Perceptions of the Future on St. Lucia’s Labour Market
- Eight female and male C.A.R.E.-trainees’ perceptions of future career possibilities

Louise Ingemansson
Abstract

In the Caribbean, the structures of the countries’ labour markets and a lack of relevant skills or experience are some of the mentioned causes of unemployment among young adults. At the Centre for Adolescent and Renewal Education (C.A.R.E.) in St. Lucia, the trainees aim is, by learning a practical skill, not to become part of the country’s unemployment rate. The purpose with this study is to examine eight C.A.R.E.-trainees’ perceptions of their future and what capitals they find important for personal and career possibilities. The purpose is also to study if there are differences or similarities between the male and female trainees’ perception of the labour market in St. Lucia. The study is built on three questions; “What kind of career goals do the trainees have?” “What capitals do the trainees view as important for future career possibilities?” and “What differences and similarities are there between the female and the male trainees’ perception of St. Lucia’s labour market?”. The study is built on a qualitative method, based on eight participants, four female and four men aged 18 to 21. The result shows that the majority have a career goal common to their gender and that they think it is important to have good personal characteristics and a skill for future career possibilities. Their similar perception of St. Lucia’s labour market is that it is rough, that it is hard to get a job. The male trainees had a more macro-levelled perspective since they talked about how important it is to have a social and symbolic capital in St. Lucia’s labour market, while the female trainees discussed the meaning of the job-interview. The trainees’ negative perception of St. Lucia has made them, especially the male trainees, want to move to another country.

Keywords: Young Adults, St. Lucia, Labour Market, Career, Perception
Preface

Firstly, I would like to send a special thanks to the people at C.A.R.E. who were involved in the study; the eight trainees who shared their perceptions and thoughts of their future and Dr. Karleen A. Mason; C.A.R.E.’s Executive Director. Without her approval for me to come to St. Lucia and implement my study at C.A.R.E., this adventure would never have happened. I also want to thank the Coordinators at the C.A.R.E.- centres in Anse La Raye and Odsan for finding me trainees willing to participate in the study.

Secondly, I want to thank SIDA and Malmoe University for the MFS-scholarship giving me the chance to travel to a developing country and learn so much about myself and the culture of St. Lucia.

Thirdly, I would like to thank my tutor Frida Wikstrand for taking her time to share her wisdom and guidance throughout the creation of the essay.
# Table of Content

1. **Introduction** ......................................................................................................................... 7  
   1.1. Purpose and Questions ................................................................................................. 8  
   1.2. Disposition .................................................................................................................... 8  

2. **Background** .......................................................................................................................... 9  
   2.1. St. Lucia .......................................................................................................................... 9  
   2.2. HDR and Education in St. Lucia .................................................................................... 9  
   2.3. St. Lucia’s Labour Market ............................................................................................ 10  
   2.4. The Centre for Adolescent Renewal and Education (C.A.R.E.) ................................. 11  

3. **Earlier Research** .................................................................................................................. 12  
   3.1. The Definition of Career and Livelihood ..................................................................... 12  
   3.2. Career and Goal Management Among Young Adults .................................................. 14  
   3.3. Young Adults’ Perception of Career ............................................................................. 15  
   3.4. Summary ....................................................................................................................... 18  

4. **Theory** .................................................................................................................................. 19  
   4.1. Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice ..................................................................................... 19  
      4.1.1. Capital .................................................................................................................... 19  
      4.1.2. Social Field ........................................................................................................... 21  
      4.1.3. Habitus .................................................................................................................. 21  
   4.2. Respectability .................................................................................................................. 22  
   4.3. Summary ....................................................................................................................... 24  

5. **Method** .................................................................................................................................. 25  
   5.1. Method of Choice ........................................................................................................... 25
5.2. Selection of Respondents ................................................................. 26
5.3. Data Collection .................................................................................. 27
  5.3.1. Reliability and Validity ............................................................... 27
5.4. Analysis ............................................................................................. 28
5.5. Ethical Standpoint ............................................................................. 29

6. Result and Analysis ............................................................................. 30
  6.1. What Kind of Career Goals do the Trainees Have? .................... 30
  6.2. What Capitals do the Trainees View as Important for Future Career Possibilities? .................. 34
  6.3. What Differences and Similarities are There Between the Female and the Male Trainees’ Perception of St. Lucia’s Labour Market? ................................................................. 36
  6.4. Summary ......................................................................................... 40

7. Discussion ............................................................................................. 42
  7.1. Discussion of Result ........................................................................ 42
  7.2. Discussion of Method ...................................................................... 45
  7.3. Discussion of Theory ...................................................................... 46
  7.4. Proposal for Further Research .......................................................... 46

8. Reference list ........................................................................................ 47

9. Annex .................................................................................................... 52
  9.1 Interview Guide ................................................................................. 52
1. Introduction

For many young adults, leaving their educational-life behind for the labour market is an exciting journey. It is a proof of adulthood; that they can take care of themselves and having an income. Unfortunately, many young adults do not experience this journey, but instead go from education to unemployment. Being unemployed can lead to mental health consequences and poor self-esteem (Paul and Moser, 2008, 264).

In the Caribbean, the unemployment rate was almost 25% in 2015 (CDB, 2015, xv). Some of the mentioned causes for unemployment among youths in the Caribbean are the countries’ structure of labour market as well as lack of relevant skills or experience among the individuals (CDB, 2015, xvi). These causes have potential consequences such as individuals living in poverty, unattractiveness to potential employers and loss of possible savings. A detrimental result of this might be a brain-drain in the countries, since the move of skilled workers decreases the productivity of the country of origin, thus the income per capita (Khachani, 2010, 69). Another problem is the higher unemployment rate among young women than among the young men in St. Lucia (Bellony & Reilly, 2009, 115). According to Bimrose (2008, 375), women in developing countries are largely denied access to the formal labour market and they do not have the same opportunities as men when it comes to higher employment, administrative or managerial occupations and earning increases. These consequences are reasons why guidance counsellor are important, since their professional knowledge can increase people’s chance of getting employed.

When employed, the young adults contribute to the society through goods and services, so when being unemployed they obstruct the long-term growth of an economy (CDB, 2015, 42). One programme in St. Lucia that aims to keep their country’s youth out of unemployment, thus give them the chance for a better life is C.A.R.E., where the trainees learn a practical working skill. Therefore, I became interested in studying eight of the C.A.R.E.-trainees career goals, what skills they think are important for future career possibilities, their perception of the labour market in St. Lucia and if there are any gender differences regarding their perceptions of career and the labour market.
1.1. Purpose and Questions

The purpose with this study is to examine eight C.A.R.E.-trainees’ perceptions of their future and what capitals they find important for personal and career possibilities. The purpose is also to study if there are any differences or similarities between the male and female trainees’ perceptions of the labour market in St. Lucia.

With the problem area and purpose in mind, the following questions, which all are based on the eight trainees’ perceptions, are as follows:

- What kind of career goals do the trainees have?
- What capitals do the trainees view as important for future career possibilities?
- What differences and similarities are there between the female and the male trainees’ perception of St. Lucia’s labour market?

1.2. Disposition

Chapter 2 contains a background presenting St. Lucia, where the study was implemented, the country’s educational-system as well as a description of C.A.R.E.; the centre the respondents of the study attend. Lastly, the background contains information about St. Lucia’s labour market. In Chapter 3, earlier research is brought up, focusing on the definition of career and livelihood, young adults’ career and goal management as well as their perception of career. Chapter 4 presents Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice and Skeggs’ (1999) definition of respectability, and how these will be used to analyse the result of the collected data. The choice of a qualitative method as well as a presentation of the selected respondents and ethical standpoints are treated in chapter 5. The result and analysis of the respondents’ interviews is presented in chapter 6, thematised after the study’s three questions. Lastly, a discussion of the study’s result, method and theory, and a proposition for further research are presented in chapter 7.
2. Background

The aim of the background is to bring up information that may be of help to the reader throughout the reading process. In the background, there will be a short presentation of St. Lucia as a country, what its labour market and education-system look like, as well as a description of C.A.R.E, the centre the respondents attend.

2.1. St. Lucia

St. Lucia is a small island located in the Caribbean with approximately 185,000 residents (Landguiden, 2015). In 1979, St. Lucia went from being a British colony to gaining independence. The first language is English, but many also speak Creole. Over 90 percent of the population has African heritage, from the period when Europeans overtook the island and brought slaves. Christianity is the predominant religion, a majority of the population part of the Roman-Catholic church. (ibid.)

2.2. HDR and Education in St. Lucia

St. Lucia’s educational system has three levels; the primary, secondary and tertiary level, the latter preparing the students who enter the workforce (Scotland, 2004, 356). The educational system creates a large amount of primary educated workers to a labour market that requires a higher level of human capital than what the students have. This mismatch of skills leads to consequences, among them high youth unemployment. (Bellony and Reilly, 2009, 120).
The government of St. Lucia considers Human Resource Development (HRD) and education key strategies for economic and social development (Scotland, 2004, 355). HRD is described as a way of helping employees develop both personal and organizational skills, knowledge and abilities through, for example, employee training, career development and performance management (Heathfield, 2016). HRD and the education system can lead to unemployment and poverty reduction, which may increase St. Lucia’s economic competitiveness (Scotland, 2004, 355).

2.3. St. Lucia’s Labour Market

In the beginning of 2000, St. Lucia went from an agrarian-based economy to a service-based economy, dominated by tourism as well as offshore financial services (Bellony and Reilly, 2009, 112). One underlying cause was increased international competition on the trade market, which lead to an elimination of the main export of bananas to the European Union markets (2009, 114). The country’s vulnerability to climate changes and natural disasters also makes the agricultural economy unstable (CDB, 2015, 5). This resulted in increasing overall unemployment rates, rising from 15 percent in 1996 to 20 percent in 2004. Since possibilities within the agricultural sector have diminished, it is less appealing to the young workers in St. Lucia (Bellony and Reilly, 2009, 116).

The Eastern and Southern Caribbean Youth Assessment (2013) states that “[...] it is clear that the most influential societal systems—economic, social support, and educational—are not meeting the needs of Caribbean youth (Social Impact Inc. 2013, iii, referred in CDB, 2015, 24). Unemployment rates among young adults in St. Lucia point to a mismatch between the skills required by possible employers and the skills the young adults practice in the formal education system (Bellony and Reilly, 2009, 116).
2.4. The Centre for Adolescent Renewal and Education (C.A.R.E.)

C.A.R.E. is a voluntary organization that strives to help young people who have dropped out of the educational system in St. Lucia (C.A.R.E., 2009). Their aim is to help the trainees develop a positive attitude towards themselves and their surroundings. Moreover, they aim at training young adults to manage their holistic development, their love for the Supreme Being and how to prepare themselves for their future parenthood decisions. The young adults who want to take part of the programme have to do an interview. If the staff at C.A.R.E. perceive them as suitable for the centre, they can start the Adolescent Development Programme (ADP). C.A.R.E. was established in 1993 by the founder Brother Dominic Brunnock. The first centre was opened in Castries, but because of the increased demand, two additional centres were opened in Castries 1994. (ibid.) Since then, C.A.R.E. has expanded with five centres located in Gros Islet, Mabouya Valley, Soufriere, Odsan, and Anse La Raye, where the three first mentioned centres only offers ADP (C.A.R.E., 2016).

ADP is a one-year programme all the trainees at C.A.R.E. attend their first year. It is designed to help the trainees develop spiritually, physically, intellectually, creatively, emotionally as well as socially through activities, interactions and guides. After the one-year programme, the trainees should have raised, for example, their literacy and numeracy skills, levels of self-esteem and self-confidence, developed proper attitudes towards themselves, other people and situations, as well as overcome complexes and prejudices.

After their first year of ADP, the trainees are given an opportunity to proceed their education with an income-bearing skill course of their own choice, the Skills-programme (C.A.R.E., 2009). By improving their marketable skills, the programme increases their chances of becoming employed. C.A.R.E. offers skills such as Auto Mechanics, Carpentry and Joinery, Catering and Hospitality, Cosmetology, Electrical – Air Conditioning and Refrigeration, Electrical – Small Appliance Repair and Installation, Garment Construction and Office Skills (C.A.R.E., 2016). At the end of the Skills-programme, the trainees participate in an apprenticeship programme over an eight-week period with local industry and business firms (ibid.).
3. Earlier Research

The earlier research in this chapter is based on various international studies. The studies focus on the definition of career and livelihood as well as research areas such as career and goal management, expectations of the future and perception of career and career barriers among young adults. There is no existing research in the Caribbean area regarding career among young adults, thus the geographical width of the chosen earlier research.

The two most relevant studies are Shulman and Nurmi’s (2010) study about young Israeli adults’ pursuits and expectations of the future as well as Bakshi et al.’s (2012) study about young adults career choices which is conducted in a developing country. Since this study focuses on young adults perception of their future and their career possibilities on the labour market in St. Lucia, which is a developing country, both earlier research are considered most relevant.

3.1. The Definition of Career and Livelihood.

Traditionally, career has been defined as a professional work life with the possibility of advancement, though this is, by many scientists, considered as a too narrow explanation (Patton and McMahon, 2006, 4). According to Poulsen (2006 251), the definition of career changed when we, mainly developed countries, moved from an industrial economy to a knowledge-based economy, the IT-bubble being one of the main reasons for the change. Career in the old days was mostly for men and the proof of success was seen in titles, salaries and climbing the hierarchical ladder. If the employees were loyal toward the company and key employees, and followed the rules, they had a good chance at obtaining a lifetime career in the organization. (Poulsen, 2006, 251)

Both Super (1976) and Arthur, Hall and Lawerence (1989) centralise the themes work and time when describing career. According to Super (2006, 251), career is major positions throughout a person’s pre-occupational, occupational and post-occupational life, including
roles such as student, employee and pensioner alongside with vocational, familial and civil roles. Richardson (1993) views career as a limited and irrelevant concept to the middle class. Instead, she uses the term work, as to describe human activity that initiates success and satisfaction for individuals, to express achievements and striving as well as to earn a living. She also considers work as a way to link individuals to a larger social good, involving volunteer, unpaid work. (Patton and McMahon, 2006, 4, 5). Poulsen (2006, 251) writes that, in today’s technology and knowledge based society there can be no guarantee of a lifelong career, neither in a certain organization nor a profession. She writes:

"Career is now your whole work life no matter if it goes up, down, sideways or on hold for a while, e.g. while having children or taking a year-long sabbatical to sail around the world; and the individual is the only one who can determine whether this is a successful career. This places the responsibility for the career on the individual who no longer can (or want to) rely on the organization to set the rules and provide standard careers.” (Poulsen, 2006, 251).

According to Arulmani (2014, 9), career is mostly viewed as something that is linked to an urban context, available to middle and higher social classes. Individuals who have access to a career, which is linked to academic education, often have a greater potential for better opportunities in life, including higher incomes. Arulmani also brings up the term livelihood, which is often juxtaposed to the term career. Unlike career, livelihood is related to survival needs and is largely practised by those with lower income, such as farmers, artisans and skilled workers. (Arulmani, 2014, 9). According to Chambers and Conway (1991), livelihood " [...] comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets.”. Even though a desire among individuals to abandon their livelihood for a career in the city has grown rapidly during the 21st century, there is a world of work characterised by pre-industrial features outside the cities of developing countries (Arulmani, 2014, 9, 10). In such cultures, work-based learning and livelihood orientation and occupations prevail (ibid.).

The chosen definition of career for this study is Poulsen’s (2006), which will be used to analyse the trainees’ perception of career in context with Arulmani’s (2014) definition of livelihood. Even though the study’s focus is on the perception of career, the purpose of the trainees’ attendance at C.A.R.E. can not only be viewed as a striving to achieve a fulfilling career but more as a strategy for survival, which Arulmani (2014) defines as livelihood.
3.2. Career and Goal Management among Young Adults

Haratsis, Hood and Creed (2015, 431) tested a model based on the dual-process framework that measured the relationships between an individual’s personal resources (assimilation and accommodation¹), career goal appraisals (perceived attainability, importance and substitutability), career attitudes (career optimism and locus of control) and career goal management on 486 young adults. The result showed that assimilation was positively related to career goal engagement, and that the relationship between them was mediated by career optimism (Haratsis, Hood and Creed, 2015, 440). Assimilation was related to all three of the mentioned career goal appraisals. It suggests that young adults with a strong assimilative orientation have an attitude towards their career that is more positive and proactive than the ones who do not assimilate; they tend to be more optimistic about their career, perceiving it as important, manageable and attainable, and stick to their goal instead of replacing it with another. Accommodation, on the other hand, was only associated with substitutability and importance, which suggest that young adults with a strong accommodative orientation appraise their career goals less positively and are more likely to see it as easily replaceable (ibid.).

Shulman and Nurmi’s (2010, 61) study is based on collected data from 175 young Israeli adults, with the aim to examine the ways young adults formulate their goals as well as their pursuits and expectations of the future. They also wanted to examine “how different goal constellations are associated with adaptive and less adaptive courses and outcomes” (Shulman and Nurmi, 2010, 58). Their study showed that, to be able to deal with age-related tasks, the young adults mainly put an effort into setting goals related to work and love (ibid., 67). Mobilization of inner strengths was associated with adaptive goal setting, which lead to adaptive outcomes and expansion of future ambitions. The result showed that having a lack of appropriate goals was associated with less adaptive outcomes. (Shulman and Nurmi, 2010, 67)

¹ Assimilative orientation- when individuals focus on changing their environment to reduce the width between their current state and where they desire to be. (Brandstätter and Rothermund 2002, referred in Haratsis, Hood and Creed, 2015, 432)
Accommodative orientation- when individuals consider goals too difficult or unattainable, that it’s not worth their time or effort to try to attain their goal (Haratsis, Hood and Creed, 2015, 433).
Dietrich, Jokisaari and Nurmi (2011) implemented a study from Finnish students, with the purpose to examine “[…] the appraisals of personal goals during a transition from education to work and their interplay with stress in different domains of life”. They used a quantitative method where they collected the data five times during a time period of two years. (Dietrich, Jokisaari and Nurmi, 2011, 82) Their result showed that the importance of work-related goals among the Finnish students declined during the transition to the labour market (ibid., 89). Dietrich, Jokisaari and Nurmi (2011) says it might be because having entered the working life, young adults start to turn their attention to other life domains, such as finding a partner or to become a parent. Their result also showed that, over time, the participants’ goal progress increased, most likely because most of them had employment they found satisfactory, or because they had learnt to set appropriate and attainable goals in their work situation. Economic and time-related stress decreased when the respondents went from education to work, which Dietrich, Jokisaari and Nurmi (2011) states can be due to the participants’ improved financial situation and a more structured working life. (Dietrich, Jokisaari and Nurmi, 2011, 89)

3.3. Young Adults’ Perception of Career

Byrne and Willis (2005, 371) implemented a study based on the perception of 506 students, in Ireland, of the work of an accountant. 49 of the 177 males, while 86 of the 253 females, studied accounting (ibid.). According to Byrne and Willis (2005, 367), an individual’s career decisions are highly influenced by which perceptions people hold. Holt (1994, 24) states that the society’s perception of accounting affects whether the best and the brightest students are attracted to the profession.

According to Friedlan (1995), holding an inaccurate perception of a profession may lead to the wrong people choosing the job, in this case accounting, and the right people choosing an alternative career. Other consequences of having a misinformed perception of a profession are hostility and judgements (Bierhoff, 1989, referred in Ferreira and Santos, 2008) as well as job-dissatisfaction (Byrne and Willis, 2005, 368). Byrne and Willis (2005, 368) writes “many students may be unfamiliar with the work demands of contemporary
accounting firms leading to a mismatch between students interested in accounting and the type of person most suited to the profession.”. Direito, Pereira and Duarte (2014, 1557), who studied engineering students’ perceptions about transversal skills, also brings up the consequences of a mismatch of students’ limited awareness about the professional work and what it demands. When starting a career, the graduates have a limited knowledge of the activity sectors and businesses they’re supposed to be involved in, which can result in a diminished development of their careers (ibid.). This makes them incapable of undertaking the roles and working tasks the companies expect from them (ibid.). What makes it even more difficult for the students are the changes on the labour market. Byrne and Willis (2005, 367) states that ”changes in client requirements, the technology and information revolution, the development of innovative and complex financial instruments as well as the globalization of the economy have placed increased pressures on accounting practice.”. Also the Information and Communications Technology-sector (ICT) faces constant challenges and because of the technological, economic and organizational transformations, companies now demand engineer-professionals not only equipped with relevant technical skills, but also with skills related to personal and relational attributes (Direito, Pereira and Duarte, 2014, 1556).

Direito, Pereira and Duarte’s study (2014, 1557) is based on 297 undergraduate and post-graduation engineering students from four Portuguese public universities. According to their result, the students perceived transversal skills, such as obtaining personal and relational attributes, as valuable assets for their future careers (Direito, Pereira and Duarte, 2014, 1559), but still present serious behavioural mismatches when graduating (ibid., 1556). In Byrne and Willis (2005, 375) study, what had the greatest influence on the students’ perception of the profession was the study of accounting in school, followed by factual media and teachers. The youths in Bakshi’s et al. (2014, 7) study also saw teachers as important influences of career choice.

Bakshi et al. (2012, 8) conducted a study with 65 youths from Mumbai, from middle- and higher income families. The purpose of their study was a), ”To survey the career choices and career shifts of youth in Mumbai”, b) ”To examine youth perceptions of influences on their career choice using mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative)” and c) ”To examine youth’s satisfaction with career choice.” (ibid.). Their result showed that
career choices were largely class- and gender-specific among the youths (Bakshi et al., 2012, 9). Regarding the career choices that were class-specific, all the youths selected careers that required formal education, such as preschool teacher, researcher and engineer (ibid.), which are indicated as medium to high occupational prestige. The result of the career choices that were gender-specific showed that engineering was the predominant choice made by men, while counselling- and education related careers were only chosen by women (Bakshi et al., 2012, 10). The youths’ perception of influence on career choice were highest for self, followed by fathers and teachers while professional career guidance services were rated as the lowest, mostly due to non-use (ibid., 7).

The purpose of Santos’ (2016, 78) study is to uncover the barriers academics faced when aiming for success in their careers as well as to investigate if there were any differences in the perception of those career barriers, according to age- and career stage and gender. (Santos, 2016, 65, 66). The result showed that the participants experienced career barriers such as poor collegiality and workplace relationships, career progression standards and a lack of organizational support and employment precariousness. They also perceived finding a balance between career and personal life a career barrier (age/career stage). Lastly, Santos’ (2016) result revealed that gender is an important structural barrier, leading to an unfriendly work-family culture that obstructs academic women’s career success. (Santos, 2016, 78).

Skeggs’ (1999, 10) study is based on a group of working-class women, all of whom working within nursing. The data was collected during a time-period of twelve years and she uses respectability as a concept to analyse and understand the result. The study is built on the respondents’ attempts to find passable destinations within class, gender, hetero/sexuality, femininity, nursing and feminism (ibid.). The result showed that class was a constant reminder in the women’s lives (Skeggs, 1999, 254). Class wasn’t only showed in structure, in the sense of the labour market deciding which financial possibilities the women had, but also affected their class-transformations. Being white working-class women born in unequal structures, which gives different people different access to capitals, the respondents’ movement within the social field was affected because of the class-structure. (ibid.) The respondents did not have access to transferable capitals, for example like the middle-class education and employment (cultural capital) which can be transferred
into a symbolic capital and a financial gain (economic capital) (Skeggs, 1999, 255). They created their own local arenas with their own distinctions, but these hardly had any worth or affection on the bigger fields, regarding capital-transformation and legitimacy. They had a lack of possibilities and options, which was something that mainly characterized belonging to the working-class. The women’s wish to be respectable and have a worth sometimes made them reproduce the dissimilarities they tried to avoid. (ibid.)

3.4. Summary

Poulsen’s (2006) definition of career is chosen for this study, paralleled with Arulmani’s (2014) definition of livelihood. Earlier studies show that when having an assimilative orientation you tend to be more positive and proactive towards your career goals, while having an accommodative orientation leads to viewing career goals as less important. Research also shows that the setting of career goals is related to work and love; that life-orientated goals tend to diminish work-related goals when going from a student-life to the labour market.

One’s career-decision is influenced by what perceptions people hold regarding jobs, which can lead to the wrong people choosing a specific profession. Earlier research also states that in today’s society, employers are not satisfied with only practically skilled employees, but also demands them to obtain skills related to personal and relational attributes. Career-choices are highly influenced by class and gender, thus people choosing a career common to their gender. Class is paralleled with respectability, and different kinds of people have different possibilities to use and develop their capitals.

Earlier research also brings up career barriers, where the participants stated, for example, poor workplace relationships, career progression standards and lack of organizational support as obstacles.

Earlier research presents a possible underlying cause for career goals and perceived career barriers. The research can relate to the trainees in this study and their career-goals as well as their perception of what is important for future career possibilities and St. Lucia’s labour market.
4. Theory

To analyse the result of the collected data, Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice as well as Skeggs’ (1999) definition of respectability have been used. Bourdieu’s theory is based on people’s decisions arising from their habitus, capitals and social field, while Skeggs brings up the relationship between class and respectability. Three different writings by three different authors have been used to describe Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice, where one of them is written by Bourdieu. The second writer, Donald Broady, is a recognized interpreter, professor and publisher, thus chosen for this study. The last writer, Matthias Walther, has a PhD in Management as a cotutelle de these (thesis co-supervisor). Broady and Walthers’ writings were used as supplementary reading to Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice.

4.1. Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice

Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice contains three main elements which are called field, capital and habitus (Walther, 2014, 15). These elements interact with each other, which leads to an aim for strategy or practice among individuals. Strategy or practice is “our unconscious behaviour that is in conformity with our interests and that aims at achieving our objectives by investing capital and fighting for capital.” (Walther, 2014, 15).

4.1.1. Capital

The term capitals is explained as symbolic and material assets and an individual has four different types of capitals; economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Broady, 1998, 3).
Economic capital relates to an individual’s fortunes and revenues (Walther, 2014, 9). When having an economic capital, one has material assets, such as income and financial heritage, as well as knowledge of the game rules of the economy (Broady, 1998, 6). This type of capital is the one that can more easily transform into another capital, for example when using one’s economic capital to buy a book, which results in an exchange to a cultural capital (Walther, 2014, 9).

Individuals with width of cultural capital tend to have a high educational background and are well-informed (Broady, 1998, 8). It is often transferred by family and education and it’s “*the primary cause for status and relative positions within a social field*” (Walther, 2014, 10). A good cultural capital often results in good outcomes for a privileged future, thus individuals, as well as their parents or other important persons, are well informed and capable of valuing the possibilities education, the labour market and the social world in all offer (Broady, 1998, 6). The educational system is one of the greatest sources for accessing and obtaining cultural capitals (ibid.). However, not everyone has access to cultural capital. Individual possibility to develop cultural and economic capital can be blocked by another group using their social capital as power. (Skeggs, 1999, 25)

Social capital is an asset in the shape of family, friends, contacts or other networks that may help an individual (Broady, 1998, 14). Having a network of actual resources gives access to both material and immaterial resources, as well as information and knowledge (Walther, 2014, 10).

Symbolic capital is related to honour and recognition (Walther, 2014, 10). There must be a context of individuals with the capacity to understand the value of the social capital one obtains (Broady, 1998, 6). Thus, symbolic capital is not an independent capital, but is always associated with an individual’s possession of other kinds of capitals (Bourdieu, 1977, 183) and must be acknowledged by the surrounding on a specific field (Walther, 2014, 10). It reflects what the system and its actors consider valuable, which leads to one’s economic, social and cultural capital converting to symbolic capital (ibid.)
4.1.2. Social Field

The four capitals can only be valued as resources in context with a social field (Walther, 2014, 9). A field is described as “[…] a structure of relative positions within which the actors and groups think, act and take positions.” (Hilgers and Mangez 2015, 10). Different individuals’ positions within a field are defined by the volume and structure of their capital (ibid.). According to Bourdieu (Walther, 2014, 8), there are many different social fields, for example the field of art, literature and careers, which all can be further divided into subfields. Social fields are understood as universes by Bourdieu (1977, 72), and within these, individuals and groups interact with each other in accordance with the fields’ rules.

Dominant and dominated positions are defined by the structure of objective relations between the individuals on the field, which determines which practices are possible and which are not (Walther, 2014, 9). Hilgers and Mangez (2015, 10) writes: “In their position-takings, persons and groups - sometimes unconsciously - pursue interests linked to their relative positions in the field, which may consist in preserving or transforming the position they occupy and the resources associated with it.” An individual’s or a group’s position on a field does not only depend on the way they manage to renew themselves, but also in collaboration with how all the other actors in the field evolve or seek to evolve (ibid.).

4.1.3. Habitus

The central concept in Bourdieu’s theory is called habitus (Walther, 2014, 12), which explains an individual’s perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting within a field (Krais, 1988, 1993, 169). It is a system of embodied dispositions (Nash, 1990, 432), built on two types of socializations; primary and secondary (Walther, 2014, 13). The primary habitus is the socialization from a person’s family during childhood. The primary habitus is linked to the parents’ position in the social field, where their ways of thinking, feeling and behaving are internalized into the children’s own habitus. Bourdieu (1977) writes:

“[…] in each of us, in varying proportions, there is part of yesterday’s man; it is yesterday’s man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the
According to Bourdieu (1977, 79), “the yesterday’s man”, which is a definition of habitus, is not something we can sense since “he” is engrained into us and makes up our unconscious part. This type of habitus is rather stable and never loses its impact. The secondary habitus is built on the primary habitus and evolves from one’s education and other life experiences. The development of the secondary habitus is always influenced by the primary habitus. (Walther, 2014, 13)

Habitus is also a strategy that enables individuals to handle unforeseen and ever-changing situations (Bourdieu, 1977, 72). According to Rehbein (2011, referred in Walther, 2014, 13) “ […] habitus is said to guide our strategy, i.e. the unconscious practice that aims at achieving our objectives by investing the appropriate types and amounts of capitals on a social field.”. Habitus is therefore strongly connected to the field where an individual’s position on the social field sets social boundaries and limits his/her behaviour (Walther, 2014, 13).

The rules of the social field affect the habitus while, at the same time, habitus also structures practices and reproduces the rules on social fields (Walther, 2014, 14). When individuals are settled with the social structure, no changes occur and it keeps reproducing the field rules (ibid.).

4.2. Respectability

Skeggs (1999, 9) considers respectability one of the most distinctive signs of class-belonging. Class is seen, by Skeggs, as a discursive, historical and specific production created by the middle class, which enables material inequalities (Skeggs, 1999, 16).

Respectability affects how individuals speak, who they speak to, how they classify others, what they study and how they perceive themselves. Respectability exists since it is considered an attribute among the ones with dignity and legitimacy, and is often more important for those who are not viewed as respectable. This results in these individuals wishing to obtain and prove respectability towards their surroundings (Skeggs, 1999, 9)
Not having respectability results in low social worth and weak legitimacy (Skeggs, 1999, 12).

According to Skeggs (1999, 12), respectability has always been a class-marker, as well as a class-burden. During the nineteenth century, respectability was one of the most important aspects for having dignity, being an individual and to have a feeling of belonging. Individuals who obtain respectability have moral authority, but during this time, only certain groups were viewed as capable of holding moral capital, whilst the ”other ones” had to be controlled (Skeggs, 1999, 12). With moral authority you have an identity, and during the nineteenth century, identity was only available to the high middle-class; the respectable, the worthy, the English, the white and the ones who did not belong to the working class (ibid.) These historical views are the foundation of today’s norms regarding respectability, hard for the exposed groups to change. The working class today is still viewed as ”the others” in academic petitions (Skeggs, 1999, 13). The working-class women in Skeggs’ study, who work in nursing care, have such a desire to be valued and respected that they make themselves susceptible to unpaid work (Skeggs, 1999, 117). This makes them easily targeted to being used in exchange for respectability. They become objects of their own classifications, where their class marks them insufficient and deficient (ibid.).

Respectability is paralleled with Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice. According to Skeggs (1999, 22), the social fields we interact with and within are historically generated since we are born into an ancestral social field that offers different access and acquisition of capital assets. By being born into gender-, class- and race relations, we will possess the positions they entail, such as “woman”, “black” or “working-class” (ibid.). Respectability also concerns class, race, gender and sexuality relations, where these “groups” are distinguished by their possibilities to oppose and show respectability (Skeggs, 1999, 11). These positions affect our possibility to move within the social field and our ability to transform our existing capitals (Skeggs, 1999, 22). If, for example, one’s cultural capital is not viewed as legitimate on the social field, it cannot be used as an asset or be transformed into a different capital (Skeggs 1999, 24).
4.3. Summary

The theories used to analyse this study’s collected data are Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice and Skeggs (1999) definition of respectability. The Theory of Practice is built on capitals, explained as material and symbolic assets in four different types: economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Capital is used in this study to analyse what resources the trainees consider important within their social fields for future career possibilities.

Another concept of the theory is called social field, which is a structure of relative positions, where the actors and groups think, act and interact with each other. The capitals can only be valued within the social field. The purpose in analysing question three of this study is to bring an understanding to the trainees’ possibility for action within their social field, in this case St. Lucia’s labour market, with the capitals they obtain. The third concept is called habitus, which is an individual’s way of perceiving, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting within a field. Habitus is used in this study to analyse possible explanations to the trainees’ perceptions of their career goals, the capitals they think are important for their own future career possibilities, as well as for St. Lucia’s labour market.

According to Skeggs (1999), respectability affects how individuals speak, who they speak to, how they classify others, what they study and how they perceive themselves. It only exists since it is viewed as an attribute among those with legitimacy and dignity, and a loss of respectability results in low social worth and weak legitimacy. Respectability and individual position affect one’s possibility to move around within the social field and one’s ability to transform existing obtained capitals. Respectability is used in this study to analyse how the trainees talk about their life and how they relate to legitimate career goals.
5. Method

In this chapter, the study’s choice of method and ethical approach is presented. The chapter starts with describing the choice of method and the benefits and disadvantages that follow. Thereafter, the selection of respondents is presented, followed by how the data was collected and an analysis of the method. Finally, the ethical standpoints taken in this study are presented.

5.1. Method of Choice

This study will be processed using a qualitative method. A general definition of a qualitative method is that the data is analysed by words instead of numbers (Bryman, 2008, 340). Since this study focuses on trainees’ perception about career and the future labour market, with the aim to understand their experiences and inner reality, a qualitative method is suitable.

There can be many benefits, whilst it also creates disadvantages. Firstly, one benefit of choosing a qualitative method is, as a researcher, to be able to meet the informants face to face since it minimizes the risk of fallouts (Larsen, 2007, 26). Secondly, it gives the possibility to ask follow-up questions, thus creating a depth to the study. Thirdly, the informants have the possibility to ask questions to the researcher in case miscommunication or ambiguity occurs. (ibid.)

When it comes to disadvantages, one is that the result of the data is built on the researcher’s perception of what is important during the interview (Bryman, 2008, 368). With a qualitative method, it is difficult to generalize the collected data, since only a small number of informants participate from a certain organization or area (ibid.).
5.2. Selection of Respondents

Respondents were chosen using a combination of arbitrary selection and the snowball method. An arbitrary selection means that the units are chosen by certain criteria (Larsen, 2007, 77). The author of this thesis reached out to the Executive Director (E.D) of C.A.R.E., who was told that respondents of interest would be four male and four female students at C.A.R.E., from aged 18 to 29. They were also supposed to go to the Skills-programme, which they take part in after a year of the ADP. In this study, the criteria of interest are gender, age and educational background. The selection can also be viewed as a snowball-method, where the researcher contacts someone he or she believes hold necessary knowledge about the subject (Larsen, 2007, 78). Thence, this person reaches out to other individuals worth contacting. The E.D of C.A.R.E. reached out to the coordinators at two C.A.R.E. centres, in Anse La Raye and Odsan where they offer a Skills-programme, with an inquiry to find trainees suitable to the study. The coordinators asked eight trainees, aged 18 to 21, in different Skills-programmes, if they wanted to participate in the study, which they all agreed to. The trainees’ age has not been assigned to them in this study since there is a risk of recognition by the members of C.A.R.E. The trainees also have been assigned a fictitious name with the purpose to increase their confidentiality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Name&quot;:</th>
<th>Gender:</th>
<th>Skills-programme:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaden</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Electrical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Electrical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyron</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Auto-Mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Electrical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Office Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catering and Hospitality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catering and Hospitality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanaa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Electrical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foundation for this choice of criteria is the aim to see if there are any similarities or differences between the male and female trainees’ perception of their future. The result of
the collective data is more justified with four male and four female participants, rather than, for example, two male and six females. The age criteria were chosen because of the age group C.A.R.E. holds, as well as a desire not to have to send a consent form home to parents or other legal guardians because of the short amount of time to collect data.

5.3. Data Collection

The data for this study were collected through semi structured interviews (Bryman, 2008, 415) with the help of notes and recording. The interviews were conducted in the staff room in Odsan as well as the coordinator’s office in Anse La Raye. The interviewer and the interviewed sat down by a table while the interviewer started by sharing the ethical standpoint that would be taken in consideration during the interview. The author of this study prepared a list of themes to be treated, while the trainees had an opportunity to formulate answers of their own will (Annex). Follow-up questions not included in the interview guide were asked, which is allowed in a semi structured interview if it is associated with what the participants have said. The study’s themes affected the layout of the interview guide’s questions. This study’s themes were Background, Career and Capital, Labour Market and Future.

Firstly, the aim with this type of data collection is to simplify the possibility to draw parallels between the participants’ answers, which facilitates the analysis (Larsen, 2007, 84). Secondly, the advantage with follow-up questions is to let the participants develop and clarify their answers (Larsen, 2007, 87).

5.3.1. Reliability and Validity

When it comes to a qualitative method, proving high reliability is not as easy as in a quantitative method (Larsen, 2007, 81). Reliability is about the study’s precision, that the collected data is reliable (ibid.). Since only eight trainees were interviewed for this study, the reliability cannot be considered high. Firstly, by making sure that the data has been collected thoroughly, an endeavour for a higher reliability has been taken in this study
The interview guide’s questions were written down and all the trainees’ answers were written down by number, enabling clarity about who said what. Secondly, earlier research was brought up in this study to examine if the collected data matched with other authors’ results, and is compared to the study’s result and analysis in the chapter of discussion. This can be viewed as external reliability, where different authors replicate a problem area (Bryman, 2008, 352).

Validity is about the data’s relevance compared to the study’s questions (Larsen, 2007, 80). Having the possibility to make changes during the work’s progress, it is easier to ensure high validity in a qualitative method than in a quantitative method. In this study, the questions have been changed due to the width of the trainees’ answers, which the first draft of questions processed too narrowly. The first question before the change was “What does career mean to the students?”. When the data was collected, it got clear to the author of this study that the question was too narrow and not much content of the interviews would be able to be used. Instead, the question was changed to “What kind of career goals do the trainees have?”, thus increase the possibility to use what was said by the respondents.

5.4. Analysis

The chosen form of analyse for this study is qualitative content analysis, which Bryman (2008, 505) explains as a search for underlying themes in the collected data. The data is collected and transcripted to text which is then coded and thereafter classified into themes or categories (Larsen, 2007, 101). The collected data is reviewed with the aim to identify meaningful patterns or processes. These are then evaluated against earlier research and theories. (ibid.)

A deductive theory is when the researcher deduces one or many hypotheses within an area (Bryman, 2008, 26). The collection of the data is controlled by the theory and hypothesis that has been deduced in the study. The result of the data relates to the chosen theory or theories as well as earlier research that treats the area of study. (ibid.) A deductive theory has been chosen for this study, with three precise questions (Larsen, 2007, 23). Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice and Skeggs (1999) definition of respectability have
been chosen as theories for this study analysing the trainees’ perception of their future on the labour market in St. Lucia. Since the purpose was to analyse the data by comparing them to already existing theories, an inductive theory was not in place for this study (Bryman, 2008, 28).

5.5. Ethical Standpoint

The ethical standpoint of this bachelor thesis is based on Vetenskapsrådets (2002) research ethics; the requirements of information, consent, confidentiality as well as the usage claim.

The aim with the requirement of information is to present the study’s purpose to the ones affected by the collected data. The participants shall be informed of their part in the study; that the data will be collected anonymously and that they can cancel their participation at any time. (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002, 7) For this study, the Executive Director was sent the project plan of the study, which thereafter was sent to other affected staff members by the Executive Director. Having arrived, the author of this study visited classrooms the affected staff members had told contained trainees relevant to the study. The trainees were told about the study’s aim, how many that would take part in the study and that the shared information would be confidential.

The requirement of consent treats the participants’ right to choose if they would like to take part of the field study (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002, 9). During this occasion, the trainees were to sign a consent form, were they gave permission to the author to use what was said during the collected data, as well as that their participation was by their own choice.

The third research ethic is the requirement of confidentiality, which is to inform the participants that their personal details won’t be used in a way for others to find through the study (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002, 12). In this case, the trainees were informed that no names would be mentioned in the bachelor thesis, only age and gender, which they agreed upon.

The fourth and last of Vetenskapsrådets’s (2002, 14) research ethics is called the requirement of usage claim. The collected data is to be used for research purposes only (ibid.). The trainees were informed that the collected data was only for the bachelor thesis, and that it will be deleted once the study has been approved by Malmoe University.
6. Result and Analysis

The result and analysis are based on the study’s interviews with eight trainees from two different C.A.R.E centres in St. Lucia, located in Anse La Raye and Odsan. Four of them are male and four are female, aged 18 to 21. All of the trainees attend C.A.R.E.’s Skills-programme where they develop a practical skill they can use on the labour market. The result and analysis are presented thematically by the study’s questions.

The purpose with this study is to examine eight C.A.R.E.-trainees’ perceptions of their future and what capitals they find important for personal and career possibilities. The purpose is also to study if there are any differences or similarities between the male and female trainees’ perception of the labour market in St. Lucia. By this purpose, three following questions were formulated:

- What kind of career goals do the trainees have?
- What capitals do the trainees view as important for future career possibilities?
- What differences and similarities are there between the female and the male trainees’ perception of St. Lucia’s labour market?

6.1. What Kind of Career Goals do the Trainees Have?

The chosen definition of career for this study is Poulsen’s (2006) definition, where she explains career as:

"Career is now your whole work life no matter if it goes up, down, sideways or on hold for a while, e.g. while having children or taking a year-long sabbatical to sail around the world; and the individual is the only one who can determine whether this is a successful career. This places the responsibility for the career on the individual who no longer can (or want to) rely on the organization to set the rules and provide standard careers.” (Poulsen, 2006, 251).
Most of the trainees defined career as having a job but no one brought up what kind of job you should have to be able to have a career. Kingston viewed career as “*What you’re good at*” (Kingston), while Naomi described it as:

> “The first thing that comes to my mind is to have a job, something you make money out of. It doesn’t have to be rich things, but as long as you make money, to me it’s a career.” (Naomi)

The trainees had the more traditional view of career, where it is only paralleled with vocation and occupation (Patton and McMahon, 2006, 4). Many of the trainees’ career goal was to own their own business in the future and Malik wanted to own the biggest business in the country within the electrical-field. He said:

> ”All the people I care about, if they can’t find a job, I would be able to provide for them. I want to make sure that before I die, everyone has what they need.” (Malik).

According to Malik, obtaining a career is a way to help people he cares about. Mia also wanted to be able to help her family, which she felt she could do if she had a job. Anya, just like Malik, also wanted to start her own business by creating her own fashion line, or to become a detective. Even though the trainee’s own perception of career was paralleled with occupation, a wish to start one’s own business can be related to Poulsen’s (2006) definition of career. According to Poulsen (2006, 251), individuals are responsible for their own career path and can no longer, nor want to, rely on organizations to set rules and provide careers. The trainees who want to own their own business try to provide a career for themselves and do not want to rely on the labour market and its rules. However, they are still dependent on the social field and its demand of their services.

Like Malik and Jaden, Kingston wanted to become an electrical technician, but also mentioned a wish to become a barman. Lyron’s career goal was to be an auto-technician. Naomi and Mia mentioned a goal to become a chef, while Sanaa said she hoped to become a police officer or a firefighter in the future.

Malik was the one who put most effort into talking about college as a career goal. He understood that if he wanted to reach his goal as an electrical engineer, he needs further
education. He viewed his cultural capital in shape of education more important than the other trainees.

All the trainees, except Sanaa, chose a career goal that is common for their gender. Most of the female trainees wanted careers where they cook, serve other people or sew clothes, while the male trainees chose career goals within the auto-mechanic and electrical fields. Many of the trainees said that girls choose skills such as catering and hospitality and office skills because they don’t like to get their hands dirty. Kingston said:

"Girls don’t really like to do… I wouldn’t say hard work but like dirty work. It’s not girly, it’s a boyish job.” (Kingston)

Kingston, Malik and Anya also stated that they think girls do not choose skills such as carpentry, electrical and mechanics, because they do not want to get their hands dirty. Lyron did not only explain it as girls not wanting to get dirty, but also said:

"Maybe the girls feel like that’s not for them to do. Nowadays, girls probably have a lot of pride in themselves They don’t want the boys to see them do mechanical things.” (Lyron)

When it comes to men’s choice of skill, the trainees mentioned reasons such as them wanting to achieve their dreams, having a family member who works with the skill, that they like working with their hands as well as them wishing not to look feminine. The views on women and male in context with occupation can be analysed with Skeggs’ (1999) respectability. She writes that without respectability an individual has a low social worth and weak legitimacy (Skeggs, 1999, 12). If the social field views men and female choosing a skill uncommon to their gender as unrespectable, for instance a woman with an occupation where her hands get dirty or a man with a presumably feminine job, they can lose their social worth and legitimacy. The women may lose respectability if they are perceived as masculine when executing chores typically performed by men. Respectability can be analysed as one of the reason behind the
trainees’ choice of skill since none of them wants to lose their social worth and legitimacy. According to the trainees, women and men do not want to choose a skill that is uncommon for their gender since they don’t want other people to see them execute feminine or masculine chores because it would be shameful. Choosing an occupation that is “correct” for one’s gender can be analysed with symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is related to honour and recognition (Walther, 2014, 10) and choosing a skill or employment that is beyond one’s gender-norm can result in a loss of honour, thus in social capital.

Another way to understand the trainees’ choice of skill can be explained with Bourdieu’s (1977) habitus. It is explained as an individual’s perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting within a field (Krais, 1988, 1993, 169), which can be influenced by parents or other important people during one’s childhood or from one’s education and life experiences (Walther, 2014, 13). Habitus affects the trainees’ perceptions of the skills, where their parents or other important family members implemented that type of thinking when they were little, or that the social field has taught them what is masculine and feminine. Lyron, for example, has grown up with a father in the boat business. This has affected his habitus and his dream of owning his own business where he sells boats. If his dad did not work with boats, Lyron would probably not feel as excited about boats as he does today. The same goes for Naomi, who dreams of becoming a chef. Her parents have encouraged her throughout the years by telling her she’s great at cooking and that they have their own chef in the house. This has affected Naomi’s habitus and created a love for cooking and a pursuit of a career as a chef. If the trainees’ habitus stays the same, in this case their views on feminine and masculine skills, no changes will occur and the rules on the field will keep reproducing.

Even though the trainees only viewed being employed as career, they had other types of goals for their future Poulsen (2006) views as career. All of them wanted to have a job, a family and a house in the future, which Poulsen (2006, 251) states also are types of career and not only something you receive financial assets from. A goal many of the trainees mentioned was to be independent. Jaden, Kingston and Lyron said it is important for them to be independent, and Lyron said:
“Most important thing is getting a job, to get money, to be able to take care of myself. That’s what is the most important thing. It’s better if you are independent, than to depend on somebody. That is how the system is set up for us; to get a job and make money. It’s all about money, money, money. If you don’t have any money, you wouldn’t be able to buy food. So you need to get a job, to make money, to depend on yourself. That’s how I see it.” (Lyron)

Being independent can be a form of aim to be respected by close family and the society. Some of the trainees’ wish to have a job had a lot to do with being able to take care of their family and in that way, be regarded with pride by their family members. In this way, if the trainees obtain respectability from their social field, they avoid having a low social worth and weak legitimacy (Skeggs, 1999, 12), which is something they might have if they had to depend on other people throughout their lives.

6.2. What capitals do the trainees view as important for future career possibilities?

Many of the trainees emphasized different personal characteristics as important for future career possibilities, which is something most of them said they learn at C.A.R.E. One of the aims at C.A.R.E. is to “[...] foster positive attitudes in young people towards themselves, others, work, and work-related situations, empowering them for more wholesome, independent living.” (C.A.R.E., 2016, 1). During the interviews, Jaden, Kingston and Sanaa named many different personal characteristics as important and Jaden said, “You need to be understanding, respectful and be able to speak so people understand” (Jaden) to be able to get a job. Naomi also talked about personal characteristics and said:

“As long as you’re respectful and know how to do different skills you can have it. Because you cannot go to the centre and don’t know how to do this or how to do that. Then you’re being disrespectful and you won’t get the job.” (Naomi).

Being respectful was the most brought up personal characteristic. Why it is important to the trainees to have good personal characteristics so they can obtain career possibilities can be
analysed with Bourdieu’s (1977) capital, where the trainees cultural capital can evolve to a social capital. Being respectful and encouraging is often viewed as positive attributes, which increases the chances at developing one’s social network. If the trainees manage to build a network with the right type of people, for instance people who work as employers on St. Lucia’s labour market, they have a bigger chance of receiving a symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is related to honour and recognition and it reflects what the system and its actors consider as valuable, which leads to one’s economic, social and cultural capital converting to symbolic capital (Walther, 2014, 10). If individuals who are dominant on St. Lucia’s labour market have a network with the trainees, they might value and recognize their cultural capital, such as personal characteristics and skills, which can lead to them wanting to hire the trainees.

Malik and Anya spoke about the importance of speaking fluently in English. They were the only ones of the eight trainees who brought up the importance of language. However, the meaning of skill was something most of the trainees brought up for future career possibilities. The biggest reason they started studying at C.A.R.E. was to obtain a skill and have a possibility at the labour market. Kingston considered that without a skill you won’t be able to get a job. Anya’s view was also that having a skill helps your future, and said:

"Even if you don’t get a job, at least you’ll have a skill, something for yourself. Without it you would feel lost and don’t know what to do. For example catering; catering teaches you how to cook. If you don’t get a job as a waiter at a restaurant, at least you know how to do stuff at home and get an income for yourself; how to start your own business.” (Anya)

According to Anya, skills are not only viewed as an attribute on the social field of the labour market, but also the social field at home. Her habitus is built on her still perceiving and evaluate her skill as important, even if it might not help her finding a job. Being able to cook and maintain the household as a woman is a way to earn respectability, since it is a proof of femininity and independence.

Lyron viewed skills as an important tool for career possibilities and said:

"C.A.R.E prepares you with a skill and that is one of the best things you can ever get today in this world. So if you have a skill you are there already, with a certificate to prove that you are certified. […] when I go there I can just put my all in and say "I am ready for it". So when I work there they can say "This guy is really good"." (Lyron)
Language skills and practical skills can be viewed as cultural capitals. According to Bourdieu (Broady, 1998, 8), a width of cultural capitals tends to result in good outcomes for the individuals. The explained reason why the trainees are going to C.A.R.E. is to maintain a skill and the underlying reason for their wish to receive a skill is to try improving their outcomes and their future. Bourdieu (Broady, 1998, 8) views schools as one of the best sources for individuals to get access to and obtain cultural capitals, and C.A.R.E. is the trainees’ cultural resource. C.A.R.E. strengthens the capital the trainees already have (cultural capital) but can’t provide them new, such as symbolic capital. Even though they receive cultural capitals from C.A.R.E. in the form of skills and learning how to behave and to be respectful, their wish to extend their cultural capital can be blocked by another group if they decide to use their social capital as a power (Skeggs, 1999, 25). If employers in St. Lucia’s labour market choose not to employ the trainees, their time at C.A.R.E. will have been partly unnecessary, since their aim with learning a skill at C.A.R.E is to get a job afterwards.

6.3. What differences and similarities are there between the female and the male trainees’ perception of St. Lucia’s labour market?

One perception of the St. Lucian labour market all the trainees had in common was that it is rough and there is a lack of jobs. Because of the labour market system in St. Lucia, Kingston felt like he’s not important and that they only think about themselves. Lyron had a negative perception about how people acquire jobs on St. Lucia’s labour market and said:

“St Lucians, some of them, they’re for themselves and their family. So if a party is elected, they will hire their family. The will fire the ones who work there and hire their people now. You have to build links most of the times. Not every time, but most of the times. It makes me feel mad because if I have no family, no links, I have to be like fighting for a job to get one.” (Lyron).
Like Lyron, Malik perceived job-opportunities only available for the employer’s family and friends. He said:

"In St. Lucia, to get a job it doesn’t really matter what you can do, it matters who you know. People will only check for their friends and family. A lot of businesses are burnt up because of this.” (Malik)

Kingston, Lyron and Malik perceived having a good social capital as important to stand a chance in the labour market of St. Lucia. According to Bourdieu (Broady, 1998, 15), social capital is an asset such as family, friends and other sorts of contact that may help an individual, but social capital only exist if it is seen as valuable. According to Lyron, his practical skills would not have been seen as enough valuable for example St. Lucian’s party, since they value people by their last name. Even though some of the trainees did not like the employment system in St. Lucia, where mostly family members and people with the right last name get a job, they themselves wanted to own their own business so that they can hire their friends and family. When talking about friends, Malik said:

“I don’t really call them that, I more call them like family. Most of them already have a skill, like mechanic or electrical. One of my goals for the future is to open a business for them to work.” (Malik).

He also said ”All the people I care about, if they can’t find a job, I would be able to provide for them” (Malik). For him, it was important that his close acquaintances have a good life. Jaden also talked about being able to hire friends and family when owning his own business. These goals reproduce the trainees’ perception of the employment-system in St. Lucia. The demand of social capital on the labour market that made the trainees mad, is now something they themselves want in their own business. According to Bourdieu (Walther, 2014, 9), the structure of objective relations between the individuals on the field define dominant and dominated positions, which determines which practices are or are not possible. According to the trainees, the employers of the St. Lucian labour market are the dominant ones who decided whom will be employed. If the trainees who want to own their own business reach their career goal, they will, like the employers on the labour market, have a dominant position within the field. By then,
they can determine which practices are possible for the individuals on the field, in this case their friends and family.

Anya said "There’s not enough jobs or skills" (Anya) in St. Lucia and according to Naomi, there’s not enough jobs for young adults. While Jaden, Kingston, Lyron, Malik, Anya and Naomi focused on the labour market on a macrolevel, Mia and Sanaa differed in their perception and discussed the problem more on micro-level, which can be viewed as a difference between the male and female perceptions of St. Lucia’s labour market. They talked about the difficulties during a job interview and Mia said:

"It’s hard to get a job. When you send an application, you have to wait. They say that they will call you but you have to wait for another one.” (Mia).

According to Sanaa, you must do many interviews when applying for a job. Even though you go to a lot of interviews, she said “Sometimes the person with the worst attitude gets the job” (Sanaa). This perception is a contrast to the capitals they brought up as important for future career possibilities. The trainees said that to be able to get a job it is important to have a skill, as well as to have a large amount of cultural capital in personal characteristics, such as being respectful and having a good attitude. Even though cultural capital was what they perceived as most important for the labour market, their perception is that employers mostly hire family and friends that, in some cases, can have the worst attitude. The labour market value social and symbolic capital more than cultural capital, which goes against what the trainees perceive as important for future career possibilities. However, this regards the labour market for skilled workers and not highly educated individuals, where cultural capital is perceived as more important. Social and symbolic capital is perceived as more important by the trainees on a macrolevel for future career possibilities since it is viewed as an attribute among the employers, but cultural capital is viewed as more important on a microlevel. This creates a capital-collision between the dominants in the labour market and the trainees when aiming for authority. The dominants use their social capital as an authority-power by employing their family and friends, thus keeping their symbolic capital. The trainees can also receive this sort of power by becoming their own employers and grant resources to others. Therefore, cultural capital is still important because if the trainees don’t
have any skill they won’t be able to get a foot in on the labour market or to start their own business.

The negative perception the trainees have about St. Lucia’s labour market has led to many of them wanting to move to another country, especially the male trainees. Jaden wants to move because he thought most of the people in St. Lucia are scammers that tries to overcharge you for everything. St. Lucia’s lack of developed infrastructure is one of the big reasons why Malik wants to move and he described it as:

“St. Lucia is not a very developed country like others, so the labour market is not very big. I mean the hospitals, the roads, the schools. It makes me feel to just get out of here faster. When I start my family I want to make sure they don’t grow up in a country like this. If they would ever get sick, the hospitals would not have equipment to nurse them back to health.”

(Malik)

Kingston also talked about moving to another country and wanted to work in England. Anya hoped to live in Paris in the future and maybe work in a fashion store.

The reason why the trainees wish to move from St. Lucia can be analysed with Bourdieu’s (1977) social field. According to Bourdieu (Walther, 2014, 9), capitals can only be valued as resources in context with a social field. According to the trainees, their capital, such as cultural capital, is not viewed as important as social capital by the ones who hold the dominant structures in the social field. Their possibilities for a career in St. Lucia’s labour market is therefore limited, which can be the reason why they want to move. Not having the skills the employers view as important results in the trainees having a hard time to obtain respectability, which is something they might be able to receive in another country where their capitals are viewed as important. Arulmani’s (2014) definition of livelihood can also give a better understanding for their wish to move. Livelihood is linked to survival needs and is mostly practised by those with a lower income, for example skilled workers (Arulmani, 2014, 9). Since the trainees consider that the dominants of St. Lucia’s social field do not view their capitals as enough for being hired, unemployment might be something they will encounter. When unemployed, individuals barely have any access to income, which they need to be able to buy food and have somewhere to live. This need for survival might be what is pushing the trainees to wanting to move. It is a question of survival because if they cannot get access to the capitals St. Lucia’s labour market demands, they won’t be able to live their lives.
Another way to analyse the trainee’s perception of St. Lucia’s labour market is with Bourdieu’s (1977) habitus, which is explained as an individual’s perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting within a field (Krais, 1988, 1993, 169). The trainees’ surroundings, such as family and friends, may have told them when they grew up that to obtain a career it is important to have a skill and good personal characteristics, which is also something that their school might have told them. These kinds of experiences have built their habitus, where their perception is that they need to response with good attitude and respect towards people, as well as learning a skill, to have a possibility on the labour market. This has structured their way of thinking, feeling and acting within their fields and when the labour market does not see their capital as an attribute, it collides with their habitus. They are not settled with the social structure since is doesn’t match with their habitus, which makes them want to move in hope of finding a social field that views their capital as an attribute.

6.4. Summary

The result shows that the trainees career goals are mostly gender-specific, where the male trainees wish to be, for example, an electrical technician while the female trainees brings up careers such as being a chef or designing a fashion-line. This could be because they want to obtain respectability within their social field. It can also be explained with Bourdieu’s (1977) concept habitus, where the trainees’ perceptions of the skills could be a result of their parents or other important family members implementing that type of thinking when they were young, or the social field having taught them what is masculine and feminine. The trainees also have other life-goals such as getting married, starting a family and being independent, which Poulsen (2014) views as career. To be independent can be a form of aim to be respectable by close family and the society.

The trainees view personal characteristics such as having a good attitude and being respectful, and having a practical skill as important capitals for future career possibilities. Two of the eight trainees also bring up language skills as important. These perceptions can be viewed as a cultural capital, where personal characteristics would be defined as
incorporated cultural capital. Showing other people respect and having a good attitude towards them is a human capital. To know that one must have these personal characteristics on the labour market can be seen as a cultural capital, because they are aware of how their surrounding views them and how they can increase their chances of becoming employed.

A similarity in the trainees’ perception of St. Lucia’s labour market is that it is rough and that it is hard to find a job. Kingston, Lyron and Malik perceive having a good social capital as important to stand a chance on the labour market of St. Lucia, since the employers most commonly hire friends and family. Compared to the male trainees, two of the female trainees differ regarding their perception of the labour market. While all the male and two of the female trainees has a macro-levelled focus, where they perceive the employers as unfair, the remaining two female trainees’ perception focus on job-interviews; how hard they can be and that, in some cases, the person with the worst attitude gets the job. The labour market value social and symbolic capital more than cultural capital, which goes against what the trainees perceive as important for future career possibilities. Their negative perception of St. Lucia’s labour market has caused a wish to move to another country, especially among the male trainees.
7. Discussion

In this chapter, the result of the study is discussed and compared with the earlier research. Secondly, the benefits and disadvantages of the chosen method is discussed. The chapter also contains a discussion of the chosen theories, and is completed with a proposal for further research.

7.1. Discussion of Result

The purpose with this study is to examine eight C.A.R.E.-trainees’ perceptions of their future and what capitals they find important for personal and career-levelled possibilities. The purpose is also to study if there are any differences or similarities between the male and female trainees’ perception of the labour market in St. Lucia. The result and analysis indicate that most of the trainees have a career goal that is common for their gender and for future career possibilities, the trainees view personal attributes, having a skill and having a symbolic capital, important. A similarity between the female and the male trainees’ perception of the labour market in St. Lucia is that it is rough and it is hard to get a job. A difference was the focus of their perception, with the male trainees having a more macro-levelled perception, blaming the dominants in the social field for making the labour market so rough. Two of the female trainees had a microlevel perception since they talked about job-interviews and how hard they can be.

Earlier research shows that work-related goals tend to diminish when going from student to work because of other life-goals, such as having a partner or starting a family. The trainees at C.A.R.E. already had those kind of life-goals, since all of them talked about marrying and having children in the future. Why the trainees already had those life-goals in mind compared to the participants in the earlier research could be due to C.A.R.E.’s sexual and parent skills education. It might have given the trainees insight into the life to come if they choose to be in a relationship and to have children, which makes them more prepared
to balance it with the life of work. It can also be because of the different context between the studies, since the earlier research was conducted in Finland and this study in the Caribbean. These geographical, economic and cultural differences between the countries can be underlying causes for the divided result in the studies.

Earlier research states that individuals’ career decisions are influenced by other people’s perceptions of the job. Other’s perceptions of career can be a reason why a majority of the trainees at C.A.R.E. choose gender-specific skills. Many of the trainees thought that women want to attend office-skills and catering and hospitality courses since they don’t want to get their hands dirty, which the males who chose electrical, auto-mechanic and carpentry-skills courses must do. The participants in Bakshi et al. (2014) study also chose career-paths that were more common for their gender; for instance, engineering among the men and counselling- and educational professions among the women. Perceptions such as that girls don’t want to get their hands dirty or that men don’t want to risk looking feminine might lead to young adults choosing a course they don’t like, just so that people in their surrounding will not perceive them as “abnormal”.

Parallels can also be drawn between earlier research and the trainees at C.A.R.E. regarding perception of career barriers. A lack of organizational support is something that participants in earlier research view as a career barrier, which can be compared to the trainees’ perception of St. Lucia’s labour market. The trainees perceived that businesses commonly employ friends and family, which they felt is unfair. The reason why they attend C.A.R.E. courses is to learn a skill, which they view as important on the labour market, but when the employers instead give the job to someone based on their symbolic capital, they feel betrayed.

The effect of society’s perception of jobs and who should work with what, as well as the lack of organizational support for employees are some of the reasons why it is important with professional guidance counselling. Earlier research showed that guidance counsellors were ranked at the lowest level concerning who influenced the participants’ career decisions, which was the result of low access. The trainees at C.A.R.E. do not have access to a guidance counsellor either which can be viewed as a lack of organizational support. With the help of a guidance counsellor, maybe the gender preconceptions of the trainees, and the society, could be diminished and women would gladly work in fields previously
considered typically male, and men wouldn’t worry about looking feminine because no one would view it as abnormal. However, the trainees choosing a career path that is common for their gender is something that does not have to be viewed as negative. In Sweden, there is much focus on the individual and on gender equality, where the politicians try to find ways to increase interest among the students to choose a programme uncommon for their gender. Many other countries in the world do not think like this and the typical gender division of labour is reproduced, but this does not have to mean it is the “wrong thing” and Sweden is doing the “right thing”. What is important is not that the trainees tend to choose a career path that is specific to their gender, but that they have the possibility to choose a career that is uncommon for their gender, if they want to, without losing respectability or being seen as abnormal.

Lastly, the study might have had a different result if the data was collected after the trainees’ job-training. According to the staff at C.A.R.E., many of the trainees have a huge possibility to acquire employment at the company they do their job-training, if there is a place available and if they perform well. The eight trainees know that many earlier trainees have been offered a job after their job-training, but this wasn’t brought up during the interviews. If the study’s interviews had been completed after the trainee’s job-training, they might have had a different perception of the labour market, since they would have experienced it and might have been able to create a social capital they could take advantage of.

The study’s result is ever so relevant to guidance counselling. The result showed that the trainees’ career goals were common with their gender and that they perceived the reason why trainees tend to choose gender specific skills-programme is because they do not want to be viewed as masculine or feminine. The guidance counsellor’s job is to break these kind of patterns. It is not wrong wanting to choose a career path which is common for one’s gender, but people’s view of what is masculine and feminine can deter other from choosing a career rare for one’s gender. Thus, the guidance counsellor’s job is not to try and make people choose a gender-specific career, but to talk about gender and norms.

Secondly, the study showed that the trainees viewed cultural capital as important for future career possibilities, whilst they perceived the employers seeking for social and symbolic capital. A guidance counsellor works as a “messenger” between the academic
world and the labour market where he or she can inform young adults which capitals employers view as important, thus prepare them for the labour market.

7.2. Discussion of Method

As stated in the method-chapter, there are both benefits and disadvantages using a qualitative method. For this study, the biggest benefit was being able to ask the trainees follow-up questions. One disadvantage though was the difficulty understanding the trainees’ dialect, leading to me, on many occasions, having to ask them to repeat their answers. When transcribing the data, some of the words were hard to distinguish, which might have affected the result of the study. In this case, to avoid misunderstandings due to dialect differences, a quantitative method might have been a better choice.

The method used for selecting respondents can also be discussed. The Coordinators of C.A.R.E. in Anse La Raye and Odsan chose the respondents of this study. They considered it best if the respondents attended the Skills-programme since they are older than the trainees in the ADP-programme and had thought more about their future, which I agreed with. However, the underlying reason for the Coordinators selecting these specific eight trainees for the study is not clear. Maybe it was because they thought those eight trainees would represent C.A.R.E. in a good way. Thus, the validity of the study can be questioned, since the result might have been very different if the selection of respondents were voluntarily made by the trainees themselves. Having trainees from two different centres taking part in the study can also be questioned. The teachers in, for example Anse La Raye might have a different teaching approach than the ones in Odsan. My perception was that it was much harder to focus in the classroom in Odsan than Anse La Raye because of the building’s structure. Noise from adjacent classrooms spread and it was hard to hear what the teacher said. This might influence the trainees’ education and result in them having a more difficult time reaching their career goals, since they might not have been able to focus and learn as much as the students at the C.A.R.E.-centre in Anse La Raye.

The structure of the study’s interview guide is also worth discussing. It was clear that in some cases, the trainees had a hard time understanding the follow-up questions, thus
repeating the answer they already had shared. The interview guide was constructed from my own context, with a focus on the individual, which might not be something they are used to in the Caribbean. In the future, it is worth having in mind to take time studying the culture of the country where the study will be conducted.

7.3. Discussion of Theory

The chosen theories for this study were Bourdieu’s (1977) Theory of Practice as well as Skeggs (1999) definition of Respectability, to examine the trainee’s perception of; their future career, important capital for future career possibilities as well as St. Lucia’s labour market. Even though analysing the study’s purpose with the help of capital, social field, habitus and respectability was beneficial, since they gave a possible explanation to the trainees’ perceptions, they are not structured as career-theories. The study could have benefited from using a career-theory, for example Patton and McMahon’s (1995) System Theory of Framework. Such a theory could have added an insight into how the individual, social and environmental-societal systems work together and influence an individual’s career decision making.

7.4 Proposal for Further Research

What became clear during the pursuit of this study was how much research there has been made in the Western part of the world, in developed countries. When trying to find earlier research made in St. Lucia, the result was close to none. The only research available was based on earlier data, during 1996-2004, of employment and educational background rates in the country, nothing was about individual perceptions of the future.

For the future, researchers should do more studies in developing countries, especially in the smaller ones. Just because a country is small and underdeveloped does not mean that the residents’ voices should not be heard.
8. Reference list


http://www.iaclp.org/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/3_Gideon_Arulmani_IJCLP_Vol_3.43_213432.pdf (Downloaded 2017-05-08).


http://www.indigenouspsych.org/News/IJCLP%20Vol%201%20Issue%20Member.pdf (Downloaded 2017-05-10).


Dietrich, Julia, Jokisaari, Markku and Nurmi Jari-Erik. 2011. *Work-related goal appraisals and stress during the transition from education to work*. Elsevier Inc. [Link](http://ac.els-cdn.com.proxy.mah.se/S000187911100100X/1-s2.0-S000187911100100X-main.pdf?_tid=d2e1ff76-38a4-11e7-8858-00000aab0f02&acdnat=1494766802_5fe0ae3e526814ccc15511a0e33b61d) (Downloaded 2017-05-09).


(Downloaded 2017-05-11).


http://search.proquest.com.proxy.mah.se/docview/210921212/fulltext/D0D1B1B7667C47A1PQ/1?accountid=12249

(Downloaded 2015-05-13).


(Downloaded 2017-04-29).


(Downloaded 2016-10-16)


(Downloaded 2015-05-09).


http://adh.sagepub.com.proxy.mah.se/content/6/3/355.full.pdf+html (Downloaded 2016-10-03)


(Downloaded 2016-10-20)

http://hbanaszak.mjr.uw.edu.pl/TempTxt/9783658056995-c1.pdf (Downloaded 2017-05-09)
9. Annex

9.1 Interview Guide

Background
- Tell me something about yourself
- How old are you?
- How would you describe yourself?
- What does your friends do?
- What is important for you in life?
- What makes you happy?
- What did you like to do as a child?
- When you were a child, what was your dream job? (Has it changed?)

Career and Capital
- How did you get in contact with C.A.R.E.?
- How do you feel about going to C.A.R.E.?
- Which skill do you study?
- For how long have you been studying at C.A.R.E.?
- What did you do before studying at C.A.R.E.?
- What was the reason why you started studying at C.A.R.E.?
- What have you learnt at C.A.R.E.?
- What do you feel you gain by studying?
- What would you consider as a good life?
- What does career mean to you?
- What kind of career would you like to achieve? What skills do you think you need to reach that goal?
What are your goals in life? How will you reach them?

Labour market
- What do you think you will work as after C.A.R.E.?
- What is your dream job now?
- What kind of knowledge do you consider important for the labour market? Where do you learn this knowledge?
- What are your thoughts of the labour market in St. Lucia?
- How would you wish the labour market in St. Lucia would look like?
- How does C.A.R.E. prepare you for the labour market?
- Which skill-programme is more common for girls/boys to choose at C.A.R.E.? Why do you think it is like that?
- What do you need to be able to get a job in St. Lucia?

Future
- What do you think you will do after C.A.R.E.?
- How does C.A.R.E. prepare you for the future?
- Who do you talk about the future with? What is raised as important during such conversations?
- Where do you see yourself in 10 years?
- Tell me about an important person/event in your life. Why is this person/event important to you?