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Governance of Career Guidance

An enquiry into European policy



Governance of Career Guidance

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To my parents for their
encouragement, care and
political commitment

Abstract

The overall aim of this thesis is to enquire into and problematize the governance of career guidance and how individuals' career management is constructed within EU policy. The empirical material consists of European policy documents produced during 2000-2015. The two central research questions explore (1) how European career guidance is made governable, and (2) how individuals' career management is constructed and governed. The Foucauldian governmentality perspective and the analytic method of problematization is utilized. The analysis focuses on the compositions of specific normative forms of reason, discursive practices and specific techniques by which governing is exercised and knowledge is produced. The thesis is based on four articles, three of which concern career guidance and career management. The fourth article concerns education of citizenship. The analysis shows that the formation of a policy space for comparison of national systems of career guidance is significant for making European career guidance amenable to governance. It is mobilized by governing practices for involvement of institutional actors and the construction of standards of performance. This form of governance becomes effective on the condition that institutional actors use and produce knowledge and practices about what works in career guidance, and this implies self-control and constant monitoring. It is a complex process of producing self-regulation of career guidance adjustable to change and innovation in which both standardization and modulation are inbuilt. Moreover, this is dependent on the interplay of governance and self-government. Knowledge and practices shape career management as an individual competence, which each individual is assumed to achieve. The use of guidance techniques supporting this design and self-regulating practices contributes to responsabilizing individuals to achieve this competence. Knowledge of individuals' management of their careers includes civic competence. This led me to extend my use of the theoretical framework to investigate how knowledge of civic competence is constructed in European policy documents concerning teacher education from 2000 to 2012. My analysis shows that presumptions of teaching civic competence support the production of the active and learning subject.

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List of Articles

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Bengtsson, A. (2014). Enterprising career education: the power of self-management. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 33(3), 362–375. DOI:10.1080/02601370.2014.896085

Bengtsson, A. (2015). European career guidance policy: A focus on subtle regulatory mechanisms. *Zeitschrift für Weiterbildungsforschung - Report (Journal for the Research on Adult Education)*, 38(2), 241–250. DOI: 10.1007/s40955-015-0035-8

Bengtsson, A. (2015). Educating European citizenship: Elucidating assumptions about teaching civic competence. *Policy Futures in Education*, 13(6), 788–800. DOI: 10.1177/1478210315595785

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Introduction

Since the beginning of the 21st century, career guidance has been subject for political discussion. Career guidance is considered, among other things, insufficient in its support of individual career management in coherence with changing politics concerning work and a labour market characterized by mobility, flexibility and competition. Unpredictability concerning individuals' career management has urged international political initiatives highlighted the importance access to career guidance service (OECD, 2004; Watts & Fretwell, 2004).¹ Furthermore, political initiatives articulate a disharmony of the career guidance area to meet challenges described in terms of the production of a knowledge-based for a competitive economy. Against this backdrop, the European Union (EU) initiated, in the early 2000's, a strategy for reformation and harmonization of career guidance systems. It led to the approval of the EU resolution on career guidance in 2004 and the follow-up resolution in 2008 (Council of the European Union, 2004, 2008). The resolutions are linked to goals of lifelong learning in wider strategies for Europe, and these are described in the objective of the EU Lisbon strategy, which is to create "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy" (European Council, 2000, p. 3). The member states are expected to provide career guidance systems that 'support the lifelong career transitions of citizens' with a view to 'encourage the lifelong acquisition of career management skills' for all citizens (Council of the European Union, 2008, p. 3). Sweden, being a member state of the European Union (EU), also approved the resolutions on the harmonization of career guidance systems. These are voluntary agreements; yet, Swedish career guidance policies are expected to relate to common European goals and strategies of career guidance.

Thus, career guidance is no longer only a national matter but a transnational concern. Furthermore, it has come to be part of a larger EU project (hereafter referred to as European). European career guidance policy has a programmatic character: time-tables are set up, reports are produced, frameworks and performance indicators are established and the process is continuously monitored

¹ The present study consequently uses the term 'career guidance' to denote vocational guidance, career education, and career counselling. Exception for this use is made in article II in which the term 'career education' is used to clarify that this activity is part of, or in relation to, the curriculum.

and evaluated. Broaden access to career guidance service is expected to meet the promise of career management for each and every member of the population (Council of the European Union, 2008; OECD, 2004).² The expectations of career guidance to support political goals of lifelong learning in European goals appear to underlie this promise. However, policy is not merely about the provision of a career guidance service, but also to secure the potential of career guidance in its role of enabling individuals' choice, learning and management of careers.

The notion of career is no longer only synonymous with job and education, but it is nowadays inscribed in narratives of employability, lifelong learning, mobility, flexibility and social life (Collin, 2007; Patton & McMahon, 2014, p. 279). In this way, career management is not merely about preparing for education and work, but includes the whole life. This shift in understanding regarding career management is related to the idea that a career is driven by the person rather than the organization, and it suggests that everyone is involved in the production of careers (Hall & Moss, 1998). Thus the common act of career management has lost its familiarity. This has given rise to uncertainty concerning how to calculate for a future workforce or base for human capital as described in policy. Reformed career guidance is expected to contribute to improved predictability about careers by supporting individuals' resources for a lifelong and life-wide career management process. It entails challenges for the design of career guidance and the role of professional career guidance practitioners (OECD, 2004).

Considering the two interconnected events of a governmental programme for the reformation of career guidance and the increasing development of the assumption that each and every citizen is to be engaged in the management of their own careers, an examination of current career guidance policy is a timely and urgent question for research.³ This thesis investigates European career guidance policy as a political technology of governance, that is, policy is productive in creating social spaces, knowledge and political subjects (Dean, 2010; Shore & Wright, 2011). The examination focuses in particular on the relationship between governance, knowledge, and political reasoning and the constructions of career management as they are manifested in policy documents produced 2000–2015.⁴

² Lifelong learning is here a concept in political strategies. For a historicizing study of the notion of lifelong learning see *The Routledge international handbook of lifelong learning* (Jarvis, 2008).

³ The term "citizen" is used here in a general sense, meaning people or persons, and not in any legal sense.

⁴ Article IV investigates European teacher education policy, but uses the same theoretical perspective with a focus on governing practices.

Situating the thesis

In the following, I situate my thesis in the academic genre of governmentality studies, which is a field that investigates policy with a focus on modes of governance and self-government. Thus, it is not an investigation of policy implementation or policy success, neither is it governance at different levels (supranational, regional and national). It is an investigation of the ruling regime of policy, how it is shaped and the processes of how this governing is exercised. It is also concerned with processes of bio-political governance that target the population within the European Union as a political space. In this thesis the term ‘governance’ is used in a manner similar to ‘government’ in many governmentality studies, namely to describe the heterogeneous forms of the direction of conduct for various ends and the mobilization of diverse instruments, mechanisms and devices in the particular styles of rule (Dean, 2010).⁵ This analytic perspective is introduced below in the chapter on theoretical perspective.

Two strands of studies related to my investigation are described below. The first one is studies (mainly educational studies), which investigates transformed ways of governance, and the other one is educational studies, which examines the political aspects of changing knowledge concerning individuals responsibility of learning and employment. This is particularly related to career management. Along with situating the thesis within previous research on these topics, I also introduce recurrent themes in my investigation: performance, and responsibility. They are further elaborated in the discussion section.

Transformed ways of governance

Recent research has directed attention to new modes of regulation that have become polycentric, multileveled and transnational (see e.g. Peters & Pierre, 2006; Rosenau, 2009). The term ‘transnational’ describes that the state is one type of actor among several actors and that other interaction than state-to-state may occur. It means that governing activities circulate in multiple institutional networks. Coordination and cooperation are part of a horizontal network that are constantly managed and negotiated by actions of actors, but also by knowledge production, assessment and monitoring (Djelic & Sahlin, 2006, p. 4). This mode of regulation can be observed in the EU policy of harmonization of career guidance systems which is a process without legal sanctions that rests

⁵ Exceptions for this use is made when quoting Foucault and post-Foucauldian researchers who use the word government in this broad sense.

upon interdependency among actors and diverse instruments mainstreamed in the EU.

Governance within the EU is frequently based on voluntary agreements without binding rules or sanctions and this form of governance is commonly described as ‘soft law’ or ‘soft governance’ (European Commission, 2001). It is a form of governance that presumes the member states’ freedom to act on policy actions but it does not mean that regulative mechanisms are absent. The main regulative device in the EU for this purpose is the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) and its designed tools for enabling measurement and comparison of policy progress (Mörth, 2004). For example, the OMC is regarded as one of the main instruments for advancing the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) which is a process for developing a common European education space (Dale, 2009).

A broad perspective to study this form of governance is to take the notion of the governmentalization as a lens for the analysis.⁶ Governmentalization is here understood as ‘making governable’ and refers to how the governing is linked with actions needs to be taken. This perspective draws attention to how a European geopolitical space is made governable and practicable by numerous interacting elements and discourses (Walters & Haahr, 2005). Instead of directing the analysis to the European Union and its institutions and legislation, the lens of governmentalization centres on the practices (or operations), technologies (e.g. calculation) or techniques (e.g. statistics) that make it possible to govern key dimensions of social and economic life (Walters, 2008). These instruments for assigning legitimacy to politics are not novel, but of interest here is the expansion and intensity of these instruments in management of public areas, such as career guidance. The present thesis employs this perspective in order to grasp the governmentalization of career guidance: emergence of policy spaces, procedures, calculative practices and data production. Signs of the governmentalization of career guidance can be noted in policymaking that involves non-governmental agencies in policy networks. The involvement of the EU, the OECD and the World Bank (OECD, 2004; Watts & Fretwell, 2004) connects economic growth and competitiveness more closely with career guidance and education (Kjærgård, 2012).

Governmentalization of education has prompted researchers to redirect focus from governance as state-centred authority to transnational education governance (see e.g. Dale & Robertson, 2009; Lawn & Grek, 2012; Novóa & Lawn, 2002). Among other things, research demonstrates that the influence of new

⁶ The notion of governmentalization of Europe (Walters & Haahr, 2005) can be derived to Foucault’s analysis of the state and his notion of governmentalization of the state (Foucault, 1991a, p. 103).

actors such as intergovernmental organizations and academic expertise in the European education governance shows patterns of privatization and unequal actor positions. In relation to this tendency, researchers (Grek, 2015; Robertson, Mundy, Verger & Menashy, 2012) raise questions regarding the accountability of decision: who is accountable and for what? Another aspect of governmentalization of education concerns the rise of international assessment studies – for example the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) – that allows for international comparison of the performance and educational systems, and career development was one area in the 2012 survey.⁷ What many researchers have noted is the work these mechanisms and procedures do in the formation of a global or European space for education (Grek, 2015; Ozga, 2009).

Despite an increased political interest in public career guidance, there are so far few studies that examine the governance of career guidance. There is an overview of the European Union involvement in career guidance as an aspect of the wider policy areas of education, training and employment. It shows that this involvement is related to the EU priorities and that there is a shift from the development of a ‘European dimension’ as a common culture to be seen as a strategy to add value to the efforts of each member-state’s efforts to transform itself into a knowledge-based economy (Watts, Sultana & McCarthy, 2010). This statement is similar to the description of EHEA to “ensure more comparable, compatible and coherent systems of higher education in Europe” by 2020.⁸ However, a common European career policy area cannot be straightforward being compared to EHEA since the latter includes regulation of procedures such as the adoption of comparable degrees and systems of credits in higher education. Another study describes that the economic perspective on career dominates European policy, and concludes that greater emphasis on career guidance as being conducted on behalf of society, rather than the individual (Bergmo Pruvlovic, 2014).

Career guidance and career management in transition

Career management is the process that shapes careers. More precisely, within this process career development arises from a range of activities, techniques, choices, learning, planning and experiences (King, 2004). As indicted above, career management is nowadays thought of as a lifelong process and it is integrated in social life. Put briefly, career guidance is an activity that seeks to

⁷ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development initiated the international survey of PISA in 2000. The homepage of PISA: <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/> retrieved April 29, 2016.

⁸ The Bologna process: setting up the European higher education area. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:c11088>

support individuals in reaching their full potential regarding personal development and well-being with respect to their careers. It includes pedagogical methods to motivate self-knowledge, self-empowerment and self-assessment in order to take informed decisions about their careers. The aforementioned shift to make careers more person-driven is reflected in career theories and professional career guidance by the centring on the individual (Savickas, 2012). In the last decades, the view of lifelong career management as a state of continuous flux has influenced research. An over-exaggerated focus on the individual in career guidance methods has raised objections for running the risk of legitimizing an economic logic of responsibility concerning one's own well-being (Sultana, 2014). Another objection to this trend is the individual tends to obscure the constraints of the labour market and other kinds of limitations (Lundahl & Nilsson, 2009). The discrepancy of individuals' preparedness for self-managing his/her career has been observed among immigrant students in Sweden due to different awareness of their own abilities and possibilities in relation to the labour market and opportunities of education (Sundelin, 2016).

Studies of the labour market demonstrate that guidance uses techniques to regulate job-seekers to achieve the ability to develop the capacities to maintain or obtain new employment; this is commonly referred to as employability (Fogde, 2008; Garsten, 2008; Garsten and Jacobsson 2004). In this way, one can argue that career guidance is part of the 'governmentalization' of (lifelong) learning. This notion, which is introduced in governmentality studies in education, suggests that individuals are subjected to learning through social practices that adhere to a certain reason for learning. Learning in itself has become a kind of capital of workforce and work organizations that is constantly in need of being produced and reproduced (Simons & Masschelein, 2008; see also Edwards, 2002). Maarten Simons and Jan Masschelein (2008, p. 397) elucidate that the view on learning as capital emerges from the disconnection of learning from the traditional institutional context of education and teaching. This implies, they argue, that learning itself is regarded as a means to produce added value. A similar displacement of career management can be noted by the extension of environments for professional career guidance and a diversity of professional actors in the field, for example coaches and mentors, which opens for a redefinition of the professional career guidance practitioner (Kjærgård, 2012).

Other studies lay focus on individualization and responsabilization of careers. One perspective on responsabilized individuals is that it is circumscribed to the neoliberal economic logics, which, it is suggested, transforms education into a product and shapes students to be consuming individuals (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 254). A similar viewpoint is expressed in Barrie Irving's (2013) study of guidelines for career education in secondary schools, which

he writes, 'are caught up in the discursive delusion that an uncritical embedding of neoliberalism will provide individual solutions to social (in)justice and social exclusion' (Irving, 2013, p. 193). The education researcher Tina Besley (2010) uses the governmentality perspective to examine how responsabilization operates through individuals conduct and actions. She shows that the encouragement of acting on opportunities is a technique by which individuals are made responsible by their risk behaviour. Diverse techniques of risk-management and knowledge risk-management, she argues, produce different kind of subject positions. While the choices and risk behaviour of some youth permit them to acquire an entrepreneurial position, others are positioned as risky people. She concludes that risk-management through choices of career paths is a technique that aspires to make individuals responsible for their personal well-being.

Next, I provide a brief introduction to the theoretical perspective and analytic method utilized in this thesis.

Theoretical perspective and analytic method

To investigate the interrelated tendencies of the reshaping of career management and the reformation of career guidance, I have, as mentioned earlier, chosen to use the governmentality perspective. It is a theoretical perspective that permits an analysis of how systems of thought are related to political procedures, practices and techniques of various kinds (Dean, 2010). In a broad sense, practices are a socially accepted body of rules that guide one's actions (Flynn, 2005), but practices also refer to operations and actions. The governmentality perspective is based on the French philosopher Michel Foucault's notion of governmentality, which is a way of thinking of how to administrate a society and a population and to govern various domains more effectively. A specific form of governmentality, which Foucault refers to as liberal forms, emerged in Western societies and its endgame is the identification and regulation of populations (Foucault, 2008, 2009; see also Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999). It is a mode of governance that is not the exercise of authority of what people should do; rather, governance is realized through individuals, that is, what they do with their freedom to act within a field of possibilities. It is governance itself that forms the "object" (e.g. the citizen) to be governed and this involves self-government (Foucault, 2009, 2010b). In other words, actions and practices structure the field of possible action and this is an indirect regulation of the behavior of individuals or institutional actors (Gordon, 1991). This mode of governing is the interplay between freedom and security. It implies a balance of production of actions of freedom and the securement of collective well-being.

Modes of governmentality take different forms and must be analysed in their historical and societal context. After the introduction of Foucault's notion of governmentality (Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991), a growing group of researchers have contributed to its development in general (see e.g. Bröckling, Krasmann & Lemke, 2009; Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999; Walters, 2012). In addition to this literature, governmentality studies in education are of specific relevance for the present thesis (see e.g. Fejes & Nicoll, 2008; Masschelein, Simons, Bröckling, & Pongratz 2007; Peters, 2009; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). While the governmentality perspective has, so far, a scarce reception in career studies, there is a considerable amount of literature in education employing this theorizing perspective. A few of them relate to career guidance.⁹

The governmentality perspective allows me to analyze rationalities constructing the specific problem of a domain in terms of available actions and self-government (Lemke, 2011).¹⁰ Rationalities are here understood in a broad sense as strategies, tactics, truth-claims and reasoning about how to govern, for example disciplinary rationality or rationality of security. Governmental rationality implicates a process of mediation or transfer that connects governance with the governed. It is a process that creates a flexible and temporary gathering of actors, practices and aspirations (Rose, 1996b). Feedback information is an example of an available action that at the same time operate as mediating technique of response in the policy process investigated.

Using governmentality perspective as the basis for my analysis has the advantage that it does not require prior definitions of political spaces, the meaning of European, individual subjects or actors (Larner & Walters, 2004). Instead, I study how these concepts acquire meaning within particular regimes of discourse and practice. Further, the analytical lens of governmentality allows me to examine processes and techniques through which the self is constructed or modified by different techniques of self-government. Consequently, the analysis focuses on practices and rationalities that are inscribed in practices for rendering subjects (also collectives) responsible of acting (Rose, 1996a).

In tandem with the governmentality perspective, I use the analytic method of problematization. In studying policy texts, I unravel the conditions for the production of particular knowledge of career management and practices of

⁹ There are governmentality studies that investigate the activity of professional conversation in educational career guidance and analyse this practice as a form of confession (Besley, 2002; Fejes, 2008b). These studies do not explicitly relate to the study of policy in this thesis.

¹⁰ Space here refers to discursive relations that make European career guidance real (Nóvoa, 2015).

governing. In general terms it is to question rationalities, assumptions, activities and mechanisms that are presented as self-evident. It is not about explaining causation but rather illuminating the conditions for reasoning in this way and the activities and mechanisms enacted in a certain way at a specific time and place. This involves studying an existing form of problematization, which is the system of reasoning and its practices in each society. The task is to problematize governance as a particular contemporary narrative and to problematize modes of governance in their particularity in a historical context. To be more concrete, in this case problematization of career guidance in terms of effectiveness and the current need to optimize performance puts into play certain practices that go along with this claim (see Simons, 2015). The analytic approach is then to problematize the process of the production of this arrangement and the conditions for its emergence. In doing so, I interfere with knowledge constructions of career management and career guidance in policy and how they come to be. I re-problematize that which policy constructs as problematic about these issues, not to prove them wrong but to complicate what is presented as matter of fact.

Aim and research questions

Based on the above discussion concerning increased policy interest in the career guidance area, the overall aim of this thesis is to enquire into and problematize the governance of career guidance and how individuals' career management is constructed within EU policy.

In relation to this aim, two research questions are posed:

1. How is European career guidance made governable?
2. How is individuals' career management constructed and governed?

These research questions are answered from the results in three of my articles. The fourth article investigates European teacher education policy and the research question: How is knowledge of civic competence constructed?

The outline of the thesis

This is a compilation thesis and consists of two parts: four articles published in international academic journals and this overview text which links the articles to the research project. Three of these articles address career management and career guidance governance in the context of European policy. The fourth paper is published within the research project *Teaching Students to Become*

*Cosmopolitan Citizens? Prospects and Challenges for Swedish Teacher Education.*¹¹ The fourth article investigates how students are educated to achieve and perform civic competence as it is articulated in European teacher education policy. This article is related to the wider notion of career, which has come to be associated with how we live our lives as citizens. It is also connected to the other articles by the theoretical perspective and method.

In the current part, the opening chapter presents the research problem, which is situated in two themes: transformed ways of governance and changed ways of thinking and practising career management and career guidance. These themes, which are described with previous research, serve as the backdrop for the topic of research. In relation to this backdrop, I introduce the theoretical perspective and analytic method, which the next chapter further elaborates. The second chapter is a description of the theoretical perspective and concepts in use in the analysis, the method to conduct the analysis and the selection of empirical material. This chapter seeks to show the coherence of the choice of theoretical perspective and analytic method and the use of empirical material. The third chapter discusses the approach to study policy with help of previous literature. By using three different established approaches to policy, I argue for my stance on studying policy. This chapter is closely related the fourth chapter is a discussion of my answers to the research questions and a further elaboration of the results in my articles. This chapter focuses on the interaction of rationality and governing practices which are themes that run through my four articles. The discussion is designed from the current governing configuration of European career guidance; its mechanisms and rationale, and the governing configuration of individualized responsibility of career management. This design serves as a means to illustrate the operations of and the various mechanisms and ways of thinking by which efficient career guidance and career management are produced and to make collective actors responsible of productive career guidance and to make individuals responsible of their careers and civic competence. In this way, the discussion links the fourth article on teaching civic competence with the other articles. Based on this design, I discuss my investigation both with and in contrast to previous research. The fifth chapter is a conclusion that sums up my results and demonstrates its contribution to career and educational research. In addition, it poses further questions about how we can understand contemporary politics of career guidance and problematizations of people's career management. It also provides suggestions on potential further research. This part ends with a summary of my articles. The second part consists of the four articles written for this thesis.

¹¹ This project was financed by the Swedish Research Council.

Research strategy and method

This chapter elaborates the theoretical perspective, method and concepts used to answer the research questions in this thesis. Based on the purpose of the thesis, the theoretical approach is built on readings of Foucault's work and in particular his strategies for investigating governing and self-governing. As part of the governmentality perspective, I employ the method of problematization. In doing so, I analyse the assumptions and presuppositions that the problems are based upon and their connection with governmental rationalities and practices. The chapter begins with a description of the governmentality perspective and what it offers for this thesis. Thereafter, I describe the central concepts within the analysis, which are apparatus, technologies, subjectivity and discursive practices. In relation to the analytics and concepts outline, I also discuss my account of critique. It is followed by a description of how the analysis of my investigation is conducted and the section ends by describing the selection of the empirical material.

The governmentality perspective

The theoretical device used is built on the assumption that there is interdependence between epistemology and discursive practices and the production of truths about the real. Thus, knowledge is not the possession of truth, but it is situated and practised (Foucault, 1982a). In this reading, the real about, for example, career management is produced and enacted in mundane practices and through a range of tactics (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014; Mol, 1999). These understandings underlie my use of the governmentality perspective.

Overall, the analysis employed by the governmentality perspective is guided by the questions: why govern, how much to govern, and who are expected to govern themselves (Dean, 2010). These questions are posed in the historical context in which the current investigation takes place. As earlier mentioned, this perspective is based on Foucault's analysis of government, which is given two intertwined meanings. It relates to the security of society and the management of people by governing individuals' conduct and conscious (Foucault,

2009, 2014).¹² It means the governmentality perspective captures both the practices through which we are governed and the ways it is possible to think about governing, which emerge from a spectrum of historically contingent practices.

The governmentality perspective offers a lens to analyse configurations of rule and strategical programmes and the work they do in rendering a domain amenable to political calculation (Miller & Rose, 2008). It functions as an analytic lens to clarify the reasoning of governing through freedom, how governing works in decentralized policy processes, and how regulation operates through self-governing activities. It allows me to analyse reasoning concerning how to govern in connection with a specific aim, which pertain to how the regulation of subjects operates (Dean, 2010). To exemplify, it is to analyse the reasoning of how to govern European career guidance without too much intervention by directives and regulation.

I adopt a broad understanding of how ‘to govern’, including the structuring of actions that guide individuals’ behaviour in different contexts and the shaping of human beings as subjects (Dean, 2010). To govern is the ‘conduct of conduct’, which encompasses governing others and governing oneself through self-directing activities including self-reflection (Foucault, 1982b, p. 789; Gordon, 1991, p. 2).¹³ This line of thinking correlates to Foucault’s analyses of power as relational and situational and not a ‘thing’ that one can have or not have. Power manifests itself in dynamic internal relationships at all levels and is productive in the shaping of a specific way of thinking and acting about a phenomena (Foucault, 1990a).¹⁴ This means that the governing of individuals’ conduct operates by practices and the shaping and attributes of multiple subject positions. The productive work of co-existing groupings of practices is vital to understand the characteristics of liberal modes of action ‘more or less considered and calculated’ and directed ‘to act upon the possibilities of action of other people’ (Foucault, 1982b, p. 790). It is a mode of governance that does not operate in a single way but by multiple intersecting compositions of practices, thought and tactics. Thus, it is to exercise power, not by prevention but by incitements of actions throughout the multifaceted social network and where actions are assumed to be acted

¹² For the sake of not confusing government with the state, the present study also uses the word governance when referring to the ways Foucault understands government, with the expectance of quotes of the work of Foucault or other scholars.

¹³ ‘Conduct of conduct’ is a play with the French reflexive verb *conduire, se conduire* (to lead and to behave) and *la conduit* (behavior) (Foucault, 1982b, p. 789, footnote).

¹⁴ Criticism has been raised against Foucault’s power analysis, for example its lack of normative criteria for differentiating what is acceptable and not acceptable forms of power (see e.g. Fraser, 1989; Habermas, 1990). This study leaves this debate aside and concentrates on how power operates.

upon. The analysis therefore attends to the specific historical practices through which power operates and different non-stable subject positions are produced.

Employing the governmentality perspective in the analysis, the theoretical concepts emerge as tools for analysing the research problem. As mentioned earlier, the most central concepts for my analysis are the apparatus, discursive practices and technologies. These concepts are interwoven and should not be regarded as separate entities. On this basis, I describe the concepts and their relevance for my analyses.

The apparatus

My investigation of how knowledge of career management and career guidance are produced rests upon the assumption that the real is produced by knowledge production, which refers to what we do with knowledge and the networks that enable knowledge to be established, maintained and transformed. My analysis focuses on compositions of various practices as they are manifested in policy texts. I link these compositions to what Foucault calls the *le dispositif* (French), which in English is commonly translated into the apparatus.

The apparatus emerges from a spectrum of loosely connected and historically contingent practices and a specific way of thinking about the governance of the population. This is a form of governance that Foucault explains as

... a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. (Foucault, 1980, p. 194)

The social theorists Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller (1992, p. 183) use words similar to those in the quote above to describe the notion of technologies of government.). I use technologies of government but also closely related notions of the apparatus, for instance networks and assemblage.¹⁵

The apparatus should not be understood as a totalizing arrangement of social order, but rather as networks of a relational kind (Raffnsøe, Gudmand-Høyer,

¹⁵ For various understandings of the notion of *dispositif* or ‘apparatus’ see for example the works of Giorgio Agamben (2009), Louis Althusser (2001/1971) Karen Barad (2007), Michel Callon (2008) and Gilles Deleuze (1992) among others (for further elaborations on Foucault’s use of *dispositif* see Raffnsøe, Gudmand-Høyer, Thaning, 2016).

Thaning, 2016 For instance, the apparatus of security extends the field of actions and works to facilitate the self-regulation of the population. Moreover, the application of security is oriented towards a readiness for opportunities and to avoid damaging consequences. This apparatus differs from the disciplinary apparatus that intervenes with the individual's behaviour to shape the desirable in the future (Raffnsøe et al, 2016). Apparatuses co-exist and both occur in my investigation.

On the analytical level, the apparatus is an arrangement that is set up for a specific purpose in a specific situation. Attention is therefore given to the specificities of arrangements of practices and their linkage to certain thoughts of governance, for instance, the emergence of facilitating practices within the apparatus of security, which is oriented towards future possibilities (Nilsson & Wallenstein, 2013). As interactions of practices, mechanisms and elements are not pre-determined modification is an integral part this kind of apparatus (Raffnsøe et al, 2016). Specific apparatuses distribute practices and their interactions within a specific arrangement, which is a response to a certain problem. Monitoring can be regarded as a specific apparatus, which has effects on institutions, for instance educational institutions. It enacts various practices that are translated, negotiated and transformed but also stabilized through the apparatus of a specific phenomenon, which in this thesis is the governance of career guidance.

Technologies and rationalities

To better understand the connection of diverse regulative activities in the apparatus, one must pay attention to the interrelationship between technologies and rationalities. The notion of technologies does not here refer to technical things but social practices of intervention. These are intertwined with practical rationality, that is, ways of thinking that render governing practices conceivable. Modes of thinking and forms of interventions are interconnected and facilitate the calculation and transformation of the subject of intervention (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 12). Technologies denote mechanisms and instruments, for example intellectual technologies (knowledge), technologies of performance and technologies of agency (Dean, 2010). Intellectual technologies, such as facts, information and communication, are of importance, since they are imperative to make a certain domain, programme or process knowable and calculable (Miller & Rose, 1990). These technologies play a vital role in mediating knowledge and communication within an internal policy process without a single centre. In this way, technologies are linked with certain rationalities of governing a domain, population and subject. The compositions of various practices and techniques change in specific relations and allow for both enabling and constraining relations to emerge.

Technologies of government seek to shape the conduct of the governed subject to certain ends, but at the same time these efforts also create a counteraction to the desired conduct. It also applies to technologies of the self, which are the operations on oneself (the body, soul and way of being) that the individual makes by himself and herself or with help of others (Foucault, 1988a). It is a relationship of modulation (Davidson, 2009; Foucault, 2009).¹⁶ The aspect of modulation is important to emphasize since agency is not merely reactive to governing practices. Agency does not reside in the subject, but agency is produced but emerges in power relations and the possibility of agency is in ongoing modulation. Put simply, it is at the level of practices that negotiations of governing practices can be made and tiny frictions and disturbances emerge in the apparatus of governance (Rose, 1999).

Different kinds of technologies have emerged in contemporary modes of governance, Technologies of performance are designed to submit various entities for calculation. Different techniques for examination, for example monitoring and evaluation are deployed and redeployed in order act upon individuals' and collective bodies' reflections on their performance (Dean, 2010, p. 197). As a consequence, the analysis of performance and calculation shifts focus from pre-given authorities in terms of institutions to the sets of techniques and practices in operation for the calculation of a specific space, as well as in the transformation of capacities of the self. This leads to the notion of technologies of the self. According to Foucault (1988a, p. 18), they are practices of the self and techniques that motivate us to reflect on our choices in life enable individuals and collective bodies to constitute themselves as subjects and transform themselves to reach a desired state of being. Crucially, this form of governing is conditional upon the notion that the subject – individual or collective – has the freedom to act and that choice of actions can be taken. It is an action with an orientation that affects other actions within spaces of possibilities. However, the effects are not predictable and are rather uncertain (Dean, 2010).

An analytic focus on technologies of government and technologies of the self permits enquiry into how the governing of others and the self is actually put

¹⁶ Technologies of power and technologies of government have come to be equivalent (Dean, 2010). Foucault set up a typology of technologies concerning how to conduct governing in modern Western history. This typology consists of four interrelated technologies: technologies of production, technologies of sign systems, technologies of power (or domination) and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). In his works, he mainly elaborated on the notions of technologies of power and technologies of the self, which he describes as relational practices that operate dynamically in a governing process (Foucault, 1988a). These two are focused on in the current study.

to work. The technologies themselves cannot be scrutinized since they, according to Foucault (1988a), are invisible and remote; instead, the deployed techniques and practices are investigated. Consequently, my analysis of technologies of involvement, performance individualization and responsabilization is directed towards the techniques and social practices in use to control or to subjectivate individuals to conduct themselves and to transform the self.¹⁷

Subjectivity

The formation of subjectivity is related to technologies of the self. Subjectivity is produced by a process of shaping knowing and acting subjects (subjectivation) and by making subjects to be objects of knowledge (objectification) (Foucault, 1982b). The individual or collective subjects are made active by studying, examining and enacting knowledge of oneself in order to become a legitimate subject of this or that type of knowledge (ibid). Subjectivity is not forced upon the individual, but works on and through subjects by the operations of practices and dispositions that appeal to the individual's interest and happiness (Foucault, 1997b). This way of thinking both permits and requires the subject to practise its freedom to act within the possible field of actions.

Given that subjectivity is shaped within dynamic relations, the subject is not a stable thing but multiple and changeable. The subject is moulded by ways of thinking and acting and specific practices under specific historical conditions of what can be held true about the subject (Foucault, 1982b). In other words, the subject is the form of accepted subjectivity and a form that we can accept in knowledge of a discipline and institutionalized practices. Subjectivation is a process by which individuals transform themselves into subjects and shape a particular form of self-relation. The techniques of subjectivation are not linked with identity but rather with enabling transformations to occur, for example, affecting a turn from the passively subjected individual to the active individual (Bonnafous-Boucher, 2010, p. 85). Subjectivation presupposes verification knowledge about the subject and social practices. In other words, it is when subjectivation is accepted that individuals become subjects and collective actors. A specific subjectivity has to be accepted, but it can also be rejected or negotiated. On the analytic level, the focus is on which social practices and specific techniques enable, for example, citizens to appear in a specific manner. Another focus is on the interpellation of subjects' wants and needs in the shaping of a particular self-relation, for example the active subject.

¹⁷ In his late works, Foucault introduced the notion of care of the self which is conditioned by practices of transformation of the self (Foucault, 1990b, 1997b). I do not describe care of the self in detail since my analysis is focused on technologies of the self.

Discursive practices

To investigate how knowledge of a specific subject or problem is shaped and reshaped in and through different kinds of apparatuses, I use Foucault's analytics of discursive practices as the various and contingent practices by which different kinds of knowledge is produced and organized (Foucault, 1990a). Discursive practices establish and organize the relationship between heterogeneous practices and material elements and give shape to various power relations in encounters between actors; be they human beings or institutions. Following this line of thinking, this thesis is based on the assumption that discourse and materiality are entwined (*ibid.*)¹⁸ To be more concrete, as historical and local bodies of knowledge, discursive practices materialize in the actions of institutions, spatial distributions and human bodies (Butler, 1993; Foucault, 1990a). Also, statements in policy texts are material in that they activate other statements and leave traces of acceptable and unacceptable forms of knowledge about what is governed (Foucault, 1982a).

Further, discursive practices have a constitutive role of the production of regimes of truth in the social and historical contexts where knowledge, power and authority are used (*ibid.*). Thus, it is not absolute truth but rather what is held to be valid or not in a particular historical context (Gutting, 2005). From this understanding of truth, policy can be regarded as a discursive practice insofar as policy is a social practice that produces various kinds of knowledge that are conditioned by a specific form of problematization in a particular time and location (Bacchi, 2009). Discursive practices connect in different ways to achieve sometimes contractionary goals, and it is therefore not pre-given how they are enacted. An analysis of discursive practices is conducted at their level of existence (Foucault, 1991c) and does not seek to find hidden or deeper meanings of practices. Instead, the focus lies on the interplay of reason and discursive practices and mechanisms by which particular forms of knowledge come to be true (and not others) and made functional.

The practice of critique

A critical enquiry of the contemporary is in Foucault's understanding a practice oriented towards problematization, that is, 'how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomenon, processes) become a problem' (Foucault, 1983, p. 115). The form of problematization is therefore the space of possibilities within which the practices of the subject (individual or collectives) develop.

¹⁸ Karen Barad (2007) a feminist theorist within the overarching theoretical movement named post humanism has called for re-thinking the interrelationship between the discursive and materiality and claim that Foucault's and Judith Butler's analytics of the discursive and materiality are insufficient to grasp intertwined practices between human actors and non-human actors (see also Alaimo & Hekman, 2008).

Critique in Foucault's work is related to attitudes of the present, which is 'a mode of relating to contemporary reality' (Foucault, 1984b). It asks us to both be aware of historical belonging and the need to go beyond this limitation. This line of thinking of critique is elaborated in Foucault's reinterpretation of Immanuel Kant's text *What is Enlightenment?* (Kant, 2009) published in 1784. He reads Kant's encouragement of the courage to use one's reason to critique the truth-claims of authorities, the church and the administration as a critique of forms of being governed. Drawing on Kant's enquiry of what the conditions are for the possibility of knowledge, which is related to necessity, Foucault directs Kant's critique towards the historical contingences that underlie the conditions of necessity:

Criticism indeed consists of analyzing and reflecting upon limits. But if the Kantian question was that of knowing [*savoir*] what limits knowledge [*connaissance*] must renounce exceeding, it seems to me that the critical question today must be turned back into the positive one: In what is given to us as universal, necessary, obligatory, what place is occupied by whatever is singular, contingent, and the product of arbitrary constraints? (Foucault, 1984b, p. 315, italics in original [French words, my comment]).

In the quote above, Foucault insists that the critical question related to the limits of knowing must be situated in the contemporary historical conditions in order for various practices to emerge. Following this line of thought, I suggest that in studying these conditions one must consider the universal as well as the particular, and reflect on both what is given to us as obligatory and voluntary.

Basically, this kind of enquiry starts by not making judgments about present circumstances. As Foucault writes:

A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest. (Foucault, 1988b, p. 155)

Accordingly, a critical approach in Foucault's thinking is not about judging what is right or wrong about a problem or false or true about modes of thoughts. Instead, it is an enquiry concerning the interaction of a complex set of enabling and disabling conditions in which the specific form of thought and practices come about. It is an enquiry oriented towards an analysis of limits of possibilities to act, but also an attempt to open up for the experimental attitude of moving beyond the limits (Koopman, 2013).

Utilizing the analytic approach of governmentality is helpful in this regard as my critical attitude is to problematize the conditions of governing through subjects' freedom to act and what structures the field of possibilities to act. My enquiry into policy seeks to accomplish three things: first, to visualize that which is assumed to be necessary for knowing ourselves or a subject matter and show that it is historically contingent; secondly, to demonstrate how practices and knowledge have been composed through specific problematizations; and, thirdly, to re-problematize existing problematizations in order to bring about 'matters of concern' in a discussion of the politics concerning individuals careers (see Simons, Olssen & Peters, 2009, p. x).

After this description of my selective utilization of Foucault's analytical framework to formulate a theory for my investigation, I now turn to the method of analysis employed.

Conducting the analysis

How can one undertake an analysis of how and why individuals' careers become articulated as a problem in policy? In relation to the aim and research questions, I employ the analytic method of problematization, which is an enquiry of problematizations as they occur in policy.¹⁹ It is a method that goes beyond deconstruction in that sense that it seeks to not merely unravel how different solutions to a problem is constructed but also how they are a 'a result from a specific form of problematization' (Foucault, 1997a, pp. 118-119). This is basically accomplished by asking questions about actions, measures and solutions that presents themselves as self-evident or necessary. Using this method, I start from the assumption that the problematization of career management and career guidance is shaped from a pre-understanding of the problem, how it is to be solved and by what governing practices and reason this will be accomplished (Bacchi, 2009, Dean, 2010). In my enquiry, I seek to revisit existing problematizations from different perspectives in order to destabilizing truth-claims concerning career guidance and career management. By problematizing, I also attempts to grasp the governing work of technologies in processes in which actors come to understand themselves. In this way, my problematizing approach includes an interpretative act, which is part of continuous re-problematization rather than about providing an explanation of a phenomenon.²⁰

Problematization as a method

To problematize existing problematizations, a focus on the assumptions and composition of the practices that make this particular problematization acceptable is required (Bacchi, 2012; Rose, 1999). Thus, it is not about calling the problem into question or distrusting that a problem exists. Instead, my analysis focuses on how the problem that the harmonization of career guidance systems is to solve consists of multiple and diverse discursive practices

¹⁹ There are varied interpretations and uses of the concept of problematization in contemporary policy theory (for an overview see Bacchi, 2015).

²⁰ Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (1982) suggest that this is an 'interpretative analytics' that corresponds to re-problematization. The interpretative analytics has gained both approval (Simons, 2015) and disapproval (Bacchi, 2015).

oriented towards a change of knowledge and practice of career management and career guidance.

Generally speaking, by this analytic method I posed questions and made a close description of the conditions that underlie the assumptions of the enquired problematization articulated in a policy text. I started to read various texts on the topic of my investigation – policy documents in a broad sense and research literature. This means that my tracing of discursive practices extended the empirical material (policy documents) and involved research literature as a production of what has come to be known. As described earlier, discursive practices do not refer to linguistics but to practices that make things said and done acceptable at a certain site and specific point in time.²¹ Therefore, my analysis attended to specific alignments of mechanisms, procedures and techniques and their work in making truth-claims practical and acceptable. While studying texts, I posed several broad questions provided by the academic genre of governmentality studies. These are the following: ‘what forms of thought, knowledge, expertise, strategies, means of calculation, or rationality are employed in practices of governing? How do these practices of governing give rise to specific forms of truth? How are the organized ways of doing things called into question?’ (Dean, 2010, pp. 27, 42). These questions were, for example, helpful in detecting the diverse ways that various practices were connected with the knowledge of active individuals and active citizenship. They also enabled the analysis of facilitating actions and their linkage to calculation.

More specific questions were posed when examining what is actually said and done about the problem. For example: What is the problem and how is it to be solved? What rationalities and assumptions do the form of problematization in policy rest upon? What kind of governing practices does it enable? What various forms of practices disrupt or intensify actions upon actions? The above mentioned questions guided my tracing of specific mechanisms, procedures, techniques and practices to particular knowledge of individual career management, career guidance and citizenship. I unpacked the way things are problematized in policy texts in order to describe the conditions of possibility and comprehensibility for the current discussion of career management and career guidance (and teaching citizenship) to emerge. This is an interpretation at the level of governmental reasoning that seeks to understand how existing problematizations become meaningful. However, it is not about interpretation of meaning in order to comprehend the true meaning as in hermeneutical tradition (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2014). Instead, it is a description of the conditions

²¹ This approach to discourse differs from Critical Discourse Analysis, where linguistics and social practices are treated as dialectical elements (Fairclough, 2006).

of the possibility and intelligibility of a particular problematization in policy process to emerge (Simons, 2015, p. 1172).

Tracing discursive practices

In my investigation, a policy text is treated as an artefact that is a marker of policy process and it serves also as a point of entry for my empirical investigation. In addition, a policy text is regarded as discursive practice, that is, part of producing and reproducing knowledge of the problem and its solutions. The analysis started by asking what is said and what is done? This question was not posed to find explanations of circumstances; instead, this question guided the tracing of technologies and reasons of governance about career management, career guidance (and in the fourth article, citizenship) and working backwards. When reading texts, I searched for key themes and regularities. Policy descriptions of career guidance involved several themes: access, quality, efficiency and performance, as some examples. I detected recurrent vocabulary, assumptions, and conceptualizations of framing problems and solutions. I identified patterns of assumptions as well as the patterns of composition for the practices of responding to the problem. For instance, I analysed articulations about career as competence, career as investment and career as capital by tracing connections of career management skills, self-assessment and learning. I traced what they produce in regard to knowledge, subjects and modes of governing. By this procedure, I sought to locate conditions where a particular problematization is made possible but others are not. I also traced compositions of various discursive practices to discover whether they supported different rationalities and technologies.²²

In a narrow way, I examined language or more precisely, I studied statements in texts that simply refer to what is written. The examination focused on how statements come to be, what makes them usable in the present context and their function, rather than to try to find out what they might mean (Foucault, 1982a). It means that statements as language practice are linked to certain ways of problematizing a kind of problem at a specific point in time but also that statements do something in terms of activating other statements. This procedure sought to find regularities and disturbances in reasoning and identify various technologies underpinning the compositions of practices. In this work, I noted passages in policy texts and used them as quotations in my text to illustrate a specific pattern within, for example, the problematization of career guidance in terms of performance. My description of existing problematization tries to unsettle the perception of them as self-evident.

²² Tracing is here used as a tool. The method of tracing is elaborated more in Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005).

As mentioned above, my analyses started by identifying concepts, elements and mechanisms and how they are arranged together in order to trace governing practices and ways of thinking of governance. A consequence of this method and the selection of policy texts is that dominating patterns are in the foreground at the expense of possible contradictions. This consequence can be related to the research question and the empirical material. I seek to avoid reductionism in this study's descriptions of common discursive patterns by accompanying them with reflections on the complex practices of acting on actions.

I have explained how the analysis in this study implies my engagement and intervention as a researcher. I now turn to how my investigation can be evaluated concerning quality and the ethical considerations I have made.

Reflections on evaluating research

The analytic method used does not allow for traditional tests of quality such as validity, reliability and generalizability. I therefore use other criteria to evaluate the quality of my research, which is coherent to my analytical approach. Informed by literature on research methodology (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009), I choose three aspects for good analysis relating to discourse analysis. They are relevance, analytics and transparency. Relevance is about producing new insight into the problem examined (ibid). My analysis of policy texts and technological material is relevant considering the increased interest and knowledge production about career guidance and teacher education. Further, relevance of my analysis can be affirmed in terms of coherence with previous research about critically oriented research on policy, particularly in the field of education. In this way, this thesis is also placed in the field of education policy and the role of career guidance in education. The second aspect, analytics, is about problematizing and challenging established ways of thinking (ibid). In this work, I employed theoretical frames within critical educational policy and pedagogical philosophy by drawing attention to assumptions of certain needs that have become familiar (e.g. the current reasoning of the need of performance) and relating practices (mechanisms for performance). I have sought to question assumptions of what is necessary or functional. In relation to the research question, the analysis employed problematized the conditions of possibilities to act and think in current forms of governing and provided a theoretical contribution to career research. In order to fulfil the requirement of transparency in research, I used quotes from official policy texts and tried to make rich descriptions that add clarity to my arguments.

Regarding the ethical perspective, which is part of established criteria for research quality (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011), public policy documents are official

and using them in research does not require permission from authorities or the authors of each policy document. I have been careful to quote policy texts correctly and treat authors' (of policy and research) texts and arguments respectfully. Part of the ethical perspective is to clarify the role of the researcher. I acknowledge that 'research effectively intervenes [regardless of our intentions] by accepting, challenging or diversifying the problem definitions of the actors we study' (Mesman, 2007, p. 281). It means that the researcher intervenes in the analysis by posing questions and making decisions on what to describe (Munk & Abrahamsson, 2012). In this way, I as the researcher cannot stand outside discourse but I am involved in producing knowledge of what I research.

Given that researchers are connected to disciplines and traditions, I have an ethical responsibility to reflect on the knowledge produced in the thesis about, for example, learning, pedagogy and career guidance as political technologies (Lather & St Pierre, 2013). My ambition was to problematize practices and techniques in governance of career guidance and in governing the responsabilization of individuals and actors related to career guidance. This is not accomplished by providing 'better' knowledge, but by unsettling established knowledge, practices and mechanisms that appear to be self-evident. My study is written in order to become rewritten as power relations shift, since spatio-temporal conditions evolve and discursive practices change.

Empirical material

Gathering components of the object to study is a constructive act and 'empirical material anchors the process of theorization' (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007, p. 1266). Empirical material is already interpreted from a certain perspective and permeated with theories, interpretations, concepts and a style of language that 'kick back' in the process of analysis. At the same time, when I constructed empirical material I actively affected the material to study. In doing so, I applied the theoretical frame of reference.

The empirical material analysed consists of different kinds of official policy documents: both formal resolutions and others that have a reviewing and a guiding character. It is a policy production that visualizes knowledge of the problems that this thesis intends to investigate. Among the texts are reports, handbooks for policymakers, educational kits, press releases and speeches. These texts build upon each other and an educational kit, for example, can be linked with the needs identified in earlier texts. They are also connected in that they in various ways express the problem and solutions about individuals' career management and career guidance and thereby produce and reproduce discourses of the same. My selection of texts was primarily based on the significance the documents have in relation to the research questions: what they

tell about individuals' career management and what they tell about the means by which career guidance can be reformed in correspondence with policy aims. Since the main topic of this study is career guidance policy, a description of the selection of material related to this topic is first provided followed by the selection concerning article IV.

The selection of each text was guided by their relevance and connection to the European career guidance policy process. It means that the selection of empirical material is concentrated to policy texts produced within this EU project.²³ The two EU resolutions on career guidance and the EU recommendations for a framework of key competences for lifelong learning are examples of texts that are goal-setting and norm-setting for career guidance and education. The series of reports selected are mainly carried out by three organizations supporting the European Commission and the EU member states: the European Centre for the Development for Vocational Training (CEDEFOP), the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELPGN) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The bulk of European policy texts are produced by European policy agencies within the fields of education and vocational training from 2000 till 2015. This selection of policy texts is motivated by the increased attention given to the role career guidance plays in enhancing lifelong learning strategies within the EU. During 2000-2015, the Directorate General for Education and Culture was responsible for policy on career guidance. Since 2015, the responsibility for career guidance policy has been moved to the European Commission's Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion.²⁴ Another criterion for the selection of empirical material is their manifestation of mechanisms, devices and political rationality in European career guidance governance.

My design of empirical material was limited by access to public policy documents. Given the topic – European career guidance policy – the website of the European Union was the first place I searched for official documents, reports and data on career guidance.²⁵ The search words used were 'career guidance', 'lifelong guidance', 'vocational guidance' and 'career education'. I targeted a domain of literature (career development theory and policy texts on career guidance) in which knowledge is produced about career guidance and career management. I found very few texts produced by request of the EU that explicitly addressed the field of career guidance prior to 2000. The limitation to

²³ Besides the member states the EU project includes the states of the European Economic Area (Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway).

²⁴ Press release The Juncker Commission: A strong and experienced team standing for change. Retrieved May 9, 2016 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-984_en.htm

²⁵ The European Union/documents and publications. Retrieved March 30, 2016 from http://europa.eu/publications/index_en.htm

study only contemporary European policy texts omits an examination of other modes of governance and knowledge of career management and career guidance, for example, in non-European contexts or in other historical contexts. An option could be to investigate current Swedish policy of career guidance and comparing policy documents in different historical times or at different levels, but my thesis does not have a comparative approach. Instead the focus lies on the productive work of single elements, such as production of evidence or promotion of specific competences, how they emerge and work policy. This choice is related to the research questions.

Career guidance is a governmental function related to education. Therefore, another option could be to gather policy texts from the nearby field of education. However, I decided to explore the specific knowledge of career guidance and career management as a part of the contemporary debate on employment, competence and learning. A more detailed description of the enacting practices within policy could be accomplished by extending the methodological framework with fieldwork and observations. Late in my research project, I discovered analytic tools for investigating policy enactment suitable to be aligned with the governmentality perspective. I have in particular Actor Network Theory (ANT) in mind for fieldwork as ANT allows for attendance to social-material enactment. Due to the limited amount of time I had to spend on this research, I decided against conducting fieldwork.

As earlier mentioned, the fourth article in the present thesis was carried out within a research project on teacher education and cosmopolitanism. The compilation of empirical material was made from a time of publication in 2000-2012, and the expressions of problematizations concern teacher education and teachers' roles in fostering citizenship and civic competences for diversity of citizenship in contemporary society. The procedure of the compilation of empirical material and the selection of policy texts follow the above description of the procedure and reflections concerning European career guidance policy.

Studying policy

Generally speaking, policy is expected to identify social problems, provide solutions and forecast goals. However, there are different ways to research policy. This thesis rests upon the assumption that policy is part of intellectual technologies that are linked with a certain political reason of how to govern the population and a specific public domain. This means that policy is not merely instructive but productive in the shaping of rules and norms of practice. As this shaping is not stable but continually contested, policy is altered in relation to responses and strategies. The current thesis examines a particular field of policy – career guidance and teacher education – through a lens that is not merely directed to the specific policy, but attempts to unravel large processes of governance.

The view of policy and politics as integrated is acknowledged in the post-structuralist approach to policy and post-positivist theory of network governance (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Lingard & Ozga, 2007). These theoretical perspectives have emerged in policy studies as tools for understanding and explaining contemporary public policy. This contrasts with the traditional view where policy is simply for policymaking and rests upon the assumptions that policies are the results of rational decisions made by some authority. In the welfare state regime, policy and politics were thought of as separate, which supports the idea that policy is a neutral instrument and policy solutions could be prescribed for decision-making and implementations. The technocratic expectation of science or research was considered as rational knowledge and facts that policy relied on in solving ‘social problems’ and planning for progression. Policy scientists writing for public policy were engaged in defining democracy by addressing social problems (Lerner & Lasswell, 1951).

The shifting view of the relationship between public policy and politics is only one of several challenges for contemporary policy studies. The current discourses of governance beyond the state, human capital and lifelong learning have urged researchers to reconsider state- and national-oriented methodologies and broaden the scope of research (Dale & Robertson, 2012). Also, the relationship between policymaking and research has changed. The arrival of evidence-based policy and related evidence-based practice in the field for policy in the 1990s (Young, Ashby, Boaz & Grayson, 2002) has prompted critical education scholars to investigate not only education policy but also the

evidence-based research that is part of policymaking (Lingard & Ozga, 2007). My own investigation is placed in the orientation taken in critical educational policy studies (Simons et al, 2009) and attempts to address some of the challenges mentioned. By employing the governmentality perspective to investigate career guidance policy and teacher education policy, my analysis focuses on how governing works and the kind of rules and norms that emerge.

In trying to clarify my approach to policy, I describe it in relation to three different ways of theorizing policy process: implementation, appropriation and ‘eventualization’ (Nielsen, 2011). These examples do not cover all of the theoretical perspectives on policy process, but there are three that I have found helpful.

Conceptualizing policy

As already mentioned, this thesis envisages policy as part of emerging ways of thinking of governance and practices of governing. This view contrasts with implementation policy, which assumes that there is a best collective decision or solution and that it is realized through a top-down linear process or policy cycle (for an overview of public policy see e.g. Peters & Pierre, 2006 and for an overview of educational policy see e.g. Simons et al., 2009). Implementation policy theory interprets policy processes from a linear instrumental logic: starting from identification of the ‘problem’, which lays the foundation for policy formulation, to policy implementation and evaluation (Shore & Wright, 2011). At least two problems have been addressed regarding the logic of implementation. First, the assumption that the same policy can run smoothly throughout different sites or contexts. Second, the assumption that people readily adjust their perceptions and subjectivities in accordance with policy (Nielsen, 2011). This account of policy, which relies on a rationalist model, has been challenged. Among recent policy studies the policy implementation approach is disputed (see. e.g. Rizvi & Lingard 2010; Shore & Wright, 2011; Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Critiques raise issues with how policy has intentions to change something, career guidance in the case of this thesis; its results cannot be predicted. As Ball (1993) puts it: policies ‘**enter** rather than simply change power relations’ (p. 20, emphasis original). Put otherwise, policy does not occur within a vacuum, but enters into a complex of power relations that may be disturbed and rearranged (McNay, 1994). In this line of thinking, policy operates in complex relationships of diverse governing practices, which the governmentality perspective allows to investigate.

Turning to policy appropriation, the social-cultural approach draws attention to policy as practice and brings appropriation to the forefront. The ones that policy directs, for instance practitioners in career guidance and education, are

assigned agency to appropriate certain parts of policy and negotiate and transform them in everyday practices or what is commonly called the local context (Sutton & Levinson, 2001). By the policy notion of appropriation, it is argued that the negotiation and translation of specific policy elements can be studied. While acknowledging the critique of appropriation policy, the discussion argues that this approach to policy tends to regard policy too much as a substance, which meets a context that it appropriates. Its logic runs the risk of being divided by the policy produced and ‘the local’ responses given (Nielsen, 2011). My investigation addresses elements from appropriation policy process by attending to descriptions of for example feedback. It gives notice to elements of translation, not by describing how ideas and practices are transformed into actions in career guidance activity or school, but through translation in terms of the way diverse elements, concepts and actors can be brought together in indeterminate alignment (Latour, 1986).

To avoid reproducing a pre-given division of policy producers at a given centre and with ‘the local’ responses, I employ the approach of ‘eventualization’. It means that rather than to search for a single explanation of a particular event, the analysis seeks to pluralize and complicate our understanding of events (Biesta, 2008, p. 200). It is about mapping policy by a description of common discursive patterns and technological processes in order to understand what is suggested to be indispensable or required of governance. Further, it is a method to grasp ‘how the actors within the field of education [or career guidance, my addition] have to come to understand themselves (and others)’ (Simons, 2015, p. 1166). In this way, policy is productive in the organization of truths of the active subject, the learning subject and so forth.²⁶ However, organizations of truths about the subject should not be considered as finite, stable or uncomplicated. The governmentality perspective maintains that governmental programmes, of which policy is part, are precarious and have inbuilt failures and struggles, and that the positioning of subjects might conflict with other positioning of subjects (Bacchi, 2009, Dean, 2010). Nevertheless, critics of governmentality studies argue that the studies tend to downplay the messiness of policy (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011; Nielsen, 2011). In my opinion, what is to be investigated by the governmentality perspective is a matter related to the aim of the study and the research questions. The current study does not examine everyday practice in career guidance, teaching or individuals’ practices in producing their careers. It is limited to display of the current practice of thinking and its related practices, devices and mechanisms by which the field of career guidance is rendered governable along with the ways individuals are encouraged to manage their careers and lives.

²⁶ When I speak about the active subject and the learning subject, it should be emphasized that other subjectivities are available.

In order to highlight the messiness in policy process, ethnographic studies with a focus on social-material practices have elaborated eventualizing policy into a study of the very moments of enactment in order to discover what happens between enactment and re-enactment. It is about identifying smaller incidents in ‘shifting assemblages of language, practices and rationality’ (Nielsen, 2011, p.77). In these kinds of ethnographic studies, conflicting subjectivities are assumed to be observed in everyday practice (ibid). While some studies of policy enactment seek to examine programmes in relation to locally negotiating practices (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, Nielsen, 2011), other studies emphasize the materializing processes through which policy works (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011).²⁷ While the current thesis investigates events in terms of assemblies of practices, devices and mechanisms through which self-governance is enacted, micro-negotiation is not part of the investigation.

The above description of my account of investigating policy lays the ground for the discussion of the governing configurations of career guidance and career management, respectively, elaborated in the next chapter.

²⁷ Enactment in between human and non-human is given attention in ethnographical studies based on ‘post-constructionism’, which is an umbrella term to catch contemporary feminist theorizing (Lykke, 2010). Studies framed by post-constructionism draw attention to practices on the material, the body itself and affect (Gunnarsson, 2015; Staunæs & Juelskjær, 2016).

Discussion

The aim of this thesis was to enquire into and problematize the governance of career guidance and how knowledge of individuals' career management is constructed within European policy. In this chapter, I discuss the results in my articles in relation to the research questions: How is European career guidance made governable? How is individuals' career management constructed and governed?

The main result from the empirical study can be summed up in two interrelated points. The first one mainly concerns governance of career guidance, and the other primarily addresses the shaping of career management.

In the most general sense, establishing different kinds of spaces is significant for making European career guidance governable. A network space facilitates the interaction of various actors (national policymakers, interest groups, organizations and career guidance professionals), and broadens the field of responses to actions that result in changes to career guidance. A space of comparison enables the visualization of performance of member states and other actors. Goals set in European resolutions are normative for the orientation of change in career guidance. However, of more importance is the complex of strategic practices, discourses, and mechanisms that both enable and indirectly regulate actors' involvement and performance concerning career guidance. Concerning the second research question, knowledge of career management is underpinned by rationalities about the production of a knowledgeable and flexible workforce. Each individual is assumed to be constantly engaged in career management by learning and achieving competences for shifting demands of the labour market. This responsibility is mobilized by facilitating guidance methods and self-development techniques that seek to strengthen individuals' capacities of being responsible of their choices and behaviour concerning careers. It is a responsabilization of individuals that gives shape to possible active citizens and the construction of active individual career management to be a social obligation in the society.

In order to problematize the ruling regime for career guidance policy I studied how it is shaped by a multiplicity of practices. In the following, I use governing configurations of career guidance and career management as examples that elaborate the main result and my conclusions. By governing configuration I

refer to ‘a more or a less stable and strategic assemblage of practices, discourses, and relationships’ that shape an arrangement that governs subjects (individuals and collectives) and career guidance (Simons, 2014, p. 4). The descriptions of the configurations also seek to capture questions of what to govern, how, how much to govern, and whom is to be governed. My investigation rests upon the assumption that technologies, techniques, instruments and discourses operating within contemporary rationality on how to govern effect the regulation and the reform of the present system of career guidance. The focus of the governing configuration description in my investigation lies on technologies and how they operate with governing practices, techniques and discourses in order to regulate career guidance and position actors (ministers of member states, decision-makers, professionals, and others). To describe that discourses and technologies are realized through techniques, one example is standards and another one is self-assessment.

Governing configurations of career guidance

When EU policy strategically pursues the active involvement of reforming career guidance, a range of actions, mechanisms and knowledge are put into play. As indicated earlier, one important regulative instrument is the OMC and its main power mechanisms are peer pressure, peer review and benchmarking (Borrás & Jacobsson, 2004). Through these mechanisms, member-states have the freedom to design and manage their own career management system, but the assumption is that they are largely moving in the direction of a common strategy (Watts et al, 2010). Rather than taking the OMC as a starting point, the focus of my analysis lies on the connections of single elements and their work in the governance of career guidance. In the following description of governing configurations of career guidance attention is paid to technologies of involvement, performance technologies and self-regulating technologies and how they work together with governing techniques such as comparison, standards and evidence.

Data and comparison

In policy texts, technologies of involvement and technologies of performance operate frequently together. Agreements of common goals set in resolutions is a technique for involvement, but also techniques such as visualization of data on career guidance in reports, on websites, the diffusion of data, and the set up of national and transnational forums on career guidance. These actions may be taken as self-evident, but this flow of data facilitates career guidance to be visible, known and comprehensible. In addition, it enables member states to visualize themselves and their efforts and performance (Article, III).

Visualization of data creates a space of knowledge, but also a space of comparison. Member states and other actors can then compare themselves with others and also compare with their past performance. This is made possible by the construction of data on a single scale of equivalence (Decuypere, Simons & Masschelein, 2011). The comparison of performance is more than a process of comparing; it is also a mechanism that shapes spaces for action and monitoring (Nóvoa & Yariv-Marshall, 2003). Educational research has shown that governance of performance is increasingly produced by data that are arranged and distributed by international performative assessment programmes (Lingard & Ozga, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Among these programmes PISA (the Programme for International Student Assessment) is well known and, as mentioned earlier, preparing for a future career was brought in as an area of assessment in the PISA report in 2012.²⁸ Research connects the rise of a testing culture to the mode of governing by numbers, referring to the trust in numbers and the dependency on numbers in political interventions (Grek, 2009; Miller & Rose, 1990).

Data collection and the arrangement of data is a significant mechanism in career guidance policy. Data are not merely information, but rather data produce, connect networks, as well as measure and frame standards and evidence (Lingard, Martino & Rezai-Rashti, 2013). Data on career guidance are made up less by results described in figures but more about telling examples of career guidance, standards for core competences of professionalism and tools for quality assurance. This information travels within policy networks and feedback information circulates in various environments (local and transnational forums, conferences and websites). However, feedback information passes through the centres of policy production of career guidance where it is evaluated as indicator for performance. These centres are mainly the CEDEFOP, the ELPGN and the OECD and they monitor actual career guidance activities, provide databases and produce tools for policymakers, and thereby operating as knowledge platforms on career guidance (Article III). As Simons (2014) suggests, this information is constantly produced with help of our will to know what others know. Furthermore, governing by data is also dependent on that information is used and spread. When actors rely on these knowledge platforms they relate them to their own actions concerning career guidance and become involved in reforming career guidance. Other techniques for involvement in the reformation of career guidance are directed towards actors' participation in producing knowledge about career guidance.

²⁸ PISA 2012. <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results.htm>

Constructing evidence of ‘what works’

Expert knowledge is a powerful tool in raising a sense of inevitability to change career guidance and vital part of governing by knowledge is identification of good practices and best methods. In policy texts investigated is the descriptions of ‘examples of ‘good practice’ and ‘best evidence’ of career guidance that are linked together with improvement, quality and performance, but also exchange of experiences.²⁹ These examples are norms and not made up by normative values. What is named as good practices is not produced externally, but they already exist in actual career guidance activities and they are by various procedures shaped as evidence of ‘what works’ in career guidance. In this manner, the production of internal standards from actual career guidance allows for extension of policy networks and involves actors in the production of what is possible to perform regarding career guidance.

However, evidence of good practice that works requires measures to verify its existence. As shown (Article III), the loop of feedback information, evaluation and monitoring is ordering what works and what can potentially be improved concerning career guidance. Thus, it is not about repeating examples of ‘good practice’ in the same manner, but this kind of standard functions as technical knowledge of evidence of what is possible and demonstrates that it works. As an example of ‘what works’, ‘good practice’ operate as indicators for the possible to which actors can position themselves, respond to and imagine potential career guidance. This means, Simons (2014) remarks, that producing evidence of what works is a mode of governing itself. Examples of good practice and best evidence are not defined and no specific instructions are given. They operate as a technology to strengthen actors’ own capacity to produce optimal career guidance in the context in which they operate, and this permits for a certain kind of autonomy to estimate improvement of career guidance. This is not a straightforward process, since, as Tara Fenwick and Richard Edwards (2010) remark; different kinds of standards are possible in policy process. When they collide they might strengthen or weaken each other or transform. However, the concern in my investigation is what governmental rationality that enables certain performances and constrain others.

Performance and involvement technologies work in a slightly different way in the production of ‘best evidence’ for evidence-based of research on careers, career development and career guidance. This idea runs parallel to the requests that education should be an evidence-based practice and that teaching should be an evidence-based profession. The idea of effective intervention is central to evidence-based practice and research is expected to find out ‘what works’ in the area of education (Biesta, 2007, p. 7). Policy texts investigated show a few descriptions regarding the production of evidence relate to the relevance

²⁹ The policy documents investigated use ‘good practice’, but ‘best practice’ is a similar term.

for the increased professionalism of career guidance. More frequent descriptions of evidence are expressed in terms of making use of evidence and thereby taking responsibility for productive career guidance regarding efficiency and innovation. This can be illustrated by three closely related practices: the gathering of multiplicity of research on careers, the selection of certain scientific models of career development, and the specification from the criteria of evidence-based research. The actions of multiplication and specification are worthy to problematize. Specification of research as best evidence makes this knowledge intelligible and categorized. The above described procedure of multiplication, specification and feedback works, I suggest, in interrelated ways: multiplication offers a widening of knowledge concerning the academic field of career development, and, specification shapes the orientation towards learning environments of evidence on career development, and feedback information facilitates the expansion of the network of calculating practices in the shaping of knowledge of career development. The connections of these actions shape a specific relationship between policy, research and career guidance service based on evidence (Article III). Bringing policy, research and career guidance practice together give rise to the question whether it is a framework that brings with it a particular view of professional practice, be it research or career guidance (Biesta, 2007).

As indicated above, career guidance performance is to a high degree governed by arrangements of data, standards of evidence on what works. Of the same importance are incentives for self-improvement to motivate better performance, but also learning and innovation.

Accounting for improvement

Policy descriptions of improvement are linked with efficiency and quality, but also learning for self-improvement.³⁰ It is mobilized by a specific way of reasoning and practicing learning, which is described as the mediating tool for shaping innovation within an organization and motivating an attitude for self-improvement. Self-assessment of this capacity is part of developing a learning attitude that actually improves career guidance. Bringing learning and self-improvement together seeks to activate decision-makers, policymakers, researchers or career guidance professionals and the organization to develop the capacity to identify what, where, when and how career guidance can be more efficient (Article III). This arrangement of learning and self-improvement is linked to the logics of innovation in which notions of quality and added value to the organization is inscribed. Innovation could be to introduce new devices or methods in order to better adapt to current conditions. One example of an innovative device is websites offering databases and storage of knowledge

³⁰ My investigation focuses on how improvement is governed and omit a discussion on definitions of improvement.

about career guidance in global settings as well as local environments.³¹ Another example is the establishing a knowledge bank of career research.³² These devices that rely on feedback, comparison, and assessment provide updated information on skills gaps and needs in research. Career guidance in higher education is in particular structured by discourses of professionalism and excellence, and a project for developing European competence standards for career guidance has been formed by the Network for Innovation in Career Guidance and Counselling in Europe (NICE). However, as described above, also constructions of what works strives to produce not only the possible but the optimal in career guidance.

The logics of innovation encourage a specific relation to the self as a learner who perceives that one is able to identify and manage improvement in current conditions. Naomi Hodgson (2014, p. 6) argues that this entails a particular relation to time and space that ‘demands reorientation of oneself within one’s environment in response to the resources available’. As research shows, logics co-exist with other logics, and they may conflict. For example, the norm of taking social responsibility may conflict with the importance of performance, and this raises questions about to what and to whom actors are accountable (Mörth, 2014). Concerning accountability within the regime of audit, it is argued (Ozga, 2013) that performance has reshaped accountability and turned it into being accountable of results and goals. Regarding policy descriptions of the development of improved career guidance, it appears that actors are governed to be accountable to themselves and their self-improvement.

The above description of the governing configuration demonstrates that technologies of involvement and performance, by operating together, are powerful forces in the regulation of career guidance. This demonstrates that the current reform of career guidance does not work from the rationale of the successful policy implementation of external standards, recommendations and suggestions. Instead, the governing is more open-ended and operates through spaces of information, meaning and comparison which provide standards and feedback information from which actors can learn and to which they can positioning themselves. This involves the governing of a specific kind of self-government which is centred on the capacity for change and learning, which are made to be the conditions for competition and development. My analysis suggests that it facilitates a performative control that seeks to secure improvement in every single context.

³¹ See for example the website of ELPGN retrieved from <http://www.elgpn.eu/database>

³² See for example the website of Network for Innovation in Career Guidance & Counselling in Europe (NICE), retrieved from <http://www.nice-network.eu/>

Governing configurations of career management

Policy targets all citizens to be involved in career management. This political ambition requires incentive and governing means to achieve. In the description of configurations of career guidance the focus lies on technologies of individualization and self-regulating technologies and how they are realized by techniques and practices. My investigation demonstrates three governing techniques and practices: competence, entrepreneurial attitudes and self-management.

Self-management of careers

Competence is one stable technique for mobilizing individual management of careers. Policy texts describe competence as an ability or capacity that one can learn. Further, descriptions of competence are linked with learning outcome and use of learning in diverse social contexts. Competence technologies are in particular salient in policy's promotion of social practices, namely career management skills (CMS) that in policy is shaped to be a set of core generic competences. This concept is constructed from skills of career self-management that in career development theories describe as skills for managing changes and transitions and understanding labour market dynamics. CMS are tailored for each person or a targeted group and shaped as personalized competences to make each career unique. Models and framework for the organization of CMS and assessment tools are designed to understand learning and skills acquisition and to achieve attitudes and competences adequate for shifting career requests (Sultana, 2013). As a governing technique, CMS operates in a facilitating way by appealing to individuals' interest and want, and enables a self-understanding of being an expert of the self. In accordance to this role, career guidance is shaped as a facilitating support for individuals in their efforts to actively managing their careers. The technique of CMS also works in a calculating way to ensure individuals' managerial capacities to estimate which functional competences to invest in. This governing arrangement of career management seems to be oriented towards activating self-directing efforts by which individuals come to know how to relate to their conduct in their career – what needs to be improved or not. Control of one's career is then related to an ability to estimate learning outcome and self-reflection on one's behavior (Article, I II). It is an assumption that is in accord with studies that show the tendency of making individuals responsible of learning (Fejes, 2010; Peters, 2005; Simons & Masschelein, 2008).

The problematic of career management, as it is articulated in policy documents, is the responsibility of management and learning more than planning for careers. In this way, CMS is part of producing a specific kind of career

management which differs from choice of vocation or education, which affects the organization of professional career guidance in terms of an orientation towards facilitating individuals' acquirement of competences. The governing of capacities of career management goes beyond professional career guidance and operates in the curriculum of schools and workplaces as well as in social networking and social media. One example is the construction of career management for entrepreneurship and how career education is expected to support it. What counts as entrepreneurship and the notion of entrepreneurial is not given. Policy texts on entrepreneurship education sometimes connect entrepreneurship with starting up a business, but entrepreneurship is more frequently associated with an entrepreneurial attitude. Policy texts describe the entrepreneurial attitude as something that is possible to learn, but difficult to teach. Traditional career education is described to be insufficient to support individuals achieve entrepreneurial competences. Specific learning environments and pedagogical techniques are requested, and CMS is one of them. Individuals acquiring entrepreneurial skills inside and outside educational institutions make concrete the economic benefits that allow the individual to develop specific competencies. This network of knowledge and actions might affect the possibilities of the expansion of learning environments and pedagogies (Article II). In this manner, diversification of career education appears to be governed through individuals' interest and desires concerning careers. This governing arrangement corresponds to research that suggests that entrepreneurial discourse in education affects educational visions about the goals and aims of teaching and promotes economic utility (Dahlstedt & Hertzberg (2012).

Further, policy texts link together entrepreneurial attitudes and CMS as social practices that urge individuals to be responsive, aware of opportunities, able to make use of available resources and evaluate skills for investment in themselves. It is assumed that using these techniques prepares individuals to manage their career with an eye on opportunities and risks. These abilities are connected with performance technologies and governing practices that are assumed to prepare individuals for self-improvement in order to achieve career goal but also to experience enjoyment (Article II). This arrangement of governing practices invites individuals to form a relationship to themselves as entrepreneurial, not as an identity but in practice. It implies that individuals are expected to not only learn how to manage a career, but also to perform and understand their experiences concerning careers as competences and investments. This shapes certain subject positions such as the managing subject and the performing subject, but also categories of risk-management and risky behaviours (Besley, 2010). This also allows the evaluation of individuals' career management as potential human capital (Article I, II, see also Peters, 2001; Simons & Masschelein, 2008).

Thus, policy constructions of individuals' career management are related to both economic and social aspects. Returning to the technique of CMS, it also includes civic competence which is part of the EU framework for lifelong learning (Council of the European Union, 2008, p. 8). As shown (Article IV), civic competence in education is linked with the discourse of cultural diversity within the population in Europe. Therefore, students are encouraged to gain knowledge of different kinds of cultural norms and self-reflection of one's actions in encounters with others. Thus, awareness of diversity in society is constructed as a condition for gaining civic competence and shapes the knowledgeable subject, who understands changes in society (see Olson et al, 2015). In this way, the education of civic competence is linked with the organizing of active citizenship. This citizenship, is underpinned by a rationality of practical responsibilities in its context rather than defending citizens' rights. Thus, individuals' responsibility for managing careers also embrace responsibilities related to being a citizen.

Responsibilization of individuals

My analysis demonstrates that policy constructions of individuals' responsibility for their career management are underpinned by political rationalities of production of human capital as well as active participation in society (Article I, II). This form of responsibilization, I suggest, shapes political and economic, and learning subjects who are able to combine active and responsible capacities. Responsibilization of individuals is frequently ascribed to neoliberal politics through which the responsibility of the state could be rolled back and structural problems are made into individual or personal problems (Davies & Bansel 2007; Irving, 2013; Sultana, 2011). By contrast, my investigation has not restricted the causality of this phenomenon to a single factor. This is not to say that neoliberal politics is irrelevant for studying responsibilization of individuals concerning career management. While I agree with the viewpoint on re-regulation (rather than de-regulation) of the responsibility of the citizen and the state, the question remains how the re-regulation is arranged, from what particular political rationality and through what complex set of practices. The technology of responsibilization also needs to be specified: for what is the subject rendered individual responsibility, and how?

Arguments against the increased individual responsibility of career management (Irving, 2013; Sultana, 2014) seem to suggest that individuals are subjected to responsibility by authorities (e.g. the state, politicians, and policy-makers). Their analysis depends, I think, on the idea that power is possessed and exercised over someone, and this exercise conflicts with the individual's

or collective's interest.³³ My investigation contradicts their argument. As mentioned before, responsabilization of career management operates through individuals' interest and responsibility is enacted in different ways in various contexts by calculating practices of the self that correspond with the contextual governing configuration. It is a process of unpredictability about individuals' conduct regarding responsibility. Further, my investigation rests upon the assumption that power is exercised when individual actions affect or modify the possibility for actions of another (Foucault, 1982b; Lemke, 2011). Modification of the field of possibilities must not necessary restrict the options to choice, but produces different effects. In this way, the governing of responsibilities of the individual cannot be fully predicted in advance.

The above description demonstrates that the governing configuration of career management is centred on capacitation of individuals who are responsabilized to actively manage and reflect on their careers, and even produce one's own career. This responsibility is mainly mobilized self-regulating techniques, which are shaped to appeal to personal interests and their will to take account for their careers. Accepting to become the active subject, individuals shape a self-understanding of being responsible to achieve goals of their careers which includes both being employable and self-development. This responsabilization seems to suggest that subjects are rendered individual responsibility of not only of one's own career but of one's own social inclusion (Article I, II, see Peters, 2005, Simons, 2007).

³³ This assumption appears to be based on power analysis in Steven Lukes' (2005) definition of power: A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests.

Conclusion

The motivation for the investigation this thesis undertakes was the reformation of career guidance systems in Europe and the political ambition to get each and every citizen involved in the management of their careers. In the investigation, I have made a shift in the study of European career guidance policy from discourses of globalization or institutional European entities and authorities to governing configurations and their linkage to rationalities on how to govern effectively. My analysis has therefore sought to focus on the multiplicity of factors constitutive of making European career guidance governable. In order to show how governing works in policy process, I have taken the governmental techniques and practices seriously. Further, I have attended to the presumptions and the operations in the shaping of career management.

My investigation demonstrates that the harmonization of career guidance aims to make national career guidance systems comparable, not to shape a single system for Europe. The emergence of a space of comparison is conditional upon several things: the production of the standards from actual ‘good practice’, ‘best evidence’, feedback information about the use of these standards as well as knowledge-making. It opens for the involvement of actors of various kinds in the reformation of career guidance. At the same time these actions structure the possibilities of actors’ participation and the responsibility of self-improvement. My analysis suggests that decentralizing the governance of improvement of career guidance facilitates the shaping of self-regulating career guidance systems made governable for continuous reformation.

Further, my investigation shows that career management is shaped to be a responsibility of each individual. The ‘need’ for improved-career management and the ‘will for managing one’s career’ are both the desirable effects and the instruments of a governmental strategy which seeks to produce ‘employable’ individuals as well as secure variation of human capital. My analysis has attended to the specific practices and mechanisms and knowledge production to understand the conditions in which certain responsibilities of the individuals are produced. I have argued against perceptions that responsibly are imposed individuals in conflict with their interest. Instead, my focus on governing relations helps identify that individual responsibility operates as a practice of freedom that affects others actions and potentially the practice of career guidance.

To sum up, using the governmentality perspective my analysis demonstrates that governance of European career guidance is conditional of the involvement of various actors and their use of knowledge produced within policy. This is associated with the concept of governing by knowledge. Further, the regulation of career management is dependent on use of knowledge and the acceptance of responsibility by the individuals. The effect of this form of governance cannot be predetermined, but both calculation and modulation are inscribed into it.

My analytic approach to governance is one of the contributions to research on career policy and educational policy. Using Foucault's political philosophy offers insights into both strategic actions operating through the arrangement of knowledge, practices and mechanisms, which enlarge the field of possibilities of action as well as the shaping of subjects. It is a decentred policy analysis that enquires into how political spaces come about and how governing operates through them. Moreover, to reflect on how they can be different. The thesis also contributes with insight that can be employed in higher education in career counselling and education insofar as it illuminates the connections of various actors in policy, including professionals and researchers.

For further research, there are a number of things that would merit more attention. Using a Foucauldian framework, new and specific questions have to be posed to govern configurations that are not merely oriented towards calculation but also embeds modulation and contextualization. Such frameworks could bring in perspectives of Actor Network Theory (ANT), which thoroughly attends to concrete practices and their productive work in organizing enactment and temporal 'agency' in networks of human and non-human actors. I have particularly in mind studies that are based in 'practice-based' conceptions of learning and career guidance and studies that foreground the materiality and uncertainty in policy processes (Usher & Richards, 2005; Fenwick, 2011, Fenwick & Landri, 2015). Further, it is of importance to enquire into globally circulating political rationalities in locations that have different historical relations to the liberal governmentality in Western societies (Koopman & Matza, 2013; Zhao, 2014). As for career studies, one thing to explore could be ethical questions on the production of careers, but also ethical aspects of guidance practices that have the potentiality to support social justice (Hooley & Sultana, 2016).

This thesis has sought to show how the arrangement of practices and conceptions of career management and career guidance are conditional of the specific circumstances in a historical context. It could be a first step in career studies towards discussing what contemporary management of careers develops into. It begs for further questions. What are the dangers with the individualized re-

sponsibility of career management? What has career guidance to offer individuals and the public? These questions encourage us to reflect on our common usage of practices and knowledge, and to disturb them. It is a matter of attitude that includes openness to the uncertainties and tensions of what career management could be. I want to open up a discussion on the politics of careers in which we are all targeted and make it an issue of public concern.

Article summaries

This thesis is based on the following articles referred to in the text by their Roman numerals. The articles have been reprinted with the kind permission of the publishers.

I. European Policy of Career Guidance: the interrelationship between career self-management and the production of human capital in the knowledge economy

How is the pursuit of individual career management for everyone made a priority within the European context?³⁴ Drawing on Foucault's (1991) work on governmentality, the focus of the analysis lies on governing practices that seek to prepare individuals for self-mobilization of capacities to manage and invest in oneself. The empirical analysis demonstrates that narrative of the knowledge economy underlies policy descriptions of the role of career in supporting individuals' to achieve specific career management skills for learning and the managing of change at the labour market. Techniques for self-motivation and self-development as well as through self-evaluation and self-control responsabilize individuals to manage their career and to become active creators of careers. This knowledge of career management is underpinned by the problematization of the investment in human capital which arises from any activity able to raise productivity in the labour market. I suggest that this knowledge shape the individualized responsibility of career management as both an opportunity and a duty as a citizen within in a regime of security concerning the well-being of the population and society.

II. Enterprising Career Education: the power of self-management

How can entrepreneurial career management discourse be understood in relation to a revision of career guidance? This article raises this question in relation to articulations in contemporary European policy documents about deficiencies regarding the current career guidance for entrepreneurship education. Using the Foucauldian governmentality perspective, this study demonstrates that the development of entrepreneurial education is based on governance of

³⁴ This question and following questions that open the paragraph of the article summary are not research or empirical questions and are just used here to help frame the summary.

expanded learning environment for the security of shaping the base of human capital. Traditional career guidance is described as insufficient to meet entrepreneurial learning and entrepreneurial attitudes. Pedagogical activities outside educational institutions in entrepreneurship environments makes concrete the economic benefits that allow the individual to develop specific competencies for a career. Entrepreneurial learning shapes a particular way of thinking and acting on the basis of a "personalized" career management, i.e. each individual's needs and interests, which requires self-control and specific techniques of career guidance. I suggest that enabling self-management of careers contributes to a self-understanding of the entrepreneurial and actions that may affect career guidance.

III. European Career Guidance Policy: a focus on subtle regulatory mechanisms

What technologies make the reconstruction of European career guidance operational? Utilizing the governmentality perspective, I explore the web of mechanisms and practices that are put into work within the strategy of reconstruction of the field of career guidance. My investigation demonstrates that the production of 'good practice' and 'best evidence' serve as standards for 'what works' in career guidance. These standards are produced in a local context and distributed through the loop of monitoring, evaluation and feedback. The analysis demonstrates that learning from what works operates as a technology to strengthen actors' own capacity to produce possible guidance in the context in which they operate. In this way, standardization does not aim at imitation of performance but at making actors' accountable for self-improvement. Drawing on Maarten Simons' analysis of the current governing configuration of learning, I argue that governing career guidance is oriented towards learning for performance rather than improvement success. It implies a specific relationship to the self as a learning subject, be it individuals or the organization. This governing configuration, I suggest, seems to be directed towards the establishment of self-regulating career guidance systems that can be constantly reshaped by available resources.

IV. Educating European Citizenship: elucidating assumptions about teaching civic competence

How can the reinitiating of citizenship education in discourses of globalization be understood? In this article, I investigate how the figure of citizenship education is applied in contemporary discourses and more precisely in teacher education. The empirical analysis of European policy documents shows that teaching citizenship and civic competence is framed by the narrative of active citizenship. The quest for strengthening civic participation in the European Union is problematized as a learning problem. Civic competences are framed

as learning outcomes and teachers are asked to be accountable to objectives in lifelong learning frameworks, but also by commitment to institutional values of diversity. Learning about diversity and in particular cultural diversity are significant in presentations of pedagogical activities for civic competences. Diversity is a subtle technique for facilitating personalized learning and educating intercultural civic competences. With an analytic lens on practices it is shown that diversity, intercultural skills and self-knowledge operate as governing techniques for making students learn civic competences in the environment and society they live in. My analysis suggests that civic competences, as they are constructed in policy, are shaped to encourage learning and participation in society by which active citizenship can be realized.

Svensk sammanfattning

Avhandlingens titel är *Styrning av karriärvägledning: en undersökning av Europeisk policy*. Föreliggande avhandling består av fyra artiklar, varav tre är inriktade på styrning av karriärvägledning och individers karriärhantering, dess villkor och föreställningar om hur dessa fenomen kan förändras och förbättras. I den fjärde artikeln undersöks hur kunskap om medborgerlig kompetens produceras i samtida Europeisk policy om lärarutbildningen. Det empiriska materialet består av policydokument i en bred bemärkelse (resolutioner, rapporter, utvärderingar och handböcker). De är producerade inom EU eller på uppdrag av EU under tidsperioden 2000-2015. Under dessa år har mycket skett inom politik och arbetsmarknads- och utbildningsområdet. I en förändrad syn på arbete och utbildning har det växt fram begrepp som kunskapsekonomi, anställningsbarhet, flexibla anställningar och livslångt lärande. I denna omställning har även uppfattningen om karriär förändrats. Från att ha varit kopplat till arbetsorganisationen uppfattas karriär numera att vara något som skapas av individens val och förflyttningar mellan arbeten och utbildning. Det medför ökad osäkerhet och oförutsägbarhet om individers val angående beräkning av en arbetskraft som motsvarar politiska förväntningar.

Karriärvägledning har därför fått större uppmärksamhet i både utbildningspolitik och arbetsmarknadspolitik, inte bara i Sverige utan internationellt. I policy uttrycks dock en tveksamhet om nuvarande karriärvägledning är tillräckligt anpassad för att möta nya förväntningar på individuell karriärhantering som är livslång och omfattar det sociala livet. Därför höjs politiska krav på reformer av området för karriärvägledning. Under 2000-talet har den svenska vägledningsspolitiken dessutom blivit en del av ett större europeiskt projekt. År 2004 antogs en EU-resolution om gemensamma mål och strategier inom området för karriärvägledning, som reviderades 2008 och dessa har Sverige undertecknat. Resolutionerna är inte bindande och har inga sanktioner, men är en form av legitimerad handling av en gemensam politik. Därmed är karriärvägledning inte längre enbart en nationell angelägenhet utan även en Europeisk angelägenhet. En ytterligare förändring är transnationell styrning i den bemärkelsen att den nationella staten är enbart en av flera aktörer (t ex internationella organisationer och sociala partners) vilket innebär att förhandlingar inte enbart görs mellan nationalstater. Hittills finns begränsad forskning om förändringar i politiken gällande karriärvägledning.

Det övergripande syftet i avhandlingen är att undersöka och problematisera hur karriärhantering och vägledning produceras och regleras inom europeisk (EU) policy. I avhandlingen ställs följande forskningsfrågor: Hur görs Europeisk karriärvägledning styrbar? Hur produceras kunskap om karriärhantering? Karriärvägledning innefattar olika former av studie-och yrkesvägledning, karriärutbildning och coaching. Karriärhantering (career management) avser här en individuell förmåga att kontinuerligt agera på ett sätt som bidrar till att man blir anställd och förblir anställd samt att utveckla sig själv. I fokus för analysen är diskursiva konstruktioner av karriärvägledning och karriärhantering såsom de framställs i undersökta policytexter. Forskningsfrågorna besvaras genom användningen av ett teoretiskt perspektiv och en analytisk metod som är inriktade på tänkande kring styrning och styrningstekniker genom vilka styrning opererar. Detta perspektiv på styrning försöker upplösa distinktionen mellan policy och praktik, det vill säga att policy utformas på en bestämd plats och implementeras i verksamhet. Det är alltså inte fråga om att jämföra olika policynivåer eller att studera utfallet av policy. Istället ligger fokus på tankefigurer om styrning som understödjer policy och genom vilka olika handlingar och tekniker som styrning sker.

Jag använder det teoretiska perspektivet governmentality (i svensk översättning regerandekomplex, regementalitet eller styrningsrationalitet, se Foucault, 2010a). Det är ett redskap för att analysera hur individer och institutionella aktörer styrs och villkoren för att styrning kan ske. Analysen fokuserar på de heterogena samlingar av diskurser, tekniker och praktiker som gör 'problemet' som ska styras begripligt och accepterat. I policy dokument uttrycks 'problemet' ofta i form av antaganden och påståenden som framställs som självklara. Analysmetoden är att problematisera sådana antaganden och påståenden samt praktiker för att visa att de är underbyggda av ett visst sätt att tänka och agera kring det som framställs som problematiskt – i detta fall individens karriärhantering och karriärvägledning. Problematisering som analytisk metod syftar inte till att påvisa att existerande sätt att framställa något som problematiskt som felaktigt eller att avslöja en dold agenda. I stället består problematisering i att klargöra de tankar och praktiker som utgör villkoren för att problemformuleringar uttryckta i policydokument att uppfattas som trovärdiga och vara acceptabla. På så sätt uppmärksammas subtila styrningsprocesser som verkar genom respons och bruk av kunskap som reproducerar en särskild problemformulering.

I artikeln *European Policy of Career Guidance: the interrelationship between career self-management and the production of human capital in the knowledge economy* visas att karriärhantering görs till en individuell kompetens som alla förväntas att lära sig. Individens egen förmåga att hantera karriären och göra sig attraktiv på arbetsmarknaden produceras genom självmotive-

rande och självutvecklande inslag av kompetensinriktad vägledning samt genom självutvärdering och självkontroll. Det är ett styrningssätt som tillskriver individer kapacitet att välja och handla och samtidigt göra individer ansvariga att styra sig själva att bli aktiva medskapare av "humankapital". I *Enterprising Career Education: the power of self-management* undersöks styrning av entreprenöriell vägledning och entreprenöriella subjekt. Analysen visar att "det entreprenöriella" i utbildning formas genom sammanlänkning av vissa kompetenser, förmågor och kvaliteter (t ex problemlösning, riskhantering, kreativitet och flexibilitet) och särskilda pedagogiska metoder. Det inbjuder studenter att forma ett förhållande till sig själv som entreprenöriell, inte som en identitet utan som ett sätt att tänka och handla. Styrning genom studenters behov och önsknings möjliggör en utvidgning av miljöer i vilken vägledning utövas och dess former, till exempel coaching och mentorskap.

I *European Career Guidance Policy: a focus on subtle regulatory mechanisms* undersöks betydelsen av indirekta styrningsmekanismer för att organisera karriärvägledningsområdet i Europa. Fokus riktas på styrning genom exempel som "god praxis" och "bästa bevis" som är normer i faktisk verksamhet. Dessa sprids, reproduceras och förändras i en loop av distribution, respons, utvärdering och observation genom vilket de görs till standards för vad som är möjligt att göra och åstadkomma inom karriärvägledning. Standardisering syftar inte till att karriärvägledning ska bli likadan överallt utan det fungerar som incitament för prestation. Prestationsstyrning sker genom lärande i den kontext man verkar för att förstärka institutionella aktörers förändringsförmåga och egen kapacitet att producera optimal karriärvägledning. Kontroll av prestation för förbättring sker genom ständig utvärdering. I *Educating European Citizenship: elucidating assumptions about teaching civic competence* visas att medborgerlig kompetens sammankopplas med personligt lärande och lärande om mångfald som är nyckelkompetenser för livslångt lärande. Mångfald, interkulturell kompetens och självkännedom är styrningstekniker som bidrar till att ansvariggöra studenter att lära sig medborgerlig kompetens i den miljö och samhälle man lever i. På detta sätt, menar jag, kan det funktionella aktiva medborgarskapet realiseras, vilket är en typ av praktiskt medborgarskap.

Avhandlingens resultat är att karriärvägledningsområdet görs styrbart genom komplexa processer i vilken sammankoppling av praktiker, mekanismer, procedurer och produktion av kunskap möjliggör indirekt reglering i karriärvägledning. Denna form av styrning är beroende av både respons och utvärdering och förutsätter att aktörer som styrs (medlemsländer, institutioner och vägledare) aktivt deltar i policyprocessen. Styrningen har därför en nätverksliknande karaktär där interaktioner uppstår, respons utvärderas och prestationer synliggörs i policytexter och på webben. På så sätt möjliggörs ett utvecklande av jämförelse av karriärvägledning och inte enbart nationella system för

karriärvägledning utan lokala verksamheter. Denna form av styrning förutsätter interaktion mellan styrning och självstyrning och opererar bland annat genom att aktivt deltagande styrs genom att aktörer tillskrivs förmåga att lära och kapacitet att beräkna vad, var och hur vägledning ska förändras och förbättras. Om denna roll accepteras medför det ett ansvarstagande för att producera effektiv karriärvägledning. När det gäller karriärhantering framställs det en individuell kompetens som alla förväntas att lära sig och praktisera. Ett särskilt begrepp som kallas career management skills (kompetens för karriärhantering eller valkompetens) lyfts fram i policytexterna vilket lägger tyngdpunkten på individens ansvar för sin egen utveckling och förändringsförmåga. Denna särskilda kompetens sammankopplas med stödjande pedagogiska metoder och självutvärderande verktyg för att utveckla förmågor och använda dem. På så sätt opererar career management skills som en styrningsteknik inriktad mot att individer formar sig själva till aktörer och som sådana förväntas man att ta ett större ansvar för sin karriär men även sina sociala liv.

Slutsatsen är att styrning av området karriärvägledning i Europa är en interaktiv process av styrning och självstyrning som förväntas skapa både stabilitet och förändring. Det är en decentraliserad process i vilken förändring och nya idéer förväntas att ske i verksamheter, organisationer och institutioner. Även individers sätt att hantera sina karriärer involveras i styrning genom att praktisera kompetenser och göra val som påverkar handlingsutrymmet inte enbart för hur karriärhantering förstås utan också var och hur karriärvägledning utförs. På så sätt kan man säga att både karriärvägledning och individers karriärhantering har politiserats.

Appendix Policy Document

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