Career guidance in a Fiji-context

**Studie- och yrkesvägledning i Fijiansk kontext**

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Abstract

Due to globalization and migration people and their cultures spread worldwide and career-guiding practitioners have to be more culturally considerate when they meet people. Our studies made in Fiji shows that there is a gap between thoughts regarding estimated income, education and effort in a workplace and actual labour-market conditions. Educated and qualified Fijians look for work abroad when they can’t find employment at home. One way to understand and describe what happens when people make career decisions is to use career or decision-making theories, and a way to work with career decisions and ideas about work is to have guidance-interviews or group sessions. The aim of this paper is to present an example of how a recognized interview-model might be adapted for career guidance in a Fiji-context and what considerations that have to be made, through the explanations offered by a career theory, a decision-making theory and a guidance theory. Based on the life-story of a group of Fijians the result showed that the main considerations were regarding social structures and conceptions of time.

Keywords: Fiji · Career guidance · Interview-model · Decision-making · Career Theory
Preface

We would like to send very special thanks to all the people we met in Fiji (Bula Vinaka!), without their hospitality this study would not have been possible. Another special thank goes to our supervisor Leif Andergren who with his own experience of Fiji and of career guidance have guided us through theories and added many words of wisdom. Finally we want to thank SIDA and Malmö Högskola for the Minor Field Study scholarship that they granted us to support this study. There is no way to separate the workload of this paper, every meeting, question, theory, word and conclusion have been mulled with equal contribution and effort. In the end the personal gain from a journey like this is far greater than is possible to express within the limitations of a research paper.
# Table of contents

1. INTRODUCTION .............................................................................................................. 6  
   1.1. AIM AND OBJECTIVES .................................................................................. 7  
   1.2. DISPOSITION ................................................................................................. 7  

2. BACKGROUND ............................................................................................................... 8  
   2.1. Fiji .................................................................................................................. 8  
   2.2. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS ...................................................................... 10  
      2.2.1. Career theory and guidance ................................................................. 10  
      2.2.2. Fiji-context ......................................................................................... 11  

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ............................................................................................... 12  
   3.1. SOUTH PACIFIC SPECIFICS ...................................................................... 12  
   3.2. FIJI SPECIFIC’S ......................................................................................... 13  
   3.3. COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM .................................................. 14  
   3.4. SUMMARY .................................................................................................. 15  

4. THEORY ...................................................................................................................... 16  
   4.1. CAREERSHIP ............................................................................................... 16  
      4.1.1. Horizon for action .............................................................................. 17  
      4.1.2. Pragmatic rationalism ....................................................................... 18  
   4.2. SOCIO-DYNAMIC COUNSELLING ............................................................. 19  
   4.3. COGNITIVE INFORMATION PROCESSING MODEL ................................ 20  
   4.4. EGAN – THE SKILLED HELPER MODEL .................................................... 21  
   4.5. SUMMARY .................................................................................................. 21  

5. METHOD ...................................................................................................................... 23  
   5.1. CHOICE OF METHOD AND DISCUSSION ................................................. 23  
      5.1.1. Narrative theory and life-stories ......................................................... 23  
      5.1.2. Interviews ........................................................................................... 24  
      5.1.3. Observations ....................................................................................... 25  
      5.1.4. Discussion .......................................................................................... 26  
   5.2. SELECTION .................................................................................................... 26  
   5.3. THE COLLECTION OF DATA ..................................................................... 27  
      5.3.1. Interviews ........................................................................................... 27  
      5.3.2. Observations ....................................................................................... 28  
   5.4. ANALYSIS ..................................................................................................... 28  
   5.5. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY .................................................................... 29  
   5.6. ETHICAL APPROACH .................................................................................. 30  

6. RESULTS ...................................................................................................................... 31  
   6.1. POSSIBILITIES & LIMITATIONS ............................................................... 31  
   6.2. ATTITUDE & MOTIVATION ......................................................................... 33  
   6.3. SUPPORT NETWORK .................................................................................... 34
6.4. CHOICE & FUTURE .................................................................36
6.5. SUMMARY ........................................................................38

7. ANALYSIS .............................................................................39
  7.1. FIRST OBJECTIVE .................................................................39
    7.1.1. Opportunities & Limitations ........................................39
    7.1.2. Attitude & Motivation ..................................................41
    7.1.3. Support Network ...........................................................42
    7.1.4. Choice & Future .............................................................42
  7.2. SECOND OBJECTIVE ..........................................................43
    7.2.1. Create a Common Ground ...........................................44
    7.2.2. Stage I: Current picture ..............................................44
    7.2.3. Stage II: Preferred Picture ..........................................45
    7.2.4. Stage III: The Way Forward ........................................46
    7.2.5. The end of the meeting ...............................................47
  7.3. A FIJI SPECIFIC GUIDANCE MODEL .................................47

8. DISCUSSION ..........................................................................49
  8.1. DISCUSSION OF METHOD ................................................49
  8.2. DISCUSSION OF THEORY ...............................................50
  8.3. FINAL DISCUSSION ..........................................................51

REFERENCES .............................................................................52
1. Introduction

Career theories and the career-guiding practice are becoming increasingly important all over the world. It is sometimes used by leaders and politicians as a tool to organize human resources and thus become more efficient and competitive on the global market (Fretwell & Watts 2004). Although mainly developed and practiced in the west during recent centuries there has been an increase in theories emerging and being adapted to contexts and used by counsellors and guides in very different parts of the world. Peavy (2010) believes that the most important part of working as a counsellor or guide in different types of communities and environments is for them to be open and to have knowledge of the context they find themselves in. People are people everywhere but communities and structures are different. Due to globalization and migration people and their cultures spread world-wide and career-guiding practitioners have to be more culturally considerate when they meet people.

One place in the world where you find a mix of western structures, highly educated people and a context that is still influenced by traditional values is Fiji. Two studies made in Fiji (Cavu et al 2006 and Nilan et al 2006) shows the need for more career information within the education system that would lead to a youth that is better prepared for the future. They describe a situation where thoughts about careers and futures are still influenced by the colonial structures and not compatible with the present labour-market in Fiji. Cavu et al (2006) also mentions that career guidance, as organised in the west, where a professional guide will inform in schools, at career centres or hold individual interviews, barely exists for primary school students in Fiji. When Athanasou & Torrance (2002) describes the situation for career education within the South Pacific they lists some distinctive features and challenges to take into consideration when researching career development and career guidance in the region, such as the geographical situation or cultural values and the concepts of time.
1.1. Aim and objectives

Our aim is to present an example of how a recognized interview-model might be adapted for career guidance in a Fiji-context and what considerations that have to be made, using the explanations offered by a career theory, a decision-making theory and a guidance theory. To reach the aim we have worked along two objectives:

1. What explanations could a career theory, a decision-making theory and a guidance theory offer to the life-stories of a group of Fijians?

2. By using the stages of a recognized interview-model, what would have to be considered by a career guide who practices in a Fiji-context?

1.2. Disposition

In the next chapter (2) we will present some background information on the modern history of Fiji. This is followed by a chapter (3) about previous research on career-guidance and the influences on career development in the South Pacific. Chapter 4 describes the theoretical approaches and chapter 5 the method used for this study. In chapter 6 the result is presented using citations from the interviews. Chapter 8 is the analysis that is divided into two parts based on the objectives presented above. The final chapter is a discussion about the study and the parts that are presented in chapter 4, 5 and 6.
2. Background

2.1. Fiji

The republic of Fiji is an island nation positioned north-east of New Zealand. The country makes up of 330 islands where approximately 100 of them are inhabited. The two main islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, combined are as big as the county of Värmland. The capital Suva is situated on the eastern shore of Viti Levu. Half of the 868,406 (2011) residents live either in the cities or in the vicinity of cities. Fiji has been inhabited for more than 3000 years. It was first “discovered” by Tasman, and in the mid-18th century by James Cook. The country became renowned as “the cannibal islands” due to traditional warrior rituals where the victims from opposing tribes were dishonoured by being eaten. In the mid-19th century the Swedish adventurer Svensson showed the islanders how to use gunpowder and bullets. This fuelled an already escalating civil war. At this time some British settlers had sought the country to grow sugar and cotton. To protect the islands from an American invasion during the civil war chief Cakobau turned to the British for support. Together with chiefs from other parts of the nation they came to an agreement where the British would rule and protect, but the land would still be owned by the Fijian tribes. 1874 they joined the British Commonwealth and remained a crown-colony until 1970. Within the agreement the Fijians refused to be used as workforce on the plantations. To sustain the plantations the British contracted workers from India. Based on the agreement with the British the land is still owned by ethnic Fijians and cannot be sold.

When the system of contracting workers from India ended in 1916 many of the Indians choose to stay in Fiji and in the early 19th century the Indian population grew rapidly while the ethnic Fijian population decreased. During 1940-1980 the Indian population was the largest in the country. Divided in two, the ethnic Fijians and the Indians, the populations lived peacefully but fairly separated until the mid-1980s when relations deteriorated. Due to the growing tensions between the two groups the country have had four military coups during the last 25 years, the last one in 2006. After the first
coup many Indians migrated, mainly to Australia and New Zealand, and during the years since then the Indian population has decreased to 38% of the total. 2010 the government decided that ethnic Fijians are to be renamed iTaukei-Fijians and that all Fijian citizens are to be called Fijians despite ancestry. Formerly termed Fijian (ethnic Fijian) Indian-Fijian, Chinese-Fijian or British-Fijian are now all termed Fijians in their passports.

Traditionally the iTaukei have had tribal communities ruled by chiefs and lived in the countryside villages around the islands. The Indians have mainly stayed in and around the cities or leased land for farming from the iTaukei. The main religions in Fiji are Christianity and Hinduism. During early colonial times European missionaries spread Christianity to the previously ancestor-worshipping islanders. Fiji is a secular state but the church still hold great influence on the government as well as social life.

Since the last military coupe Fiji is run by Commodore Bainimarama and was once more excluded from the British Commonwealth. In 2009 the government abolished the country’s constitution but has, due to pressures from other countries and diplomatic efforts, created a new one that came into rule in 2013. The new constitution states that democratic elections will be held during 2014. An international group with representatives from the UN, European Union and the British Commonwealth has been created to help hold the elections. Due to the political situation Fiji has lost a lot of aid and relations to other nations. Many of the former contributors, such as the EU, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, have cut down on their aid since the last coupe. Instead China has compensated by increasing their aid and strengthens relations. Australia is still the biggest trading partner and investor. Sugar and textile are the most important exports but both have declined in the 21st century, growth is down and factories are regarded as being mismanaged and in bad conditions. Imports are higher than exports, leading to an increasing shortage in the trade balance. Despite being the most developed country in the South Pacific area a third of the population lives in poverty and only half has access to clean water.

Official unemployment in Fiji is 7%, unofficial sources estimates that 40% of the population is employed within the “unofficial block” meaning that working conditions have low security with low wages and non-negotiable conditions.

Schooling is not compulsory but the law guarantees that all kids are to have access to free education the first eight years. Primary school is six years and most kids enter school for this time, after that it’s possible to continue education for another seven
years. Schools are decentralized and are often run by religious groups. If the school receives financial support from the government it has an obligation to accept kids from all ethnic groups. Most classes are held in English but both iTaukei-Fijian and Hindi have become compulsory subjects since the new constitution.

There’s a big gap in educational-level between Indians and iTaukei. Indians generally have a higher level of education and efforts are being made to even out the gap between the two groups. With the big group of migrating Indians after the first coupe Fiji lost a lot of highly qualified people and this has in turn lead to a lack of professionals (e.g. qualified teachers). There are three universities in Fiji, University of South Pacific which was founded by 13 islands-nations in the South Pacific area in 1968, main campus is in Fiji’s capital Suva and smaller campuses are dispatched around the other nations. University of Fiji was founded in Lautoka in 2004 and in 2010 6 small universities united and founded Fiji National University.

2.2. Definition of concepts

2.2.1. Career theory and guidance

Career development theories, also known as career theories, describe how people make decisions regarding their careers based on elements such as gender, class, personality, educational possibilities or socio-economic status. We’re going to use the term career theory for this study.

Guidance theories are said to describe what happens in the actual meeting and interview between a guide and the person seeking guidance. Most guidance theories are based on disciplines such as psychology, sociology and pedagogy. Guidance models are often practical and refer to how guidance can be practiced. The models are not solely aiming at career guidance but to help and guide in all types of complex problem situations. However, guidance models are often used in career guidance situations.

Career guidance theories and models are often guidance theories and models specifically aiming at describing, explaining and helping in the situations when people find themselves in need of assistance regarding their careers. (Kidd 2006, Lovén 2000).

Research within the career development field uses the terms guidance, counselling
and advising equally when they talk about the practice of helping, assisting or leading a person with their career. In this study we will use the term career guidance to emphasize the supportive qualities and separate it from the, according to us, more therapeutic counselling or informative advising. Throughout this paper we will refer to the person who practices career guidance a guide, a part from those places where other theorists uses other terms.

2.2.2. Fiji-context

We have chosen to use the concept Fiji-context instead of just using Fiji to highlight that we’re not just referring to a defined entity but to a sense and coherence. Because a society’s context is variable and not constant in the way that nation borders can be.
3. Previous research

Scientific research regarding career guidance in Fiji is a relatively unexplored area. Research relevant to this study is mainly separated in two geographical regions, Oceania/South Pacific island nations (disregarding Australia and New Zealand) or Fiji. The studies are aimed at trying to identify factors that influence guidance and counselling within the cultures in this part of the world. The reason to why we have used research that describes therapeutic counselling is because of the similarities between guidance and counselling and the sometimes interlaced concepts and practices, both uses interviews as their main methods.

3.1. South Pacific Specifics

Athanasou & Torrance (2002) have created a provisional model of what factors influence career development and is created to be used for further research of career development and guidance in the South Pacific island nations. The model contain three main groups of factors, Educational factors (literacy, counting and number of years of schooling), Structural factors (ethnicity, gender, geography, economy and social status), and Individual factors (values, interests and abilities). The researchers shortly describe the relation between the two first groups.

Saleh (1996) have, after studying the Micronesian culture, described a number of culture specific factors that a therapist must be aware of to be able to work with both individual needs as well as meeting the developmental needs of the specific country they work in. Some of the factors are the same as Athanasou & Torrance’s (2002) Structural factors; geography, history, culture, economy, gender and environment. Also Saleh (1996) accentuate the importance of acknowledging the relation between these factors. Saleh (1996) then moves on to describe more cultural specific norms that are
important to comprehend regarding Family; who is part of the family and what positions are held by whom and in what hierarchy. Family is often what we call an extended family and does sometime include other, not blood-related, tribal members. Leadership; who has the right to lead and what is a suitable behaviour towards a leader. Status; social status and respect for elders, Collectivism and Individualism. Time; time is perceived as the present now and is not something that is worried about or quantified. Stier (2009) calls this way of perceiving time a polycron perception of time and the opposite a monocron perception of time. The polycrone perception of time is explained in cycles that are not entirely predictable, it encourages multitasking and situations are handled as they emerge; time in itself has no value. The monocron perception of time is explained as a measurable line that leads from one point to another, it encourages planning and scheduling, and time in itself is seen as something valuable.

Saleh (1996) emphasizes the importance for a therapist to go out for the predominate culture, to understand, respect and use the knowledge when they meet and work with clients.

3.2. Fiji Specific’s

Athanasou & Torrance (2002) describes that development in the social and economic field together with influences from the west has had an influence on the traditional system of chiefs and tribes that still reign and characterize Fiji. More people are moving to the cities and this creates a distance within families and tribes that earlier was tightly interweaved and dependent of each other both socially and economically. The traditional system of Keri Keri, where people who end up outside society will be collectively provided and cared for by the village or tribe, is seen as a demotivation to make money. This means that people who make money might have to distance themselves from their extended family and village to be able to afford and develop a career. Cavu et al (2006) recount that in some villages the kids that perform well in school will be assigned to continue to university. The idea is that the kid will go on to get a good job and help to support the rest of the villagers. Cavu et al (2006) has made a quantitative study of Fijian high school pupils plans for the future. The study concluded
that the pupils’ thoughts and ideas were strongly influenced by colonial status structures. Thoughts regarding estimated income, education and effort in a workplace in relation to actual labour-market conditions and school result were described as unrealistic. Kids are encouraged to train or study for professions or positions that have apparent high status rather than professions with a seemingly low status, such as plumbers or electricians. The researcher refers to an oblique position in the labour-market due to these status structures. Many of the apparent high status professions are within fields that are not expanding, such as the government or councils, leaving a lot of people unemployed. On the other side, companies with seemingly low status professions have a hard time finding qualified workers (Cavu et al 2006).

3.3. Collectivism and Individualism

Fiji is a collectivistic society where the extended family plays a great part in individual lives. Rao (2004) describes the Fijian collectivism as rigid and mean that Fijians will carry out what is expected from them socially and culturally before looking to their own interests. The concepts of collectivism and individualism aims to describe how people see themselves and their own role in regard to other people (Sawitri et al 2013). All people have both collective and individual tendencies, it is merely just a scale of what behaviour is most frequent and manifested. Societies are generally divided in to either one of the concepts, based on which tendency is the most frequent in the population. Meaning that people within a collectivistic society are more likely to behave along a collectivistic pattern but not excluding that people from individualistic societies can or will behave along similar patterns. In the sense of career and career development, people from a collectivistic society will firstly aim to please and to follow the career path that people around them think is most suitable. It is natural that the extended family has expectations and to fulfil these is a satisfactory goal. This is a natural case within individualistic societies too; parents are the most influential factor in young people’s career choice regardless of the orientation of the society. A person from an individualistic orientation might not see it as natural or have it as a goal to fulfil the family expectations but is rather expected to find their own path. Young people from
Collectivistic societies might experience a great deal of stress and develop a vague self-perception when they cannot live up to expectations. (Sawitri et al 2013). To a career guide this means that one has to be aware of what insight the person has in its society and what role it plays as well as considering the personal needs and self-perception.

3.4. Summary

Previous research shows that there are a number of factors that influence career development and which needs to be considered when working with guidance or counselling in the South Pacific. The main factors that need to be considered is the relation between the structural factors such as geography, economy and ethnicity and cultural factors regarding family, social status, collectivism and the perception of time.
4. Theory

To analyse the results and to help explain some of the career related influences and themes we will use the theories that will be presented in this chapter. The theories included are a career development theory, a guidance theory, decision-making model and an interview-model. The interview-model is the one that is referred to in the aim and will be used to answer the second objective.

4.1. Careership

In the modified version of Careership Hodkinson (2008) writes that while doing research his colleges and he established that:

1. Career decisions are not rationalistically systematic
2. Career development is, for most people, not linear and is strongly influenced by events, incidents and variables that cannot be affected or changed.

With this insight they started looking for a suitable theory but realized that most career theories focus on the individual as a unit and do not consider the structural factors surrounding. While other theories does the opposite and focus mainly on the structural factors surrounding the individual. Hodkinson and Sparks were looking for a theory that explained both the individual as well as the structural dimensions of careers. They couldn’t find a suitable career theory; instead they turned to Bourdieu’s concepts to be able to look at careers in an alternative way. With this as a background they created the Careership-theory that was published in 1997.

The Careership theory describes career choice and career development from three overlapping dimensions. Decisions are made along; the positions and dispositions an
individual has on the fields that they act on, what *the relations* are between the participants that operate on the fields where career choices are being made and *the on-going paths* where career development continuous over time.

To explain these dimensions Hodkinson (2008) uses the concepts; *Horizon for action, Pragmatic rationalism* and *Turning points*. Hodkinson (2008) says that he is most content with the research and work around the first two concepts; horizon for action and pragmatic rationalism, and it is those two that we have decided to use for this study.

4.1.1. Horizon for action

A fundamental thought in the Careership theory is that career choice and career development happen as an interaction between the individual and the fields they act on, career choice is thus tied to that individual's horizon for action. The horizon for action is influenced by the fields, what position the individual holds on the fields, what other fields are available for the individual and what disposition they holds.

Hodkinson (2008) makes the example of "employment" when he describes the concept of field. The field is made out as a social environment full of dynamic and complex powers that are unequal in its cooperation with one another, a cooperation between employers, education, local, regional, national and international labour-market, economy, social relations etc. An individual that are about to get employment will, when having started the employment, become part of the employment field.

Dispositions, habitus, are all the experiences and all the knowledge that an individual assembles during their life time. The way the world is perceived, understood and chosen to orientate in is all influenced by the individual's habitus. Hodkinson (2008) means that there is a restriction in where we find ourselves, what we are able to see, what we are able to know and that we are only capable of making decisions and develop within our horizon for action, what we can see as possible.
4.1.2. Pragmatic rationalism

When describing decision-making Hodkinson (2008) explains that it is the interaction between the individual's dispositions and positions on the fields that make up the horizon of action, this is also influencing the decision-making within the horizon of action. Hodkinson (2008) means that the general notion is that it is a feasible goal to make completely rational decisions and that these decisions are made solely by the individual itself. He also says that the general opinion seems to be that the quality of that decision is crucial to whether that individual will have a successful career or not.

During their early study (Hodkinson & Spark 1997) they saw that the young people they studied went through complex decision-making processes and would subsequently make partially rational decisions. Hodkinson & Spark (1997) chose to examine these decision-making processes more closely and came to a conclusion they call pragmatic rationalism. They could establish four main differences between pragmatic rationalism and the general notion of what they call technical rationalism.

The first difference is that decision-making is not only discursive and developed on a cognitive level but that decisions made regarding careers also are embodied. On a physical, practical and emotional level as well as the discursive and cognitive, in the way that is hard to describe or explain with words. Hodkinson (2008) uses one of his respondents as an example: David knows that he wants to work with farming. He can express a deep enthusiasm for farming despite poor working conditions, low wages and unsure future prospects; his interest was beyond rational argumentation.

The second difference was that all the decisions that were made by the people they (Hodkinson & Spark) studied were made based on imperfect information. Often based on information from what has been called hot sources, people close to the individual whom they trust and they regard trustworthy. None of the young people that were studied bothered to gather "perfect information" (Hodkinson 2008). They also noticed that many of the respondents only considered one alternative. When they considered the current alternative they didn't compare it to other alternatives or options, the consideration was only regarding if the alternative was good enough or not.

The third difference is that career-decision-making involves other people than just the individual who is making the decision. Many of the career-decisions were seemingly just a "lucky chance", a coincidence that involved other people than the individual.

In the end they saw that the quality of the first steps towards a working life was
depending on what position an individual holds on the field and what resources they have to dispose. To understand what a resource is Hodkinson (2008) uses Bourdieu's concept of capital. He identifies three different kinds of capital: economic, cultural and social. Hodkinson uses the same young man as in previous example when he describes resources and capital. David does not have a lot of economic capital and will not be able to buy his own farm. He does hold a lot of cultural capital in terms of extensive knowledge about farming and also what norms and rules that applies. He also holds some social capital in terms of contacts and people who work with farming that will give him employment.

Hodkinson (2008) adds, to his modified version of the Careership theory, that pragmatic rationalism is not a way to make decisions but rather a way to try and highlight how career-decisions are made.

The concepts from the Careership theory that we have mainly used for this study are horizon of action, field, habitus and pragmatic rationalism.

4.2. SocioDynamic Counselling

Vance Peavy (2010) have created a model for guidance that is based on his approach and attitude towards people, he calls it SocioDynamic Counselling. Peavy refers to guidance as counselling and in this chapter we will use the term counselling where Peavy has done the same.

Peavy (2010) wants us to see counselling as a learning process, a possibility and opportunity to experience and learn new things, broaden our perspectives and through that reach personal freedom. Peavy's basic idea is that people have a self, this self is constantly changeable and influenced by the social and cultural context where we find ourselves. The self is created by using stories, meanings and experiences while interacting with other people. This means that the self is constantly influenced, created and reevaluated through the surroundings and environment in which it acts. This perpetual change happens mainly through communication, like talking, listening, visualizing, writing and reading. Briefly what he is trying to say is; that we create ourselves by interacting with others and our perceptions and views will influence how
the meetings with others turn out. Peavy (2010) also describes what he call a *lifespace*, all people have their own lifespace that is created through social activities and includes everything that is influential in life at that moment.

The lifespace holds five blocks; world view, health, work & education, relations, leisure time, and they include various types of activities that will be of different importance to all people. These blocks with activities of unequal importance are what make an individual unique. Peavy's (2010) view is that it is important that counsellors respect the self that the person who seeks counselling chooses to present. It's not up to the counsellor to verify the truth or compare the self that is presented to societies' norms. He means that it's about meeting the person where they are and to create a common ground for counselling, based on where the person is and the self it chooses to present. The counsellor is not an expert but rather a fellow human.

The concepts from the SocioDynamic counselling model that we have mainly used in this study are *the self* and *lifespace*, we are also adapting his overall approach to fellow humans in guidance.

### 4.3. Cognitive information processing model

The cognitive information processing model (CIP; Peterson, Sampson, Reardon & Lenz in Patton & McMahon 2006) is a decision-making theory that aims to explain how decisions are made and what factors the decisions are based on. The model is mainly a practical model to be used in guidance contexts where the person seeking guidance has identified a *gap* between their present situation and a desirable situation. The CIP-model describes that a decision is based on two blocks of knowledge, one is *knowledge about oneself* and the other is *knowledge about the surrounding world*, the more you know about yourself and the surrounding world the better the quality of your decisions will be. The next part of the model is the CASVE-cycle (Communication, Analysis, Synthesis, Value and Execution); it describes how five skills are used to process information. The information is the identification of the gap and the process are the skills that are needed to go from identification to action for change. The last part of the model describes meta-cognition; what is finally needed to make a decision. Meta-
cognition is said to be thoughts of thinking, the way people are aware and think about their thinking. More precisely; the thoughts the individual, who is making the decision, have regarding the possible decision, which then determine if the decision will turn to action.

The concepts from the CIP-model that we have mainly used in this study are the blocks of knowledge, *knowledge about oneself* and *knowledge about the surrounding world.*

### 4.4. Egan – The Skilled Helper Model

To present an example of a model for career-guidance in a Fiji-context we have been inspired by *The Skilled Helper Model* created by Gerard Egan. The model, shortly described, consists of three stages:

- **Stage I: Current Picture**
- **Stage II: Preferred Picture**
- **Stage III: The Way Forward**

The first stage involves mapping out where the individual is at the moment and where they have been and have done previously. It is also of value to try and make them see more than before, meaning that they will get to know their situation better and also acquire new perspectives on it. The second stage means to identify what the individual needs to do to move on in the process and what they need to commit to the idea by realizing the need for change. The third stage is about finding strategies and then to create a plan of action.

We will mainly use the structure of the model for the analysis.

### 4.5. Summary
The theories used in this study are the career development theory Careership which
describes what influences the career development in individuals, the guidance theory of
SocioDynamic Counselling which mainly describes an approach to guidance, the CIP-
model describes how decisions are made and in the end we have presented a recognized
interview-model.
5. Method

In order to achieve our aims and find the answers to our objectives we have used a qualitative method, interviews and observations, onsite in Fiji. Leung (2008) describes qualitative method as a way to acquire a depth in the data that is collected and means that it is useful for research regarding career development in different contexts.

Qualitative methods are particularly meaningful as they would likely yield rich, comprehensive, and in-depth data that could lead to theory building and the development of indigenous conceptual frameworks. (p. 128)

Since we have chosen to study career development in a specific cultural context, different from our own, we decided to use a narrative method for our interviews, which focuses on life-stories. We have also made observations throughout our entire stay in Fiji; these have been noted down as memo notes.

5.1. Choice of method and discussion

5.1.1. Narrative theory and life-stories

Our interest in how people perceive their own career development lead us to the research methods of narrative research. Larsen (2009) writes about narrative method and as an example she uses “…stories about careers…” (p. 102). To deepen our knowledge about narrative research we have used Anna Johansson’s book “Narrative theory and analysis” (2005), this has also been an important base to the planning and interviewing part of the study.

Johansson (2005) separates narrative research by using two sociological approaches; methodological perspective and an ontological perspective. The author explains the differences between them by using what their perspective on stories are. With a methodological perspective the story is seen as one of many linguistic ways for people to express themselves. The ontological perspective sees the story as a knowledgebase.
To emanate from an ontological perspective means to suppose that social and personal identities are constructed as stories – they are of narrative nature. Johansson (2005) conform to the ontological perspective in her book but describes her approach as:

…using a wide definition of the concept of story, but at the same time finding it important that a clearer and narrower definition of the concept is used in more concrete and empirical studies. It means that I, in the same sweeping breath, can argue that “we are our stories” as well as defining a kind of story that I call “life-story”. (p 19)

For this study we have kept an ontological approach since it has been of interest for us to study what the respondents have said in their stories and not how it has been said. We have not put any value in laughs, hesitations, thoughtfulness or repetitions. As a part of the interest for peoples career development we have used Johansson’s (2005) definition and concept of a life-story, meaning that we have been wanting to hear the story a person chooses to tell about themselves. When using life-stories as a research method and for the material, the stories first gets divided into smaller parts that then grouped into themes which after that gets analysed. We have used this method for our respondents’ stories and have used a career theory, a guidance theory and a decision-making theory to help explain the themes that emerged.

5.1.2. Interviews
The reason for choosing a narrative method was an interest in what people chose to tell about them, when being asked about their life-story. What other people and what events would they highlight? We have been aware that the respondents might chose to hide or exaggerate things that they find of more or less importance although it has also meant that they have been free to construct the personal and social identity that they found appropriate in that meeting. Larsen (2009) describes the interview effect as the interview-method’s greatest shortcoming, meaning that the respondent is looking to give the “right” answer to the questions being asked. In our case there has also been a language barrier. The interviews have been held in English, a language that is neither our or the respondents native language. By asking our respondents to talk about their
life for 30 minutes, without our interruption or questioning (a silent interview-method inspired by Holstein & Gubrium in Johansson 2005), we have tried to avoid interpretations and misinterpretations of the questions that otherwise would have been asked. A semi-structured interview, with questions, might have given us answers that would have been easier to apply to the career theories and concepts that we knew of beforehand, but our main interest was to find out what the respondents themselves chose to tell about their career development. Since our aims with this study have been to present a model for guidance in a Fiji-context we have not had in mind to find a truth but rather variations. Guidance according to Peavy (2010) should be both culturally and individually adapted, based on this we have found it important and of value to study variations. Another factor that made us chose this interview-method was to try and avoid possible cultural codes or differences that we were unaware of. We realized that two months is a too short period of time to gain access and insight to a, previously fairly unknown, culture and its values and norms. For an outsider it is sometimes hard to see what goes on and is being said and done but not outspoken. To minimize the risks of having an interview-guide without culturally adapted questions, we chose to use the silent interview-method.

5.1.3. Observations
To add further depth we have chosen to present our own experiences and reflections from our time in Fiji. We consider us to have made what Larsen (2009) refers to as a passive participative observation since we have had no agenda in these situations but rather just noted events that took place. Shared events and reflections have been mulled over through discussions that have later on been noted down as memo notes. All events, meetings, interviews and experiences have been analysed together, to acquire depth and width for our study. We can’t disregard these experiences since they are at the basis of our conception of Fiji. They are also complementary or in some cases contradictory to the outcome of our interviews and will be presented in the result using examples from meeting with Locals.
5.1.4. Discussion

We are aware that our presence might have affected the observations, that we have noted and considered fairly passive, as well as our interviews. As white women in Fiji we stand out and are, consciously or unconsciously, judged and attached with certain attributes that raise more or less interest. The people that we talked to during our stay were all comfortable with speaking English and have had a certain interest in sharing their stories with us. They might not be representative for the average Fijian, but have no the less helped us in creating our conception of people and the country. We had this in mind during our stay and we do realize that the fact that we were in a new environment and different country for the entire study has had an influence on the outcome. It is impossible to turn off and walk away from the research which makes it harder to screen out what might be useful and what might not and at the same time all the new experiences add depth and understanding. We always tried to ask ourselves how we perceive and experience things in relation to our background, previous experiences and values. There’s no way for us go grasp how these have influenced our perception and conception. The idea have been to try and not point fingers or to make judgments of what is right or wrong and is something we hope permeate this study. During our stay we have tried to maintain an open mind and been careful about dismissing or passing judgments about things as right or wrong, good or bad.

5.2. Selection

Eight people, three men and five women, aged from 23-35, have been interviewed and are called respondents. We made a conscious decision to use young adults instead of teenagers after a couple of weeks in Fiji. We found that the teenagers who were in the middle of their education might not have the distance that might be needed to reflect on career choice. All but one of the respondents has studied or was studying at University. Those who had finished their education were working or looking for work. The respondents were from different ethnical backgrounds and we tried to make selections that resemble the demographical statistics regarding this, what Larsen (2009) calls a
quota sample. Since Fiji is mainly divided into two ethnic groups, iTaukei and Indian-Fijians, we made sure to hear life-stories from both groups and have also included an interview with a person from a different ethnic background than the two main groups. The division was as follows: 4 iTaukei, 3 Indian-Fijians and 1 with another South Pacific Island ancestry, all were Fijians. All respondents were at the time living in the capital Suva. To find our respondents we used the snowball-method (Larsen 2009). To use the snowball-method means to make use of existing networks and find respondents through known contacts. The risk by doing this is that the selection of people might be homogenized. In our case the main interest was to meet Fijians that had made some kind of career choice. At first our aim was to interview as many men as women but as women ourselves it has been easier to meet and connect with other women. After eight interviews we saw that the variation between men and women wasn’t distinct enough and decided to not interview two more men, just to fill up the quota. Johansson (2005) stresses that the most important element of the qualitative study is; to be able to do a thorough examination of the stories. In the end this means that the study will only describe the group that has been interviewed and cannot be used to generalize over a greater population.

5.3. The collection of data

5.3.1. Interviews

We have used what Johansson (2005) calls a semi-structured interview with our own version of an interview-guide. Our interview-guide consisted of a short introduction in which we described our study using a plain language, guidelines for the interview including the ethical approach, attendant questions and a final summarizing question.

To specify, we have started all the interviews by shortly explaining that we were interested in their career development and life-story starting from a time in their life that they could chose up until the time for the interview. The emphasis has been on influence and what the respondents consider having been the most influential to their career development and lives in general. The guidelines for the interview were that we, to put the life-story in focus with inspiration from Holstein & Gubrium (in Johansson
chose to be silent for 30 minutes. We explained that what mattered was their view and comprehension. During the interview the respondents were encouraged to draw or write as a support for the development of the story. We had prepared a number of attendant questions in those cases where we needed the respondent to elaborate regarding choice or important people, as these are influences that are often mentioned in career theories. Our final summarizing question was also inspired by Holstein & Gubrium (in Johansson 2005); “If your story was a book, what would be the name?” we felt that we wanted to end with a more easy-going summary.

The interviews were held separately, four interviews each, using the same interview-guide for all of them. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed by the person who held the interview. We transcribed what was said during the interview, commas were used by pause for breath and point where we considered the reasoning finished no alterations were made to grammar or language. The transcribed material was then cross-checked with the recordings and altered where needed. Both of us went through both the written and recorded material more than once. During that work we wrote comments and marked parts and citations that seemed relevant for the analysis. In the end copies were printed out to help our joint work with the material.

5.3.2. Observations
Larsen (2009) describes fieldwork as a kind of observation where the researcher observes what they find interesting in its natural context. During our time in Fiji when we met locals, were invited for dinners or had made appointments for meetings, we always noted down what we found interesting. In relation to our notes we made sure to discuss and reflect on the experiences and created a common understanding and relation to those.

5.4. Analysis

For the analysis we used a part of a model for narrative analysis that Johansson (2005) calls part-content. The analysis is made from themes that have emerged from the stories.
that have been examined. According to the author (Johansson 2005) it is the most used and best suited method for this kind of study. To identify themes we went through the transcriptions and used those comments, parts and citations that had been made while working with the material. The themes that emerged were:

Possibilities & Limitations,
Attitude & Motivation,
Support Network, and
Choice & Future

Reoccurring in all the results are Religion and Family. The four themes were then analysed using a career theory, a guidance theory and a decision-making theory.

5.5. Validity and reliability

Our research is difficult to measure and better suited for a hermeneutic approach. A hermeneutic approach means, according to Thurén (2010), to try and see more than simply just the logics and empirics:

This is where hermeneutics, the science of interpretation, comes in handy. It emanates from an important knowledge-base besides the observations made by the five senses and the logical analysis. It is recognition or empathy. Hermeneutics is about understanding and not just about apprehending something intellectually. (p. 94)

Johansson (2005) means that it is hard to do a transparent and repeatable study when interpretation is used as the key to the result. For a study like that it will be more important to be clear and describe; how the interpretation has been made, what the process of the study has looked like and how the material has been transcribed and worked with. According to this it is hard to reach a high level of validity but more important that the analysis is reliable. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiash & Zilber (in Johansson 2005, p. 316) says that it is about “…sharing your reflections and conclusions in a comprehensible way…” This study is thus just our way of interpreting and describing these life-stories.
5.6. Ethical approach

By each interview we have been careful to inform the respondents about the four ethical research principles (Vetenskapsrådet 2011). They were informed about the purpose, size of the study and how the material would be used when they were asked if they wanted to participate. We explained that they could discontinue and finish the interview or participation at any time. We told them that they would be anonymous, using a fictive name, and that it would be the two of us and our supervisor that would have access to the material. We have been very careful to handle transcriptions and printed material secretively during our journey. We have also tried to keep to the ethical guidelines as decided by the Swedish Guidance Association (Vägledarföreningen 2007) where profession, individuals and society are focal points. Since the study has been made while being in a different country we have seen it as an even more important view to have an ongoing discussion regarding ethical questions.
6. Results

The results from the interviews are presented by using citations from the respondents that are called Respondent 1-8. The results from the observations are made using a summary and an example from a meeting with a local that are called Local 1-4. To avoid using genders and to uphold anonymity towards the respondents we will use the plural versions of their, they and them when referring to them even if they are cited and discussed on their own in singular.

6.1. Possibilities & Limitations

The theme describes the picture the respondents have expressed and have been enhanced by our own apprehension of the country. Possibilities are expressed in terms of education and migration but the focal point have been on limitations and lack of possibilities in Fiji.

The interviews showed that the respondents have thoughts and dreams regarding careers but they also express that society has its inadequacies they feel limited and lack possibilities. Respondent 3 tells us about their process to apply for a visa and describes their present situation:

I know the situation in Fiji, I don’t know, this is me, I don’t think it’s going to improve in terms of the political situation, realistically, I am, just been reading the newspapers, various jobs on, there’s jobs on the newspaper but, honestly so I don’t think I can get a job, because we’re just flooded with qualified people now. We’re just, there’s heaps of qualified people walking around with no work or at home looking for work, degree holders even masters, people who’s got masters, still looking for work, so, in that sense too people just want to, people just want to migrate, people just want to leave, leave Fiji. (Respondent 3).

Respondent 6 sees great possibilities in the network of their family and church:
After graduation I was without job for a few months, four months. And then one of dads friends who was a businessman he owned a business and he needed some help, he needed people who did accounting so that was basically my first job. In Fiji family are very close, all our families. You will note. We know all our first cousins; we know who our second cousins are. We hang with them. It’s a big thing, like community. So probably family, and then you have friend, good friends, close friends. And then church, that is my support network. (Respondent 6).

Even if Respondent 5 shows great appreciation for the family and describes all the sacrifices made for them they see that the family sometimes might be a limitation. respondent 5 describes the limitations:

When I was young here in Suva. Primary was to get a job and give some money to my parents there. My brother was doing school, when he came and stayed with me, I had to pay his fees. And in that two, three years I never studied. I paid his fees, I paid his rent, I paid for his clothing, his fees. Everything. So there again I sacrificed, you know. Like if you do three years in USP [University of South Pacific], sometime even USP looks for job for you, you know. Then I could get a good job and could buy a place here, I mean land. I’d have been built a house already, by now I’d have had a property, I’d not have been renting. That’s how different. (Respondent 5).

Respondent 2 tells about their upbringing at an orphanage and explains their career choice by a limited view of the surrounding world:

I was like not motivated to go to university or higher studies I thought I was actually going to finish school and I was going to go and get into prostitution or something. Seriously, because there was no motivation I didn’t know people there were never any people to encourage me and the fact that the people that brought me up always thought that we were never going to excel. I would see home and school and home and school so really the only people I’ve been exposed to are my teachers so I thought I’d really follow the teaching field. (Respondent 2)

From our observations and meetings with locals during our stay in Fiji we have noticed overconfidence in education. The idea that higher education will automatically lead to a qualified job might create a limitation when there is no plan of how to use the education when it is finished. From the people that had a more flexible or entrepreneurial approach to work we didn’t perceive the same feeling of limitation on the labour-market. Local 1 saw that it was due to their own hard work and responsibility that they
hadn’t had a single day as unemployed in their 13 years of working-life. Local 1 hadn’t had any further education.

6.2. Attitude & Motivation

From the respondents a number of attitudes and motivations emerged that we find describe a view of careers that we have noticed in Fiji. One of the motivators that we found and that several of the respondents have expressed is *passion*, to have passion for the career that they want and a wish to feel pleasure in their everyday life. Respondent 7 expresses it like this:

I want to get a job, in the future, that when I wake up on Monday, I won’t have that attitude: oh damn it’s Monday, I have to go to school. I almost want every day when I wake up it will feel like a Saturday (Respondent 7).

Respondent 4 has a similar view and expresses it as follows:

…you want to do something that you get excited to wake up every day and just look forward, like, there might be stressful and the hours might be long but you enjoy it like, I’d rather do that then get paid a million dollars for something I hate doing. (Respondent 4).

Respondent 6 expresses their displeasure with their current work and explains how they wish to feel about it:

Right now my feeling is like I just want to get out. I just want to find something that I love to do. Wake up every day and just “Yahhh” Just feeling for work. (Respondent 6).

The attitudes to work differ between the respondents. Respondent 6 expresses a joy in working and earning their own money:

You know, working around the clock so it was sort of, like the person that I’d love to be. I love to earn my pay. I’m just not that kind of person that like, I don’t want to work. In the end of the day when I get paid I want to make sure that I have earned the pay and not just relax and get the paid kind a thing. (Respondent 6)
While Respondent 1 expresses the opposite:

I was a private student when I was in university, I didn’t want to be a scholarship, I didn’t want to do scholarship because, you know because when you’re on a scholarship you have to pay back the bond, you have to work. /.../ I got my degree, I’ve travelled. I guess now I am just waiting to find a job. But I am really enjoying where I am right now, I am not working, in the sense that when I see people all stressed up from work — that’s the reason why I am still not at work. Because you are stressed out you know. And then come Monday they’ll be fully complaining. (Respondent 1)

Another attitude towards work that we met was duty which Respondent 8 describes when they were asked what the most important thing in life is:

Work. You have to work to make a living, it’s the most important. I earn a living for five people and take care of the home. (Respondent 8)

Something that several of the respondents and other people that we met in Fiji expressed was that *everything happens for a reason*, despite religious beliefs there seems to be a trust in faith and a higher power or order. A kind of laidback or explanatory attitude that we found characterizes the society. Respondent 3 says:

I think when I look back in my life, I think I’ve, god’s like directed me somewhere else, so, yeah, I have just been praying about it, you know I have my plans, but yeah god will have his say so. (Respondent 3)

Our apprehension regarding attitudes and motivators in Fiji correspond with the extremities that our respondents expressed.

6.3. Support Network

The networks that the respondents have described includes mainly family and extended family but also church and friends. These networks work as support in different situations but also imply responsibility and social expectations. Family and relatives work as a safety and is something that the respondents use to identify themselves.
Respondent 6 expresses gratitude towards their social network:

In Fiji family are very close, all our families. You will notice. And then church, that is my support network. Nuclear family and then you have the extended family, like. I’m so close to my cousins, and like my mums sisters kids, brother’s kids. We just call each other sisters and brothers. It’s so common here. And then you have my grandparents, and then friends, friends from my childhood, from support networks and uni, neighbourhood friends, High school friends, and then the church. We have pastors to support. Like when I went through what I went through, I went to pastors to get counselling. I just needed counselling. To stand by my side, to encourage me, help me, call me, to see me, in times like that a phone call is just like a -Thank you for supporting me. So we have like pastors and teachers in the church and then we have just good friends like X and Y so this has been my support network. (Respondent 6)

Respondent 4 describes what it is like to grow up in a family where they have received support but explains that there is also a responsibility:

And we lived with our grandparents but we also, had a lot of influence from my mums brothers and sisters. My mother has four brothers and three sisters, so just having them around I didn’t feel like I lost my mum or I am so alone, you know, I know people when they hear that I didn’t grow up with my parents they’re like –Oh, that’s so sad. But it’s not, my aunties and uncles looked after me, the thing about culture, when bad things happen, they are always there, you know. It has its good and its’ bad, you have to pay for everything for relatives but on one hand when you know that when something’s wrong you can rely on someone then. (Respondent 4)

Social expectations from the family are explained with an example of how Respondent 5 and their brother have made sacrifices for each other:

…and then my father got a bit sick and my brother worked in Nadi, he went and joined and stayed in Lambasa. So if he had not gone I’d have to go and stay in Lambasa. So he have also. He could have done better in Nadi but you know he had a trade job and he could have done better in Nadi but. He has to go back there to Lambasa and stay there. That’s a very demanding job. But now I’m happy because of my sacrifices he got educated. And how he has paid back is that he has gone to Lambasa. If he hadn’t gone I would have but he chose to go and stay with my parents. (Respondent 5).

While telling their life-stories the respondents tended to label their families and used it to identify themselves:
We’re a family that travels a lot. (Respondent 1)

So I grew up in a family who knows God, so we are religious. (Respondent 7)

We have had a similar experience while meeting people all around Fiji, it is important to maintain the family’s legacy. Local 3 told us about the family land and property where they run a business together. Local 3 described their childhood on the property and the importance of carrying on the inheritance that their grandfather had left them. Local 3 and their siblings all saw it as their duty to make sure their kids got involved from an early age.

6.4. Choice & Future

The respondents often described the future with vague definitions, they were mostly expressed as a wish toward a different, better life. Several of the respondents considered and hoped for a life outside of Fiji.

Respondent 3 tells about their thought about the future:

So yeah, I’ve really thought about it you know, about going back to school again next year. Fingers crossed I can get to do something, but I have another option of going to the U.S. That’s where my parents are, they’re getting their, they’re getting their ... that’s one of my options because they’re getting their residency ... So, there’s an option of me going to the U.S. next year. (Respondent 3)

Also respondent 5 expresses their hopes of a different life:

In terms of sacrificing and in terms of why we came here and why not stayed in Lambasa.. it was education and money. We wanted to have good job with good money so we can help our parents, brothers and sisters. That’s why we want to go overseas.. (Respondent 5)

Respondent 8 describes the family’s thought about moving abroad:
We have plans to move from Fiji but the in-laws don’t want to. My husband's brothers live in New Zealand. They [the in-laws] are old and they want to live here. But it is not ok to leave our parents here and go. (Respondent 8)

When being asked about what they would do and how they would chose if they could remake some choices neither one could reflect over this. Respondent 6 thinks about it and then reason that they would probably do the same again, despite having expressed displeasure for their work earlier:

I think I would have probably. I would have gone for probably, I think I would have done a bit of economics instead of IT. I appreciate the IT, I still do, but I think I would have done some more economics. I probably would have just accepted life as it was, and studied harder in my accounting. (Respondent 6)

The choices that have been made have often been influenced by older relatives:

When I was in high school, I always wanted to be an accountant. But then now I’ve got experience. When I study, it will be easy for me. My uncle is an accountant and their daughters. They are both accountants. One is in New Zealand and one is here in Fiji, she’s working for. When I was young we always used to go to career fairs. There. They told us about accountancies and stuff. (Respondent 8)

Respondent 6 describes how their dad decided for them that they had to go to university and that the choice was made based on what their brother was studying:

So with dad he said -You will go to uni and I was -What am I going to do? And he was -Just do something -What can I do, I have no interest in going to uni. So I applied and my older brother was doing computer science so he told me -Ok, if you go I’ll help you. So I went to computer science and IT. (Respondent 6)

Our apprehension from meetings with people in Fiji is that there is a strong sense of living in the present and that they found it difficult to imagine both backwards and forwards in time. Our sense is that choices rarely are complicated by analysing over different options and outcomes, situations tend to get handled as they emerge. People have mainly been happy to talk about themselves and their lives and there were only a few times when people didn’t want to share their stories with us. People in Fiji are good story-tellers but they seem never to reflect over their own behaviour or put details into
different perspectives. Local 4 told us about how they lived in symbiosis with nature and received messages and recipes from God about herbal medicines that they could use to cure different complaints. In general we found that people had a quite uncritical approach to their stories and choice of subjects.

6.5. Summary

We found that people have thoughts and dreams regarding careers but they also express that society has its inadequacies that make our respondents feel limited and lack possibilities. During our visit we noticed a sense of overconfidence towards education. An overconfidence that might be seen as a possibility for a future career but turn into a limitation when there is no employment after university. One of the motivators for work that we found and that several of the respondents expressed was passion and a wish to feel joy and pleasure at the thought of work. Another strong motivator was explained as duty. Something that several of the respondents and other people that we met in Fiji expressed was that *everything happens for a reason*, a sort of explanatory view or belief in faith that seemed to run through all of society.

Family and relatives are important and work as a safety net as well as something that the respondents use to identify themselves and hold on to. While meeting people all around Fiji many explained the importance to maintain the family’s legacy and what it had meant to them. The future was often seen to with a wish for a different, better life. Several of the respondents considered and hoped for a life outside of Fiji.

Our apprehension from meetings with people in Fiji is that there is a strong sense of living in the present and that they found it difficult to imagine both backwards and forwards in time. Our sense is that choices rarely are complicated by analysing over different options and outcomes, situations tend to get handled as they emerge.
7. Analysis

The aim of this study is to present an example of how a recognized interview-model might be adapted for career guidance in a Fiji-context and what considerations that have to be made, using the explanations offered by a career theory, a decision-making theory and a guidance theory. To reach the aim we have worked along two objectives:

1. What explanations could a career theory, a decision-making theory and a guidance theory offer to the life-stories of a group of Fijians? (First objective)
2. By using the stages of a recognized interview-model, what would have to be considered by a career guide who practices in a Fiji-context? (Second objective)

These set base for this chapter which is thus divided into two parts. The first have been answered using the interviews and observations that were made and will be presented by using the same themes as in the result. The second is analysed using the results from the first objective and presented by using Egan's interview-model as a structure.

7.1. First objective

What explanations could a career theory, a decision-making theory and a guidance theory offer to the life-stories of a group of Fijians?

In this part we have used concepts from the career-, decision-making- and guidance theory to analyse the results of the study by using the themes that were identified: Opportunities & Limitations, Attitude & Motivation, Support Network and Choice & Future. By using the theories we have hoped to be able to explain and understand the stories.

7.1.1. Opportunities & Limitations

Respondent 6 describes their family and network as an opportunity both career-wise and for life in general. Hodkinson (2008) have by the concept Horizon of action described
that individuals will look at their situation differently dependent on what position they hold on the field they act on. Respondent 6 sees their position on the family-field as strength and as an opportunity for a better career while Respondent 5 describes the same field as a limitation. The sacrifices made for the family have been a hindrance for Respondent 5's opportunities to move on with their career. Respondent 5 can see and describe how life would have been different if the family had not expected the sacrifices men Respondent 5's habitus prevent them from acting differently which means that the horizon of action is limited. Respondent 6 does not reflect over how life might have been different and can't see beyond the family. In both cases the family is equal to their horizon of action and none of them can act independently of their family-field.

Respondent 2 explains that they, through limitations in childhood, were left in a position without any main capital, the habitus that was built up at the orphanage left a limited horizon of action. Respondent 2 acted and got an education within their horizon of action and have through that gained a greater capital and been able to position themselves on new fields.

Respondent 3 describes their limitation due to the political situation in Fiji. Within their horizon of action they see an opportunity in migrating and starting a life somewhere else. Despite the view of limitations in Fiji the respondent have chosen to stay in the country to look for work.

Our view of the general horizon of action in Fiji is that education is seen as the only way forward and that this is the only way for people to expand their capital and gain a greater position on the fields they act on. This is then limited by the societies structure (Athanasou & Torrence 2002). Local 1 was one of the exceptions we met; Local 1 described their situation where they had, independent from education, expanded their economical capital through hard work and gained a position within the field where they act.

Where entrepreneurial thinking and flexibility is part of the individuals' habitus we found that it is easier for them to access the field of the Fijian labour-market. When there is an alternative to create their own work within the horizon of action there also seems to be opportunities for work despite the society's structure.

To summarize: we found that the horizon of action in a Fiji-context includes family, thoughts of migration, frustration due to society's structure as well as an overconfidence in education. But in those cases where entrepreneurial thinking has been part of people’s habitus there have been more opportunities for career development.
7.1.2. Attitude & Motivation

Within the theme Attitude & Motivation we also see connections to the concept of horizon of action (Hodkinson 2008). Those respondents who expressed a wish to feel passion for their work might be limiting themselves regarding professions and work. If they, within their horizon of action, can't imagine working without feeling passion this might limit them in what kind of work they look for. We also see connections to the CIP-model (Peterson, Sampson, Reardon & Lenz in Patton & McMahon 2006) where knowledge about oneself and knowledge about the surrounding world is at the base for making decisions. Several of the respondents have never worked but still talk of the passion they wish to feel for it and compare the feeling to other activities that they have been engaged in (e.g. in school or church). Our experience of the attitude to work that we met in Fiji best corresponds to the views expressed by Respondent 1 and Respondent 8, on one hand a passivity and naivety but on the other hand a duty to support both family and extended family (Athanasou & Torrence 2002).

What Respondent 1 expresses shows little understanding of the situation that Respondent 8 expresses. Our interpretation of this is that there is a somewhat limited or naive apprehension of what it is like to work, that stems from a lack of knowledge about the surrounding world. This is also connected to what Cavu et al (2006) have concluded about high school kids having a distort idea of the labour-market and working conditions and that colonial structures still influence the choice of occupation rather than actual work opportunities.

The much-used expression *everything happens for a reason* we interpret as a way to avoid reflection and considerations on either self-perception or the surrounding world. To let faith control is one way to make decision but also a an explanation to hold on to when things don't turn out as planned, it is also a simple way to not have to make decisions.

To summarize: we found that there is a limited knowledge of the surrounding world which has an influence on the horizon of action and through that the view of careers and career development.
7.1.3. Support Network

The self that Peavy (2010) describes is created through interactions with other people, in this study the respondents describe how their support networks makes them who they are. Respondent 1 identifies their self as a travelling and exploring person which the respondent derive from their upbringing and the travelling that was made with the family as a child.

Several of the respondents express that family make up a great part of their life space (Peavy 2010) and are the main source of influence; family is also the main source for socializing. Rao (2004) describes the Fijian collectivistic culture as rigid and means that the social and cultural expectations will be carried out in first hand and personal interest in second. This is described by Respondent 4 and Respondent 5 who tells about the sacrifices that has been made for their support networks but also what they have gained from them.

To summarize: the respondents and Local 3 all stress the importance of their support networks and the importance to fit in and maintain the structure that the support networks have to offer. It's not possible to dispense with the functions that these structures constitute.

7.1.4. Choice & Future

The CIP-model (Peterson, Sampson, Reardon & Lenz in Patton & McMahon 2006) describes what happens in the decision-process and means that decisions are based on two blocks of knowledge, one about oneself and another about the surrounding world. These blocks are underlying all decisions that individuals take. Respondent 3, 5 and 8 express that a move abroad would improve their life considerably. They base this on the knowledge they have about their surrounding world, they have come to the conclusion after hearing about others that have moved abroad. This apprehension seem natural since there have been a steady stream of people that have migrated from Fiji since the mid-80s, mainly to Australia and New Zeeland but also to other parts of the world. We can also see a connection to the concept of horizon of action in this kind of reasoning.

Hodkinson (2008) uses the concept pragmatic rationality meaning that individuals make decisions based on a subjective logic. The respondents mainly describe that they have chosen education based on what they have seen older relatives work with, so
called *hot sources*. Respondent 6 chose as their (fortf plural?) brother and Respondent 8 as their uncle and his daughters. In similarity with Hodkinson & Spark's (1997) study the respondents seem to only consider one alternative and when doing so it is only to consider if it is good enough or not, they seldom compare it to other alternative and options. Neither have they reflected upon their own interest, values or preferences. When Respondent 6 got the question of what they would have done differently if they got to choose what to do at university at this time, they came to the conclusion that they would have chosen the same but would have been more motivated.

Our apprehension from meeting people all around Fiji is that there is a strong sense of living in the present and that they find it difficult to imagine both backwards and forwards in time. This apprehension is verified by Saleh's (1996) description of time where time is perceived as the present now and not something that is worried about or mulled over.

To summarize: we found that several Fijians see migrating or working temporarily abroad within their horizon of action. Hot sources are important when choosing professions or higher education. Fijians tend to live in the present and are unused to make plans for the future or analyse earlier events.

### 7.2. Second objective

By using the stages of a recognized interview-model, what would have to be considered by a career guide who practices in a Fiji-context?

In this part we have analysed the results from the previous part and in addition to our knowledge about career guidance and the context-based approach to guidance as introduced by Peavy (2010) we will present it by using Egan's interview-model as a structure. The model consists of three stages: *Stage I: Current Picture, Stage II: Preferred Picture, Stage III: The Way Forward*. By doing this we hope to highlight some of the considerations that need to be made by a career guide practising in a Fiji-context. The basic idea is that the stages might be used both in private interviews as well as in groups. The term *meeting* will be used to incorporate private interviews as well as group sessions and the individuals are termed *participants*. The person who leads the guidance is referred to as a *guide*. 

43
7.2.1. Create a Common Ground

In all interviewing situations, regardless if it is private interviews or group sessions, it is important that the main focus is on the participants and that they feel safe and secure. Peavy (2010) calls this to create a common ground, a common platform of trust where the following interview builds from. Since our result shows a great trust in faith, everything happens for a reason, it is important to contemplate and clarify the actual purpose and aim of the meeting early on. The respondents and locals tells us that they are used to groups sessions, in their social networks, but never mention a situation where they have had a private interview of any kind. Thus as a guide it is of importance to explain their role and how they can help to reach the aim. It might also be of importance to encourage the participant to discuss the content of the meeting with other people in their surroundings. Family and extended family work as safety nets as well as identification and need to be regarded as part of the meetings. The respondents mainly describe situations where they are part of a context with others rather than individual experiences. As a guide you have to consider that the participants are part of a social context with expectations and will act along these expectations. Peavy (2010) says that humans are humans regardless of the context but the art of guidance is to meet people where they are.

7.2.2. Stage I: Current picture

The first stage is about mapping out where the participant is at the moment and to open up for new perspectives. The respondents seem unused to reflecting and analysing over their life and past. By asking questions regarding their past story it opens up for the possibility to identify patterns in the story and to make use of them in the process. As a guide it will be of importance to ask questions and attendant questions. Even though the guide might hear, what they consider, an uncritical story there will be plenty of things to pick up on and consider important. In group sessions it might be useful to let the participants make use of each other by picking up on how they ask questions and the
meaning of asking questions. It might also be valuable at this stage to make them share how they perceive one another. Both respondents and locals define their own identity by using the family and their social networks. Even those that might find it hard to describe themselves and their story will talk of their support networks with ease. As a guide it will be useful to know how the participant identifies themselves through the support network and what positions they have in their groups, tribes, families, church etc. This might be a valuable key to get a fair picture of the participant. As an example; Respondent 7 describes them as being from a family that knows god, after having asked some attendant questions to that it turns out that the respondent has been in doubt and the doubt having had an impact on choices that were made. With respect for the society it might still be worthy to challenge some ideas, to ask many questions and to help the participants see patterns in their own or other participants’ stories.

By asking questions and attendant questions that leads to reflection while the story is being told is one way to help the participant gain new insights and perspectives. In a society like Fiji where the respondents as well as locals have expressed an inexperienced and somewhat naive attitude to careers it might be meaningful to challenge these attitudes. As an example: Respondent 3 blames their unemployment on the structures of society and the lack of work opportunities. Cavu et al (2006) shows that it is rather a distort view of working conditions and colonial structures that is the problem. With knowledge of the local labour-market a guide might be able to challenge Respondent 3’s attitudes by asking and showing where the jobs are and at the same time create a curiosity regarding other jobs that are not the jobs that Cavu et al (2006) refer to as white collar jobs and are, by many, seen as the only alternative. In a group session this attitude might be highlighted even more and discussed based on all the different experiences that the participants have. This requires a good knowledge of the local labour-market as well as an ability to include all the participants.

7.2.3. Stage II: Preferred Picture

The next stage in the model is about identifying what needs doing for the participants to move on in the process and to start to commit to the idea of changing. In this step it might be preferred if the participant gets the opportunity to widen their horizon of action (Hodkinson 2008). This might expand possible options and create a sense of
commitment. As a guide it is important to encourage reflection, to challenge and to create curiosity. As a result of this the participants are exposed to new opportunities and ways to formulate alternatives. Opportunities and alternatives that need to be thoroughly worked with and adapted by the participant, to be able to evaluate them and compare them and discuss pros and cons. As an example: Respondent 2 saw only one option for work due to a lack of exposure to different occupations. With career guidance Respondent 2 could have been encouraged to seek knowledge about other occupations and at the same time widen the horizon of action. What is important at this stage is to consider that it is not just the participants’ wishes that need to be aired and talked about. The family and support network might have expectations that the participant wants to follow, just as Sawitri et al (2013) describes how collectivism influences career decisions.

The result shows that there is a certain lack in knowledge about oneself and the surrounding world, which leads the respondents to express a level of resignation and a wish for a different life. We can see that there are many opportunities and ways for career guidance to develop in Fiji. This could eventually lead to a better self-perception and in the long run greater satisfaction. Indirect this might also lead to more work opportunities and motivate people with a higher education and qualifications to remain in Fiji and help develop it further.

7.2.4. Stage III: The Way Forward

The final stage is about finding strategies, choosing one of them and then create a plan of action. The result from the study showed that the respondents found it difficult to reflect on previous decisions and how they had led to where they are today. As an example; several of the respondents expressed a feeling of surprise when they were expected to make decisions that regarded their future. Previous decisions were often described as spontaneous and unplanned. On the other hand, those who described that they had a plan for the future also seemed to have a greater sense of reflection. As a career guide in Fiji it is important to be aware that several of the participants will have a polycron conception of time (Stier 2009) which limits the possibilities to make plans for the future in the long run. It is not optimal to work out of a monocron conception of time but rather open up and try to find ways that suit the participants. Ways to work
with this could be to discuss how time is perceived visually (e.g. by drawing or using images). It would also be valuable to discuss what consequences a decision might have. This might lead to a higher quality and confidence in decision-making as well as a plan that is made based on the conditions that prevail in Fiji.

7.2.5. The end of the meeting
In all meetings it is of importance to bring together the different elements and parts that have been discussed. This could be made by using summaries, both by the guide as well as the participants. As a guide it might be useful to ask the participants what they bring along from the meeting and encourage the participants to discuss their new insights with people in their surroundings. In a collective context approval from family and support networks is needed to make decisions (Sawitri et al 2013).

7.3. A Fiji specific guidance model

We can see that there are many opportunities and ways for career guidance to develop in Fiji. To practice career guidance in a Fiji context requires a great deal of knowledge and insight in the society and communities. The main considerations to make are to the social structures that the society is based on and the conception of time.

Since several of the respondents as well as locals express an experience in sharing within a group, a group-session might be of preference where they might also gain experience and knowledge from the other participants. An effective way might be to create groups made up of participants that are not used to sharing with each other. None of the respondents seems to be used to private interviews although most people are happy to share their life-stories. We believe that the private interview will have different qualities from the group session by being a way to focus more on the wish of the individual and creating a commitment that comes from within.

The result shows that there is a certain lack in knowledge about oneself and the surrounding world, which leads the respondents to express a level of resignation and a wish for a different life. By working with the two blocks of knowledge that the CIP-

47
model describes this could eventually lead to a better self-perception and in the long run greater satisfaction. Indirect this might also lead to more work opportunities and motivate people with a higher education and qualifications to remain in Fiji and help develop it further. The over-all sense is that career guidance could be a great way to work with people in Fiji.
8. Discussion

The results and analysis indicate that the horizon of action is limited by family and the social structures of society but that people also wish to fulfil the expectations that are set on them. They trust the people around them especially the so-called hot sources and career development is dependent on the social context the people find themselves in. There is a limited knowledge about the surrounding world and overconfidence to higher education. The opportunity to migrate is seen as a promising way out of unemployment and towards a different life. Planning for the future is generally obstructed by the prevailing conception of time.

With these results we have presented an example of how an interview-model might be adapted and used for career guidance in a Fiji-context. As a career guide anywhere in the world it is important to have knowledge and insight in the society and communities. What we found that mainly needed to be considered in Fiji are the social structures and the conception of time. This overlaps well with previous research (Cavu et al. 2006, Sawitri et al. 2013, Stier 2009, Saleh 1996, Athanasou & Torrence 2002) where the family, the collectivism, the conception of time and structural factors are pointed out as main influences on career development.

A little too late we acknowledged the spirituality that shows in expressions like *everything happens for a reason* and the strong religious belief. This is an interesting aspect and would need to be analysed with a different theoretical approach. We think that the Chaos Theory of Careers (Pryor & Bright 2011) would have given an interesting view to this aspect and would be something we would want to highlight and analyse more if there had been time.

8.1. Discussion of method

Since we used the snowball-method to find our respondents the selection turned out to be relatively homogenised with educated people living in the capital. The result is an effect of this and would probably be different if we had had a wider selection. Although we believe the result reflects that group fairly well and that a different selection would
probably point in a similar direction. The main difference might have been factors that influence people living in the countryside from the ones that live in the cities and due to this some more culture specific factors. For this kind of study, which needs room for interpretation and space for the respondents to tell their stories, we find a qualitative method most suited.

8.2. Discussion of theory

While working with the study we have sometimes lacked concepts that describe how people make decisions and plans with a polycron conception of time. We found the concept of pragmatic rationalism the best suited but still not enough to explain how this conception of time influence choice-making, both past and in the present. The theories that we have used have mostly been applicable on a Fiji-context but we have sometimes wished for a theory that describes career development and career decision-making from a different perspective than the individual one. We would have been happy to use a theory that is based on the collectivistic view and not applied to it. It would have been interesting to see what the analysis might have looked like and what the main differences to our outcome today would have been.

We are also aware that there are other career theories that might have been better suited but we decided to stick to the framework we had created. An example of this, as mentioned earlier, we think the Chaos Theory of Careers (Pryor & Bright 2011) would have given a different outcome to the analysis and would be worth looking at in a future study.

We would also like to point out the limitations that our past experiences, values and knowledge create. This study and the results are based on the way we perceive the world and what we know about guidance. A similar study made by Fijians would probably have had a different outcome.
8.3. Final discussion

During the time with this study we have often discussed post-colonial status of Fiji and how that has affected the prevailing attitudes towards work. Our apprehension is that Fiji has got stuck between the modern and the traditional and the gaps between cities and country side is a good example of this. It is a developing country with a lot of potential but the Fijians can’t always maintain their development and falls back again (e.g. many competent and qualified people move abroad to find work). Fijians are proud of their nation and most of them wish to be able to remain there but they express a frustration over not being able to find an occupation or develop a career. There seem to be a sense of hopelessness about not having the tools to move on. And we have often wondered how the constant aids from other countries affect everyday life in the long run and how the conception of time influence political decisions and national plans for the future. There are many options for further studies within this field in both theoretical and practical ways. We wish that we could have had more time and space to develop some of the ideas we came across along the way.
References


