintaining white supremacy in ways they may not recognise or understand, even as they might try to challenge it. There is therefore a tension for white people such as myself who employ CRT to analyse race inequality. However, it has been argued that white people committed to working towards the eradication of racial oppression can act as allies, supporting their friends, family and

colleagues of colour and actively working towards the eradication of racial oppression and white supremacy, but avoiding reproducing oppressive relationships of neo-colonisation by claiming to ‘represent’ minority ethnic people in some way, or taking over CRT to promote white interests (Bergerson, 2003). Indeed, some have argued that members of privileged groups have a responsibility to support marginalised groups, and that leaving the study of racism and white supremacy to people of colour turns it into a minority issue (Alexander and Knowles, 2005).

In this chapter then, I ‘engage in the strategic and sensitive use of CRT’ (Bergerson, 2003: 51), keeping in mind that CRT is a framework developed by scholars of colour to understand their experiences of racism. The position of white scholars employing a CRT framework is not unproblematic and remains inevitably an uncomfortable one, and it does not mean that I will be able to avoid benefitting from white privilege, even as I aim to challenge it. My intention, as a white person, in this chapter, is to contribute to the unmasking white supremacy, which tends to remain hidden unless explicitly revealed, and raise awareness of the racialising implications of policies and practices which are presented as neutral. (See my previous work e.g. Chadderton, 2012 for a more in-depth discussion of these issues).

Critical race theorists have not, on the whole, produced an explicit analysis of racialised neoliberalism, and the links between the economic system and racism tend to remain implicit and under-theorised in much CRT (Cole, 2017). The aim of critical race theorists tends to be the eradication of racial inequality and oppression via learning and activism within the existing economic system rather than the overthrow of capitalism (Warmington, 2012). I would argue, however, that CRT can provide a useful framework for analysis of the implications of racialised neoliberalism, and a CRT analysis of careers policy in England offers an example of the ways in which CRT can be employed to examine how neoliberalism functions to both silence the importance of race, whilst continuing to fuel racial inequalities as well as suggesting a framework for working towards the eradication of racial inequality.

Towards a critical race analysis of career education and guidance in England

In this chapter, I consider the UK government's approach to careers education and guidance in England. In my analysis I focus on the 2017 iteration of the guidelines for schools (Department for Education, 2017). (As I finished writing this chapter in Dec 2017/January 2018, a new iteration appeared which has a somewhat different focus [Department for Education, 2018]. I don't consider the new iteration here, except to say that many of the points which I make about the 2017 guidelines could be made about the 2018 version). In the context of the Coalition Government's focus on school autonomy and a marketised approach to education, the Education Act 2011 handed over responsibility for careers work in England from local authorities to schools, coming into force from September 2012. In the past, careers work had been the responsibility of local authority funded careers services and, from 2001–11, of Connexions, the holistic support service whose remit was to provide all kinds of Information, Advice and Guidance (IAG) to young people. In the guidelines for schools issued in 2017, there is a brief mention of stereotypes in the guidelines for schools, but the focus is on gender and actual guidance is vague or non-existent (Department for Education, 2017). In addition there is a move away from the work of professional careers advisors, and a focus on employers and contacts with the world of work (see Chadderton, 2015). This has accelerated the development of a market in careers companies and organisations providing activities related to careers education, including business mentoring and STEM experiences (see e.g. Hughes, 2013). In this section I highlight some selected elements of the Department for Education's policy on careers guidance to argue that the policy fuels racial inequality. I argue that it does this by promoting neoliberal narratives of colour blindness and meritocracy which mask racialised structures and racial inequalities in the labour market; by promoting the notion that young people's barriers to success on the labour market are due to low aspirations, stereotypical thinking and a lack of resilience and hard work rather than racial structures; by calling up longstanding stereotypes of cultural deficiency among ethnic minority populations; and by devaluing these groups' cultural capital and legacy of resistance to racism in the education system and labour market.

Critical race theorists argue not only that racialised norms shape social structures, attitudes, policies and discourses, but, as already mentioned above, ‘[e]ducation policy is [...] designed to [...] sustain [race inequality] at manageable levels’ (Gillborn, 2008). This challenges the widespread belief that education and training systems are inherently fair and equitable, and that racism consists simply of individual and aberrant acts (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Gillborn, 2008). A CRT analysis of career guidance policy argues careers work does not take place in a vacuum- schools are spaces where racial inequalities and racial identities are reproduced. Viewed through a CRT lens, the colour blind approach taken by the government to careers work, and the wider context of widening social inequality as a direct result of government policy, including a move away from prioritising race equality by government since 2010 (Law, Finney & Swann, 2012), are connected. Whilst the DfE guidelines on careers work do mention ‘those from disadvantaged backgrounds’ (p. 5), the guidelines are deracialised, which critical race theorists would argue are likely to leave current inequalities intact.

The guidelines require that ‘independent’ and ‘impartial’ guidance ‘that the person giving it considers will promote the best interests of the pupils to whom it is given’ (p. 6) is provided to young people. These terms are not only vague and undefined, but viewed through a critical race lens, objectivity and neutrality is not possible. Even if race is not specifically mentioned, like class and gender, it is likely that it will play a role in interaction (Duncan, 2002). As Cross et al (1990) argued, careers advisors and teachers are often influenced by, and feed stereotypes. For critical race theorists, stereotypes are shaped by wider racial structures which disadvantage minority ethnic people and are frequently hidden and so deeply engrained, that especially white people tend to be unaware of their complicity in these structures.

A main focus of the new statutory duty for schools to provide careers guidance is to raise students’ aspirations (DfE: 6). This reflects wider neoliberal narratives which claim that individuals’ aspirations are responsible for labour market outcomes, and outcomes can be improved simply by raising aspirations. A CRT approach to analysing this requirement seeks to disrupt the portrayal of young people’s aspirations as low (Parker & Stovall, 2004). Indeed,

critical race theorists would argue that this portrayal of students' aspirations as low has particular implications for young people of minority ethnic background, who are frequently assumed to lack social and cultural capital, in that their knowledges, skills, abilities, values, aspirations, resistances, contacts and behaviours are de-valued (Carby, 1982; Yosso, 2005: 69). Such theories of cultural deficit approaches belong to a long history of the theorisation of deficit thinking, also applied, for example, to social class, (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) where knowledges, values and behaviours common among the upper and middle classes are valued as capital, and the lower classes are perceived to be lacking in capital. Where there is an assumption of cultural deficiency, disadvantage is assumed to be the fault of the ethnic group, the family or the individual (blamed on ethnic or 'cultural' reasons), and social systems remain unquestioned as they are assumed to be equitable. It could be argued that the claims made by politicians regarding alleged aspirational deficits among young people from migrant backgrounds might partially be informed by assumptions of cultural deficit, and indeed, fuel assumptions that minority young people are lacking aspiration. In fact there is evidence that aspirations among minority young people are not low, nor are they lower than their white counterparts (Butler and Hamnett, 2011:3; Law et al, 2012; BTEG, 2008), and are therefore not instrumental in differential educational or labour market outcomes.

Critical race theorists would also argue that the notion of aspirations is itself a raced notion which needs to be problematised, as is the notion of 'career choices', mentioned in the guidelines. In a raced society where individuals classified as white are privileged, and those classified as racial minorities are disadvantaged, the notion that young people are aspiring freely or making straightforward, from a CRT point of view, the notion of objective 'choices' should be problematised, as it masks the racial structures which will have contributed to these aspirations (Chadderton & Wischmann, 2014). Indeed, as others have argued in relation to careers guidance (e.g. Law, 2005) the idea of choice is meaningless in a society with deeply entrenched marginalisation and privilege and is based on Western ideas locating the capacity for free thought within an individual. Through a CRT lens, the notion of raising aspirations

cannot be straightforward because it is tied up with racialised power relations, social status and expectations, as well as notions of the ideal learner and worker, which are both white (Youdell, 2003).

Critical Race theorists would also argue that the DfE's approach perpetuates the myth that the education system and labour market functions fairly and equitably and silences the racial stratification of the job market. The guidelines state for example, "Having the opportunity to talk to people in those jobs and visit workplaces helps to build knowledge and understanding of the full range of careers available in a particular sector. This can help to broaden horizons, challenging stereotypical thinking about the kind of careers to which individuals might aspire." (p8) Whilst most people would agree that having the opportunity to visit workplaces can help to build an understanding of the range of careers available in a sector, this statement firstly ignores the possibility that these visits might also potentially confirm rather than challenge perceptions among young people of what kinds of jobs they can do, for example if they visit a workplace where all the, for example, engineers, appear to be white (Royal Academy of Engineering, 2016). As the RAE (2016) claim, "71% of white engineering graduates find full-time jobs after six months compared with just 51% of black and minority ethnic (BME) students. [...] Although employment prospects on the whole are very good, a black or Asian engineering graduate is more than twice as likely to be unemployed as a white counterpart of similar age and gender with similar study and attainment characteristics". Without contextualisation of issues such as barriers to access, inequalities in the education system and labour market, cultural expectations, or alternative companies known for their diverse workforces, such a visit could simply confirm the stereotype of the white engineer. Equally, this statement is problematic because focussing on challenging stereotypical thinking rather than challenging a deeply engrained lack of diversity in the sector the stereotypes are seen as located in individuals' heads, rather than being part of a wider issue of institutionalised practices and white supremacy.

Equally the guidelines focus on the development of characteristics often promoted in neoliberal education. They state that “[f]acilitating access to a range of inspirational role models can instil resilience, goal setting, hard work and social confidence in pupils, encouraging them to overcome barriers to success.” (p. 7) Earlier on, the guidelines mention the importance of developing the character attributes ‘resilience and grit’ (DfE 2017 p4). Whilst this statement does indeed recognise that young people will face barriers to success, it is also problematic for two reasons. Firstly, because it places the responsibility on the individual to overcome barriers, rather than considering structural issues. This perpetrates the neoliberal myth that if an individual can change their character, they will be successful in the neoliberal system. Secondly, from a CRT point of view, this is particularly problematic for marginalised, minority groups who have, for example, had to develop strategies to deal with racism and discrimination and survive in a white supremacist society on a number of levels over generations (e.g. Rollock et al, 2014). Indeed, it could be argued that such statements devalue the social and cultural capital and intergenerational learning of minority groups, as well as informal and strong, supportive networks which are especially valuable for transitions into the labour market (Yosso, 2005; Law et al, 2012).

Critical Race Theory would also take issue with the guidelines’ lack of attention to historical and racial context and the legacy of resistance to racism. For example, the guidelines state that careers work in schools should ‘Widen access to options available post-16, for example, apprenticeships, entrepreneurialism or other vocational routes alongside the more traditional A levels and university route.’ Whilst probably most would agree it is good practice to ensure that students are well-informed about all future options, a critical race theory analysis would consider the implications of different educational pathways for differently privileged or marginalised groups. Critical race theorists argue that one way in which racial inequality has been maintained historically is by the funnelling of people of colour into low status vocational education rather than higher status academic routes. (see e.g. Avis, Orr and Warmington, 2017; Beicht and Walden, 2017). There is, for example, a history of resistance to low status vocational

routes in societies such as the UK and US, where the status difference between academic and vocational education is particularly marked. This differential status has particular implications for marginalised racial minorities. Equally research from England argues that a legacy of discrimination and resistance shapes some minority young people's decisions not to apply for an apprenticeship for similar reasons (Ecotec, 2009).

A CRT-informed approach to career guidance

Currently, career guidance policy in England promotes neoliberal narratives which have particular implications for ethnic minorities when viewed through a CRT lens, and therefore contribute to maintaining neoliberal race inequality. These narratives include the individualisation of disadvantage, the promotion of individual responsibility for learning, choices and labour market success, and the silencing of the role of social structures such as race in differential outcomes. However, whilst I would not wish to overestimate the power of career guidance to address race inequality, a CRT informed approach could potentially engage students in discussions around inequalities in the education system, guidance and the labour market. Although critical race theorists argue that neoliberal narratives around race such as colour-blindness leaves racial inequalities intact, they do not tend to argue for a change in the economic system. Rather the focus of CRT is to create a more racially just society within the existing system. In the context of career guidance then, this would mean an assumption that career guidance and education can enhance social justice, whilst accepting the current economic system (see also Sultana, 2014), although some might argue this is ultimately impossible, as capitalism, and therefore the labour market, are inevitably racially stratified, just as they also inevitably reproduce class and gender inequalities.

Critical race theorists would argue that career guidance should avoid being a mechanism for reinforcing white supremacy and reconciling people to this. As others have argued, introducing new models of guidance can be very difficult in practice (see e.g. Hooley, 2015). Schools have little time, in England career guidance and education is often carried out

by non-careers professionals (see e.g. Chadderton, 2015). Furthermore, the topics of race and racism are frequently resisted as too sensitive or even no longer relevant due to the strength of neoliberal post-racial narratives. With these caveats in mind, a CRT approach to career guidance might include the following suggestions.

CRT lays great importance on experiential knowledge. In a careers education context, this would involve guidance which incorporates students' own experiences of work. This might include sharing family experiences of work, unemployment, social networks as routes into work, migration for work and education reasons, pay, precarity and casualisation and collective resilience where appropriate, and helping students to connect their personal and family experiences to political, social, economic and racial structures and ultimately challenge the notion that education, careers and work are meritocratic.

Whilst the development of individual survival strategies such as resilience and flexibility does have its place in careers education and most certainly in CRT, it should be in the context of a consideration of an understanding of the survival strategies of different marginalised groups in society (recent migrants, different ethnic groups, women, LGBT people) historically. Black activists such as W.E.B. Dubois (2001) argued in the early twentieth century that African Americans should aim to get a classical, academic education as a way out of poverty into better paid jobs, leadership positions, to build confidence, to be able to understand their own positions and to be able to control their own lives, rather than a lower status and lower paid vocational option. Critical race theorists would argue that the notion of collective resilience and resistance to marginalisation needs to be considered alongside developing individual resilience, including an understanding of the role of movements for political representation, union membership, and companies known for their ethical labour practices and conditions and more equal governance structures.

In order to reveal normalised structures of white supremacy, which is a main purpose of CRT-informed pedagogical work, where possible, careers-related activities should be informed by a study of labour market intelligence and education statistics and a reflection on

different trends, including race, gender and class representation in different fields. Workplace visits and work experience should ideally be part of the curriculum and experiences should be evaluated and used as an opportunity to reflect on issues in the labour market such as race inequalities.

Deficit and essentialising approaches should be avoided (Yosso, 2002, 2005), for example, the focus on raising aspirations which implies that student aspirations are low. These approaches should be replaced by a focus on students learning about different options, as well as a consideration of what might shape aspirations and choices, including non-essentialised reflections on home, school and popular cultures, labour market histories and family expectations.

CRT offers a framework which allows us to view careers guidance policy as part of a wider political narrative and structure designed to maintain white supremacy in the labour market (Roedinger, 2001; Gillborn, 2008). Equally, an approach to career guidance and education informed by CRT would aim to educate students about these structures and their own positions and possibilities for action as they move into the labour market. This is a message which can inform both policy and practice. By focussing on an understanding of structures and social and racial positioning, a historical approach, an analysis of experiential knowledge and a rejection of deficit approaches, insights from CRT could potentially contribute to a more socially just form of career guidance.

Bibliography

- Alexander, C. & Knowles, C. (2005). *Making race matter. Bodies, space and identity*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Avis, J., Orr, K. & Warmington, P. (2017). Race and vocational education and training in England. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 69 (3), 292-310. doi:10.1080/13636820.2017.1289551
- Baumann, Z. (2004). *Wasted Lives. Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge and Maldon, MA: Polity Press.

- Beck, V., Fuller, A. & Unwin, L. (2006). Safety in Stereotypes? The Impact of Gender and 'Race' on Young People's Perceptions of their Post-compulsory Education and Labour Market Opportunities. *British Education Research Journal*, 32 (5), 667–686. doi:10.1080/01411920600895718
- Beicht, U. & Walden, G. (2017). Transitions of young migrants to initial vocational education and training in Germany: the significance of social origin and gender. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 69, (3), 424-449. doi: 10.1080/13636820.2016.1275032
- Bergerson, A. A. (2003). Critical race theory and white racism: is there room for white scholars in fighting racism in education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16 (1), 51-63. doi: 10.1080/0951839032000033527
- Bhopal, K., & Jackson, J. (2013). *The Experiences of black and minority ethnic academics: Multiple identities and career progression*. Southampton. Retrieved from <http://blackbritishacademics.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Research-Report-The-Experiences-of-Black-and-Minority-Ethnic-Academics-Dr-Bhopal.pdf>.
- Black Training & Enterprise Group (BTEG). (2008). *Improving equalities in apprenticeships*. London: Black Training and Enterprise Group.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage.
- Britton, L. B., Chatrik, B. Coles, G. Craig, C. Hylton, G. Mumtaz, P. Bivand, R. & Burrows Convery, P. (2002). *Missing Connexions. The career dynamics and welfare needs of black and minority ethnic young people at the margins*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Brynnyn, M. & Guveli A. (2012). Understanding the ethnic pay gap in Britain. *Work employment and society*, 26(4), 574-587. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012445095>
- Carby, H. (1982). Schooling in Babylon. In Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The empire strikes back. Race and racism in 70s Britain* (pp. 183-211). London, New York: Routledge.
- Chadderton, C. (2012). Problematising the role of the white researcher in social justice research. *Ethnography and Education*, 7 (3), 363-380. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2012.717203>
- Chadderton, C. (2013). Towards a Research Framework for Race in Education: Critical Race Theory and Judith Butler. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26 (1), 39–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2011.650001>
- Chadderton, C. & Wischmann, A. (2014) Racialised norms in apprenticeship systems in England and Germany. *Journal of Vocational Education & Training*, 66 (3), 330-347. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13636820.2014.917693>

- Chandler, D. (2016). Resilience. The societalisation of security. The neoliberal subject. In D. Chandler & J. Reid (Eds.), *The neoliberal subject. Resilience, adaption and vulnerability* (pp. 27-50.) London, New York: Rowman and Littlefield international.
- Chandler, D., & Reid, J. (2016). Introduction. The Neoliberal subject. In D. Chandler & J. Reid (Eds.), *The neoliberal subject. Resilience, adaption and vulnerability* (pp. 1-8.) London, New York: Rowman and Littlefield international.
- Cole, M. (2017). *New developments in critical race theory and education. Revisiting racialised capitalism and socialism in austerity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cook, E. P., Heppner, M. J. & O'Brien, K. M. (2002). Career Development of Women of Color and White Women: Assumptions, Conceptualization, and Interventions From an Ecological Perspective. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 50, 291–305. doi: 10.1002/j.2161-1912.2005.tb00014.x
- Cross, M., Wrench, J. and Barnett, S. (1990). *Ethnic Minorities and the Careers Service. An Investigation into Processes of Assessment and Placement*. Warwick, RI: Department of Employment.
- Delgado, R. (1995). The imperial scholar: reflections on a review of civil rights literature. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, G. & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: the key writings that formed the movement* (pp. 292-302). New York: New Press.
- Delgado Bernal D. (2002). Critical Race Theory, Latino Critical Theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: recognising students of colour as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8, 105-126. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800107>
- Department for Education. (2017). *Careers guidance and inspiration in Schools. Statutory guidance for governing bodies, school leaders and school staff* . Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/608259/Careers_guidance_and_inspiration_in_schools.pdf
- Department for Education. (2018) *Careers guidance and access for education and training providers. Statutory guidance for governing bodies, school leaders and school staff*. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/672418/Careers_guidance_and_access_for_education_and_training_providers.pdf
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (2001). *The education of black people: Ten critiques, 1906-1960, new edition*. Monthly review press.
- Duncan, G. A. (2002). Critical Race Theory and Method: Rendering Race in Urban Ethnographic Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8 (1), 85–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800106>

- Ecotec. (2009). *Addressing Inequality in Apprenticeships: Learners' Views*. Coventry: Learning and Skills Council.
- Gillborn, D. (2006). Rethinking white supremacy: who counts in 'WhiteWorld'." *Ethnicities*, 6 (3), 318-340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796806068323>
- Gillborn, D. (2008). *Racism and Education: coincidence or conspiracy?* Routledge
- Giroux, H. (2004). Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Neo-liberalism: making the political more pedagogical. *Policy Futures in Education* 2, (3 & 4), 494–503. Retrieved from <http://www.cws.illinois.edu/iprhdigitalliteracies/GirouxPublicPFinE2004.pdf>
- Giroux, H. (2006) Spectacles of Race and Pedagogies of Denial: Antiracist Pedagogy. In M. Donald & G. Panayota (Eds.) *The Globalization of Racism* (pp. 68-98.) Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Giroux, H. (2010) Black, Blue, and Read All Over: Public Intellectuals and the Politics of Race. In S.R. Steinberg and L. Cornish, (Eds.). *Taboo: Essays on Culture and Education* (pp. 75-92). New York: Peter Lang Publishers.
- Goldberg, D.T. (2009). *The threat of race. Reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Malden, MA, Oxford, Victoria: Wiley-Blackwell
- Ha, K. N. (2012). Die kolonialen Muster Deutscher Arbeitsmigrationspolitik [The Colonial Patterns of German Labour Migration Politics]. In H. Steyerl & E. Rodriguez (Eds.) *Spricht Die Subalterne Deutsch? Migration und Postkoloniale Kritik [Does the Subaltern Speak German? Migration and Postcolonial Critique]*, (pp. 56–107). Muenster: Unrast Verlag.
- Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hooley, T. (2015). *Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery: self-actualisation, social justice and the politics of career guidance*. Derby: International Centre for Guidance Studies, University of Derby
- Horn, S., & Hortsch, H. (2010). *Unterstützung von Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsene mit Migrationshintergrund beim Übergang von der Schule zum Beruf durch die Erhöhung ihrer Ausbildungsfähigkeit*. Dresden: Techn. Univ. Retrieved from <http://www.lernentechnik.de/aumil/info/bedarfsanalyse.pdf>.
- Hughes, D. (2013). The changing UK careers landscape: tidal waves, turbulence and transformation. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 41(3), 226-239. doi: [10.1080/03069885.2013.788131](https://doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2013.788131)
- Hughes, C. (2015). Ethnicity, poverty and youth unemployment. Improving outcomes for young people. Report for Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Kapoor, N. (2013). The advancement of racial neoliberalism in Britain. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 36 (6), 1028-1046. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.629002>

- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just What is Critical Race Theory and What's it Doing in a Nice Field like Education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11 (1), 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236863>
- Law, B. (2005). Liberte? Futilite? Autonomie! Careers education as an emancipatory activity. In B. Irving & B. Malik (Eds.) *Critical reflections on Career Education and Guidance: Promoting social justice within a global economy*. London: RoutledgeFalmer,
- Law, I., Finney, S., & Swann, S.J. (2012). Searching for autonomy: young black men, schooling and aspirations. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 17 (4), 569–590. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.725036>
- Lynn, M. (1999). Towards a critical race pedagogy. A research note. *Urban Education*, 33 (5), 606–626.. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085999335004>
- Lynn, M., & Parker, L. (2006). Critical Race Studies in Education: Examining a Decade of Research on US Schools. *The Urban Review*, 38 (4), 257–334. [doi:10.1007/s11256-006-0035-5](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-006-0035-5)
- Parker, L. & Stovall, D. O. (2004). Actions Following Words: Critical race theory connects to critical pedagogy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36 (2), 167–182. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2004.00059.x>
- Malik, B. & B. Aguado. (2005). Cultural diversity and guidance: myth or reality? In B. Irving, & B. Malik (Eds.) *Critical reflections on Career Education and Guidance: Promoting social justice within a global economy*. London: RoutledgeFalmer,
- Mirza, H. S. (1992) *Young, female and black*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Omi, M., & Winant., H. (2015). *Racial Formation in the United States* (3rd edition). New York and London: Routledge.
- Penn, R. (1998). Social Exclusion and Modern Apprenticeships: A Comparison of Britain and the USA. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 50 (2), 259–276. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13636829800200048>
- Reid, H. (2005). Beyond the toolbox: integrating multicultural principles into a career guidance intervention model. In B. Irving & B. Malik (Eds.) *Critical reflections on Career Education and Guidance: Promoting social justice within a global economy*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Roberts, D. J. & Mahtani, M. (2010). Neoliberalizing Race, Racing Neoliberalism: Placing 'Race' in Neoliberal Discourses. *Antipode*, 42 (2), 248–257. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00747.x
- Roediger, D. (1991). *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso.

- Rollock, N., Gillborn, D., Vincent, C., & Ball, S. J. (2014). *The colour of class. The educational strategies of the black middle classes*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Royal Academy of Engineering. (2016). *Engineering graduates highly employable - but ethnicity still a barrier, says Academy*. Retrieved from <http://www.raeng.org.uk/news/news-releases/2016/november/engineering-graduates-highly-employable-but-ethnic>
- Sennett, R. (2006). *The culture of the new capitalism*. Yale University Press.
- Sleeter, C. E. & Delgado Bernal, D. (2004). (2nd ed.). Critical pedagogy, Critical Race Theory and antiracist education. Implications for multicultural education. In J. Banks, & C. A. McGee Banks (Eds.) *Handbook of research on multicultural education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Solorzano, D. Villalpando, O. & Osegura, L. (2005). Educational Inequities and Latina/o Undergraduate Students in the United States: A Critical Race Analysis of Their Educational Progress *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4 (3), 272-294. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192705276550>
- Solorzano, D. G. & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical Race methodology: counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for educational research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8 (1), 23-44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800103>
- Stitt-Gohdes, W.L. (1997). *Career Development, Issues of gender race and class*. Information Series No. 371. ERIC Clearing House of adult, career and vocational education. Columbus, OH. Report for Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
- Sultana, R. (2014). Pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will? Troubling the relationship between career guidance and social justice. *International Journal of Educational and Vocational Guidance*, 14 , 5–19. Retrieved from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1037735>
- Sultana, R.G. (2017). Career guidance in multicultural societies: identity, alterity, epiphanies and pitfalls, *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 45 (5), 451-462. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2017.1348486>
- Tate IV, W.F. (1997). Critical Race Theory and education: history, theory and implications. *Review of Research in Education*, 22, 195-247. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X022001195>
- Warmington, P. (2012). 'A tradition in ceaseless motion': Critical Race Theory and black British intellectual spaces. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 15(1), 5-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.638861>

- Wieser, R., Dornmayr, H. Neubauer, B., & Rothmüller, B. (2008). Bildungs- und Berufsberatung von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund gegen Ende der Schulpflicht, Public Employment Service Austria AMS info, No. 113. <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/98114>
- Yosso, T. J. (2002). Toward a Critical Race curriculum. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 93-107.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8 (1), 69-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006>
- Youdell, D. (2003). Identity traps or how black students fail: the interactions between biographical, sub-cultural, and learner identities. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24 (1), 3-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690301912>