Career Development as Freedom

Annual lecture for the International Centre for Guidance Studies (iCEGS) at the University of Derby.

Professor Pete Robertson
Edinburgh Napier University

December 2023

UNIVERSITY OF DERBY | INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR GUIDANCE STUDIES

Abstract

This lecture explores the Capability Approach and its potential to provide a way of thinking about career development that links theory, practice, and policy. Considering theory first, the Capability Approach provides a broad-brush way of looking at how people's careers are going. It shows how they can be supported to take steps towards doing what they want to do, being what they want to be, and leading a life that they have reason to value. Turning next to practice, the Capability Approach can describe how pragmatic guidance helps people to recognise and build on their strengths, broaden their options, and make choices aligned with their values. The key role of autonomy and freedom in ethical practice will be highlighted. Finally, it will explore the potential for the Capability Approach to inform how the career development profession engages with public policy in a way that is attuned to the politics of freedom, and to the new economics of the 21st Century.

Contents

Abstract 3
Career theory and its discontents 1
Introducing the capability approach 2
Rethinking the person 4
Ethics, freedom, and values 6
Old politics and new economics 7
Conclusion: Career development as freedom 10
References 12

Career theory and its discontents

We live in a golden age of career theory. There is a richness of ideas. Some justification is needed for adding yet another perspective. Drawing on a variety of sources (including McMahon, 2014; Mackenzie Davey, 2020; and Hooley et al, 2019), several features in career theory can be identified as problematic. These problems may help to illuminate the direction theorising might usefully take.

Contemporary career theory often uses recent labour market instability as a starting point for developing an argument. The labour market analyses presented are often highly selective, neglect a wider historical context, and ignore differences of industry, occupation and geography. The effect is to generate descriptive accounts of careers that highlight discontinuity, whilst neglecting continuity.

These descriptive accounts all too readily transform into prescriptive statements that have been characterised as 'responsibilisation'. Workers are advised to be flexible, take responsibility for managing their own careers, and to develop attributes to make them more employable. Occasionally these prescriptions are accompanied by a description of a small group of workers who are presented as encapsulating the future of career, representing over-generalisation from an atypical group.

Career theory has often been pre-occupied with professional and managerial careers in high income countries, and career role models that are rarely pursuing blue collar jobs or 'working class' lifestyles. Similarly, the representation of working lives in low and middle income nations has been limited. As a result, theory has tended to under-estimate the constraints people face in relation to career choice, and the pressure of economic survival.

Narrative approaches have been fashionable in the early 21st century and are recommended by theorists from diverse perspectives. They certainly make a valuable addition to the counselling techniques available to practitioners. These approaches draw on postmodern and constructivist epistemologies, but they tend to conflate epistemology with ontology. As a result, they are not explicit about the relationship of narrative to reality. This presents a problem when such techniques are presented as an adequate response to macro-level inequality. Most people cannot story their way out of poverty (Hooley, Sultana & Thomsen, 2019). Stories have a place in career counselling, but not in every service delivery situation. Also, the adoption of an irrealist world view represents a potential barrier to communication between practitioners and service users with a pragmatic world view.

Many theories fail to make explicit their assumptions about humans. This is potentially a problem. It has been a problem for the discipline of economics where there has been a gradual breakdown of the previously unquestioned assumptions that humans are rational, self-interested, and individualistic. Similarly, career theories often make assumptions about the nature of work. For example, traditional vocational choice theories from wealthy countries tend to assume that work is plentiful and occupationally diverse.

Perhaps most troubling is that many theories are simply not useful to career development practitioners. They may serve the demands of academia rather than practice, and often provide descriptive accounts of careers rather than techniques and methods. Career theory does not attempt to explain or illuminate many of the things that practitioners routinely do, notably their work in pragmatic helping, and information giving. The counselling theories that are popular are typically generic helping models that are not finely tuned to the issues that arise in guidance conversations.

Arguably there is resonance between career theories advocating preparation for labour market change, career counselling approaches advocating a rescripting of lives, the self-help movement, and a value system rooted in a North American conception of how to get on in the world. All converge on exhortations to self-transformation, combined with an implication that to do so is a moral imperative.

From this critique we might conclude that a career theory should be:

- at a sufficient level of abstraction to be broadly applicable across class, nation, culture, industry, and occupation
- relevant to the needs of socio-economically disadvantaged groups
- sensitive to its economic, moral and political use (or abuse)
- explicit about its world view [1] and its assumptions about people
- avoiding too many assumptions about the nature of work
- avoiding prescriptions for what people should aspire to become
- useful and relevant for practitioners

Introducing the Capability Approach

Amartya Sen's contribution

The Capability Approach originates in the work of Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (e.g. Sen, 1985a&b; 1999). An accessible introduction to the Capability Approach is provided by Wells (undated) [2]. Strictly speaking it is not a theory, but an approach – a way of thinking about how people's lives are going, and how to make them better. It has become influential in many fields, notably international economic development, and education.

Like many ideas it is a reaction against established thinking. Sen was critical of the idea in economics of utility – the use of money as a proxy for calculating the value people can derive from choices in a marketplace. Sen saw income as an inadequate measure of how a person's life is going – necessary but not sufficient. Sen's crucial insight was that possessing a resource does not mean that someone can enjoy a particular lifestyle outcome. For example, a disabled person may need much greater resources to enjoy the same lifestyle as an able-bodied person. Similarly at the level of the national state, he considered Gross Domestic Product (GDP is effectively

[1] Writings about the Capability Approach have little to say about research paradigms, and there is no space to explore the issue here. I adopt a critical realist approach and have discussed its relation to the work of Sen in Robertson (2017).
[2] The Capability Approach is also strongly associated with the work of political philosopher Martha Nussbaum, but her variant is less relevant to the argument presented here.

national income) and its growth from year to year – as an insufficient measure of how a nation was doing.

Sen's extended this insight to a consideration of social justice. He was critical of the view that legal rights and fair institutions were sufficient resources to enable social justice. This is not adequate because people are not equally able to enjoy the outcomes that these rights and institutions might promise. Other factors could facilitate or hinder a person from converting these resources into desired lifestyle.

The Capability Approach leaves plenty of space for disagreement. Being described by Sen only in very broad terms, writers within the tradition debate their own interpretation of his concepts, and there are also critiques from an independent perspective. Useful critical commentary includes Prendergast (2005) and Navarro (2020).

Applications of the Capability Approach to career development

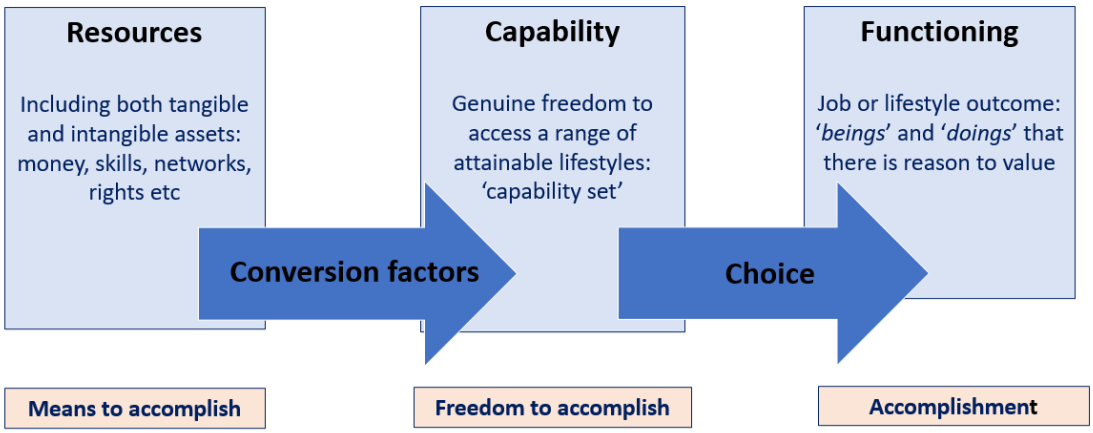
Several authors have explored applying the Capability Approach to career development including Robertson (2015); Skohvus (2016); Robertson & Egdell (2018); Joncas & Pilote (2021). Robertson & Picard (2021); Skohvus & Poulsen (2021); Su & Wong (2022); Buiskool et al (2023). It has also been applied to employment support services for unemployed adults (Fuertes, McQuaid, & Robertson, 2021; Whelan et al, 2021). Egdell & Robertson (2020) identified critiques of the Capability Approach as applied to career guidance.

The Capability Approach has certain conceptual components, which can be adapted for application to career development:

1. **Resources:** Both tangible and intangible resources available to the individual (e.g. money and skills).
2. **Conversion factors:** Environmental factors that (to a greater or lesser extent) facilitate resources being turned into lifestyles.
3. **Capability set:** All that the individual can do or be. The set of all realistically attainable lifestyles. This set would include their career options.
4. **Choice:** Individual factors including agency and internal limitations.
5. **Functionings:** What an individual is and does: their 'beings' and 'doings'. The attained lifestyle, including current life roles, social identity and state of well-being.

For the purpose of thinking about careers, these components can be assembled as illustrated in figure 1 below.

Figure 1: An overview of the Capability Approach as applied to career guidance (Robertson & Picard, 2021).



It is important to note that the term 'capability' is not used in the everyday sense, or as it is used in the human resources literature to describe skills. Instead, capability refers to potential 'beings and doings' – lives you could realistically lead. The idea is close to the notion of career options, but rather broader and more abstract. From the perspective of the Capability Approach, a good life is one where there is a wide range of realistically attainable lifestyles, because this represents freedom.

The Capability Approach might suggest there is a variety of ways of helping people, including but not limited to:

- Identifying the range of resources they have available
- Building on and expanding those resources
- Mitigating those factors that prevent use of the resources (barriers)
- Strengthening those factors that facilitate deploying resources
- Identifying the range of life/career options that are realistically available (capability set)
- Expanding the range of life/career options
- Identifying what is important to the person – the life they have reason to value
- Evaluating options
- Supporting access to valued lifestyles 'beings and doings'.

These ways of focusing helping conversations are likely to be familiar to career development practitioners, but laying out the alternatives may help inexperienced practitioners to see the different ways they might take the conversation (ideally in agreement with their client).

Rethinking the person

The Capability Approach gives a starting point for thinking, but it does not supply all the necessary elements for its application to the provision of career development

services. To make it useful we need to think about career-related resources, and what we might mean by conversion factors in this context.

Resources and capitals

The Capability Approach is a resource model. It draws attention to the resources people have at their disposal. It therefore has resonance with theories that use the terminology of 'capitals'. I have chosen not to use this terminology for three reasons. Firstly, there are very different conceptions of what capital means in the career context. Notions of human capital adopted by economists focus on learning as an asset that individuals acquire which can be traded for income at a later date. The term capital as used by sociologists (after Bourdieu) focuses on socio-cultural positioning through learning. Psychological capital tends to focus more narrowly on qualities such as resilience.

Secondly, the term 'capital' tends to suggest a stockpile that is accumulated and hoarded by a person, and this view tends to neglect the extent to which advantages arise from the interaction between a person and their environment. Thirdly, the Capability Approach adopts a broader and more nuanced view of what constitutes a resource than existing capital models.

Resource models have an advantage for use in practice. Career decisions tend to build on strengths. Resource models have resonance with contemporary approaches to career coaching which focus on strengths. The Capability Approach, by adopting the broadest possible understanding of resources, makes possible a comprehensive assessment of clients, which can inform guidance. More importantly it allows use to scope out the possibility space for assessment – the potential scope of career assessment within which practitioners can choose what is appropriate for their service user group.

Recent contributions focusing on graduate employability have usefully integrated and expanded on human, social, cultural, and psychological capital (Donald, Baruch, & Ashleigh, 2023; Winter, 2023). These structures can help us to identify what resources might mean in the application of the Capability Approach. However, an additional perspective is needed to capture how resources arise in the interaction between the person and their environment.

A systems view of the person

Systems thinking has been applied to career development by Patton and McMahon (1999). However, it is not the only way it could be applied in this domain (Collin, 2012). Systems thinking is content-free and has no moral values. As a result, it is most useful when combined with other ideas. Patton & McMahon's combination of systems thinking with constructivist and narrative approaches is not inevitable. There are elements of Patton & McMahon's approach which are helpful, such as making explicit that there are multiple levels of analysis. But their model is complex, and an explicit sub-system structure would be helpful.

I propose a different way of using systems thinking, one that combines it with the Capability Approach, and allows us to use it illuminate the resources that people have

access to. It is a perspective that allows us to be explicit about the model of the human that we are adopting. It is necessarily an abstract model, and one that allows us to break down and analyse the person into component parts. Career development practitioners need a sophisticated but abstract conception of the person, that is universal and applicable across different contexts and cultures. I propose eight sub-systems:

1. The psychological person
2. The economic person
3. The social person
4. The physical person
5. The temporal person
6. The information person
7. The moral/cultural person
8. The learning person

This gives us eight domains for analysis. This structure enables the identification of the resources people have available and the barriers they face in deploying them. It enables us to scope out the possibility space for career assessment, or for targeting interventions.

Ethics, freedom, and values

Autonomy

Concepts of agency are a recurring feature of modern career theories, although discussed in different terms by different authors. Autonomy is a kind of agency concept, and it was highlighted by Law (1981) as a key feature of career theories. He pointed to distinctions between theories in how they address freedom versus constraint (or agency versus structure). Autonomy is an important feature of the Capability Approach too. We can understand the concept in a number of ways:

- *Autonomy as the right to make a decision for oneself.*
- *Autonomy as the capacity to make an informed uncoerced choice.* This does not mean external or internal drivers are absent, but they are not overwhelming.
- *Autonomy as maturity and moral responsibility in decision making.* Autonomy does not equate to selfishness. Adults are autonomous in a way that children are not, and they may take into account the needs of family and community in their choices.
- *Autonomy as process freedom*: Sen makes a distinction between autonomy (process freedom) and opportunity freedom. Autonomy is a characteristic of good decision process, although not necessarily good decision outcomes, as they cannot be guaranteed.

Autonomy is identified as an ethical principle by the Career Development Institute (2019) *"Members must encourage individual autonomy in making decisions and always act in the individual's best interests".* This is not untypical of professional codes. Four fundamental principles underpin ethics across a range of professions, and Mulvey (2002) demonstrated their relevance to career development. They are:

- Beneficence: Taking action that is good for the client
- Non-maleficence: Refrain from harming or allowing harm to the client
- Autonomy: Support the client's right to choose
- Justice: Act fairly for the benefit of the majority

Non-maleficence is given primacy in the medical profession's 'Hippocratic Oath'. A case could be made that above all else, career development practitioners should respect the autonomy of their clients. Ultimately, life decisions are made by the individual.

Values

Values are important in the choice of career and life roles (Brown & Crace, 1996). They could be understood as an individual difference characteristic, and perhaps operationalised into an assessment measure. That said, values are likely to be strongly shaped by social and cultural influences. Values change with age and circumstance - usually slowly, sometimes dramatically. Whiston, et al. (2017) report meta-analysis evidence suggesting that helping people to clarify their values is associated with positive outcomes to career counselling. This finding would seem to resonate with the values-based approaches taken by career coaches, particularly those in private practice.

The Capability Approach allows for people to decide what is important to them on their own criteria – the life that they have reason to value. The choice of the word 'reason' may be significant here: it implies that what constitutes a good life is a rational decision. So how might we determine what a good life looks like?

In judging how someone's life is going, the Capability Approach suggests that an extremely wide range of information is required. There are debates within the Capability Approach about who should determine what a good life outcome looks like, how we should get there, and how these judgements should be made. For example:

- Is this a personal, individual choice? Or should this be a community decision by a democratic process?
- Is it necessary to have an outside, objective input, because oppressed groups may not recognise the extent to which their oppression shapes and constrains their aspirations?

Old politics and new economics

Political freedom

Undemocratic regimes are at best indifferent to their population's need for career services, and at worst adopt oppressive methods of allocating people to adult life roles that reinforce inequality and disadvantage (Watts, 1996). In contrast, liberal democracies enshrine freedoms in law. Philosophers and political theorists, such as Rousseau, Locke or Hobbes, might claim that our systems of governance are underpinned by a social contract between the people and the government. A social contract (whether explicit or implicit) requires people to surrender certain kinds of rights to government, to gain collective advantages. In a liberal democracy, those advantages might include freedom of religion, freedom of speech (including a free

press), and freedom to marry and have a family life. Crucially for this discussion there is also an unspoken expectation of freedom to pursue a chosen trade, and freedom to study. Only in very specific circumstances – such as wartime – might we expect these freedoms to be curtailed.

A key message of Sen's work is that freedom in theory is not adequate. Freedom is only genuine if it is accessible. The theoretical political/legal right to access any career is not the same as realistically being able to be and to do what you want. The exercise of personal freedom in the economy, or freedom to access adult life roles in a complex urban, industrialised, and occupationally specialised society, requires a supportive infrastructure.

When viewed through the lens of the Capability Approach, career development services are an essential element in the institutional structures that support the functioning of liberal democracies. Democratic societies are underpinned by a social contract in which citizens consent to government authority in return for certain privileges. The freedom to select or reject adult life roles is one such privilege that citizens expect. Notwithstanding some practical constraints to protect public safety, the effective functioning of this contract requires that the freedom is genuine.

Career development services are necessary in democracies to enable people to find ways to lead the lives that they have reason to value. It is those who are most disadvantaged and most likely to be excluded from the privileges of the democratic social contract, who most need these services. By addressing information asymmetries in the labour market and education market, career services are not only making markets more efficient, but are performing a service with political significance: they are helping governments to fulfil the promise.

The problem of growth

The rationale that underpins government investment in career services tends to be more explicitly economic rather than political. Economic growth requires improvements in productivity and one of the main sources of such improvement are in the skills of the workforce. This encourages substantial state funding of vocational education and training (VET), in an attempt to increase the human capital of the workforce. It is important that this investment is not wasted and as a result career services are required to support recruitment onto these programmes, to reduce unemployment and drop-out rates by ensuring people are allocated to an appropriate choice of programme, and to direct people towards labour/skills shortage or growth industries. Growth is required to keep pace with international competition and to fund public services. Human capital development enables people to trade their skills for income, offering a win-win at both a national and individual level. This description is an oversimplification, perhaps a caricature, but it captures the use of career services as an adjunct to VET, serving an ultimate aim of supporting economic growth.

The primacy given to GDP in economic analysis of a nation's performance has been challenged by Sen, Fitoussi, & Stiglitz (2010). The assumption that growth is the overarching goal of the economy may become increasingly questionable as the 21st Century progresses. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there is a well-

established argument that economic measures such as GDP misrepresent as positive many kinds of spending that are 'regrettables' such as costs of cleaning up pollution, healthcare for preventable illness, or locks and security cameras following a burglary. It fails to capture many things that are truly valuable, such as unpaid caring work in the home, or experiencing nature and culture.

Secondly, to the extent that growth has boosted national income in recent years, the benefits seem remote from the lives of most people. A lot of economic value is associated with abstract financial instruments, not with real economy. More importantly, most of the gains from growth have been captured by a tiny minority of already wealthy people (Dorling, 2014; Pikkety, 2015; Stiglitz, 2012). This raises the question of growth for whom? This is partly an issue of distributive justice, but it also means that economic growth has had no purpose or value for the majority of the population.

Thirdly, it is becoming increasingly apparent that economic growth cannot continue without depleting the planets resources and critically de-stabilising the climate, with potentially global consequences (such as critical breakdown of food or water supply, regions becoming uninhabitable, and mass migration on a scale never previously known).

Fourthly, growth casts the citizen-worker as consumer, and requires stoking acquisitive desires and competition with peers. These pursuits may channel energy away from a healthy and rewarding life. It also drives business towards financialisation, rather than creating something of social value.

Fifth and finally, an unintended consequence of the focus on growth and national income is a tendency to view people in terms of their contribution to the economy. Through this lens the purpose of an adult is to serve the economy. This vision of a human is simplistic. It is most apparent in 'carrot and stick' approaches to labour activation targeted at unemployed adults. People's motivations and life circumstances can be complex, so these policies may not be as successful as anticipated. More importantly, the purpose of a person is not to serve the economy – this is back to front – the economy exists to enable a person to lead a life they feel is worth living.

One caveat is that there are important counter-arguments to an anti-growth perspective. Arguably, the provision of government services can only be maintained without harsh tax rises if economic growth allows government income to increase to keep up with inflation.

Among the new economists there are those who see a need to move away from the addiction to growth. One example is Kate Raworth who describes herself as 'agnostic' about growth. Her book "Doughnut Economics" (Raworth, 2017) challenges the conventional neoclassical growth paradigm by highlighting the existence of both a biophysical ceiling and an ethico-social floor in the economy. We should live in a sweet spot of enough economic activity to maintain decent lives for people, but not so much as to damage the environment. She advocates for abandoning GDP as the primary measure of progress, and for taking a much broader view of the social contributions of the economy – here the influence of Amartya Sen is explicit. Raworth

advocates redistribution of wealth, and environmentally regenerative circular economy.

Another example is Mariana Mazzucato. She rejects the notion of managing a nation's economy like balancing the books of a household. Mazzucato (2022) is inspired by the far reaching social, technological, and economic gains of the state funded NASA moonshot programme in the 1960s and 70s. She advocates the state mobilising society to achieve challenging but desirable goals and social transformations. This echoes Sen's advice to reject narrowly defined economic growth in favour of a wider conception of development.

The intersection of economics, morality and politics

Sen is not the only economist interested in the connection between morality and economics. For example, Collier (2018) contends that while capitalism effectively raised living standards in the post-war era, its efficacy diminished from the late 20th Century onward, failing to enhance people's lives. Collier emphasizes the interconnection of economics, state governance, and morality. He challenges the notion that the state has a monopoly on morality, advocating for a more centrist and less polarized government. For Collier, it is not just income that drives inequality, it is also the nature of work:

> *"Work should bring purpose to the core years of life. Currently, it does so for many of the fortunate, but not for all. Many people find themselves in jobs that offer too little opportunity for self-respect they contain insufficient skills for it to be a source of pride, or they lack satisfaction that comes from knowing that what you do contributes to society. This, rather than simply the differences in pay packets, is the crux of the failures by which divergences between families become divergencies between jobs. The income inequalities matter and get larger as life progresses through to retirement."*
>
> *Collier (2018, p190).*

The connection between career development and economics is not and should not be limited to a focus on the skills needs of the economy. Whilst that remains important, there is a space in which modern economists are interacting with ideas from philosophy and politics about morality and justice. Career development sits in this space, connects these debates to individual lives. We are at an early stage in advancing debates about how career development relates to the intersection between economics, philosophy and politics.

Conclusion: Career development as freedom

The title of this lecture is an adaptation of the title of Sen's (1999) book *Development as Freedom*. For Sen, freedom is both the overarching goal, and a means to an end. He has sought to dismantle the international consensus that economic growth leads to increasing freedom and is the best way for a country to develop. By freedom he means (i) development and quality of life, (ii) political freedom, (iii) economic facilities, (iv) social opportunities, and (v) protective security.

The Capability Approach contains a number of useful insights:

- Resources are necessary but not sufficient to access desired lifestyles
- People are only genuinely free if the lives they wish to access are realistically available
- A very wide range of factors must be considered when asking how well an individuals' life and career are going; considering income alone is not adequate
- Similarly measures of economic growth are not adequate to assess how well a nation is doing
- The purpose of an individual is not to contribute to the economy; rather the purpose of the economy is to enable the individual to lead a life that is worth living
- The criteria by which people judge what a good life looks like should be set by the individual or community; not imposed on them.

That said, the Capability Approach also contains a diversity of views, and its application is open to interpretation. It is intentionally under-specified: it has nothing to say about specific domains – like the work of career development services – so it is best applied in combination with other approaches better tailored to the context.
The Capability Approach locates freedom as a central concept. A case can be made that freedom is an integrating concept in career development, uniting the following:

- The desire of people to lead a life that they have reason to value
- The political and legal liberties to freely choose work, study, and associated lifestyles
- The goal of career development interventions - to develop the individual's capacity to make informed and uncoerced choices
- Agency as a recurring theme of career theory
- Autonomy as a key pillar of professional ethics
- The offer of the profession, through policymakers to wider society, to help people:
    - convert their resources into desired lifestyles
    - convert their freedom in theory into freedom in practice
    - access the means to meet basic economic needs required to live freely, sustainably and with dignity.

There have been attempts to integrate career theory. Most notably by Mark Savickas (2012) who has characterised 21st Century career theory as falling within his life design paradigm. Patton & McMahon have proposed a systems meta-theory under which they claim other theories can be organised. David Blustein (2017) has offered a broad tent for vocational psychologists in the 'Psychology of Working Framework'. The Capability Approach could be integrative but in a different way. Its distinctive perspective suggests an integration between theory, ethics, and policy goals for career development. We currently tend to treat these as separate domains, but all are underpinned by concepts. A more coherent practice may arise if these concepts are unified.

The Capability Approach foreshadows the 'new economics' of the 21st Century by questioning the use of income and economic growth as a proxy for the 'good'. It

demands a wider view be taken of how we conceptualise a successful individual, community, or nation. This multi-dimensional perspective on governance is to an extent evident in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015). This raises political and philosophical debates about the position of career development, and presents us with a challenge: How will we position career development in relation to the new economics of the 21st Century? How can we navigate the space where economics, moral philosophy and politics intersect? The career development profession has work to do on this.

References

Blustein, D.L. (2017). The psychology of working: A new perspective for career development. *Career Planning and Adult Development Journal, 33*(2), 60-68.

Brown, D., Crace, R.K. (1996). Values in life role choices and outcomes: A conceptual model. *The Career Development Quarterly, 44*(3), 211.

Buiskool, B-J., Mazereeuw, M., Semeijn, J., & Kuijpers, M. (2023). *Towards a conceptual model for lifelong development for workers based on the capability approach.* The Hague: International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) International Conference.

Career Development Institute (2019). *Code of ethics.* CDI.

Collier, P. (2018). *The future of capitalism. Facing the new anxieties.* Allen Lane/Penguin.

Collin, A. (2012). The systems approach to career*. Journal of the National Institute for Career Education and Counselling, 28*, 3-9.

Donald, W.E, Baruch, Y., & Ashleigh, M.J. (2023). Construction and operationalisation of an employability capital growth model (ECGM) via a systematic literature search (2016-2022). *Studies in Higher Education.* https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2023.2219270

Dorling, D. (2014). *Inequality and the 1%.* Verso.

Egdell, V. & Robertson, P.J. (2021). A critique of the Capability Approach's potential for application to career guidance. *International Journal of Educational and Vocational Guidance,* 21(2) 447 – 463. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10775-020-09445-0

Fuertes, V., McQuaid, R. & Robertson, P.J. (2021). Career-first: An approach to sustainable labour market. Integration. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 21*(2), 429 – 446. https://doi.org.10.1007/s10775-020-09451-2

Hooley, T. Sultana, R. & Thomsen, R. (2019). The neoliberal challenge to career guidance: Mobilising research policy and practice around social justice. In T. Hooley,

R.Sultana & R. Thomsen (Eds) *Career Guidance for Social Justice : Contesting Neoliberalism* (pp. 1-28). Routledge.

Joncas, J.A., Pilote, A. (2021). The role of guidance professionals in enhancing the capabilities of marginalized students: the case of indigenous women in Canada. *International Journal of Educational and Vocational Guidance 21*, 405–427. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10775-021-09474-3

Law, B. (1981). Careers theory: a third dimension, in A.G. Watts, D.E. Super & J.M. Kidd (Eds.) *Career development in Britain,* pp.300-337, Cambridge: CRAC/Hobsons.

Mackenzie Davy, K. (2020). Organisational career development theory: Weaving individuals, organsisations, and social structures. In P.J. Robertson. T. Hooley, & P. McCash (Eds.) *The Oxford handbook of career development* (pp143-154). Oxford University Press.

McMahon, M. (2014). New trends in career development theory. In Arulmani, G., Bakshi, A.J., Leong, F.T.L., & Watts, A.G. (Eds.) *Handbook of career development: International perspectives* (pp.13-27). Springer.

Navarro, V. (2000). Development and quality of life: A critique of Amartya Sen's development as freedom. *International Journal of Health Services, 30*(4), 661-674.

Mazzacato, M. (2022). *Mission economy. A moonshot guide to changing capitalism.* Penguin.

Mulvey, R. (2002). Ethical practice in career guidance. In Institute of Career Guidance, *Career guidance: Constructing the future* (pp. 79-90). ICG.

Patton, W. & McMahon, M. (1999). *Career Development and Systems theory: Connecting theory and practice.* Rotterdam: Sense.

Piketty, T. (2015). *The economic of inequality.* Harvard University Press. [Translated by Arthur Goldhammer].

Prendergast, R. (2005). The concept of freedom and its relation to economic development—a critical appreciation of the work of Amartya Sen. *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 29,* Issue 6, 1145–1170, https://doi-org.napier.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/cje/bei081

Raworth, K. (2017). *Doughnut economics: Seven ways to think like a 21st-Century economist.* Penguin.

Robertson, P. J. (2015). Towards a capability approach to careers: Applying Amartya Sen's thinking to career guidance and development. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 15*(1), 75–88. https://doi.org/10.1007/s1077 5-014-9280-4

Robertson, P. J. (2017). Bhaskar and Sen: Two foundations on which to build a new approach to career guidance and life planning. *Indian Journal of Career and Livelihood Planning, 6*(1), 22-28.

Robertson, P.J. (2020). The aims of career development policy: Towards a comprehensive framework. In P.J. Robertson, T. Hooley, & P. McCash (Eds.) *The Oxford handbook of career development* (pp.113-128). Oxford University Press.

Robertson, P.J. & Egdell, V. (2018). A capability approach to career development: An introduction and implications for practice. *Australian Journal of Career Development, 27*(2), 119-126. http://doi.org/10.1177/1038416217704449

Robertson, P.J. & Picard, F. (2021). Editorial: Introduction to the special section on the Capability Approach to career guidance. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 21*(2), 395 – 404. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10775-021-09462-7

Savickas, M. (2012). Life design: A paradigm for career intervention in the 21st Century. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 90*(1), 13-19. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1556-6676.2012.00002.x

Sen, A. (1985a). *Commodities and capabilities.* Elsevier.

Sen, A. (1985b). Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *The Journal of Philosophy, 82*(4), 169–221.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom.* Oxford University Press.

Sen, A., Fitoussi, J.P, & Stiglitz, J. (2010). Mismeasuring our lives: Why GDP doesn't add up. The New Press. http://www.tinyurl.com/y63bg5dj

Skovhus, R. B. (2016). A focus on educational choice has social justice consequences – An empirical study informed by Sen's capability approach. *Journal of the National Institute for Career and Educational Counselling, 36*, 54–60. https://doi.org/10.20856/jnicec.3607

Skovhus, R.B., Poulsen, B.K. (2021). A broader educational and vocational outlook in compulsory education has consequences for social justice. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance 21*, 465–480 (2021). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10775-021-09468-1

Smith, A. (1776/2008). *The wealth of nations.* Penguin

Stiglitz, J.E. (2012). *The price of inequality.* Penguin.

Su, X. & Wong, V. (2022). Enhancing the career capabilities of NEET youth in Hong Kong: an experience-driven framework. *International Journal of Educational and Vocational Guidance, 22,* 713–738. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10775-022-09531-5

United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development.* https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication

Wells, T. (undated). Sen's Capability Approach. *Internet encyclopaedia of philosophy*. https://iep.utm.edu/sen-cap/

Whelan N., Murphy, M.P., & McGann, M. (2021). The enabling role of employment guidance in contemporary public employment services: A work-first to life-first typology. British Journal of Guidance and Counselling, 49 (2), 200-212. https://doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2021.1879374

Whiston, S.C., Li, Y., Mitts, N.G, & Wright, L. (2017). Effectiveness of career choice interventions: A meta-analytic replication and extension. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 100,* 175-184. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.03.010.

Winter, D. (2023). A framework for analysing careers and employability learning outcomes. *Journal of the National Institute for Career Education and Counselling, 51*(1), 15-25. https://doi.org/10.20856/jnicec.5103