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Together in Excellence

An Analysis of Career Discourses in Life Orientation Textbooks of Eastern Cape Schools

by

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Abstract

Life Orientation (LO) was introduced in schools by the new ANC government post 1994. Its introduction provided a platform to re-introduce career guidance to learners in schools with the aim of assisting them in making well-versed choices regarding their prospective careers and the subject selections pertaining to them (Department of Basic Education, 2011). Although no previous studies in the LO arena have focused on career discourses, previous literature on career discourses, in general, suggests that the models and theories still employed today have been heavily influenced by Western individualistic values. This has been found to create a disconnect between the South African subjects and the context they exist in, rendering these discourses unable to provide substantive assistance in the career decision making process. This study seeks to determine whether the career discourses located in the selected texts speak to the subjectivity and agency of the learner to make informed decisions.

The current study examined the career discourses present in the LO textbooks utilised in Eastern Cape schools. The study sampled LO textbooks from Grades 10-12, as this group of learners are preparing to make critical further studying and career decisions and require guidance in their decision making process. A social constructionist lens was applied to the study by means of a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, making use of Willig's (2013) six step process as a reference. Dominant discourses of the objective self, neoliberal self and the transitioning adolescent were uncovered in the texts, which suggests that, rather than challenge the dominant discourses that have prevailed in career theory and practice, the LO careers curriculum further reinforces them.

*Keywords***:** Life Orientation, career guidance, discourse analysis, positioning, power, career discourses, Foucault

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List of Abbreviations

C2005:   Curriculum 2005

DOE: Department of Education

DBE: Department of Basic Education

LO: Life Orientation

OBE: Outcomes Based Education

NCS: National Curriculum Statement

NCS: National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12

NQF: National Qualifications Framework

RNCS: National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12

QLFS: Quarterly Labour Force Survey

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Schools

1.1 Introduction

The African National Congress (ANC) gained power in 1994 after the abolishment of the Apartheid system in South Africa. Under this backdrop, Life Orientation (LO) was introduced into schools as a new subject with the view to transform education. Educational policies such as Outcomes-based Education (OBE), Curriculum 2005 (C2005), and the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) were all implemented before the inception of LO and contributed to the formation and teaching philosophies contained in the Life Orientation curriculum (Rooth, 2005).

Contained in the LO curriculum is the topic of careers and career choices. It encompasses 20% of the curriculum and seeks to provide learners with the competencies necessary to assist them in making well-versed choices about their subject selections and prospective careers, provide information about higher education and further opportunities, as well as prepare learners for their entrance into the workplace. (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2011).

Choosing a future career is one of the most substantial decisions that learners are faced with towards the end of their high school careers. For most South African learners, LO is the only official guidance they will receive to assist with this important decision (Maree, 2012; Maxwell, 2014; Pauw, Oosthuizen, & van Der Westhuizen, 2008), as most learners that have passed Grade 12 do so without any form of career counselling (Maree, 2013; Sommerville & Maree, 2008). Furthermore, these learners often transition to institutions of higher learning with career indecision (Van Reenen, 2010) and into the world of work without a solid idea of what to expect from their prospective careers (Dabula & Makura, 2013; Maree, 2012).

According to the results of the last Quarterly Labour Force Survey of 2016 released by Statistics South Africa, the population of 15 – 34 year olds are the most unprotected in the labour market, with an unemployment rate of 37,1% (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Accordingly, the relevance of career guidance for the changing demands of the 21st Century labour market has come into question, with calls for a rethink of whether LO is suitable and adequately aligned with South African needs and global developments (Maree, 2013). Furthermore, there have been suggestions that the quality and scope of career guidance in schools needs to be amended, so that learners choose career paths that are aligned with the changing world of work (Pauw et al., 2008).

Globally, a similar trend has been seen in the workplace in the last century, rendering career theory and practices insufficient, as they don't meet the requirements of the modern era (Maree, 2012; Savickas et al., 2009). This has resulted in a paradigm shift, from that of a positivist stance to career guidance and counselling, to a multi-method one that making use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods (Maree, 2012). The career counselling methods used in South Africa are fundamentally inherited from career theories formulated elsewhere in the world, which tend to ignore the cultural context of group needs, which is particularly relevant to South Africa and its diverse cultures (Maree, 2013).

Considering the multi-faceted and complex socio-cultural structures that South African learners are located in, it becomes important to analyse the career topic within the LO curriculum with a critical lens. A critical examination of texts can highlight what might be taken for granted assumptions and undertones that often evade critical scrutiny, but can have a powerful influence on the discourses they permeate (Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006).

1.2 Historical context

After the political changes in the ruling party post 1994, the ANC sought to transform the school curriculum in order to move away from the apartheid legacy that had existed. It viewed education as a key tenant regarding its broader goals of social transformation, hence placing much focus on change. The previous education system was seen as authoritarian, inflexible and largely promoting a Christian national education system (Rooth, 2005). Additionally, it operated on a framework of unequal distribution of resources and was racially biased.

When the South African Constitution came into being in 1996, it laid the foundations from which policies and practices linked to curriculum reform could be introduced. It became the starting point for the establishment and implementation of OBE, shaped as C2005 and later substituted with the RNCS (Soudien, 2010).

1.3 Post-Apartheid education

OBE was first introduced into the schooling system in 1997 and focused on the achievement of outcomes as, essentially, what was important for all the learners to obtain by the completion of their learning (Department of Education [DOE], 1997). Consequently, teaching, learning and assessment were all outlined in terms of what the learners are able to do, with outcomes being used as a guide for educators decision making (Spady, 1994). OBE was, on the one hand, criticised for its unrealistic appraisal of the realities of the average South African classroom and being too closely associated with economic growth (Jansen, 1999), while others, on the other hand, praised it for providing a new way of achieving equality and redress (Fleisch, 2002; Vally & Spreen, 2003).

C2005 was introduced under the backdrop of OBE, guided by the core philosophies of outcomes-based and learner-centred education and the critical outcomes of the National

Qualifications Framework (NQF) (Soudien, 2010). It demarcated specific outcomes and standards of achievement around eight learning areas, replacing traditional school subjects. Additionally, it attempted to bring school work in line with the workplace, political and social goals through the promotion of experiential and cooperative learning and by giving emphasis to critical thinking skills (Rooth, 2005).

Due to mounting criticism surrounding the practicality of C2005 for economically challenged schools and difficulties with implementation, C2005 was revised in 2002. This led to two new Revised National Curriculum Statements being introduced; namely Grades R to 9 and Grades 10 to 12. The year 2009 saw another review of the NCS due to on-going implementation challenges (DBE, 2011). From 2012, the two curriculums were united into one document still currently used in schools, the National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 (NCS).

1.4 Life Orientation and Careers

The educational policies of OBE, C2005 and the RNCS all contributed to LO being introduced and implemented, with the goal of preparing learners for the challenges of a speedily transforming society (Rooth, 2005). According to the NCS, this introduction aimed to provide learners with the competencies necessary to assist them in making well-versed choices about their subject selections and prospective careers, provide information about higher education and further opportunities, as well as prepare learners for their entrance into the workplace (DBE, 2011).

LO is a compulsory subject for all high school learners from Grades 10 - 12 and contains six topics. As the careers topic is the focal point of the current study, the aims are summarised below as seeking to:

- Enable learners to make meaningful choices regarding their choice of study and career.

- Provide information on learning programmes, education and training providers, qualifications and job opportunities.

- Provide life skills for all students (DOE, 2002).

1.5 History of career guidance in South Africa

Before curriculum transformation, guidance, guidance and counselling and career or vocational guidance were subjects in some South African schools. Career counselling was seen as a specialist service, usually employed by a psychologist, and guidance was seen as a curriculum activity, employed by the guidance counsellor in a school setting (Adewumi, 2015).

This distinction eventually led to guidance becoming more of a controlling process than a strengthening of personal and individual qualities, as it sought to socialise learners and keep social control (Rooth, 2005). This social control ensured that the white learners were prepared for professions, while the black learners were prepared for suppression and labour. Additionally, Career counselling adopted a racist and segregated orientation, marginalising black South African learners (Nkoane & Alexander, 2010).

With the introduction of the newly democratically elected government in 1994, formal career counselling in schools was abandoned, causing the gap in access to career services for previously disadvantaged learners to become even wider (Rooth, 2005). When LO was introduced in 2002, the concept of career guidance was reintroduced by absorbing aspects of guidance, guidance and counselling and career or vocational guidance into the careers topic.

1.6 Epistemological approaches

Career guidance and counselling are underpinned and guided by various theories that have emerged over the past 120 years. These theories have important consequences for the LO curriculum, as the careers' section is informed by certain theories. Most notably, the careers' section takes a traditional approach to career guidance (Brown & Brooks, 1996). This is a system of theories and intervention strategies that have emerged from the Western world and are rooted in positivism and are generally separated into three expansive categories, namely, content theories, process theories and a combination of both.

Broadly speaking, these theories promote the idea of matching abilities and interests to career opportunities and make use of inventories and aptitude tests to assist in this regard. They promote the idea that by developing a person's self-concept, they can become aware of their interests, values and skills and take these into account during their career decision-making process.

However, these theories have become inadequate for the fast changing 21st century world of work (Maree, 2012, 2013) and create questions concerning reliability and validity when applied cross-culturally. This has led to the emergence of postmodern approaches to career counselling which move away from the idea that an individual's mind represents a mirror of reality, rather postulating that reality is created by an individual's perceptions of the actual world (Gablin, 2014). Qualitative, narrative or storied perspectives of career counselling are framed by this approach, favouring the interpretation and subjective aspects of the individual's career and life stories rather than the interpretation of an objective test.

As postmodern approaches to career theory and practice slowly gain more ground, it follows that research into this field should adopt a similar approach, as is the case with this study.

1.7 Career discourses

Emerging trends in career theory, guidance and research appear to favour discourse analysis as a means to understand and interpret culturally and socially produced meanings (Hanchey & Berkelaar, 2015; Savickas et al., 2009; Stead & Bakker, 2010a; Wrbouschek, 2009). A review of the current literature employing discourse analysis as a method of analysis revealed that there were varying career discourses embedded in career theory, educational policies and the Life Orientation curriculum itself.

A discourse of self-knowledge strongly permeates career theory. For example, a Foucauldian discourse analysis of career theory in South Africa revealed that essentialist and positivistic notions of self are present and embedded in the social and power relations that are maintained through career theory (Stead & Bakker, 2010a).

Jonck's (2016) review of the LO curriculum found that Holland's Career Choice Theory prevails as the dominant theoretical framework. This theory is based on the positivistic assumption that career choice is an expression of the individuals' personality which is measurable with personality inventories. Supporting these findings, Soudien (2010) postulated that the South African subject in the NCS is portrayed as being an already middle-class citizen, ignoring the effects of Apartheid and providing an a-historic nature to the new curriculum. The new curriculum can be seen as speaking into the social context of South Africa, as if it is empty, and positioning its subjects as new and universal, able to operate at high levels of civility and social awareness, and able to operate on a global level.

Additionally, this approach positions all learners as having access to the same resources and as having similar opportunities available to them (Soudien, 2010), which is evident in the entrepreneurial discourses discovered by Stilbert (2012), who traced the construction of the South African learning subject in education policy discourses and school

practice. Dominant discourses representing the ideal of economic growth and competitive

advantage were uncovered in these policies. The effects of these dominant discourses are

evident in the shift towards a marketised environment in schools, and, consequently, a

reformulation of subjectivities, from viewing social relations in political terms to economic

ones (Biesta, 2004).

Closely linked to entrepreneurial discourses are neoliberal discourses. Globally,

critical analyses of career curriculums have revealed a comparable trend of neoliberal

ideology entrenched in the discourses (Bengtsson, 2011; Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006;

Roper, Ganesh, & Inkson, 2010). A critical discourse analysis of the life skills career

education curriculum of schools in British Columbia, Canada found that a dominant

neoliberal ideology was reflected in the texts (Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006). An analysis of

European policy documents on career guidance and career development produced from 2000

to 2008, which were analysed from a Foucauldian governmentality perspective, revealed that

neoliberal discourses of career self-management are naturalised as a responsibility of the

individual through normative processes and governing techniques (Bengtsson, 2011).

This notion of individual responsibility for economic and career outcomes, while

ignoring the societal or organisational responsibility, is also present in South African career

literature. Buthelezi, Alexander, and Seabi (2009) noted that when it comes to career

counselling in South Africa, European and North American knowledge and value systems

still dominate. Values such as individualism and autonomy are prioritised and focused on to

the exclusion of other knowledge and value systems, for example, indigenous ones.

1.8 Research problem

According to the Department of Basic Education (2011), the careers learning area

seeks to afford students with competencies necessary to assist them in making well-versed

choices about their subject selections and prospective careers, provide information about higher education and further opportunities, as well as prepare learners for their entrance into the workplace. This study seeks to determine whether the career discourses located in the selected texts speak to the subjectivity and agency of the learner to make informed decisions, in terms of the above-mentioned aims, or if the discourses position the learner differently to the intended aims.

The textual discourses located in the careers topic are yet to be analysed from a critical perspective, which is necessary to reach an understanding of the subjective positionings and how these positions open up or close down opportunities for action when learners are faced with career choice decisions.

The discourse analysis method provides an opportunity for the exposure of the system of values and power relations implied in the career topic and challenges essentialism. Furthermore, it is particularly useful in understanding the power, politics and ideology in human interactions and can uncover whose interests are being served through the delivery of the careers topic.

1.9 Research questions

This study is guided by a Foucauldian discourse analysis, taking into account the following questions:

1. What discourses are constructed through the textual based representations of the careers topic located in Life Orientation textbooks used in Eastern Cape schools?

2. How do these discourses position the learner?

3. Do these positions open up or shut down prospects for action?

4. How do these positions affect the subjectivity of the learner in terms of career choice decision-making?

1.10 Research aim and objectives

The research seeks to apply a critical lens to textual based representations of the careers topic of Grade 10, 11 and 12 in Life Orientation textbooks currently used in the Eastern Cape by means of a Foucauldian discourse analysis. The objective of this study, therefore, is to uncover what discourses are constructed in the careers topic and how these discourses position the learner in terms of agency and power concerning career choice decisions. The findings seek to impact, enrich and compliment the careers section within the Life Orientation textbooks.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has mapped out the historical context under which Life Orientation was introduced into the educational system in South African schools. It has provided an overview of the post-apartheid educational policies that were introduced, namely OBE, C2005 and the NCS, respectively, which provided the framework for the introduction of LO. The careers topic in the LO curriculum, the focal point of the study, was examined and a history of career guidance and its epistemological approaches was provided. A review of the career discourse literature to date was briefly presented, as well as the research problem, questions, aims and objectives.

A comprehensive literature review follows in chapter two and seeks to provide a full overview of the national and international career literature as it pertains to career guidance, Life Orientation, including existing career discourses. It also introduces the key concepts of the theoretical framework guiding this study, namely, social constructionism and a Foucauldian discourse analysis. Chapter three contains detailed information about the method of inquiry employed in the study. It provides greater depth of understanding to the

theoretical framework and describes the research design, including the methods utilised in the study, sampling procedure, data collection methods and means of analysis.

The research findings of the study and the analysis thereof are mapped out in chapter four. The sub-discourses and dominant discourses analysed from the selected extracts are introduced, followed by a discussion of the findings. The final chapter delivers a discussion of the original research aims and argument. It summarises the dominant discourses and discusses the contributions, recommendations and implications of the research findings for the learners who are produced by the careers topic of the Life Orientation textbooks.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a synopsis of relevant research as it pertains to career guidance and Life Orientation in particular. The structure of this chapter has been divided into three broad sections. The first section highlights the most noteworthy changes which have occurred in South African education post 1994, paving the way for the introduction of LO as a required learning area. The careers topic, and focal point of this study, is then located within the LO curriculum. Attention is also paid to the historical path of career guidance and the various forms and influences it has had on South African schooling.

The review then shifts focus to the concept of career guidance within psychology, including the shifting epistemological methodologies informing career guidance and counselling both locally and globally. These approaches are located in terms of their suitability for the workplace in a modern era, including the South African context.

In the last section, a case is made for a post-modern approach to career guidance and choice, which includes an exploration of the relevant concepts of social constructionism and Foucauldian theory pertaining to the theoretical framework of this research. The review concludes with an analysis of emerging trends in career counselling research, focussing specifically on current career discourses and how these discourses position subjects, the learners.

2.2 Curriculum reform in South Africa

The burden of the new South African government when it came into power in 1994 was to move away from the apartheid regime of the previous government. Consequently, a move was made to transform the school's curriculum and link it with the broader goals of social transformation. New policies and practices emerged that sought to capture the first

democratically elected government's vision of creating a new democratic South African society (Ramsarup, 2005). Accordingly, the reconstitution of the education system became one of the primary goals of the African National Congress (ANC) (Rooth, 2005).

The previous education system was viewed as being authoritarian, inflexible and promoting a predominantly Christian national education system (Rooth, 2005). This system placed an emphasis on rote learning and streaming while operating in a framework of unevenly dispersed resources, curriculum content that was structured along racial lines and racially demarcated education departments. In order to move away from the apartheid legacy of this authoritarian doctrine, the ANC strove to adopt a liberation ideology that focused on learner-centeredness in its curricula.

The South African Constitution, passed in 1996, became the starting point or central document on which policy injunctions linked to curriculum reform were introduced (Soudien, 2010). In the Constitution, human beings are positioned as rational, conscious and deliberate individuals whose subjectivity is imitative of their engagement with the world of meaning in a fully responsible way. While this positioning has important pedagogic implications for teaching in South Africa about the kinds of citizens that learners could be, it understates the extent to which subjectivity in South Africa is a raced, cultured, gendered, and classed experience.

To this day, South Africans' lived experiences are defined by deep racial, gendered and class forces, which policymakers should be aware of and speak to (Soudien, 2010). Consequently, the key reform initiatives that are taken from the above-mentioned understanding of human beings miss the mark when engaging with the sociological reality of the everyday. Furthermore, they do not provide any suggestions as to how it might change. These concerns are evident with respect to Outcomes Based Education (OBE), shaped as

Curriculum 2005 (C2005), as well the National Curriculum Statements (NCS), its successor (Soudien, 2010).

    2.2.1 Outcomes Based Education. OBE was introduced in 1997 and can be described as a technique and belief of teaching and learning (Rooth, 2005). This system of education focused on learners achieving outcomes with learning, teaching and assessment all framed in terms of what the learners are able to do (DOE, 1997). Essentially, the focus and organisation of teaching is based on what is important for all learners to successfully master by the end of their learning. Outcomes are used as a guide for educator's decision making, as they are required to clarify and make the desired outcomes of learning clear to learners (Rooth, 2005).

The introduction of OBE was met with mixed reactions by all sectors of the educational community. Amongst the varied critiques (Harber, 2001; Meerkotter, 1998, Sieborger, 1998; Young, 2001) it was criticised for not taking into account the realities of South African classrooms and being too closely associated with assisting economic growth, when a close link between education and prosperity was yet to be established (Jansen, 1999). Others in the educational community saw the potential in such an educational system (Fleisch, 2002; Vally & Spreen, 2003), perceiving OBE as providing a new way of achieving equity and redress.

    2.2.2 Curriculum 2005. According to Soudien (2010), the emergence and ideas underpinning C2005 can be viewed as a first-rate example of internationalisation. C2005 was borrowed from curricular developments in New Zealand and the United Kingdom and came to South Africa as an example of best-practice. Guided by philosophies of outcomes-based and learner-centred education, and the critical outcomes of the country's National Qualifications Framework, C2005 defined specific outcomes and standards of achievement

organised around eight learning areas which replaced the traditional school subjects. Each learning area consisted of outcomes that would assist in making the critical and developmental outcomes achievable (DOE, 1997).

C2005 attempted to make school work more relevant to the workplace by emphasising experiential and cooperative learning, the value of diversity, and aiming to develop citizens who are imaginative and critical problem-solvers (DOE, 1997). As with OBE, reactions to the introduction of C2005 were varied, with most of the concerns focussing on the practicality of the curriculum for economically challenged areas of society, the content and context of the curriculum, training needs and the state of South African schools (Jansen, 1999; Meerkotter, 1998; Taylor 1999; Vinjevold, 1999). More critically, Harley and Parker (1999) noted that the pupils imagined in the constructivist ideals of C2005 were not socially and culturally autonomous subjects. Rather, the majority were children who had been denied opportunity in the past. Some of these concerns and criticisms, coupled with the difficulties in implementation, led to the Minister of Education initiating a full review of C2005 (DOE, 2000a).

After a revision process indicated the need for a streamlined and strengthened curriculum, the first curriculum revision of C2005 took place in 2002 two new Revised National Curriculum Statements being introduced; namely Grades R to 9 and Grades 10 to 12. The year 2009 saw another review of the NCS due to on-going implementation challenges (DBE, 2011). From 2012, the two curriculums were united into one document still currently used in schools, the National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 (NCS).

2.2.3 National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12. The foreword by the Minister of Education contained in the National Curriculum Statement (2011) describes its introduction as the result of determinations spanning seventeen years in order to alter the

curriculum formed and consequently inherited from the apartheid government (DBE, 2011).

Since the dawn of democracy, efforts have been made to produce a curriculum that represents

the principles enclosed in South Africa's Constitution, specifically, healing the separations of

the past, improving the lives of all inhabitants and building a democratic people.

With these values in mind, the general aims of the South African curriculum, now

referred to as the NCS, were developed to "give expression to the knowledge, skills and

values worth learning in South African schools" (DBE, 2011, p 4). The NCS is designed to

reflect certain principles that speak to critical learning, human rights, social transformation

and justice, achievable but high standards, progression, as well as environmental justice

(DBE, 2011). Resultantly, learners are produced in order to apply the critical thinking

needed to identify and solve problems, to work effectively as individuals and in a team, to

manage themselves, to critically evaluate information, to communicate in different styles,

make use of science and technology, and show an understanding of related systems.

Although this policy framework for education is now firmly in place in South African

schools, issues of implementation continue to be a concern. Studies on the interface between

curriculum policy and practice continue to document the many complexities and challenges

involved with curriculum change (Adewumi, 2015; Christiaans, 2006; Van Deventer, 2009;

Prinsloo, 2007).

According to Soudien (2010), the most essential curriculum challenge lies in the

misrepresentation of the subjects it speaks to. The South African subject is portrayed as an

already middle-class citizen, ignoring the effects of Apartheid and providing an a-historical

nature to the new curriculum. The new curriculum can be seen as speaking into the social

context of South Africa as if it is empty and positioning its subjects as new and universal,

able to operate at high levels of civility and social awareness, and able to operate on a global

level. Although challenges still abound, the NCS re-introduced one of its four fundamental subjects, Life Orientation.

2.3 The Life Orientation learning area

Life Orientation (LO) was the South African government's beacon of hope regarding bringing about a change in education, with OBE, C2005 and the RNCS all playing a role in this transformation (Rooth, 2005). Hence LO became known as a symbol of a new era in South African education; it represented breaking away from the past and typified the visualisation for the future of education.

The NCS describes Life Orientation as "the study of the self in relation to others and society" (DBE, 2011, p.8). It seeks to address the individuals' values, knowledge, and skills about themselves, their surroundings, how to be a responsible citizen, lead a healthy and productive life, engage socially, participate in sports and leisure, and guide them regarding career choices (DBE, 2011). Essentially, it seeks to equip learners for life and its opportunities, as well as for significant and fruitful living in a quickly transforming society.

Life Orientation is one of four compulsory subjects that must be passed in order to matriculate; it is, therefore, compulsory for learners from Grades 10 - 12 (DBE, 2011). It aims to apply "a holistic approach to the personal, social, intellectual, emotional, spiritual, motor and physical growth and development of learners" (DBE, 2011, p. 8). These aims are seen to produce balanced and confident learners, who are able to operate effectively in society and contribute to a productive economy.

The topics contained in the LO curriculum for Grades 10 - 12 are presented below:

1. Development of the self in society

2. Social and environmental responsibility

3. Democracy and human rights

4. Careers and career choices

5. Study skills

6. Physical education (DBE, 2011, p. 8).

The NCS allocates two hours per week for the delivery of Life Orientation, meaning that there are essentially 66 hours available for LO in Grades 10 and 11, reduced to 56 hours for Grade 12. Each topic functions interdependently and is considered to be of equal importance, with the issues dealt with in each topic relating to the issues covered in the other five topics of the subject (DBE, 2011). Although all the topics are interdependent and viewed to be of equal importance, topic four, careers and career choices, is examined in greater detail due to its relevance to the study.

2.3.1 Careers as a topic of Life Orientation. According to the Department of Education (2002), including the careers topic in the LO curriculum sought to create more awareness regarding the importance of career guidance in schools for learners. Furthermore, it aimed to "equip learners with knowledge, skills and values to make informed decisions about subject choices, careers and higher education opportunities and the world of work" (DBE, 2011, p. 9)

Career guidance within Life Orientation can be described as a process whereby learners are taught the essential competencies needed for ideal functioning within the educational, social, and personal spheres relating to the work environment (Bholanath, 2007). These competencies are expected to be utilized throughout the learner's lifespan in order to make informed choices and continuously manage career decisions (Lewin & Colley, 2011). However, the successful selection of a career is influenced by many factors, not only socio-economic conditions. The intrinsic profile of the individual must be considered, taking personality, potential and interests into account (Edwards & Quinter, 2011). Career

guidance, therefore, aims to shape an individual's identity to be congruent with

environmental needs by aligning subject choices at secondary school level accordingly

(Jonck & Swanepoel, 2015).

     An overview of topics covered from Grades 10 - 12 (below) serves as a guide for the

conceptualisation of the content represented in the careers learning area contained in the LO

curriculum (DBE, 2011).

Table 1

Overview of topics

Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Subjects, career fields and study choices: decision making skills.	Requirements for admission to higher education institutions.	Commitment to a decision taken: locate appropriate work or study opportunities in various sources.
Socio-economic factors.	Options for financial assistance for further studies.	Reasons for and impact of unemployment and innovative solutions to counteract unemployment.
Diversity of jobs.	Competencies, abilities and ethics required for a career.	Core elements of a job contract.
Opportunities within career fields.	Personal expectations in relation to job or career of interest.	Refinement of portfolio of plans for life after school.
Trends and demands in the job market.	Knowledge about self in relation to the demands of the world of work and socioeconomic conditions.	
The need for lifelong learning.		

2.3.2 Incorporation of career guidance into Life Orientation. The history of career guidance and the role it played in South African schools holds important ramifications for its incorporation into Life Orientation (Adewumi, 2015). Prior to curriculum transformation, guidance, guidance and counselling and career or vocational guidance were subjects in some South African schools. The terms guidance, vocational guidance and counselling were all used interchangeably, but implemented separately (Rooth, 2005). Counselling was considered a practice used specifically for career counselling and personal guidance, a specialist and separate service usually employed by a psychologist; whereas guidance was seen as a curriculum activity instituted by the guidance educator in a school setting.

This distinction led to the fragmentation of guidance services and the clouding of the concept of guidance (Nkoane & Alexander, 2010). Through the use of socialisation and social control, guidance became known as more of a directing and regulatory process, rather than a solidification of personal and individual abilities (Rooth, 2005).

Apartheid legislation, which regulated the provision of education to different race groups, has, therefore, had a negative effect on the institutionalisation of school guidance programmes. Career counselling adopted a racist and segregated orientation, which failed to meet the needs and challenges experienced by black South African learners (Nkoane & Alexander, 2010). Guidance became a tool for social control, ensuring that the white learners were prepared for professions, while the black learners were prepared for suppression and labour (Rooth, 2005).

In 1994, the National Department of Education abandoned formal career counselling in schools through the downgraded role and position of the 'guidance educator' (Maree, 2009). This further contributed to the widening gap in access to career services for

previously disadvantaged learners. When the LO learning area was introduced in 2002,

career guidance seemingly found its way back into schools, albeit with a new set of

challenges and limitations. The aspects of guidance, guidance and counselling, and career or

vocational guidance have been absorbed and adapted into the careers topic of the Life

Orientation curriculum (Rooth, 2005).

Immediate challenges included the minimal time allocated for guidance teaching, the

non-examinable nature of guidance; principals' perceptions and attitudes contributing to the

neglect of guidance and educators being ill-qualified to teach guidance (Rooth, 2005).

Under the backdrop of these challenges and limitations, the Green Paper for Post

School Education and Training was released in 2012, aiming to address serious inadequacies

found in career counselling at the school level which could contribute to unemployment

(Department of Higher Education, 2012). The Paper highlighted the urgency of cooperation

at all levels (schools, FET colleges, higher education and training institutions and the

workplace) in meeting the needs of the previously disadvantaged, namely, those who often

reside in rural areas and are deprived of access to the latest quality education and training

(Maree, 2012). The release of the Green Paper has seen a renewed interest in the role of Life

Orientation regarding career guidance in schools, with researchers turning their attention to

the quality, scope and the relevance of the curriculum for most South African learners

(Maree, 2013).

The first subsection of this review has traced the transformation of the curriculum in

schools since the advent of democracy, as well as providing a comprehensive picture of the

LO learning area. Attention will now be shifted to the concept of career guidance within

psychology, including the theories and epistemological methodologies that have informed

career psychology, and, consequently, the curriculum design of the career topic in Life Orientation.

2.4 Career Psychology

Career psychology is a sub-discipline of psychology, commonly understood as being concerned with the interplay between individuals and their environments (Faheem, 2017). It attempts to describe the nature of the patterns of positions held by individuals and the resultant experiences during their lifespan. Furthermore, it focuses on providing models and explanations for organisational career-related activities such as:

- The origin and measurement of individual aptitudes, personality, interests and career orientations, motives and values.

- How individual, social, chance and environmental factors shape educational and training experiences.

- Employee employability, career embeddedness and mobility.

- Experiences of career well-being.

- Job and career satisfaction, career agency, early work history.

- Occupational choice, organisational/job choice and career movements after organizational entry, work/family issues, career plateaus and retirement planning (Faheem, 2017).

Career psychology encompasses a wide range of classifications pertaining to the above-mentioned career-related activities. Over the years, the terms "career guidance", "career education" and "career counselling" have been used interchangeably in career literature. This has often caused confusion surrounding the theory and practice of career psychology, rendering it is useful to make these distinctions clearer.

2.4.1 Career education.   "Education" appears to imply a far wider range of activities than just "guidance" (Du Toit, 2010). Career education focusses on preparing individuals for the choices and changes encountered in life and has the possibility of making a positive contribution to the upliftment and development of the rural community and, consequently, economic development of the country (Akhurst & Mkhize, 2006). For this to be possible, career education needs to begin in schools and follow on to tertiary institutions, the workplace and the broader community. This understanding supports the increasingly popular concept of lifelong learning, where the individuals take full responsibility for their career choices and development throughout their lifespan.

Schreuder and Coetzee (2007) view career education as a career service focused on assisting individuals who have difficulties deciding on their career intentions and goals when considering their vocational behaviour. Ebersohn and Mbentse (2003) understand career education as opportunities for individuals to gain abilities and proficiencies regarding their career trajectories. Hence, the outcome of career education would be career maturity and preparedness to enter the world of work. In the case of South Africa, career education forms part of the school curriculum and is integrated into the learning area of Life Orientation.

2.4.2 Career Counselling. Brown and Brooks (1996) define career counselling as an interpersonal process intended to help individuals with career development problems. Career counselling is viewed as an interpersonal process that moves past providing client-relevant information to broader issues such as career development, work adjustment, work-dysfunction and integration of life roles with other roles that may or may not be directly related to work (Herr, 1997).

More specifically, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation maps out four elements pertaining to career counselling of youths:

- Helping individuals to gain greater self-awareness in areas such as interests, values, abilities, and personality style.

- Connecting individuals to resources so that they can become more knowledgeable about jobs and occupations.

- Involving individuals during the course of decision-making, so as to assist them in choosing a career path that is well suited to their own interests, values, abilities and personality style.

- Assisting individuals to be active managers of their career paths (including managing career transitions and balancing various life roles) as well as becoming lifelong learners in the sense of professional development over the lifespan (UNESCO, 2002).

When comparing these elements to the aims of the Life Orientation career topic, as stated in the above-mentioned section, they are generally quite similar, with the exception of the first element of career counselling. In the careers topic, there appears to be less focus on helping individuals to gain greater self-awareness in areas such as interests, values, abilities, and personality style, and slightly more focus on the transitioning from high school to higher education. Similarly, the above-mentioned elements of career counselling are very similar to that of career guidance, which is explored in the following subsection section.

      2.4.3 Career Guidance. The definition of career guidance appears to have shifted over the last 30 years in South Africa. The De Lange Report of Education (1981) defined career guidance as:

A practice, a process of bringing the person into contact with the world of reality in such a way that they acquire life-skills and techniques which allow them to direct

themselves competently within the educational, personal and social spheres of the

world-of-work in order to process and survive effectively (Malan 1991, p.12).

This definition appears to focus solely on assisting individuals with the acquisition of

life skills in order to operate effectively in all spheres of life.

Du Toit (2010) expands on the above by adding that the service of career guidance

assists individuals who are undecided on their career choice to better articulate their range of

behaviours and translate it into vocational choices. Furthermore, educational and vocational

information is provided, occupational and matching choices are encouraged, and the guidance

counsellor helps individuals to form a vocational identity and to envision a subjective career.

Akhurst and Mkhize (2006) state that career guidance is necessary to ensure that

learners choose careers that suit their personal profiles and are in demand, increasing their

employability. Although the careers topic in Life Orientation ranges from information on

higher education institutions to opportunities within the career field, its main aim remains

focused on enabling learners to make meaningful career choices. This is often thought of as a

pivotal decision that high school learners make during their school careers. It is, therefore,

imperative to examine the concept of career choice as it pertains to career psychology and

career guidance in schools.

2.4.3.1 Career choice. Career decision making is often framed in a lifespan approach,

as is the case with the Life Orientation careers topic. Rosenthal and Pilot (1988) explain that

career decisions need to be made throughout the lifespan of an individual, as career choices

influence an individual's lifestyle and lifestyle needs change over time. These influences

include earnings, job security, friends and acquaintances, the amount of leisure time required,

and place of residence. Greenhaus (2003) explains that most career-related behaviours

explicitly or implicitly involve career decisions such as whether to pursue a particular job, to increase or decrease involvement in work, or to change occupational fields.

Stevens (1990) delineates two main perspectives which exist concerning career decisions and career choice. The first has the longest history and concerns the matching of people's traits, personalities or self-concept with the content of jobs. Alternatively, career theories can be based on sociological perspectives, maintaining that career choice and subsequent career progress is a social process. These perspectives have certain epistemological assumptions that should be uncovered, as they have implications for the theory and practice of career guidance.

2.5 Epistemological approaches

The following section presents the main philosophical positions that have informed the various theories of career psychology since its inception, reviewing their suitability for emerging needs of the 21st Century world of work, and more specifically, the South African context.

2.5.1 Traditional approaches. Since the inception of career psychology in the Western world, many theories and interventions have been developed. The majority of these theories are rooted in positivism, a philosophical stance that supports proof and empirical bases and has dominated the philosophy of science for centuries (Brown & Brooks, 1996). The theories emerging from positivism can be divided into three broad categories, namely, content theories, process theories and a combination of both.

2.5.1.1 Content theories. Content refers to influences on career choice and development which are intrinsic to the individual (Faheem, 2017). The oldest, most utilised, and widely recognised theories under this approach are the trait-factor theories, influenced by theorists like Parsons (1909), Hull (1928) and Kitson (1925), with Parsons often being

credited as the founding father of modern career and vocational psychology (Faheem, 2017). This approach entails matching an individual's abilities and interests to career opportunities, thereby creating a range of career choices for the individual (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996).

Many interest inventories and aptitude tests have been developed based on the trait-factor stream of thought and modern trait-factor approaches to careers often referred to as person-environment theories, of which Holland's personality theory of careers (1985) remains the most noteworthy (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996).

John Holland's theory postulates that individuals are attracted to a particular occupation that meets their personal needs and provides them with satisfaction (Faheem, 2017). Persons are categorised as one of the following: Realistic (physical activities, things), Investigative (thinking, problem solving, scientific activities), Artistic (free, unstructured, creative pursuits), Social (teaching, helping roles.), Enterprising (persuade, manage people to attain goals) or Conventional (orderly, systematic conditions that are directed by others in authority). Essentially, individuals will be drawn to certain career choices as a result of their personalities. Holland believed that careers are an extension and expression of one's personality within the context of the world of work, hence the individual would identify with specific occupational stereotypes.

Theories of vocational choice and personalities involve ideas that range from lists of needs inherent in the process of career choice and the detailed personality types for career areas, as described by Holland, to the various empirical studies on the specific personality factors involved in career choice and career satisfaction (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). The underlying assumption of these studies is that individuals select their jobs because they see the potential for the satisfaction of their needs.

2.5.1.2 Process theories. Process theories refer to interaction and changes over time, with the most noteworthy developmental theorist being Donald Super (Faheem, 2017). Super's (1969) theory suggests that finding a suitable career is a process of developing and implementing a person's self-concept. Super viewed the notion of self-concept as a product of complex interactions among many factors. Factors include physical and mental growth, personal experiences, and environmental characteristics and stimulation. Super proposed a life stage developmental framework detailing the vocational developmental tasks needing to be successfully managed through six stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and disengagement (Leung, 2008).

Super's theory has been critiqued for its cross-cultural relevance. For example, self-concept features prominently in his theory, as he places importance on the implementation of the individual's interests, values, and skills in a work role (Leung, 2008). These facets are seen as influential to career development and fulfilment; however, cultural dissimilarities in the significance of the self in decision-making exist. Furthermore, in some cultures, these significant life choices regarding a suitable vocation are done in conjunction with the individuals' family or even society in general (Leung, 2008).

2.5.1.3 Content and Process theories. More recently, theories have begun to take into account both content and process when faced with explaining career decisions making and choices. Gottfredson's Career Choice Theory of Circumscription and Compromise states that career choice is a process requiring a high level of cognitive proficiency (Faheem, 2017).

Essentially, a child's ability to synthesise and organise complex career information is seen as a combination of a function of chronological age progression, as well as general intelligence. A dynamic interplay exists between genetic makeup and the environment. Genetic characteristics are responsible for shaping the basic characteristics of a person, such

as their interests, skills, and values, yet their expression is moderated by the environment that one is exposed to (Leung, 2008).   Hence, career development is viewed as a self-creation process whereby individuals look for an avenue to express their genetics penchants within the boundaries of their own cultural environments.

Although combination theories are viewed as a progressive step in the right direction for career theory, it has been noted that these approaches are inadequate for the fast changing 21st century world of work (Maree, 2012, 2013) and create questions concerning reliability and validity when applied cross-culturally.

2.5.1.4 Ever-changing world of work. Gothard (2001) makes the claim that we are confronted with a new era due to rapid changes in technology and globalisation in the last 20 years. Additionally, as society's transition, the social, organisational and moral frames of reference change and the impact of these changes have consequences for career guidance services (Maree, 2013). Lifelong employment in one organisation is an ideal of the past and employees are following suit by changing jobs more often. These changes have brought about the rise of short-term employment contracts based on the specific capabilities needed to complete the job successfully.

Traditional approaches to career guidance and counselling may have suited the need of the past. However, due to the changing landscape in the world of work, these measures in isolation are no longer enough. Traditional approaches use quantitative assessment techniques or "objective" psychometric tests, thereby only providing the career counsellor with a decontextualized, general outline of the person's individuality and self-concept (Taber, Härtung, Briddick, Briddick & Rehfuss, 2011). Testing does not take into consideration the individual's lifestyle and everyday behaviour.

Due to these oversights and the ensuing new modern era of the workplace, Maree (2013) makes an argument for a more dynamic approach with regards to the methods and techniques employed by career counsellors. A possible answer to the call for a dynamic approach to career guidance and counselling can be found by applying a postmodern approach to career theory and practice.

2.5.2 Postmodern approaches. Postmodern methodologies informing career counselling theories focus on the belief in a socially constructed reality. Gablin (2014) describes social constructionism as a theoretical movement that brings an alternative philosophical assumption regarding reality construction and knowledge production. It moves away from the idea that an individual's mind represents a mirror of reality, rather postulating that reality is created by an individual's perceptions of the actual world. Reality can, therefore, be viewed as being created through different contexts, and the individual's perception of that context.

The notion of a socially constructed reality brings forth implications for career theory and practice because individuals attach subjective meanings to career and life stories, which then become the focal point and are essential for effective career choices (Maree, 2013). Qualitative, narrative or storied perspectives of career counselling are framed by this approach. Here, career counsellors favour the subjective life stories of the individual over objective testing.

As postmodern approaches to career theory and practice slowly gain more ground, it follows that research into this field should adopt a similar approach when formulating its theoretical underpinnings, as was the case with this research. The key concepts of the theoretical framework employed in the current study are now presented in order to

demonstrate the link between current career theory and practice, and the appropriateness of the researcher's chosen theoretical framework.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

Social constructionism is the chosen meta-theoretical framework informing the research. It emerged within the cultural and intellectual movement of postmodernism, rejecting the idea that there can be an essential discoverable truth and rather suggesting that our understanding of the world is due to the formation of concealed structures that account for psychological phenomenon (Burr, 1995).

The social constructionist perspective rests on the principle that multiple truths exist and are linked to and dependent on context, culture and history, therefore, taking a critical view of a variety of traditions and questioning taken-for-granted knowledge, particularly the long accepted assumptions of Western culture and the social sciences in general (Blustein et al., 2005). This movement, therefore, stands in sharp contrast to the Western modernist tradition that promotes the notion of a self-contained individual with measurable traits (Schultheiss & Wallace, 2012), for example, logical positivism that assumes that reality is both observable and testable through scientific inquiry.

Social constructionism rests on four key assumptions. Firstly, it takes a critical position towards assumed ways of understanding the world and postulates that there are potentially an unlimited amount of descriptions and explanations of the world and its inhabitants (Burr, 1995). Secondly, knowledge or common ways of understanding the world are historically and culturally specific and relative. This would imply that all ways of understanding the world are specific to particular cultures and periods of history, and are seen as products of that culture and history, thus being dependent upon that particular social and economic arrangement that is dominant in that culture at that time.

Thirdly, these historical and culturally specific ways of viewing or understanding the world are kept in place by social processes, as the interactions between people and society create accounts of the knowledge produced (Burr, 1995). Hence, there are no objective truths, only shared versions of knowledge that are constructed through everyday social interaction. Lastly, negotiated or socially constructed understandings of the world are accompanied by various actions. The versions of knowledge that are constructed can take a wide variety of different forms; numerous possible social constructions. Hence, each of these different constructions will bring with it, or invite a different kind of action from a human being, hence leading to a certain social action of that time and cultural relevance.

Closely linked to the above-mentioned assumptions of social constructionism is the use of language in constructing meaning. Language is seen as the basic instrument of constructionism, as discourses are constructed by language to produce a certain version of events or people (Burr, 1995). Essentially, the language and vocabulary that we use and the grammar in which our words are embedded determine how we think and the cognitive schemas through which we process our experience (Richardson, 2012). The term discourse further acknowledges that language is always permeated by social beliefs and values. Language is also the basis for conversation, how we talk to one another, with conversation serving as the iconic representation of language use in the social world.

Thus, conversation co-constructs our experience; it co-constructs our individual subjectivity and consciousness. That is, the nature of our subjective experience is a product of social interaction. To put it another way, the experience of self emerges at the interface of people interacting with others, with conversation a significant influence on the experience of self that emerges (Richardson, 2012). By recognising that a "career" and career counselling stem from the social and cultural construction of language, it can follow that the notion of a

career represents a distinctive collaboration between the self and social experiences, with

individuals constructing their idea of self over time, and in context with their self-definition,

agency, purpose, subjectivity and choice (Young & Collin, 2004).

The development of alternative epistemological approaches such as social

constructionism, therefore, focuses on language and the social construction of meaning,

which provides a means to challenge the established understanding of, and approach to, the

construction of the term *career,* as we know it. Using a social constructionist lens enables the

understanding of viewing a 'career' as a construct in theory, research and practice, and in

people's lives (Young & Collin, 2004). This understanding brings forth the underpinnings of

the current research. Meaning is constructed in a social, historical and cultural context,

through action and discourse in which we form relationships and community. Therefore, the

efficacy and suitability of dominant discourses of career theories that have emerged over time

and are assumed to be universal despite differing contexts, such as content and process

theories, can and should be, critically examined and questioned.

A social constructionist framework was, therefore, deemed appropriate for the

current study, as it allows for the introduction of a critical lens when viewing traditional

career theory and practices. Furthermore, it is most useful when conducting research into the

field of careers, as it seeks to challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions of the more

traditional approaches. This allows the researcher to be suspicious and to approach the

careers content from a political stance by paying attention to the power relations at work.

Additionally, according to Stead and Bakker (2010a), very little has been written on

career perspectives from a social constructionist perspective, motivating the researcher to

approach the research from this critical standpoint. When adopting a social constructionist

lens, a discourse analysis is deemed most appropriate, as both are radically anti-essentialist

and focus on how personal identities and social interactions are constituted through language

(Stead & Bakker, 2010b).

   2.6.1 Discourse analysis. According to Parker (2002), a 'discourse' encompasses the

many ways that meaning is conveyed through culture and includes speech and writing, non-

verbal and pictorial communication, and artistic and poetic imagery. Burr (1995) describes a

discourse as a collection of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and

statements producing a certain version of events when combined. Additionally, a discourse

can be thought of as a kind of frame of reference which can be interpreted.

   According to Foucault, a discourse is a "structuring of meaning making whose major

characteristic is disciplinary and hence regulatory power" (Edwards, 2008, p22). Here,

discourses are understood as sets of statements that are produced, controlled, selected,

organised and redistributed according to certain rules and structures, reinforcing a desired

social order. Hence, discourses have the power to fashion subjects in terms of social

positioning, subjectivity and voice. Foucault's understanding of a discourse is of particular

relevance to this study, as the research sought to uncover how meaning making is structured

and the effects of this on the positioning and, ultimately, the subjectivity and voice of its

subjects.

   Like discourses, the term discourse analysis has many origins and definitions. Stead

and Bakker (2010a) provide a useful summary of the various definitions of discourse

analysis:

   Discourse analysis is an interpretative, critical process in which historical, contextual,

   and cultural aspects of socially shared constructions are studied. It examines how

   discourses are historically, socially, and culturally defined and not merely as

   internally constructed cognitive events (p. 83).

The inherently critical nature that is adopted during the process of conducting a discourse analysis, as well as the view that history, society and culture contribute to current constructions, renders this particular type of analysis well positioned to seek out the taken-for-granted assumptions pervading the career discourses.

Discourses are closely connected to how societies are planned and run and are usually in the interest of comparatively powerful groups (Schultheiss & Wallace, 2012). Hence, dominant discourses can be viewed as upholding power inequalities and can be thought of as a kind of frame of reference which can be analysed and interpreted.

Richardson (2012) makes use of the term 'career choice' to illustrate the point that discourse analysis understands career psychology and its dominant discourses as constructed and not objectively discoverable:

Career choice takes what people do for a living in occupational structures, represents it as career, and assumes that people have careers, that careers are an aspect of a person, even a part of self, and that people have choices about which career to pursue. When people talk about or have conversations about the career choices they have made, the language of career will affect the way they experience the work that they do for a living. (p. 89)

Due to its critical stance towards taken-for-granted assumptions of the use of language, discourse analysis places a large emphasis on the power that exists through human interaction and seeks to uncover how discursive practices serve to maintain distributions of power in society (Richardson, 2012). Furthermore, discourse analysis can assist career psychologists in exposing the system of values and power relation implied in career

discourses, promoting the challenging of essentialism and individualism central to Western psychology (Stead & Bakker, 2010a).

The work of Michel Foucault, a social constructionist theorist most noted for his writing on how power operates in modern times, offers a stance to discourse analysis that useful for the purposes of this research, as it exposes how discourses construct individuals in relation to career choices and the workplace (Stead & Bakker, 2010a). It also demonstrates how individuals' selves are not internal, unique entities or substances, but forms that are constructed through culture, discourse and power in relation to others.

2.6.2 Foucauldian discourse analysis. According to Foucault, a discourse is a "structuring of meaning making whose major characteristic is disciplinary and hence regulatory power" (Edwards, 2008, p22). Here, discourses are understood as sets of statements that are produced, controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to certain rules and structures, reinforcing a desired social order. Hence discourses have the power to fashion subjects in terms of social positioning, subjectivity and voice. These disciplinary practices constitute a power/knowledge regime in the sense that the practices of any discipline or profession, such as career psychology, are central players in distributing and controlling the circulation of power in that society (Richardson, 2012).

According to Foucault, power in contemporary life can be found at the lowest extremes of the social body in everyday social practices, rendering it invisible. It can, therefore, easily infiltrate all aspects of our lives and affect our thoughts, beliefs, and desires through the daily business of living; the social practices we engage in (Richardson, 2012). This is achieved through the widespread surveillance of individuals in relation to normalising judgements (Winslade & Monk, 1999).

Foucault postulates that normalising judgements play a large role in maintaining power relations in the modern world. The gaze, made up of different technologies of surveillance and observation, serves to produce a compliant society (Winslade, 2005). Since individuals are aware that their performance is constantly being observed and judged, for example, the workers in factories, prisoners in prisons, and children in schools, they are obliged to self-monitor to make sure that they are fitting within a social norm, even when they are no longer being directly observed or judged.

Hence, Foucault's theory of governmentality is brought about, where the disciplining and regulation of the population occurs without direct or oppressive intervention. He differentiates it from discipline which seeks to reform designated groups through detailed supervision in confined quarters such as schools and prisons. Li (2007) argues that when power operates at a distance, people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted.

Foucault's work on biopower and governmentality (1991) provides the theoretical tools to shift the analysis of power from a structural definition to one in which power relations and the power knowledge nexus become focal (Macleod & Durrheim, 2002). Foucault emphasises the way in which "power operates to organise and regulate space, to observe and discipline those who inhabit particular positions within it" (Parker, 2013, p.231).

One of the results of this system is often a more prevalent sense of self-doubt, guilt, failure, or anxiety. This leads to young people in schools considering career choices, "not from a position of freedom of choice from among the cornucopia of career possibilities so much as from a position of instantiation by discourse in a particular range of social expectations" (Winslade, 2005).

To engage in a discourse analysis from a Foucauldian perspective is to critically analyse the dominant discourses that "privilege those versions of social reality that legitimate existing power relations and social structures" (Willig, 2013, p. 380). It invites a process of challenging the very identity in contemporary times and the powerful desires of citizens (Richardson, 2012). Consequently, it poses a threat for those responsible for educating future generations, as challenging career discourses may appear to threaten the social engagement of these future generations in the fabric of society.

Broadly speaking, engaging in a Foucauldian discourse analysis challenges the discursive practices that serve to maintain the distributions of power, rendering it a cultural undertaking (Richardson, 2012), and therefore a seemingly insurmountable task. However, this challenge is necessary, as the hope is to discover more suitable discourse practices for contemporary times, which enables people to respond more creatively and adaptively to the challenges of their working lives.

Reviewing and critiquing existing career discourses opens up the possibility for change in the ways that these discursive practices operate to co-construct the subjective experiences of individuals and to distribute power.

2.7 Career Discourses

On review of career discourse literature, emerging trends appear to favour discourse analysis as a means to understand and interpret culturally and socially produced meanings regarding career theory, guidance and research (Hanchey & Berkelaar, 2015; Savickas et al., 2009; Stead & Bakker, 2010a; Wrbouschek, 2009). This may be due to the fact that discourse analysis provides an opportunity for the exposure of the system of values and power relations implied in career theory and challenges essentialism. Furthermore, it is particularly useful in understanding the power, politics and ideology in human interactions

and can uncover whose interests are being served through the career theory and practice (Stead & Bakker, 2010a). This subsection reviews the career discourses uncovered through discourse analysis research.

2.7.1 Discourse of self-knowledge. Trait-factor, developmental and decision-making models that have informed career counselling in the developed world such as the USA, UK and Australia, have been strongly influenced by Western individualistic values, where the focus is primarily on the person as an autonomous agent (Akhurst & Liebenberg, 2009). Central to these approaches is the importance of self-knowledge as the basis of career choice and development, leading to the assessment of personality, interests, abilities and values.

Taking a traditional / positivist view of individuals positions them as having an objective self, made up of measurable skills and interests that can be matched to a suitable career and operating in a system of discoverable rules and underlying truths (Stead & Bakker, 2010b). However, the uncritical application of these models of career development and the associated tools and applications in the African context is viewed as problematic (Akhurst & Liebenberg, 2009; Stead, 2004). To illustrate this point, a Foucauldian discourse analysis of career theory in South Africa revealed that essentialist and positivistic notions of self are present and embedded in the social and power relations that are maintained through career theory (Stead & Bakker, 2010a).

Similarly, Jonck's (2016) review of the LO curriculum found that Holland's Career Choice Theory prevails as the dominant theoretical framework. This theory is based on the positivistic assumption that career choice is an expression of the individuals' personality, which is measurable with personality inventories. The danger of focusing career guidance on matching the learner's personality to a suitable career is that there is a possibility of a mismatch between the individual's personality and job availability. Furthermore, it does not

take into account the current status of the labour market and has been found to be insufficient

for learners in an already disempowering environment, as there is evidence to suggest that

this approach could restrict learners employment choices (Bischof & Alexander, 2008).

Discourses that position individuals as possessing an objective-self lead to students

having unrealistic and non-marketable career goals (Watson, McMahon, Foxcroft, & Els,

2010), as they ignore the financial and social barriers that might limit their career choices

(Maree, Ebersöhn, & Molepo, 2006).

2.7.2 The entrepreneurial self discourses. Stilbert (2012), tracing the construction

of the South African learning subject in education policy discourses and school practice,

uncovered dominant discourses representing the ideal of economic growth and competitive

advantage. The effects of these dominant discourses are evident in the shift towards a

marketised environment in schools, and, consequently, a reformulation of subjectivities, from

viewing social relations in political terms to economic ones (Biesta, 2004). Consequently,

learners are positioned as requiring high performance levels to keep up with global economic

development and hence needing to function with improved efficiency, quality and success.

Masschelein and Simons (2002) expand on this idea by demonstrating that the

dominant discourses of economic growth and competitive advantage position subjects in

'relations of competition' with others and thus the learner is constituted as an entrepreneur,

which he or she regards as a form of self-government. The entrepreneurial self is an

individual who is autonomous and self-managing; an active, counting and calculating self.

The entrepreneurial self is now the responsible learner, investing in his or her own

development and increasing their capacity as human capital.

Hanchey and Berkelaar (2015) examined discourses of career success in Tanzania and

discovered a definite call for increased entrepreneurship. The logics of career choice and

success ranged from framing entrepreneurship as an up-and-coming trend one should choose to follow to have a successful career, to being the only option for economic stability. Hence entrepreneurial self -discourses imply that individuals must operate in competition with one another and constantly improve their efficiency, quality and success in order to increase their capacity as human capital. Furthermore, the assumption is made that it is only through these avenues of self-management and progress towards achieving that the individual will, at the very most, enjoy a successful career or, at the very least, have economic stability.

   2.7.3 Achievement vs. deficient self-discourses. Closely related to the objective-self discourses, if viewed from the position of the dominant Western positivist-scientific approaches, career choice and any resulting indecision can easily position individuals as possessing a deficiency in their logical reasoning and empirical self-knowledge (Kuit & Watson, 2005). The inability to make a prompt, informed career choice is located as a deficiency within the individual and implies the presence of distorted thinking and beliefs, or irrational emotions, which have compromised the individual's ability to make rational decisions.

   According to Stead and Bakker (2012, p.36), "the popular idea that one just has to get to know oneself well and try hard enough to succeed is built into the very fibre of western liberal thinking and capitalism, as well as the science of psychology." Furthermore, it implies that career choice is a simplistic endeavour, easily accomplished if you are able to apply logical reasoning and empirical self-knowledge. Conversely, if the individual is unable to make 'sound' career choices, they must be devoid of self-knowledge and unwilling to try hard enough to succeed.

   Kuit and Watson (2005) caution that to continue to adopt the concept of independent rationality in career decision-making and the ensuing discourses of 'successful' career

trajectories, is to create margins of deficiency for those who do not fit with the dominant culture's prevailing notions of appropriate and preferred career paths.

  2.7.4 One size fits all discourses. Most South African schools follow a one size fits all approach to career guidance, which consists of information about the many careers available (Smit, Wood, & Neethling, 2015), often ignoring the financial and social barriers that might limit their career choices (Maree, Ebersöhn, & Molepo, 2006). The one size fits all approach positions learners as being socially and culturally autonomous subjects (Soudien, 2010) and has been found to be unsatisfactory for learners who live in challenging socio-economic circumstances. This is due to the fact that the theory utilised in these approaches was specifically aimed at the first world subject, rendering it irrelevant for the South African subject (Maree, Ebersöhn, & Molepo, 2006; Smit, Wood, & Neethling, 2015).

  As discussed by Soudien (2010) in a previous section, the South African subject in the NCS is portrayed as being an already middle-class citizen, ignoring the effects of Apartheid and providing an a-historic nature to the new curriculum. The new curriculum can be seen as speaking into the social context of South Africa as if it is empty and positioning its subjects as new and universal, able to operate at high levels of civility and social awareness, and able to operate on a global level. Additionally, this approach positions all learners as having access to the same resources and as having similar opportunities available to them.

  2.7.5 Neoliberal discourses. According to Darwin (2007), the rise of neoliberalism has become evident in sectors of contemporary education and in broader social policy. Central to the idea of neoliberalism is the transference of control of economic factors to the private sector from the public sector, hence the idea of a 'market' in vocational education and the gradual increase in the level of control and commodification of its actors and artefacts.

Consequently, individual learners' career aspirations have become subordinated to that of the labour market needs of the economy.

Globally, critical analyses of career curriculums have revealed a comparable trend of neoliberal ideology entrenched in the discourses (Bengtsson, 2011; Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006; Roper, Ganesh, & Inkson, 2010). A critical discourse analysis of the life skills career education curriculum of schools in British Columbia, Canada found that a dominant neoliberal ideology was reflected in the texts (Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006). Here, securing future employment was constructed as being dependent on having the right attitude and making the right choices, while contextual and systemic factors were not taken into consideration. Furthermore, the long accepted ideas that are present in the curriculum have become so omnipresent that they appear to go-without-saying and are rarely challenged. Neoliberal ideology relies heavily on discourses of career self-management and self-reliance.

2.7.6 Self-reliance vs. collective self-discourses. Stemming from neoliberal discourses, but delineated due to its strong emphasis on individualism and autonomy, is the career discourse of self-reliance. An analysis of European policy documents on career guidance and career development produced from 2000 to 2008, which were analysed from a Foucauldian governmentality perspective, revealed that neoliberal discourses of career self-management are naturalised as a responsibility of the individual through normative processes and governing techniques (Bengtsson, 2011). Similarly, Roper, Ganesh and Inkson's (2010) critical discourse analysis of academic articles detailing the boundary-less career also discovered that career discourses are often a manifestation of a wider neoliberal discourse that emphasises individual responsibility, often overlooking societal or organisational accountability for economic and career outcomes.

This notion of individual accountability for these outcomes, while ignoring the societal or organisational responsibility, is also present in South African career literature. Buthelezi, Alexander, and Seabi (2009) have noted that career counselling in South Africa still relies on European and North American knowledge and value systems, such as individualism and autonomy to the exclusion of other knowledge and value systems, for example, indigenous ones. Consequently, an individualistic conception of career psychology permeates career counselling in South Africa, while the country's collectivist indigenous cultures are remarkably absent.

2.7.7 Gendered discourses. Trends in critical discourse analysis research tend to have favoured gender stereotypes with regards to career choice (Wolpe, 2006; Christie, 2008; Geyer, 2010; Mutekwe & Mobida, 2012; van der Vleuten, Jaspers, Maas, & van der Lippe, 2016). Research on gender stereotypes indicates that gender ideology can affect educational choices by influencing how learners evaluate their competence in certain subjects, what they find important in a future occupation, and what school subjects they prefer (van der Vleuten et al., 2016). Furthermore, adolescents appear to internalise gender expectations as to what is appropriate male and female behaviour which has an effect on their decision-making.

Mutekwe and Modiba's (2012) review of representations of career choices in the Zimbabwe school curriculum found that gender role stereotypes and the patriarchal ideology communicated through the hidden curriculum reflected teachers' attitudes and also contributed to girls' career aspirations and choices. Supporting these findings, Christie (2008) and Wolpe (2006) found that males and females receive dissimilar messages in schools, based on gender stereotyping, so schooling fails to afford girls opportunities for competing on an equal footing with their male counterparts and influences education, career aspirations and choices.

2.7.8 Transitioning adolescent discourses. The transition that adolescents undergo to reach career maturity can be a complex one. As individuals transition from adolescence to adulthood; high school to college, university or the world of work; they are faced with many life changing decisions. These decisions require maturity, self-reflection and consequently self-actualization. However, due to the developmental stage of adolescence, individuals may find themselves grappling with rapid change and development not only physically, but also cognitively, socially and emotionally (Matope, 2006). The adolescent is expected to be capable of making informed career choices and is somehow also viewed as needing guidance and mentoring. This can be confusing for adolescents, as they feel the pressure to make life changing decisions themselves, but are also cautioned that they are not yet mature enough to do so.

According to (Spiering 2018), discourses of the transitioning adolescent function to reduce teenagers to impulsive, hormonal, incomplete adults and affect the way that adolescents are regarded in institutional spaces like schools. Adolescents are often framed in a negative light in the discourses delivered in schools, for example, a statement like "they don't want to work" contributes to a discourse that sees all adolescents as incomplete, naïve individuals occupying marginalized spaces on their way to adulthood.

Framing the transitioning adolescent in this negative light has consequences for their subjectivity regarding career decision-making, as they are prompted to make life changing career decisions, but also reminded that they are incomplete individuals and not yet capable of fully doing so.

2.7 Conclusion

The preceding review of literature has demonstrated that since the introduction of Life Orientation (LO), the majority of research has focused on issues of implementation, as well

as gender and sexuality with regards to the Life Orientation curriculum. There appears to be a paucity of research relating to the careers section of the LO curriculum and a general lack of focus from a Foucauldian discourse analysis perspective, indicating a need for research in this neglected area. This study aims to uncover the discourses embedded in the careers topic of Life Orientation textbooks, with specific reference to how these discourses position learners concerning their career choice decisions.

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Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three delivers a comprehensive account of the research methods adopted in the study. It commences with an outline of the selected research design, which is qualitative in nature and provides a description and rationale for selecting social constructionism as an appropriate lens through which to analyse the selected discourses, as well as a description of the chosen critical discourse analysis approach. It then covers all the methods employed to carry out the research. Lastly, ethical considerations and limits of the research are presented.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed a research design of a qualitative nature, framed by a meta-theory of social constructionism. For reasons previously mentioned in the theoretical framework and re-iterated below, the most appropriate method of analysis for this design was deemed to be a Foucauldian discourse analysis, which was guided by Willig's six stage framework. The research design is expanded on in more detail below.

3.2.1 Qualitative research method. Qualitative methodology refers to research that produces descriptive data and is understood as more than just a set of data-generating techniques, as it refers to a particular way of approaching the empirical world (Bogan, DeVault & Taylor, 2016). Qualitative research is useful when searching for meaning, as it is concerned with how people understand the world and experience events (Willig, 2013). Willig (2013) describes the objective of qualitative research as describing and explaining events and experiences but never predicting them. Bogan et al. (2016) view the goal of qualitative research as examining things from many different vantage points.

Qualitative research is unique in the extent to which it stresses reflexivity and the importance it places on the role of language. Willig (2013) describes reflexivity as being

mindful of the researcher's influence on the construction of meaning during the course of the

research, as well as the impossibility of remaining objective or outside of the subject matter

while conducting the research. The role of language is constructionist in nature, it does not

simply describe and represent the world, it actually constructs it, rendering it a form of social

action. Furthermore, language gains its meaning from its use in context and has the ability to

create realities (Gablin, 2014). The constructive dimension of language means that reality is

not simply mirrored, but can be categorised and labelled in order to understand phenomena

and shape findings.   Additionally, working with data that focuses on language provides the

researcher with a wealth of information that has a multi-dimensional quality. This allows for

a process that is more flexible, non-sequential, and variegated, which typifies lived human

experiences (Polikinghorne, 2005).

    3.2.2 Social constructionism. Within the qualitative methodology paradigm, a social

constructionist lens was applied to the research. Gablin (2014) describes social

constructionism as a theoretical movement that brings an alternative philosophical

assumption regarding reality construction and knowledge production. It moves away from

the idea that an individual's mind represents a mirror of reality; rather postulating that reality

is created by an individual's perceptions of the actual world.

      When employing a constructionist lens to research, it asks the researcher to grasp how

aspects of the world that are taken for granted are actually socially constructed, thereby

opening up spaces for alternative understandings of phenomena (Gablin, 2014). The goal is

not to prove or persuade the other about the correct interpretation of the phenomenon, but to

broaden the possibilities of understanding. This is made possible by the critical stance that

social constructionism takes towards taken-for-granted knowledge, including ways of

understanding the world. It challenges the notion that knowledge is created through unbiased

observations, hence being in opposition to the traditional science of positivism and empiricism (Burr, 1995).

A social constructionist lens was deemed most appropriate for this research due to the critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge. As noted in the review of literature, there is a paucity of research on the careers topic of Life Orientation of this nature, rendering the usefulness and appropriateness of the topic as 'truth' and unchallenged. Furthermore, the understanding of the historical and cultural specificity of categories and concepts, the idea that all knowledge is maintained by social processes, as well as the idea that social action and knowledge work together (Burr, 1995), all serve to bring into question the current content of the careers curriculum and the historical influences of its beginnings in South Africa. As indicated by Willig (2013), social constructionist research questions are best answered using a form of discourse analysis.

3.2.3 Discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is similar to social constructionism in its anti-essentialist nature. It rejects the notion that phenomena can be comprehended of in terms of their essence, or indispensable conceptual characteristics, rather focussing on how personal identities and social interactions are established through language (Stead & Bakker, 2010).

Discourse analysts study the ways in which texts are constructed, the functions of language and the contradictions that permeate them (Parker, 2002). Discourses are organised through patterns and structures in different texts, creating certain meanings in the form of symbolic material. Discourse analysists are, therefore, able to unpick those texts and show how they work, but must be aware of the ways in which meanings are produced and their relationship to other texts.

Discourse analysis can be understood as encompassing a broad and varied field with a variety of understandings of social realities, methods, and applications. Most notable in this field of inquiry are and Foucault's (1972,1977) poststructuralist approach, Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory, Potter and Wetherell's (1987) interpretative approach and Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse theory (Stead & Bakker, 2010a).

According to Fairclough (1992), a distinction can be made between 'non-critical' and 'critical' approaches, whereby the former seeks to simply describe discursive practices, the latter attempts to show how discourses are shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourses have on the systems that operate in society.

As this research seeks to provide critical analysis of the ways in which career discourses position learners, it is fitting that the research employed one of the critical approaches to discourse analysis.

3.2.4 Foucauldian discourse analysis. A Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) is appropriate for the purposes of this study, as it seeks to critically analyse the dominant discourses that "privilege those versions of social reality that legitimate existing power relations and social structures" (Willig, 2013, p. 380). Furthermore, "a Foucauldian discourse analysis is one perspective closely linked to social constructionism that may be useful in critically examining the self and power in relation to career development and counselling" (Stead & Bakker, 2010, p. 45b).

According to Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008), there are no set procedures for conducting a Foucauldian-inspired analysis of discourses; however, three broad dimensions for the analysis of discursive practices exist.

3.2.4.1 Genealogy. Firstly, the analysis of discourses entails historical inquiry, also known as 'genealogy'. Genealogy can be understood as a process of analysing and

uncovering the historical relationship between truth, knowledge and power. From a Foucauldian perspective, knowledge and truth are produced by the struggles between and within institutions, fields and disciplines and then presented as if they are eternal or universal truths (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000).

Simply put, truth and knowledge have a history that is closely related to the way in which operations and relations of power have been transformed over the years. Additionally, knowledge and truth are tied up with the way in which power is exercised in our age, and are themselves caught up in power struggles (Danaher et al., 2000). What has come to be known as dominant disciplines and discourses and the knowledge and truth that they produce is actually the result of power struggles in which one discipline and form of knowledge has triumphed over another (Danaher et al., 2000).

According to Niesche (2011), Foucault's genealogy is a type of research that is directed at activating subjugated historical knowledge, the knowledge that has been rejected by mainstream knowledge, or which is too local and specific to be deemed of any importance. Furthermore, genealogy questions the truth that is claimed by dominant discourses and traces the descent of particular discourses and the development of different interpretations that serve to dissolve the unity of the subject. It is with this understanding that the researcher is able to conceptualise the way in which the relationship between power and knowledge has produced certain subjectivities for the learners consuming the career discourses in the Life Orientation textbooks.

3.2.4.2 Mechanisms of power. Secondly, analysis attends to mechanisms of power and offers a description of their functioning (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008). Foucault viewed power as being inextricably linked to knowledge, whereby more knowledge increases power. Furthermore, power is not understood as something that a person has, but rather the

effect that discourses have on people. Discourses invite individuals to interpret themselves and the world in certain ways, which allows for power to be subtle but present in the form of disciplinary power (Stead & Bakker, 2010a).

Ultimately, the aim of disciplinary power is to bring about the regulation and normalisation of subjects, producing a compliant society (Winslade, 2005). Foucault's theory of biopower and governmentality (1991) illustrates how power is used to organise and regulate space, as well as discipline those who inhabit positions within it (Parker, 2013). Additionally, when power operates at a distance, individuals are not always aware that their conduct is being monitored; however, they remain compliant due to the understanding that they may be observed.

3.2.4.3 Subjectification. Lastly, the analysis is directed to subjectification, which is understood as the signifying practices in which subjects are made up (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008). Discourses allow individuals to take up a position from which to speak their truth about objects. A statement is only a statement if it creates objects, specifically discursive objects constructed, classified and identified by the statement itself. Similarly, a statement can only be regarded as such if it creates subject positions that can be signed over to individuals thereby creating discursive spaces from which something can be stated (Andersen, 2003).

Subject positions locate subjects within a structure of rights and duties that are taken up; they offer a perspective from which to view a particular version of reality, as well as a moral location within spoken interaction (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008). Subject positions are thus the spaces from which one speaks and observes in a discursive formation. There are rules for the acceptance of certain individuals into the spaces, rules for acceptance of which situations the subject positions can be used as a platform for speaking and

observing, and rules for the formation of statements once one has assumed a position (Andersen, 2003).

Subjectification refers to the making of subjects through two kinds of technologies, power and self. Technologies of power create subjects through technologies of domination by acts of subjection (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008). On the other hand, technologies of self are created when subjects act on themselves from a particular moral standpoint with a conscious ethical goal in mind (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008).

When attempting to relate these ideas of technologies to the modern era and this specific study, one needs only look to the institutions utilising discipline as the dominant form of power, hence displacing the coercive power of governmentalities with that of self-governance, the conduct of conduct (Edwards, 2008). Education, with its pedagogic practices and forms of discipline, can be understood as incorporating individuals into discursive regimes of truth, whereby they are regulated, but also through their actions that inadvertently support the reproduction of these regimes.

As career education (guidance) falls within the domain of the above-mentioned practices, it follows that wherever learning takes place, learners are required to bring forth their subjectivities for disciplining so that they can become a particular type of person. Fundamentally, they become subject to certain disciplinary regimes and therefore also active 'subjects' (Edwards, 2008).

3.2.4.4 Subjectivity and agency. The positioning of subjects through discursive practices has consequences for the subjectivity and agency of the subject (Edwards, 2008). Positions in discourses are seen as providing individuals with the content of their subjectivity. Once a position is taken up within a discourse, that individual will come to experience the

world and themselves from that particular point of view, possibly limiting their sense of agency.

According to Burr (1995), Foucault understood human subjects in terms of the ways in which discourses manifest themselves in text and practice, therefore, lacking in agency and being operated by structures they cannot see. Essentially their actions are not determined by choice and decision but are rather the result of an underlying structure of ideas and the logic of these ideas.

Consequently, this study aimed to ascertain whether the career discourses located in the selected texts of the LO curriculum spoke to the subjectivity and agency of the learner to make informed career decisions or whether the learners were positioned differently to the intended aims of the National Curriculum Statement (2011).

3.3 Research Questions

The Foucauldian discourse analysis which was applied to the research focused on the social construction of career discourses in Life Orientation textbooks. More specifically, the questions that guided the analysis were:

1. What discourses are constructed through textually based representations of the careers topic located in Life Orientation textbooks used in Eastern Cape schools?

2. How do these discourses position the learner?

3. Do these positions open up or shut down opportunities for action?

4. How do these positions affect the subjectivity of the learner in terms of career choice decision-making?

3.4 Sampling Method and Sample

In order to answer these questions, the study was based on a purposive selection (Willig, 2013) of Life Orientation textbooks approved by the Department of Basic Education,

and which are currently used in public as well as private schools in South Africa. Since LO

is one of four learning areas needed to in order to pass matric and is mandatory for all

learners from Grades 10 - 12 (DBE, 2011), the researcher selected textbooks ranging from

Grade 10 to 12 with the following six broad topics:

1. Development of the self in society;

2. Social and environmental responsibility;

3. Democracy and human rights;

4. Careers and career choices;

5. Study skills;

6. Physical education (DBE, 2011).

As the current study is concerned with career choice representations, the focus was narrowed

down to the fourth topic covered in Life Orientation.

3.4.1 Career and career choices learning area. The careers topic aims to prepare

learners with competencies necessary to assist them in making well-versed choices about

their subject selections and prospective careers, provide information about higher education

and further opportunities, as well as prepare learners for their entrance into the workplace.

(DBE, 2011). This study sought to determine whether the career discourses located in the

selected texts speak to the subjectivity and agency of the learner to make informed decisions,

in terms of the above-mentioned aims, or if the discourses position the learner differently to

the intended aims. The career and career choices learning area is comprised of the following

topics which were included in the analysis.

3.4.2 Textbook selection. To make use of a representative sample of textbooks, the

researcher sought to established the four most popular of the CAPS-approved Grade 10 to 12

textbooks currently utilised in Eastern Cape schools. However, it became evident that

publishers are generally reluctant to release their sales figures and thus the most readily available information came in the form of surveys that have been undertaken to establish the general market share of the major educational publishers in South Africa. According to the SA publishing website, 95% of the market spent each year is shared between just 10 publishers. The top publishers are Maskew Miller Longman, publishers of Focus Life Orientation, Oxford University Press, publishers of Successful Life Orientation, and Shuter & Shooters, publishers of Shutters Top Class Life Orientation (Wilmot, 2011).

Additionally, African Book Connection, suppliers of textbooks to schools and the general public throughout the Eastern Cape (C. Hutchinson, personal communication, 24 May 2017), have identified the following publishers as the four most commonly ordered by both schools and the general public: Maskew Miller Longman, publishers of *Focus Life Orientation*, Oxford University Press, publishers of *Successful Life Orientation*, Shuter & Shooters, publishers of *Shutters Top Class Life Orientation*, and Via Afrika, publishers of *Via Afrika Life Orientation*. As the research sought to focus on textbooks being utilised in Eastern Cape schools, the four textbooks selected for analysis are as follows:

1) Shutter's *Top Class Life Orientation Learner's Book,* Grade 10 -12.

2) Oxford *Successful Life Orientation Learner's Book,* Grade 10 -12.

3) *Via Afrika Life Orientation Learner's Book,* Grade 10 -12.

4) *Focus Life Orientation Learner's Book* Grade, 10 -12.

For ethical reasons, these texts were not referenced by author or publisher, but instead as Textbooks A, B, C and D; with no particular order.

3.5 Data Collection

Data collected from the relevant topics of the selected Life Orientation textbooks were designated on the basis of being in the focus area of careers and career choices. According to

Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008), the criteria used to select statements to include in a Foucauldian discourse analysis could include samples of texts that constitute a 'discursive object' relevant to the research at hand, samples that form 'conditions of possibility' for the discursive object, and contemporary and historical variability of statements.   Therefore, the processes of data collection included textual representations of career discourses that spoke to the criteria delineated by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine located in the textbook chapters listed below:

Table 2

Data Set

Textbook	Grade	Pages	No. of Pages	Total
A	10	14-22	8	
		121-133	12	20
	11	44-67	23	
		172-190	18	41
	12	51-66	15	
		172-185	13	
		210-219	9	37
B	10	22-36	14	
		124-138	14	28
	11	24-37	13	
		138-156	18	31
	12	51-65	14	
		154-173	19	33
C	10	34-45	11	
		162-178	16	
		184-195	11	38
	11	32-41	9	
		170-191	21	28
	12	70-91	21	
		200-215	15	
		244-253	9	45
D	10	40-53	13	
		210-227	17	
		248-265	17	47
	11	44-55	11	
		215-237	22	33
	12	79-101	22	
		230-246	16	
		287-298	11	49
Total:				430

3.6 Data Analysis

Data was analysed by means of a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) using

Willig's six stage framework. An FDA allows the researcher to analyse a wide range of

materials, as it can be carried out wherever meaning is generated (Willig, 2013). The

selection of suitable texts for analysis was informed by the research question and has been

outlined in the previous section. Willig's six stage framework (2013) is discussed in more detail below:

3.6.1 Discursive constructions. In the first phase of the analysis, the researcher focused on the construction of the various discursive objects (Willig, 2013). As the research was focused on how career discourses are represented and the effects on learner's subjectivity, the discursive object was 'career representations'. An identification of the different ways in which the career representations are constructed in the text therefore followed. This was achieved by highlighting all the occasions of references made to the discursive object (Willig, 2013).

For example, extracts were selected from the careers section of the LO curriculum that spoke directly and indirectly to the construction of career representations. The selection of career representations was informed by the aims of the NCS regarding the careers topic; hence, the themes of subject choices pertaining to career choice, further and higher education opportunities to pursue and the role of the learner in the workplace were of particular interest.

3.6.2 Discourses. On completion of phase one, attention was given to the differences between the constructions of each discursive object (Willig, 2013). For instance, the same discursive object on face value may actually be constructed in varying manners. Commonalities and contradictions of themes were, therefore, included in the extracts selected. For example, some extracts constructed career decision making as a simple process that is easily achievable, while others constructed a career as a privilege accessible to only a select few who knew how to make informed decisions. These various discursive constructions of the object were then allocated to the above-mentioned themes and then later sub-discourses. The sub-discourses were then grouped according to how directly they spoke to the wider career discourses found in society in general. For example, the theme of career

decisions making was located under the sub-discourse of self-knowledge, where the greater the self- knowledge of the individual, the better the chances of choosing a career that is a good fit was evident. This sub-discourse was then attached to the dominant discourse of the objective self that exists in career theory. This discourse centres on the long-standing idea that career choices are discoverable through a process of assessment of an individual's traits.

    3.6.3 Action orientation. Phase three paid attention to the organisation of the varying constructions of the object within their discursive contexts (Willig, 2013). A central guiding question as proposed by Willig (2013) was (a) what was gained by the construction of the object in this particular manner and at this specific point and (b) its function and how this relates to other constructions shaped in the adjacent text?

    These questions speak to the action orientation of the text; when asking these questions pertaining to what the discursive object and their varying constructions are achieving in the text, a clearer understanding of the action orientation emerges (Willig, 2013). To return to the example of career decision making, the use of the objective self-discourse allows the LO curriculum to attribute responsibility for the choice and attainment of a career to the sole responsibility of the learner and thus removes responsibility from the institution for sound guidance in this regard. Furthermore, it provides a simplistic view of attaining a career and ignores the realities of the current job market in South Africa.

    3.6.4 Positioning. During the fourth phase of analysis, the focus was placed on the subject positions and what they offer (Willig, 2013). A subject position within the career discourses was understood as signalling a location for the learners within the structure of rights and duties for that specific environment. Essentially, discourses construct both subjects and objects, resulting in positions being made available within the networks of meaning that speakers can take up. It is, therefore, important to look at what is allowed and disallowed for

someone in that position and the inevitable consequences which follow on from being positioned as a subject of a particular kind.

For example, the objective self-discourse positions the subject as a self-actualised individual, capable of making successful career decisions as he or she possesses self-knowledge. However, if the subjects do not possess self-knowledge, they are objectified as immature or an adolescent, who could not possibly know themselves at this stage in their lives. This positioning creates pressure for the subject, as this contradiction could either motivate or disempower them.

3.6.5 Practice. The fifth phase of analysis examined the relationship between discourse and its practice (Willig, 2013). This entailed an analysis of the discursive constructions, subject positions, and whether these opened up or shut down openings for action. As particular forms of the world are constructed in the text and subjects are positioned within these versions in certain ways, the discourses in the text actually limit what can be said and done. For example, the practice of being an objective self who is able to know themselves and, therefore, find a suitable career, is bound up with a discourse of ample choice and availability regarding careers. This simplistic idea which ignores the current realities of the job market in South Africa provides a sense of legitimate access and reproduces the discourse of self-knowledge and the objective self as a means to career choice and satisfaction.   Hence speaking and doing support one another in the construction of subjects and objects.

3.6.6 Subjectivity. The final phase of the analysis explored the association between discourse and subjectivity, with reference to the significance of taking up different subject positions in terms if the learners' subjective experience (Willig, 2013). As discourses promote a certain view of reality and ways of being within that reality, they also construct

social and psychological realities. It can be said that, once a particular position is taken up,

the subject sees the world from that point of view, including the particular concepts and ideas

which are relevant to the discursive practice they are positioned in (Davies & Harré, 1999).

Tracing the consequences of taking up various subject positions was of particular importance

in this final stage, including a focus on what the subject may experience within the different

subject positions. This speaks to the subjects' understanding of their agency or limits in life

regarding their career choices and aspirations.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Due to the desktop nature of this study, precautions in terms of violating copyright

laws were particularly relevant. The researcher was cognisant of the fact that no part of the

publications being analysed may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in

any form or by any means without the prior permission in writing from the publishers, as

explicitly stated in the textbooks (Maskew Miller Longman, 2012; Oxford University Press,

2011; Person South Africa, 2013; Shutter and Shooter, 2014; Via Afrika, 2011).

Guidelines as per the American Psychological Association were adhered to when

referring to the work of individuals whose ideas, theories, or research have directly

influenced the research (American Psychological Association, 2010).

As a critical lens was applied to the research, and in keeping with the social

constructionist framework that all knowledge is socially constructed, the findings of this

research must, therefore, be open to the same critique which it imposes on the discursive

objects in the research. Additionally, reflexivity is an important consideration, as the

researcher should be cognisant of their own role in the co-construction of knowledge about

the topic. For the purposes of reliability, the research design, collection and analysis were

outlined before the analysis commenced, however, this cannot account for the gender, race and culture of the researcher, which have an influence on the analysis process.

Furthermore, as power and social practice are central to the research, it is also noted that a critique of the current representations does not seek to dismantle the current structures, but to provide an opportunity to open up repressed discourses (Wrbouschek, 2009, p. 38). Consideration of the representation of research findings that should represent that 'truth' and minimise error is also relevant.

3.8 Limitations of the study

In order to make the study manageable, it was limited to four CAPS-approved Life Orientation textbooks ranging from Grade 10 – 12 currently used in Eastern Cape schools. Consequently, it was not possible for the researcher to analyse all discursive formations relating to the careers topics of Life Orientation. According to Durrheim and Painter (2006), purposive sampling does not conform to the statistical principle of randomness, as such; the findings and recommendations that may be uncovered and presented in this study are not universal to all other Life Orientation textbooks outside of the selected sample.

Objectivity is also never totally achieved in studies of a qualitative nature, as the researcher will approach the work from a certain prescribed perspective that has been influenced by their own cultural, societal and individual experiences. Hence ensuring the trustworthiness of the study was achieved by adopting Willig's six stage framework approach to a Foucauldian discourse analysis. This ensured that the data collection and analysis maintained a systematic and structured approach.

As this study was limited to an analysis of four (4) textbooks, it cannot presume to elucidate the pedagogical approaches utilised by the Life Orientation teachers when delivering the material to the learners and the effects that this delivery may have on the

learner's ability to make informed career decisions. Furthermore, as the study was limited to textual analysis and focused on language, it does miss out on the direct connection between the careers content and the lived experiences of the learners.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has mapped out the qualitative research method employed in the study. It explicated how social constructionism, a Foucauldian discourse analysis and Willig's six stage framework formed the most suitable choice to assist in reaching the aims of the study. Purposive sampling was used to select four CAPS-approved Life Orientation textbooks currently utilised in Eastern Cape schools. The career and career choices learning area was explored and the sections included in the analysis were detailed. The process of data analysis using Willig's six stage framework was then clarified in greater detail. Lastly, ethical considerations were deliberated and limits to the research process were acknowledged.

Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The findings and analysis chapter presents the extracts selected from the four most commonly purchased CAPS-approved Grade 10 to 12 Life Orientation textbooks currently utilised in Eastern Cape schools. Data was collected from Shutter's Top Class, Oxford Successful, Via Afrika and Focus Life. For ethical reasons, the extracts presented made reference to Textbooks A, B, C and D rather than authorship.

Based on the extracts which were analysed, various sub-discourses were identified and coded in relation to the discourses that construct careers and career choices, future employability and the role of the learner. These sub-discourses informed the dominant discourses of the objective self, the neoliberal self, and the transitioning adolescent which are presented in this chapter.

According to the Department of Basic Education (2011), the careers topic seeks to provide learners with the competencies necessary to assist them in making well-versed choices about their subject selections and prospective careers, provide information about higher education and further opportunities, as well as prepare learners for their entrance into the workplace. Hence, an analysis of how these career discourses position learners and the consequential subjectivity and agency that may or may not be experienced by the learner due to the subject positions they are placed, followed.

4.2 Emerging discourses

The dominant discourses emerging from the analysed texts are identified as the objective self, the neoliberal self, and the transitioning adolescent. They speak to the role of self-knowledge in relation to career choices, maturity and decision making skills, knowledge pertaining to the expectations of the workplace and socioeconomic circumstances,

opportunity and demands of the job market, as well as the competencies and ethics that are essential for a prosperous career.

These discourses construct career choice as the duty of the individual, discoverable through a process of becoming self-aware. It calls on the individual to be an autonomous agent in this process and conform to western values and belief systems, regardless of contextual or historical differences.

Opportunities for employment are generally presented as the responsibility of the individual by bolstering the idea of neoliberalism and the benefits of becoming an entrepreneur. Furthermore, the individual is expected to make important decisions that will have an impact on them in later life, but at the same time, they are cautioned that they are not yet mature enough to actually make these decisions. The above-mentioned discourses are discussed in further detail in the section that follows.

4.3 Discourse of the objective self

The discourse of the objective self is strongly influenced by western individualistic values (Akhurst & Liebenberg, 2009). It depicts the basis of career choice and development as being discoverable by the assessment of an individual's personality, interests, abilities, and values. Hence, the focus is primarily on the individual in pursuit of self-knowledge in order to make successful career choices. The individual is assumed to have an objective self, made up of measurable skills and interests that can be measured and matched to a suitable career, operating in a system of discoverable rules and underlying truths, devoid of contextual issues (Stead & Bakker, 2010b).

Not only is the individual expected to objectively gain self-knowledge, but the onus is also placed on them to manage their own careers, removing societal and organisational responsibility for their career outcomes. Furthermore, a one-size fits all approach is

advocated by portraying the South African subject as an already middle-class citizen, ignoring the effects of Apartheid and providing an ahistorical nature to the curriculum (Soudien, 2010). Consequently, the discourse of the objective self legitimizes and privileges western psychology as universal and overarching, thereby marginalising socio-cultural diversity. According to Stead and Bakker (2012, p.36), "the popular idea that one just has to get to know oneself well and try hard enough to succeed is built into the very fibre of western liberal thinking and capitalism, as well as the science of psychology."

Three sub-discourses were identified that inform the discourse of the objective self: self-knowledge, the autonomous agent and the conformist.

4.3.1 Self-Knowledge. This sub-discourse, pertaining to the discourse of the objective self, was identified in several of the texts investigated and extracts referring to this discourse are presented here. It refers to the idea that the process of deciding on and choosing a career path is simply achieved by acquiring self-knowledge. It promotes the idea that the greater the individual's self-knowledge, the better their chances will be of choosing a career that is a good fit for them and making a success of it. The following extracts better illustrate this:

Extract 1

As a high school learner you have to take responsibility for your own career and life planning. The first step is to learn more about yourself. Self-knowledge is a process that unfolds as you grow. As you mature into young men and women, you start making choices about where to spend your time. You are constantly making choices, based on how you see yourself. (Textbook A, p. 24)

In the above extract, the high school learner is positioned as having to take responsibility for their own career choices and life planning, which is easily achieved through acquiring self-knowledge, as they have to "learn more" about themselves. However, this is contradicted by the statement that self-knowledge will naturally unfold as the learner matures, implying a natural progression that does not require any effort on the part of the learner. This contradiction leaves the reader wondering how exactly the process of career planning should be navigated. Is it an active process, where the individual must take full responsibility for learning more about themselves, or is it a passive process, as self-knowledge is said to unfold as the individual matures?

Consequently, these contradicting subject positions create opposing objects. On the one hand, the subject is a self-actualised individual, capable of making successful career decisions as they possess self-knowledge. However, if the subject does not possess self-knowledge, they are objectified as immature or an adolescent, who could not possibly know themselves at this stage in their lives. This creates pressure for the subject, as this contradiction could either motivate or disempower them.

While the extract above demonstrates the contradictions placed on learners regarding self-knowledge and the means of acquiring it, extract 2 below expands on this expectation to include outside influences.

Extract 2

The things that people say can influence how you see yourself. You need to think about what things you perceive about yourself and decide if these are right or if they are myths that influence your thoughts about yourself. How you view yourself and your abilities can influence the career direction you take. (Textbook C, p. 173)

In the above extract, the writer calls on the learner to enter into a process of acquiring self-awareness. The learner is positioned as a reflective individual, possessing the self-awareness to discern between what others think about them and how they perceive themselves in terms of their personality, interests, abilities, and values. The assumption is made that the skill of self-reflection has already been acquired by the learner, without any guidance on how to achieve this. Hence, the learner is positioned as someone who can self-reflect.

If the learner has the skill of self-reflection available to them, they will be able to make career decisions based on their self-perception; however, if this is not the case, they will be lost and unable to choose a career direction. The presentation of the objective self and self-knowledge discourses within the framework of these LO textbooks speak to the one size fits all approach, referred to previously, where learners are assumed to be already middle class citizens. This approach takes a regimented stance towards learners, whereby institutions of power and privilege dictate what society should be ascribing to.

This notion of being self-reflective operates on the assumption that the general population are middle class citizens, when, in fact, the majority of South Africans are still very underprivileged, and assumes that they have been exposed to the idea of self-reflexion. It also assumes that a process of self-actualisation has occurred to assist with this reflexivity, as those individuals would then be in a position to reflect on their lives, wants and needs, abilities and competencies. In essence, self-reflectivity is a skill that is taught and usually occurs through a process of embarking on an individual journey, ignoring the realities of the group orientated society that South Africans operate in.

Furthermore, the learner is left to weed out the "myths" of what others may say about them and make career decisions based solely on how they view themselves, which discounts

the collectivist culture present in South African society. Buthelezi, Alexander, and Seabi (2009) have noted that career counselling in South Africa still relies heavily on the European and North American knowledge and value systems, such as individualism and autonomy to the exclusion of other knowledge and value systems, for example, indigenous ones, such as Ubuntu. Consequently, an individualistic conception of self permeates career counselling in South Africa, while the country's collectivist indigenous cultures are remarkably absent and/or ignored.

Similarly, this appears to be the case with the LO curriculum, leaving the reader to wonder what these silences mean for communities and societies that focus on the concept of Ubuntu, and where black tax is a reality for every non-white citizen. How do these texts, completely devoid of the essence of the South African subject, assist the average learner with the quest of finding a suitable career path?

Bolstering the discourse of the objective self, the following extract serves to reinforce the idea that learners can find the ideal job and be successful in life, if they become aware of their values.

Extract 3

> If you understand what is important to you, you will be able to find real meaning and fulfilment in life. This is especially important when it comes to finding the right job or career. Getting to know yourself will help you to work out what is going to make you enjoy a job. (Textbook B, p. 125)

Extract 3 calls upon the learner to seek out their own individual values and implies that this is synonymous with finding the right job or career. The learner is positioned as a truth-seeking agent, capable of having a fulfilled life with a job he or she enjoys if he or she

is able to understand what is important to him or her. This existential notion of the learner as searching for meaning, truth and fulfilment, discounts the current context of the learner, who perhaps may not be aware or even capable of such existential thought at this point in their life.

The learners are objectified as existential beings separating them from the social, community and South African context. The onus is placed on the individual to search within themselves without taking into account that they may not possess the skill of self-reflection or the fact that understanding what is important to them does not necessarily translate into finding a job that brings you fulfilment and joy. Leaving this aside, the presentation of the self as being able to find the 'right job', implies that there is ample choice to be made and that this choice is made even easier when self-knowledge is attained.

This rosy view of opportunity presented to the learner is superficial and so far removed from the reality of the South African context, where unemployment is at an all-time high, where poverty and crime are rife and where corruption exists. In this case, the institutions of power are not held accountable or responsible in any way for the realities of the current status quo. The learner is thereby rendered powerless and alone in their quest to, firstly, find the right job or career (it is assumed the opportunity exists), and secondly, to actually enjoy the work they perform (this is a luxury in a country with such high poverty and unemployment rates). The implication is made that, if the learner is unable to find a suitable job and enjoy it; it must somehow be because they do not possess self-knowledge.

4.3.2 Autonomous Agent. This sub-discourse refers to the idea that individuals are expected to take full responsibility for their own career self-management, while societal and organisational responsibilities for career outcomes and the realities of socio-economic

conditions are largely ignored. The following two extracts serve to demonstrate this idea in greater detail.

Extract 4

> Money is often one of the biggest barriers to following your dream career. You need to be practical and take action in advance to make things happen for you, before you register. This means you must work hard at school so that your marks are good. Then you can apply for various forms of financial help. (Textbook D, p. 82)

In extract 4, the responsibility for attaining a "dream career" is placed on the learner. This is supposedly achieved by applying oneself in the classroom, as this will lead to high marks and, consequently, the opportunity to apply for financial aid. Money is singled out as the biggest obstacle to attaining a dream career. However, there are many more factors to consider in the quest to attain an ideal career which are ignored. The idea of the autonomous agent becomes clear as the responsibility for economic and career goals are shifted from academic and learning institutions, government and organisations and placed on the learner.

In an attempt to highlight that academic excellence affords learners opportunities, the responsibility of achieving academic excellence is also shifted onto the learner, and negates the current difficulties experienced within the current institutions of learning.

With the questionable quality of the OBE system, the questionable quality of the educators and the various difficulties faced by the education system within South Africa, working hard at school may not ensure that the learners have a fair chance at achieving these high marks that will ensure financial assistance and a "dream career". As noted by the Department of Basic Education (2015), a high percentage (roughly 60%) of the first grader learners that enter the schooling system eventually drop out rather than complete Grade 12.

Similarly, by Grade 12, only 52% of the age appropriate population are still enrolled in schools. This would indicate that no amount of excellence on the part of the learner can ensure that they are immune to the barriers of the South African schooling system, as excellence is certainly not being produced.

In reality, there are Grade 10 learners that struggle to read and write, moreover, the language of instruction and examination is English, although this is not the mother tongue of the majority of learners. Hence their academic excellence would not be accurately reflected due to language barriers and others. The institutions of power, such as schools making statements like the one in this extract, that learners must learn and aim for excellence, instead of focussing on the school's duty to actually teach and create excellence within their learners. Consequently, the everyday lived experience of the post-apartheid South African learner is disregarded, objectifying them as "other" for not achieving excellence, which is so far removed from the current South African context.

Extract 5 appears to take into account the realities of unemployment faced by the learners; however, it places the onus squarely on the learner to deal with these challenges.

Extract 5

Faced with massive unemployment, often high study and training costs and very limited job opportunities, thousands of youths have to think innovatively if they wish to decrease economic dependence. In fact, innovation has become a key life skill. (Textbook C, p. 84)

In the above extract, learners are encouraged to decrease economic dependence on the state, as unemployment and high study costs may limit their chances of attaining their career goals. The solution provided is to become innovative, and innovation is glamourized as a key

skill which is essential for success. However, this extract speaks to the impossibility of

thousands. Thousands of young South Africans are caught in the deprivation trap, where they

are almost powerless in their current context and see survival as a key skill for life.

Considering that innovation is located as a key life skill, it leaves the reader

wondering why the concept is not further explained, discussed or emphasised in the

curriculum. Hence, the learners may find themselves in a position of confusion over what it

is and how it works. The learners are positioned as independent and able to access their skills

through innovation, however, the silences around how to do this render them further

dependent, as it creates more questions than answers for the learner.

Conversely, the notion of innovation also produces an object, as something that is

attainable, yet the majority of South African learners have not been exposed to this. It leaves

the reader with many questions, such as, what defines innovation? What would the learner

have to do to gain exposure to it? Surely, without exposure to innovation and ways of

making ends meet, learners are confronted with an ideal that is largely unobtainable for them.

This begs the question of how exactly this text could empower the learner, if that is what the

authors set out to achieve, when disempowerment is more likely to be the end result.

4.3.3 The conformist. The prominent discourse of the objective self is informed by

the sub-discourse of the conformist, by calling on the learner to be socially and culturally

compliant subjects, able to mould themselves into the acquiescent citizen and employees.

They are expected to be adjustable to the values, beliefs, behaviours, and ethics that are

expected from the world of work and society in general. Additionally, the notion of a career

as the nurturer of values and ethics is suggested by implying that learners should subscribe to

the generally accepted ways of the workplace (should they find employment) and then live

their lives in accordance with this, as this will bring them career success. This sub-discourse was identified in the two extracts below.

Extract 6

When you enter the world of work, people in the workplace will have certain expectations of you and the way you behave. So, when applying for a job, you should make sure your personal values and beliefs fit in with the expectations of the society.

(Textbook A, p. 171)

Extract 6 discusses the entrance of the learners into the world of work and how their personal values and beliefs need to conform to those of society in order to meet the expectations of the workplace. Firstly, the use of the word "when" implies that entering the world of work is a given possibility, leading the learner to believe that they will actually enter the world of work when they complete their education. This statement is made despite the realities of the high unemployment rates in South Africa, especially affecting the target demographic of these texts.

Secondly, the learner is constructed as already prepared for the unknown world of work and adjustable to the values and beliefs of society. These constructions function on the assumption that there is a universal code that exists in the workplace regarding who employees should be and how they should behave, which is not congruent with the previous positioning of an agentic and autonomous self, one that is reflexive and operates from their own value system. Furthermore, these workplace expectations are then assumed to be synonyms with the expectations of society.

Consequently, learners are positioned as adjustable beings that are prepared for all these expectations, when in reality it would not be possible for a first-time employee to have

any idea of what these expectations would be and how to align their personal beliefs and values to them before entering the workplace.

Through these constructions, responsibility for the preparation and alignment to the world of work is placed on the learner. The learner is given the duty of knowing what is expected of them and also of changing their personal values and beliefs to fit in with that of society. By doing so, the acquiescent citizen is produced, one that does not question workplace and societal norms and expectations, and blindly goes along with these expectations, as this is assumed to increase their employability. Doing so once again contradicts the previous objectification of the learner as an autonomous, agentic and reflective individual.

Viewing the learner in this manner benefits the workplace and society in general, as the learner seeks to find employment and, hence, adjust to what is expected of him or her, forming the "perfect" citizen and employee. The institution of power benefits from the regimented worker, who follows instructions, but before they get into the workplace, the learner must be an agentic, autonomous, self-reliant, knowledgeable, reflective being. Not only is this confusing for the leaners, but they could potentially feel a loss of agency, as they are merely reduced to a product for consumption in the workplace, devoid of their own personal values and beliefs and simply operating from an external locus of control (Corey, 2017).

Extract 7 expands on the notion of promoting the alignment of the employee's ethics and personal characteristics to the workplace and society. However, while extract 6 speaks specifically to the job seeker, extract 7 is more focused on the employee's chosen profession in the workplace.

Extract 7

> Your job contract will describe many things. However, some things are expected
> such as work ethics and certain personal characteristics; these may not be specifically
> mentioned in your work contract. For example, if you are a judge, society expects
> you to be fair, honest, incorruptible, and wise. A nurse would be expected to be
> caring, kind, reliable, competent and able to put the patient first. (Textbook D, p. 239)

Once again, the learner is left in the dark regarding exactly who he or she should be in the workplace, as the extract removes responsibility from the workplace for setting out the necessary guidelines and rather refers to the societal expectation of certain professions.

The learners are stripped of their identity and values by positioning their prospective career as forming their identity and nurturing their values. In this way, the learners become instruments of institutions, not only must they conform to workplace standards; they must also be cognisant of societal expectations regarding their respective profession and live their lives by these.

The learner is positioned as a blank slate that must conform to societal expectations and the consequences of not doing so would imply that they are unethical and do not possess the personal characteristics needed to be regarded as professional by society and the workplace. These unwritten rules, not mentioned in the job contract, are somehow expected to simply be known and applied to the workplace and create an idea of universal morals, ignoring cultural differences.

No mention is made of the fact that a process of induction and training may be necessary to make employees aware of these expectations and the learners are left to find this out for themselves. By discussing the terrain of the workplace in this manner, the onus is

placed solely on the learner to acquire the correct ethics and personal characteristics for the workplace and then integrate this into their identity. The learner must conform to these vague expectations and be prepared and adjustable.

The learner is positioned as capable of attaining some kind of ethical enlightenment and then needing to apply those ethics to their chosen profession. They are objectified as self-actualising, conforming citizens who must at all times adjust themselves for the benefit of the workplace and society. The chasm that exists between functioning in a workplace and society that subscribes to first world ideals and that of the cultural realities of the learner are not addressed. The learners are not allowed to subscribe to their personal or cultural code of ethics and are rendered powerless to conform.

4.4 Discourse of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a term used to refer to the actions of governments and international corporations, and the process of globalisation (Postma, 2015). Essentially, it marks the transference of economic factors from the public sector to the private sector and claims to ensure the best of political, educational, social, medical and scientific advances, food security and sustainable development. Education is important for neoliberalism, as it provides the human capital, in this case, the learners, needed for business and industry. This is done, not only through the utilisation of their skills, but also by creating a particular kind of subject, which is where the contest of control plays out.

Neoliberal ideology relies heavily on the ideas of individual agency, individualism, and opportunity. These ideas have been grouped into the discourses of the individual self and the entrepreneurial self and are explored below.

4.4.1 The individually responsible self

The discourse of the individually responsible self, feeds into the wider neoliberal ideology promoting career self-management and self-reliance as the key ingredients for success in the workplace. The authors endorse the overarching idea of individual instead of societal or institutional accountability for the career success and advancement of the learners.

The following three extracts explore how the authors seek to produce career self-managing actors by constructing the learner's future career prospects as a privilege that is not guaranteed and, therefore, shouldn't be expected. The attainment of employment and success is placed squarely as the responsibility of the learner, with no external forces at play, while, at the same time, cautioning the learner against unrealistic expectations. Consequently, failure to secure employment becomes the fault of the learner.

Extract 8

Specific reasons for youth unemployment:

- Businesses prefer employees who already have skills and experience to inexperienced and unskilled youth.

- Lack of knowledge on how to apply for study bursaries, study loans and learnerships.

- Some young people make high wage demands at entry level, which workplaces are not willing to agree to.

- Some youth give up and stop looking for jobs.

- Expectations of youth may not match reality. Some youth would rather not work than do a job thought to be below their hopes.

- Lack of entrepreneurial skills.

- Lack of job search skills, especially for learners in schools where Life Orientation is not taken seriously.

- Employers do not regard schooling as an accurate measure of abilities. Low pass marks for NCS are not acceptable in a competitive workplace.

(Textbook D, p. 91)

Extract 8 makes use of a bullet point representation to provide a list of reasons for youth unemployment. These reasons are referred to as "specific" and could be viewed as mere information or even facts, however, the implications of these "specific" reasons play a role in constructing the learners as the sole reason for the multi-faceted and complex problem of youth unemployment in South Africa. Although many points are provided, the effect of the reasons is cumulative; all 8 reasons lead back to the youth themselves as the problem, highlighting the overarching idea of individual accountability towards career success or failure and (non)advancement of the learners as discussed during the introduction of the extract.

The learners are positioned as being responsible for their own unemployment due to lack of skills, knowledge, making high wage demands, lack of volition, being unrealistic about expectations and greedy about wages, not knowing how to search for jobs and receiving very low pass rates. However, these youths have just emerged from the very educational institution that is responsible for the enforcement of these skills and knowledge, who fail to take responsibility for the calibre of learner it produces. Additionally, the careers curriculum is in place to assist in providing realistic ideas about the workplace and providing the skills to search for employment. The issue of job responsibility and security on the part

of the employing organisations and career guidance teachers is silent, implying that the responsibility once again rests solely on the learner.

The learner is objectified as unskilled, lacking knowledge, money hungry, lazy and uncompetitive. This serves to reinforce the idea that they are personally responsible for their own success or failure in acquiring employment, seemingly, to encourage and reinforce their autonomy. However, the learners are completely disenfranchised from any hope of securing employment, as they are led to believe that they are the very reason for the problem of youth unemployment. The self-reliance that is needed to rise above these reasons becomes the very idea that disempowers the prospective employees, as they operate in a system that has created these high rates of unemployment and will inevitably produce these very problems listed.

Extract 9 explores the topic of career success and satisfaction. It promotes the idea that finding fulfilment and success in a job is the duty of the individual, but, at the same time, emphasises that this should not be an expectation, as these enjoyments only come with the individual working hard and being committed to a job.

Extract 9

> Working takes up a lot of our lives and so it's a good idea to try and find work that will bring us fulfilment and satisfaction. The reality is, however, that we can't just expect success and satisfaction to be part of a job or career. Success and satisfaction at work depend a lot on personal hard work and commitment. (Textbook B, p. 149)

This extract presents two subjects that are positioned in different ways. On the one hand, there are the employees who work hard, conform and will, consequently, enjoy the benefits of their appropriate good work. On the other hand, if you are the other employee who does not work hard, then you cannot enjoy the benefits and fulfilment. Career fulfilment

is constructed as attainable, but at the same time, not to be expected, as it is dependent on the

subject's work ethic.

The dominant discourse of individual responsibility for the success or failure of

learners' careers is now extended to that of their fulfilment and satisfaction when they finally

find a career. This once again functions as a way to remove any responsibility from the

educational institution which may employ the individual and places the duty on the individual

to attain happiness in the workplace. Although this may appear to open up spaces of agency

for the individual if they work hard and are committed, the silences around other influencing

factors like the environment the individuals work in, the salary they earn, the attitude of

management and the simple reality of the scarcity of jobs, closes down spaces for any real

action.

Extract 10

While we all want the life of the rich and famous, the reality is that very few people

achieve those lifestyles. We have to accept that reality and fantasy are two very

different worlds. In reality, work is a privilege and being able to study is an even

greater privilege. We may sometimes expect certain things and feel disappointed with

life that doesn't meet our expectations. (Textbook B, p. 185)

Extract 10 deals with the topic of the employee's lifestyle once employed. The

dominant discourse of individual responsibility is again extended, this time to the lifestyle

expectations and attainment of the individual. Employment is constructed as a privilege

bestowed on the few lucky ones, and studying further is constructed as the ultimate solution

to securing employment and living an abundant lifestyle. This positions learners as almost

delusional for expecting to gain access to employment without further education and part of an elitist group if they are able to secure employment that leads to wealth.

These expectations that supposedly exist are implied as emerging from the learner, yet, in reality, the expectations exist in the dominant discourses of our society. The mechanisms of power are at play, with institutions like the government indicating that higher education is not a given and that no one owes the learner this opportunity. This is in direct opposition to the South African constitution that advocates for equal opportunity and education for all.

This extract opens up a contradiction to the previous extracts that spoke to innovation and its necessity for a successful career, and also one of the very tenets that neoliberalism is built on. Now, the eliteness of higher education appears to be so great that anything outside of it denotes less than. The idea of innovation as the key to success in South Africa is somehow forgotten and higher education is constructed as the shining light in the dark.

Foucault has postulated that power is intricately linked to knowledge, whereby the acquirement of greater knowledge increases power. This is indicative of the higher institutions of knowledge and power, whereby withholding information also serves as a means to control the masses that will not have the privilege of higher education. Additionally, it serves as an explanation as to why the idea of innovation is not expanded on in the curriculum, hence the privilege of access to information for becoming innovative is withheld to bring about the regulation and normalisation of subjects and producing a compliant society, the "individually" responsible self.

4.4.2 The entrepreneurial self.

The entrepreneurial self operates on the neoliberal ideas of autonomy, innovation, and high performance. The underlying picture emerging from the extracts below constructs

entrepreneurship as an up-and-coming trend, which learners should follow to enjoy a

successful career and achieve economic stability. The entrepreneurial self is responsible for

creating and sustaining their own career, is self-managing and does not rely on the

government to provide opportunities for them. In these extracts, entrepreneurship is

glamorised as the solution to all the unemployment problems in South Africa and the ideal

solution to economic instability. The two extracts below illustrate these ideas in greater

detail.

Extract 11

> Entrepreneurship and other employment options may be the best way to earn money.
> The more jobs that are created the better for everyone. We cannot expect the
> government to provide all the jobs; each citizen has to try to create jobs and work
> opportunities for others. We live in a country where formal jobs are scarce, but where
> there are many opportunities in the informal sector. (Textbook D, p. 96)
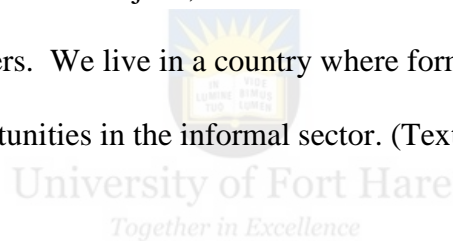
Extract 11 introduces the topic of entrepreneurship and constructs it as the unmatched

option for economic freedom in South Africa, not only for the learners themselves, but also

for the betterment of the entire country. All learners are assumed to have the potential to

become an entrepreneur and create their own job. By doing so, the author removes the

responsibility from the government for providing work for its citizens.

The stark reality of the lack of opportunities and employment in South Africa is

normalised by the statement that we live in a country where formal jobs are scarce and then

goes on to promote the idea of a bounty of opportunities in the informal sector. What is not

mentioned, however, is how the learner is to start the process of accessing these opportunities

in the informal sector. The idea of legitimate access is created, without any real guidance as to how to go about attaining access to it.

This extract speaks to the middle-class citizen of South Africa, one that has access to resources and already possesses the skills and knowledge needed to be innovative. They are positioned as resourceful, innovative and obligated to provide the economy with growth and opportunity. In reality, the average South African learner does not have access to the resources they would need to start their own businesses. The skills and knowledge needed to do so are also not instilled in the school curriculum. Hence the average South African learner is further marginalised. Learners are objectified as having agency and opportunity to contribute to the betterment of this country, but, at the same time, they are marginalised into a position of passivity due to the reality that they do not actually have legitimate access and are powerless to the situation.

Extract 12 extends the neoliberal ideas of autonomy, independence and self-responsibility in the workplace to a unique quality that only certain people are lucky enough to possess. It attempts to set the entrepreneur apart from "ordinary" people and calls on the learner to somehow tap into this uniqueness, as, by understanding what makes them succeed, they will somehow themselves be able to become as successful. However, no guidance or direction is provided as to how to do this.

Extract 12

> Entrepreneurs are different from ordinary people. The trick is to understand what makes them succeed. The first thing to do is to look at the people in business around you. They are independent. They like doing what they do. They are strongly individualistic. They thrive on challenges and like taking responsibility. Do you think you could be an entrepreneur? (Textbook A, p. 131)

The entrepreneur is portrayed as someone who is fulfilled by what they do, is able to stand on his or her own and take on every challenge that is thrown his/her way. Again a glamourized version of the entrepreneur is brought forward and the call is made to the learner as to whether they think they could be an entrepreneur. At face value, it's a call to action, but it functions as much more than that in the sense that the learner is positioned as unsuccessful if they are unable to live up to these expectations or rise to the challenge presented to them.

A strong theme of institutionalised power is put forward in these two extracts by making use of technologies of self, the learners are positioned as having the world at their feet if they are able to self-manage and be independent. Entrepreneurship is glamorised as the way forward for a successful future and the learner seems to be left with no choice but to take up the challenge. However, the realities of access to the skills, knowledge, and resources needed for the attainment of the entrepreneurial lifestyle are not available to the majority of South African learners, rendering them further marginalised and powerless.

4.5 Discourse of the transitioning adolescent

It has been noted that in career research, the transition from made by young people from high school to college or university and the workplace is critical for their long-term life-course trajectories (Van Reenen, 2010). However, adolescence is also depicted as a period of speedy change and development not only physically, but also cognitively, socially and emotionally; the stage between the closing of childhood and the beginning of adulthood (Matope, 2006). At this point of development, the pursuit of independence and identity is prominent and the dependence-independence struggle becomes central. Although teenagers yearn for independence from their parents, they are still depended on them in a number of

ways as they are not yet adults (Corey, 2017), which poses many challenges to a smooth transition between these phases.

Career literature suggests that, for a high school student, a sense of identity is vital for the development of his or her life processes (Van Reenen, 2010). Identity development is viewed as an important process that adolescents must transition through in order to reach career maturity and have the ability to make informed career decisions. This presents a conundrum for the adolescent, as they are viewed as being capable of making choices, having options and knowing themselves, however, they are also viewed as requiring guidance and mentoring to self-actualise, as they are not adults and, therefore, unable to make adult decisions.

Hence the process of reaching career maturity and making informed decisions becomes a complex one for the adolescence. The sub-discourses of the maturing self, and the gendered self, illustrate this complexity in greater detail below.

4.5.1 The maturing self

The Life Orientation curriculum bases a learners' abilities to make effective career decisions on their level of maturity, implying that it is a developmental process by nature. Additionally, as demonstrated in the discourse of the objective self, the learner would need to have a clear understanding of oneself and knowledge about the world of work and be able to apply this to his or her career choices. However, this process is further complicated by the discourse of the transitioning adolescent, which blurs the lines between the learners' abilities to make effective career decisions or not to, due to the developmental stage they find themselves in. The objective of the careers curriculum, as stated, is to assist the learner with this complex process, as it seeks to guide them through their career decision making process. However, the extracts which speak to this discourse appear to leave more questions than

answers for the learner.   The discourse of the transitioning adolescent is informed by the sub-discourse of the maturing self, presented in the three extracts below.

Extract 13

> Deciding what to do after school requires careful decision-making and often problem-solving too. Not everybody is able to choose exactly what they would like to do after school. If you do not have this freedom of choice now, you may be disappointed and envious of those who do have a choice. The advantage of this, however, is that you will probably be able to make career choices at a later stage in your life, when you are more mature and have greater self-knowledge. (Textbook B, p.51)

Extract 13 grapples with the idea of career decisions and the idea of maturity. The process of career decision making is constructed as being in the hands of the learners, as they are cautioned to be careful with their decision and use problem-solving skills. However, somehow, making career decisions is also not available to the learner, due to their immaturity and, therefore, a lack of freedom of choice. Resultantly, the learner is positioned as lacking in agency, as this process is exclusive to certain people, those that are mature; possess self-knowledge, and freedom of choice.

Inadvertently, this extract draws on the discourse of lack. In reality, the majority of learners will be faced with a lack of opportunity once they leave school. Hence, instead of speaking to careful decision-making and problem solving, the extract actually speaks more to the idea of lack and a discourse of envy.

Drawing on Klein's object relations theory (1957) regarding envy, it can be understood as an angry feeling that another person possesses when desiring what is inaccessible to them. It is often accompanied by an impulse to take it away or spoil it.

Furthermore, it is recognised as a painful affliction that is manifested through primary

destructiveness, is, to some extent, constitutionally based, worsened by adversity, and

heightens persecution and guilt (Klein, 1957). By stating that the learner may be

disappointed and envious of those who do have a choice at this point in their lives, the text

positions the majority of learners as desiring what is inaccessible to them, as they lack

opportunity once leaving school.

Extract 13 ends off by stating that an advantage of this lack is that, later on in life,

learners will get an opportunity to make choices again and no longer refer to the problem

solving and careful decision making process mentioned earlier in the extract. This idea of

lack is presented as if there are advantages later in life, which is misleading and contradictory

in nature. The reader is left wondering how lack can be advantages later on?

The extract also ends off by implying and positioning the learner as immature now,

requiring more time to mature and gain self-knowledge in order to make career decisions.

The learner is now somehow powerless to the decision making process and the authors try to

imply that the lack of opportunity is not what limits the learner, but the learner himself.

Essentially, the learners are rendered powerless to the process and stripped of their freedom

of choice in a vague statement that gives them no real idea why they would not have any

freedom to choose, except that they are not yet mature enough to do so.

Extract 14 continues the theme of the powerlessness of the learner in the career

decision-making processes.

Extract 14

> You are young and have to decide on a career that you will follow. This can be a
>
> difficult decision, because you will still change and have many more experiences in
>
> your life. Many people change their career when they are in their late thirties and

forties. They have grown and developed other skills and competencies over the years and they would like to express these in other avenues. But you have to start somewhere and this decision can influence the rest of your life. (Textbook A, p.29)

In this extract, the learner is first reminded that they are young and that making career decisions is going to be difficult. The struggle of career indecision is then normalised by stating that even older people change their careers, then this is contradicted by stating that they need to make a decision now, thereby placing enormous pressure on the learners as the decision that they do make will "influence the rest of their life".

The conundrum of the transitioning adolescent is clear in this extract, as the dependence-independence struggle is brought forward. The consequences of discussing the learner in this manner are concerning, as the learner is left confused about their ability to make an informed decision and placed in a powerless position. The learner is positioned, on the one hand, as the driver of their own decisions and, on the other hand, as too immature to do so. All responsibility is placed on the learner to make a life-changing decision, removing any sense of duty from the institution, but, at the same time, also cautioning the learner that they probably do not have the abilities to actually make the right choice. This renders the learners in a state of limbo, they don't possess the power or the knowledge to progress at this point in their life, hence any choice they make is constructed as wrong, but still in need of being made.

Extending the theme of maturity, Extract 15 portrays lifelong learning as the guarantee for ongoing self-development. It constructs growth and maturity as essential for reaching your potential in life and, consequently, enjoying a successful career.

Extract 15

> Lifelong learning ensures your continuous or ongoing self-development. This helps
>
> you to become a better person, with more knowledge and skills. As you develop and
>
> grow, you can achieve your potential. Your potential is your ability to do well in life.
>
> To help you develop yourself, you need to be able and will to change, retrain and be
>
> flexible.
>
> (Textbook D, p.262)

Extract 15 positions the learner as solely responsible for attaining success in life, implying a position of power, while, at the same time, rendering them powerless if they don't conform to the expectations of lifelong learning. Additionally, a contradiction is created by stating that maturity and development allow the learner to achieve their potential; however, lifelong learning ensures ongoing development. The learners are provided with the right to access their potential through the process of growth and maturity, however, the duty is also placed on them to become lifelong learners in order to really do well in life, somehow eradicating the need for maturity.

The rhetoric of the "lifelong learner" moves the responsibility away from institutions and places it solely on the learners/employees, who are now expected to develop themselves, train and retain in order to keep up with the latest skills needed by employers. Additionally, this rhetoric is also in direct contradiction to the South African context, where learners drop out before matriculating. Previous extracts constructing higher education as a privilege allow for a discourse of lack to creep in; however, the lifelong learner is no now referred to, despite the fact that learning may not be available to him or her. In reality, the minority still have

more power and privilege than the majority and these texts cater to that minority and further impose restrictions on the majority of South African learners. Classism, is the new racism.

4.5.2 The gendered self. According to Adams (2017), the way in which the Life Orientation textbooks construct gender and identity has implications for how the female learner is positioned. The discourse of heterosex, informed by mainstream psychological theories of sex and gender, serves to maintain traditional heteronormative gender norms as normal and natural. Furthermore, gender norms are entrenched through heteronormativity, whereby people are believed to fall into distinct and complementary genders with natural roles in life.

Gender ideology can affect educational choices by influencing how learners evaluate their competence in certain subjects, what they find important in a future occupation, and what school subjects they prefer. Furthermore, adolescents appear to internalise gender expectations as to what is appropriate male and female behaviour which has an effect on their decision-making (van der Vleuten et al., 2016).

In the extracts that follow, gendered stereotypes are evident in the interview tips provided for a successful interview and enhancement of the learner's chances of securing the job.

Extract 16

> When you go for an interview avoid extremes in the way you look. Avoid too much make-up and too much perfume. Be comfortable in what you are wearing, and avoid things that will make you uncomfortable or even distract you during the interview. From your hair to your toes, try to look appropriate for the job. (Textbook C, p. 187)

Extract 16 speaks specifically to the female job seeker. It draws on mainstream gender norms and standards by singling out all females as extremists in the way they dress, the make-up they wear and the amount of perfume they use, as well as needing advice on how to portray themselves "correctly" as a female. No consideration is given to the fact that a male job seeker could also look 'inappropriate' for the job and it is assumed that only females would need guidance in this regard.

The regulation of the female appearance is normalised by the idea that they should be "comfortable" with their appearance. However, in essence, their lack of 'appropriateness' in presenting themselves is more likely to make others involved in the interview process feel uncomfortable; more specifically, men, as they would be the ones that would be distracted from objectivity by the appearance of the female.

The duty is placed on the female job seeker to take responsibility for other people's reactions to them, as it is unlikely that they would distract themselves by what they are wearing. Hence the female body becomes a place of contention and objectification, where the female is presented as an inappropriately sexualised object, who actively engages in behaviours that would be deemed inappropriate in the workplace, implying that women's choice of dress detracts from their skill and experience. This histrionic performance indicated in the text implies the generalisation that all women ascribe to particular ways of presenting themselves as objects to be looked upon by others, and thus 'others' women in the workplace scenario.

Additionally, women's sexuality is also inadvertently referred to in this extract, which begs the question as to why the authors thought this to be important for a career counselling chapter. Nowhere is men's attire presented as a sexualised object, but somehow women are positioned into either ascribing to this notion of femininity, which is also deemed highly

inappropriate or forced to take up the position that they are the more 'professional' woman, who does not choose to be a sex object, thus further creating this idea that other women are and can be these sexualised objects.

In extract 17, the theme of the comfortably dressed female interviewee is extended to the objectification of females through the consideration of make-up and the length and tightness of the skirt of the job seeker.

Extract 17

If you are female don't wear too much make-up and your skirts must not be too short or too tight. Don't wear anything which might make you feel uncomfortable or worried about your appearance. Remember this is a business meeting, not a fashion show. (Textbook B, p. 182)

Dominant discourses in society have constructed make-up as cosmetic and non-human, and females are even given tips as to how to apply make-up so that it appears that they are not wearing any make-up. Hence, the female job seeker is cautioned that although makeup is fitting for a gendered body, they should not wear too much make-up, as that makes others perceive them as false or fake, a quality unbecoming of a potential employee. The effect of this is that the female learner is not quite afforded the status of equal citizenship within the human race, since their body is still only viewed as an object.

Cautioning the female job seeker about the fit and length of their skirt immediately sexualises them in a position of a sex object. They are warned that they are encountering a business meeting and not a fashion show, positioning females as attention seeking and unable to discern for themselves what may or may not be appropriate in certain situations. The female form is constructed as needed to be hidden and not accentuated, so that they are able

to feel comfortable and not get distracted, when once again, in essence, it may be others that are distracted by their appearance. This extract strips the female of her individuality, objectifies her as a sex object and seeks to bring about conformity so that others are able to be objective in the interview process.

The above two extracts draw heavily on gender discrimination and are overt in nature. Extract 18 seeks to address the problem of gender discrimination in a more covert manner, but, at the same time, actually normalises and re-enforces it.

Extract 18

Sex discrimination significantly affects women with the ability to become senior managers, but are hindered by what is known as the "glass ceiling".

Here are some interesting figures (Botha, Marzahn. 7 June 2010. "Maak 'n krake in hierdie glasplafon" (Crack the glass ceiling"). In: *Die Burger*.):

Table 1 Women in employment	
Women as percentage of the adult population of South Africa	51.6%
Women as percentage of workforce	44.6%
The percentage of women on the boards of companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange	15.6% (improving slowly)
Women in executive management positions	19.3%
Women as directors	16.6%
Salaries earned by women	20% less than men

Instead of being intimidated by these figures, women should persist in breaking the glass ceiling by realising that it is a greater challenge in some places than others and

by being assertive, demanding their rights, acquiring the right skills and making

correct career decisions. (Textbook C, pp. 48-49)

The phenomenon known as the glass ceiling presented in extract 18 refers to the

invisible barrier that prevents women from rising to the highest ranks in the workplace as a

result of long-standing biases and prejudices against women. Although the above extract

presents statistics and facts, Hacking (1991) asserts that these form part of the modern

technology of power. These statistics could be viewed as mere information; however, the call

to action based on them and the implications that women are somewhat responsible for the

lack of representation in the workplace is clear. These statistics create a shock value that

only serves to further demotivate the female learner and contribute to the pitfalls of their

growth and development (Macleod, 2009).

In this extract, females are positioned as responsible for the eradication of the glass

ceiling, as if the very gender discrimination they should advocate against was somehow

created by them. A global problem that has existed since the 1970s is minimised to

something that can be fought and resolved by women IF they are able to be assertive, demand

their RIGHTS, have the needed skills and make 'correct' career decisions.

Women are objectified as unassertive, unaware of their rights and unable to attain the

skills and knowledge needed to be extremely successful in the workplace. They are

positioned as somehow responsible for the position they find themselves in and are expected

to fight against it, creating a false sense of agency, as a long-standing phenomenon, such as

the glass ceiling, is far more complex than the extract portrays it as.

Hence Foucault's (1991) theory of biopower becomes evident, as the female learners

begin to take up the position afforded to them, affecting their subjectivity regarding the rights

and duties of women in the workplace. The female learner exposed to this content can either buy into the position of less than or try to resist this position, providing a false sense of agency which may or may not materialise.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter sought to illustrate how the content of the career guidance sections of the Life Orientation textbooks draws on three main discourses, mainly the discourse of the objective self, the discourse of the neo-liberal self, and the discourse of the transitioning adolescent. These main discourses are supported by sub-discourses which reflect how the main discourses can be presented in varying ways, but still, bring about the effect of normalising the dominant discourses which are prevalent in institutions and society in general today.

In the concluding chapter, the overarching argument will be presented together with the implications for the learners consuming the content of these discourses. Recommendations from future research will also be presented in order to address the insufficiencies of the current careers topic in Life Orientation textbooks.

Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The final chapter presents a summary of the salient research findings presented in the preceding chapter. Firstly, it outlines the initial aims of the study and delivers the overarching research argument. It then provides a summary of the dominant discourses uncovered in the selected extracts and discusses how the subjects are positioned by these discourses, as well as the implications thereof. Thereafter, it provides conclusions that can be drawn from the research and offers recommendations for future studies. The chapter concludes with possible recommendations for future approaches to the policy and implementation of the careers section of Life Orientation textbooks.

5.2 Research aims and argument

This study sought to ascertain, by means of a Foucauldian discourse analysis, the social construction of career discourses in Life Orientation textbooks. Specifically, the analysis was guided by Willlig's six stage framework and focused on the discourses that emerged from the extracts and how these discourses positioned its subjects (learners), the action orientation of the positionings, as well as the consequential effect on the subjectivity of the learner regarding career choice decision-making.

According to the Department of Basic Education (2011), the careers topic seeks to provide learners with the competencies necessary to assist them in making well-versed choices about their subject selections and prospective careers, provide information about higher education and further opportunities, as well as prepare learners for their entrance into the workplace (DBE, 2011). These aims, specifically through the use of the word "equip", tend to imply that by the end of the delivery of the careers content, learners would indeed be able to make informed decisions. Additionally, it suggests that learners would have been

sufficiently empowered through the content and provided the agency to go out and make these important career decisions.

However, through the analysis of the selected extracts, it became evident that the learner was less likely to be empowered by the texts of the LO textbooks and more likely to be constrained/controlled by the power of discourses therein, exposing a disjuncture between the content of LO and the intended aims of the NCS. A summary of the dominant discourses that emerged follows below. Specific attention is given to what these dominant discourses were informed by, how the learners were positioned and the implications thereof.

5.3 Dominant discourses

Three dominant discourses emerged from the analysis, namely, the discourse of the objective self, the neoliberal self and the transitioning adolescent. These discourses were informed by various sub-discourses in both supporting and contradictory manners.

5.3.1 The objective self. The discourse of the objective self, informed by the sub-discourses of self-knowledge, the autonomous agent and the conformist originate from Western individualistic values (Akhurst & Liebenberg, 2009).

The discourse of self-knowledge is based on the traditional career guidance and counselling approaches that emerged from the Western world and is, therefore, rooted in a positivist philosophical stance, viewing empiricism and assessment as an important tool to gain self-knowledge. Although no formal assessment tools are used in the LO curriculum, the discourses rely heavily on the person-environment theories such as John Hollands', where getting to know one's self better will lead to some discoverable intrinsic truth, allowing the individual to align their career choice with that truth. This is a highly individualistic task and presents a disconnect with the South African context, as a one-size fits all brush is applied to the learners.

This discourse further positions the learners as self-responsible for their career choices and encourages the learners to get to know themselves better. However, these ideas are also contradicted at times, when the decision-making process is constructed as a naturally unfolding one. Hence, the learner becomes objectified as either mature and self-actualised or as immature and unable to make informed decisions.

The autonomous agent discourse originates from the ideas of career self-management, which is, by and large, a first world construct. This causes a misperception for the South African subject on two levels. Firstly, although the 21st century world of work is characterised by career self-management, Maree (2012) makes use of the word customised to describe this ideal; the socio-economic climate of South Africa does not allow for the integration of career self-management. Unemployment is too rife to even come close to that ideal; career survival is a more realistic one. Secondly, the objective self-discourse operates on the traditional approaches that are suited to the predictable work environments of the past, which hardly assists the learner to prepare for and navigate this career self-management in the ever changing world of work.

This discourse introduces innovation as the answer to the "massive" unemployment problem, which positions learners as independent agents with the resources and know how to operate on this level. Innovation is glamourised without providing any guidance or expansion on how to go about becoming innovative. Hence, this discourse removes institutional responsibility, ignores socio-economic conditions and calls on the learner to be both excellent at school (in a non-excellent system) and innovative to find employment (in an unemployment crisis).

As mentioned above, the sub-discourse of the conformist also originates from Western roots. This discourse positions learners as socially and culturally complaint beings

that are mouldable and adjustable, devoid of their own intrinsic values, morals and ethics. They are the ready-made-employee that must exist under a universal code that is unspoken, but exists. Here we see the lack of access to information operating from a governmentality and bio-power perspective, as the disciplining and regulation of the population occurs without direct or oppressive intervention. Power is operating here to regulate space and discipline the learners that take up those particular positions. The learner is stripped of his or her identity and coerced to conform to societal expectations through unwritten rules.

5.3.2 The neoliberal self. The term neoliberalism is connected to the economic liberalism that began in the 1970s and 1980s and emerged in Europe as a 19th century policy that promotes a minimal amount of government interference in the economic issues of individuals and society (Postma. 2015). It advocates that economic growth will lead to human progress through a free market system with limited state interference.

Neoliberalism is informed by the ideas of autonomy, innovation, high performance, and less reliance on government to achieve economic stability. A neoliberal discourse was present in various texts of the Life Orientation textbooks, supported by the sub-discourses of the individually responsible self and the entrepreneurial self.

The discourse of the individually responsible self is informed by the ideas of career self-management and self-reliance. In the texts, these ideas are constructed as essential for a successful career and responsibility is removed from the institutions of power. In some of the texts, the learners are positioned as being responsible for the large problem of youth unemployment in the country and are objectified as unskilled, lacking knowledge, money hungry, lazy and uncompetitive. Other texts position the learners as either hard workers who will produce success and job satisfaction, or lazy and, therefore, marginalised from these benefits.

Confusingly, some texts construct employment as a privilege and access to institutions of higher learning as the ultimate privilege and the key to a successful career. This is a direct contradiction to the very idea of neoliberalism, which promotes innovation as the beacon of hope for employment. It also contradicts previous texts that glamourize innovation as the solution to unemployment. Learners are positioned as almost delusional for having an expectation of employment after school, as well as possessing hopes for their lives that are just too high in general. They are, therefore, objectified as either elitist, if they have access to higher education, or the marginalised 'other,' if they are unable to attain this privilege.

The discourse of the individually responsible self reinforces the idea that learners are alone in their quest for employment and need to be committed to enjoy any benefits, but are somehow also responsible for the problem of youth unemployment in South Africa. Additionally, it reinforces the idea that employment and further study is a privilege, only accessible to an elite few. This discourse functions to completely remove any form of responsibility from the institutions of power, by seemingly opening up spaces of agency, as the learner is positioned as self-responsible. However, its effect is actually to close down spaces for action, as the learners who are not able to be innovative or access higher education (the majority), are left marginalised and labelled as almost delusional for expecting to have a future career.

The discourse of the entrepreneurial self is informed by the ideas of autonomy, innovation and high performance. In these texts, entrepreneurship is constructed as the latest trend that should be pursued in order to achieve a successful career and achieve economic stability. This discourse positions learners as already middle class citizens, with the resources, knowledge and know how to be innovative and self-starters. In reality, not all

individuals possess the skills of entrepreneurship, and with no formal guidance on how to become one, the learner is left in the dark.

This discourse objectifies learner as possessing skills and agency, suggesting an obligation to support the economy. However, the reality is that these discourses actually further marginalise the majority of learners, as they do not have legitimate access to become successful entrepreneurs, hence are powerless to creating their own careers.

Institutional powers are operating in these texts by calling on the technologies of self (the learner) to self-manage and self-start. However, legitimate access is not available to the majority of these learners and the texts actually function to remove any form of responsibility for providing jobs and opportunities to the learners themselves. Entrepreneurial ideas are produced by the powers that be and presented as universal truths. In reality, jobs in the informal sector are not abundant if the learner is not inclined to the entrepreneurial spirit.

Disciplinary power is exerted over the learners through the use of these discourses that objectify them as the very reason they cannot gain employment, or as not being self-responsible/ hardworking enough if they do not create their own jobs. Additionally, they also become irresponsible citizens that are not contributing to the betterment of the country. The subjective experience of the learner is then influenced to never question the status quo or their lack of opportunity, as they have come to believe that all responsibility is in their hands. Taking up these positions limits the learner's self-narratives regarding their agency in the job market and rights in society.

5.3.3 The transitioning adolescent. The discourse of the transitioning adolescent is informed by developmental theories that view adolescence as a period characterised by change and development physically, cognitively, socially, and emotionally, during the transition to adulthood (Corey, 2017). It is also informed by traditional career theories

originating from the Western world, namely, process theories, such as Donald Supers', that describe career choice and development as a process of developing and implementing a person's self-concept (Faheem, 2017). Hence, identity development is viewed as instrumental in this transitional process.

These discourses position learners, on the one hand, as capable of making informed career choices, but, on the other hand, as requiring self-actualization and a greater awareness of self in order to do so, hence not really mature enough to make choices. The sub-discourses of the maturing self, the reflective self and the gendered self inform this dominant discourse in the Life Orientation textbooks.

The maturing self discourse constructs career decision making as dependent on the level of maturity of the learner. It is informed by the objective self discourse, as a clear understanding of oneself is promoted as essential for making career decisions. Hence, these discourses appear to empower the learner, however, they actually position the learner as lacking agency by further constructing this process as exclusive to a select few, those that are able to know themselves and, therefore, have the freedom to choose.

A discourse of lack is inadvertently drawn on, as the majority of learners in South Africa will be faced with a lack of opportunity due to high youth unemployment rates. In order to deal with this problem of lack, the text reassures learners that this lack will somehow disappear when they are more mature and will know themselves better, further positioning the learner as immature and responsible for their lack of choice and opportunity.

The maturing self discourse is also informed by the idea of career indecision as a result of immaturity, bringing forth the dependence-independence struggle. Here, the learners are positioned, on the one hand, as the drivers of their own destiny and, on the other hand, as too immature to actually make informed career decisions. They are objectified as

the developmentally misplaced, existing in a system that requires more of them than they are physically, cognitively, socially, and emotionally theorised to possess.   The lack of responsibility or duty to assist the learner on the part of the institution is re-enforced and their subjective experience becomes one of fight or flight. They are called to make a choice either way, and surely it will not be the correct one, or they could just hold on and wait until they have reached the next developmental stage of their lives, rendering them further disenfranchised and powerless.

The discourse of the transitioning adolescent draws on a discourse of lifelong learning, further reinforcing the idea that learners lack the maturity to make career choices and be successful in the workplace. Lifelong learning is constructed as an essential element for on-going self-development, with growth and maturity being essential for reaching one's potential in life and, therefore, enjoying a successful career. This discourse positions the learners as both responsible for the attainment of success in life, but not able to attain it if they don't make use of lifelong learning. It also creates a contradiction by, firstly, promoting lifelong learning as the key to ongoing development, and then promoting maturity and development as allowing the learner to achieve their potential; further confusing the transitioning adolescent.

This rhetoric of the lifelong learner functions to move responsibility away from the institutions of power, as the learner is now expected to develop himself or herself in order to be successful. Previous texts constructing higher education as a privilege of the elite are all but forgotten, as lifelong learning is constructed as available to all and essential for growth and success. In South Africa, the minority still have more power and privilege than the majority; hence, the subjectivity of the majority of learners becomes further disenfranchisement from real growth and success.

The last sub-discourse, which informs the transitioning adolescent discourse, is the gendered self, emanating from mainstream psychological theories. Within this discourse, not only must the learner be faced with the dependence-independence struggle, but the female adolescent is further singled out. Gendered stereotypes are found in the texts, which seek to normalise gender expectations in the workplace. This reinforces the unequal status of women in the workplace and reproduces gender norms relating to the appearance, status and conduct of women occupying those spaces.

In the texts, the female body becomes a site of objectification and contestation by providing interview tips on how female learners should present their bodies. The female is presented as an inappropriately sexualised object by implying that women's choice of dress detracts from their skill and experience and, therefore, actively engaging in behaviours that would be seen as unsuitable in the workplace. Women's sexuality is also drawn on in the texts, something that seems misplaced in the careers section of the LO textbooks.

Female learners are positioned as either ascribing to the notion of femininity, which is also deemed as highly inappropriate, or forced to take up the position that they are the more professional woman who chooses not to be a sex object, further exacerbating the idea that other women are and can be sexualised objects. In other texts, gender discrimination is presented in a more covert manner by providing statistics relating to the representations of women in the workplace and calling on women to challenge sex discrimination in these spaces.

However, these texts position women as responsible for the creation and maintenance of gender discrimination by not fighting, challenging and eradicating them. They are further objectified as unassertive, unaware of their rights and unable to rise to the higher ranks of the workplace. The origins of gender discrimination in the workplace are hence reduced to

simplistic notions of the female not being 'male' enough to cut it, which subjugates the historical knowledge of the situation; knowledge that has been rejected by mainstream knowledge.

Disciplinary power is working within these discourses to bring about the regulation and normalisation of gender stereotypes and discrimination in the workplace, producing the next complaint generation of women about to enter the workforce. Foucault's theory of biopower and governmentality (1991) is useful to understand how the gendered discourse brings about the power needed to organise and regulate the space of women in the workplace, as well as discipline them through the conduct of conduct. The subjective experience of female learners becomes that of either taking up this future regulated position of less than male in the workplace or risking the possibility of being unemployable if they challenge it.

5.4 Implications of subject positionings

Three dominant discourses emerged through the analysis of the selected extracts in careers topic of Life Orientation textbooks. These discourses position the learner in complementary and contradictory ways, but the golden thread that emerges demonstrates that learners are less likely to be empowered by the texts of the LO textbooks but, instead, are more likely to be constrained/controlled by the power operating within the discourses.

The discourse of the objective self, supported by discourses of self-knowledge, autonomy and the conformist, contain individualistic notions of self and demonstrate a disconnect with the current context of the average South African. The self-knowledge discourse reinforces the Western ideas that the learners need only know themselves in order to find a good fit in the workplace. Contradicting this, the learners are also cautioned that they are probably not mature enough to know themselves at this point, which further disenfranchises the job seekers and renders them confused and powerless.

The autonomous agent discourse brings forth disengagement with the realities of the workplace in South Africa in the current times. Although it appears to provide a solution to the large problem of youth unemployment, it renders learners unprepared for the actual realities they will face once they enter the working world by not suitably preparing them for how to navigate and implement this solution. Learners are positioned as agentic but also blamed for any non-compliance if they are unable to create work for themselves and contribute to a better society for all.

The conformist discourse takes a blank slate view of future employees and, therefore, strips learners of their search for identity and self-knowledge, a direct contradiction to the self-knowledge discourse. It reinforces the idea that learners need to be something other than what they are in order to find employment and be successful in life. The implications of this are that the workspace is regulated and the learner is prepared to be a non-thinker that exists for institutions and society, essentially bringing about the conduct of conduct.

The dominant discourse of the neoliberal self is supported by the discourses of individual responsibility and entrepreneurship. The learner is encouraged to be self-reliant and self-managing in order to make a career for himself or herself. This idea reinforces the widening gap between those who have and those who don't, as most solutions provided by the authors are not accessible to the majority of South Africans. The subject is left to accept their dire circumstances if they cannot self-start, as they are reminded that they are alone and will not receive any assistance from the institutions. The accumulative effect of this is the further marginalisation of the average South African youth from the benefits of employment. The inequalities of the past are ignored and the current socio-economic climate is not taken into consideration. No legitimate access is provided to the learners, shutting them out from the means to employment.

The last dominant discourse, the transitioning adolescent is informed by the discourses of the maturing self and the gendered self. The maturing self re-enforces the idea that learners are immature and that only a select few, those who can access self-actualisation, will be capable of making informed career decisions. Unrealistic expectations are placed on the learner and no real assistance is provided to guide the learner to a suitable career path. Furthermore, the promotion of the idea of the lifelong learner further re-enforces the elitist notion of the LO textbooks, as this idea speaks to the haves and marginalises the have nots (the majority).

The gendered self brings forth further challenges for the transitioning adolescent, as gendered roles in the workplace are re-enforced in the texts, a direct contradiction to the promotion of equality as per the Constitution of South Africa. By normalising gender stereotypes and gender discrimination, the patriarchal nature of society is sustained. Female learners are positioned as agentic and able to challenge these problems once they enter the workplace, however, at the same time, they are blamed for non-compliance and the very emergence of phenomena like the glass ceiling. The female learner is forced to take up a position of subservience to the status quo of the workplace, or be vilified and left out of the means of access to employment if they decide to challenge it.

5.5 Contributions

Considering the current landscape of education and youth unemployment in South Africa, this study sought to review the careers topic of the Life Orientation textbooks used in Eastern Cape schools. For the learners, choosing a suitable career path is one of the most colossal tasks they will be faced with in the last few years of their high school careers. Additionally, the majority of South African learners have only had exposure to Life Orientation in assist them with this task (Maree, 2012; Maxwell, 2014; Pauw, Oosthuizen, &

van Der Westhuizen, 2008), as most learners that have passed Grade 12 do so without any form of career counselling (Maree, 2013; Sommerville & Maree, 2008).   Amid calls for a rethink of whether the theory and practice of life orientation is suitable and adequately aligned with South African and global developments (Maree, 2013), this study has contributed to the idea that there should, indeed, be a revision so that the majority of learners can be represented more equally and fairly.

Rather than challenge existing dominant discourses concerning career choices and the world of work, the LO careers curriculum further reproduces them. This begs the question of who exactly this curriculum is aimed at and, more perturbingly, who actually benefits from the delivery of it. The current focus of the careers topic is individualised and de-contextualised, which certainly does not achieve the intended aims of "equipping" learners to make informed career decisions and suitably prepare them for the workplace.

5.6 Recommendations

This study has found that rather than challenge the dominant discourses that have prevailed in career theory and practice, the LO careers topic further reinforces these discourses, which is contrary to the aims set out by the Department of Basic Education.

The content being delivered to learners represents outdated information that is not relevant to the socio-economic context of the majority of learners and the employment landscape in South Africa. Furthermore, this content is based on outdated epistemological approaches that emerged from the Western world and are no longer relevant to the 21st Century world of work or the realities of the majority of South African learners.

Hence, this study recommends a policy review of the Life Orientation curriculum related to career guidance and the policies of career guidance in schools in general, which appears to be insufficient for the challenges facing school leavers. Relevant content that

speaks to the realities and challenges of the average learner is critical for their career path

trajectories. This content should be based on a more realistic assessment of the world of

work in South Africa and provide tangible guidance for learners. Policy makers and

implementers should be cognisant of the past, present and future of career theory and practice

and provide content that is contextual and up-to-date.

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Life Orientation textbooks analysed

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Table 1: Overview of topics

Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Subjects, career fields and study choices: decision making skills.	Requirements for admission to higher education institutions.	Commitment to a decision taken: locate appropriate work or study opportunities in various sources.
Socio-economic factors.	Options for financial assistance for further studies.	Reasons for and impact of unemployment and innovative solutions to counteract unemployment.
Diversity of jobs.	Competencies, abilities and ethics required for a career.	Core elements of a job contract.
Opportunities within career fields.	Personal expectations in relation to job or career of interest.	Refinement of portfolio of plans for life after school.
Trends and demands in the job market.	Knowledge about self in relation to the demands of the world of work and socioeconomic conditions.	
The need for lifelong learning.		

Table 2: Data Set

Textbook	Grade	Pages	No. of Pages	Total
A	10	14-22	8	
		121-133	12	20
	11	44-67	23	
		172-190	18	41
	12	51-66	15	
		172-185	13	
		210-219	9	37
B	10	22-36	14	
		124-138	14	28
	11	24-37	13	
		138-156	18	31
	12	51-65	14	
		154-173	19	33
C	10	34-45	11	
		162-178	16	
		184-195	11	38
	11	32-41	9	
		170-191	21	28
	12	70-91	21	
		200-215	15	
		244-253	9	45
D	10	40-53	13	
		210-227	17	
		248-265	17	47
	11	44-55	11	
		215-237	22	33
	12	79-101	22	
		230-246	16	
		287-298	11	49
Total:				430

Appendix A: Confirmation of popular Life Orientation textbooks

Hidden Riches Trading 79 (Pty) Ltd

T/A

AFRICAN BOOK CONNECTION

P O Box 1729		*18 Chamberlain Road*
East London, 5200	*Co Reg: 2007/010374/07*	*Berea*
	Vat Reg: 4660240823	*East London*
Tel: 043-721 0841/1781		
Fax: 043-721 1469		

24 May 2017

Julie Horne
University of Fort Hare Masters in Psychology
EAST LONDON
5201

Dear Julie

We herewith list the following most popular Life Orientation Textbooks currently purchased:

1. Shuters Top Class Life Orientation Learner's Book
2. Oxford Successful Life Orientation Learner's Book
3. Via Afrika Life Orientation Learner's Book
4. Focus on Life Orientation Learner's Book

African Book Connection are sellers of textbooks to schools and to the general public through out the Eastern Cape.

Kind regards

CELESTE HUTCHINSON

Appendix B: Ethical clearance for desktop study

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence
Govan Mbeki Research & Development Centre
P/Bag X1314, Alice, 5700. E-mail: lmajovasongca@ufh.ac.za Tel & Fax: 040 602 2516

08 September 2017

Julie Du Toit
Psychology Department
University of Fort Hare
East London
South Africa

Dear Juliet,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your application for Ethical Clearance for your research project titled: *A critical analysis of career representations in life orientation textbooks used in Eastern Cape Schools.*

On behalf of the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) we have checked your proposal and would like to let you know that there is no need to issue an ethical clearance certificate. Even though in desktop research where secondary data is being reviewed that does not involve collecting data from humans and animals directly, researchers are strongly urged to observe good ethical conduct when using information by others (acknowledge sources and avoid plagiarism).

Yours,

Professor Lindelwa Majova-Songca
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