

## CHAPTER 2

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# Graduate Employability: A Critical Oversight

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## INTRODUCTION

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This chapter considers what is meant by employability, provides an overview of the main dimensions, and critically examines whether the attention given to graduate employability in particular has delivered its potential policy, educational, business and individual outcomes in the context of a complex economic situation. The term is used widely and loosely, and has been the focus of a rapidly expanding body of literature. Consequently, we begin by offering some definitions of employability then clarify this in four broad categories. Two of these are contextual: employment policy, principally at national level; and the notion of employability as a human resources management strategy. A further two are considered in much more detail first, employability in the higher education (HE) context both

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17 in terms of HE policy and the HE curriculum. As the last of the four  
 18 categories we focus on the individual perspective: self-perceived employ-  
 19 ability, or how individual graduates can make an evaluation of their own  
 20 career potential going forward. This is not the end of the story. While our  
 21 work is somewhat Anglo-centric, and rooted in the post-industrial econom-  
 22 ies (Bell 1976), we also intend to demonstrate that these are increasingly  
 23 global concerns. We suggest that employability has a ‘smoke and mir-  
 24 rors’ quality that has distracted attention from some fundamental issues  
 25 in relation to graduate employment, including the offshore migration of  
 26 graduate-level jobs, potential mis-selling of the extent of graduate-level  
 27 opportunities (Scurry and Blenkinsop 2011), and as yet unknown threats  
 28 to employment sustainability posed by predicted high levels of automation  
 29 of many types of work (Oliver 2015).

### 30 WHAT IS EMPLOYABILITY, WHERE DID IT COME FROM? AU2

#### 31 WHAT ARE THE MAIN DIMENSIONS WITHIN THE BROAD 32 SPECTRUM OF THE EMPLOYABILITY LITERATURE?

33 Despite the development (in the last two decades) of a sizeable field of  
 34 literature the validity of employability as a construct has been consistently  
 35 challenged (Hillage and Pollard 1998; Garavan 1999). More recently  
 36 Thijssen et al. (2008, p. 167) suggested it might be ‘an attractive but AU3  
 37 confusing professional buzzword’. Thijssen et al. also suggested that  
 38 sometimes the term has negative connotations, sometimes positive, often  
 39 referring to individual characteristics, sometimes under-valuing the impor-  
 40 tance of the external labour market but generally referring to the notion  
 41 of ‘employment as an outcome’ (p. 174). One of the most widely cited  
 42 definitions is from Hillage and Pollard (1998, p. 12):

43 Employability is about the capability to move self-sufficiently within the  
 44 labour market to realise potential through sustainable employment. For the  
 45 individual, employability depends on the knowledge, skills and attitudes  
 46 they possess, the way they use those assets and present them to employers  
 47 and the context (eg. personal circumstances and labour market environ-  
 48 ment) within which they seek work.

49 Previously, we have suggested that employability might simply be the abil-  
 50 ity to keep the job you’ve got or to get the job you want (Rothwell and  
 51 Arnold 2007). However in paid-for higher education in a recessionary

context, employability may find itself with a contractual tone, as suggested by Oliver (2015, p. 56):

Employability features more prominently on the agenda of higher education institutions when the economy falters or changes: the majority of students, and their families, expect a degree to deliver a career pathway as well as an education.

We will discuss Hillage and Pollard’s suggested link between employability and skills below, as well as the impact of the context – work and careers, especially for graduates, in the twenty-first century.

### A BRIEF MODERN HISTORY OF CAREERS, WORK AND (UN) EMPLOYMENT: THE CONTEXT OF EMPLOYABILITY

Concerns about work and employment in the western industrialised world resulting from economic, technological and social change are not new. There has been significant turbulence in these labour markets since the 1970s, which accelerated following the recession of 2007–2008. In post-industrial societies, downsizing and delayering, eradicated many of the structures that supported long term careers. New flexible models of work shifted the burden of risk to the individual (Ekinsmyth 1999). In the UK, 84% of job losses between 2008 and 2009 were in manual, unskilled and administrative positions (Wright et al. 2010). In the west, there has been a decline in manufacturing: in all developed countries the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing halved by 1990 (Watkins et al. 1992). According to Manyika et al. (2011), manufacturing represented just 12 per cent of United States GDP and 11% of employment by 2011, with 5.7 million jobs lost in the first decade of the twenty-first century, this being a dramatic acceleration of an existing trend and reflecting (p. 28) “the effects of automation, process redesign and off-shoring”, all factors which we suggest will also increasingly affect graduate level work.

**AU4** In the second decade of the twenty-first century, getting or keeping work has remained a challenge for many individuals. Torres (2012) suggested a 50-million jobs deficit worldwide, noting that (2012, p. vii), “*employment has become more unstable or precarious. In advanced economies, involuntary part time employment and temporary employment have increased in two thirds and more than half of those economies, respectively.*” Hence, the rationale for continuing interest in employability is clear, but

87 there are also hints of structural issues and deeply concerning international  
 88 issues which we will return to later. Having established the context for  
 89 employability, the following sections discuss how these changes to work  
 90 and employment were reflected in employability related public policy and  
 91 organisational human resource management (HRM) strategies. This is  
 92 followed by a more detailed consideration of employability in a Higher  
 93 Education context.

#### 94 EMPLOYABILITY IN PUBLIC POLICY, THE SKILLS DEBATE

95 In the UK, government policy from the late 1970s marked a move away  
 96 from a commitment to full employment. As Orton (2011, p. 353) noted,  
 97 “- *government no longer saw itself as responsible for job creation or protection,*  
 98 *and what policy development there was focused overwhelmingly on the supply*  
 99 *side*”. Similarly Chertkovskaya et al. (2013, p. 701) suggested that:

100 - individuals’ capacity to – constantly work on their employability, has come  
 101 to be understood as the crux of national, organizational and individual  
 102 prosperity.

103 This neo-liberal approach marked a shift in responsibility towards the  
 104 individual, mirrored (in academic literature) by notions such the protean  
 105 career (Hall 1976) as being under the proactive control of the person  
 106 seeking to sustain or acquire work. By the mid-late 1990s concerns about  
 107 the impact of rising unemployment in Western economies led to research  
 108 supported by government departments (eg. Hillage and Pollard 1998),  
 109 the European Union (eg. Berkeley 1995) or internationally (e.g. OECD  
 110 1996, 1998; UN 2001), promoting the notion that unemployment could  
 111 be ‘durably reduced’ (OECD 1995, p. 12). Researchers often emphasised  
 112 the role of government as ‘enablers’ (Cherkovskya et al. 2013, p. 703)  
 113 in stimulating the development of skills in the working population (who  
 114 should now take the initiative to upgrade their skills) appropriate to per-  
 115 ceived employer needs (NCIHE 1997, UK Commission for Employment  
 116 and Skills 2009). This perception also influenced 1990s public policy  
 117 (e.g. in the UK) with a focus on higher education expansion, which also  
 118 happened to reduce youth unemployment especially when linked to  
 119 widening participation – encouraging working class youth into Higher  
 120 Education, with a promise of a rewarding career and social mobility. Specific  
 121 ‘graduate skills’ were listed comprehensively in nine areas by Lowden et al.

(2011, p. 6), including such (simplistic?) categories as a ‘positive approach’ and ‘using numbers accurately’. Yet even such simple skill-sets may themselves be unstable. The ‘World Economic Forum’ (2016, p. 3) noted that skill requirements for jobs were changing, *“shortening the shelf-life of employees’ existing skill-sets”, and noted the need for ‘technical skills to be supplemented by strong social and collaboration skills’.*

The recognition of potential shortcomings in a new proactive approach to work and skills are far from new. Hillage and Pollard (1998) noted the lack of ‘employability qualities’ in school leavers. Similarly the OECD (1997) observed that initial education and training no longer guaranteed what they optimistically called lifelong employability. The actual creation of jobs is often overlooked: Brown (2005), in a review of UK public policy attributed (p. 13) the ‘failure of economically inactive people’ to find jobs to ‘poor employability’ and discrimination against them: the absence of suitable jobs for them to apply for was not mentioned. McQuaid and Lindsay (2005) however offered a critical perspective on ‘supply side’ employability policies (i.e. policies which aimed to enhance individuals’ employability skills) in that these shifted the onus of ‘blame’ onto the individual and their: “ – inadequacies, rather than acknowledging a lack of opportunity within the labour market” (p. 204).

Within the UK literature in particular, the notion of employability in public policy became inextricably attached to that of skills development. Wright, Brinkley and Clayton also (p. 10) noted that as long ago as 1970 around twenty cent of the UK workforce were ‘knowledge workers’: this doubled by 2010, as knowledge-intensive industries increased by around 90% to almost half of all employment in the UK. A reasonably contemporary view of the UK employment scene was offered by Birdwell et al. (2011, p. 18):

Five trends shape the current labour market – the dwindled but relatively stable supply of lower-skilled jobs, the diminished number of semi-skilled manufacturing jobs, the continuing rise in service sector jobs, the growing need for jobs at a ‘technician level’, the rise in the number of jobs at professional and managerial level.

Wright et al. (2010, p. 3) suggested that “skills shortages, skills gaps and skills under-utilisation are cited as the main problems facing the system”. They expressed frustration with the ‘glacial speed’ of the system (page 35) and concluded (page 6):

159 The debate about employability and skills has been long standing – after  
160 many years there has been no revolution and we are still discussing a lack of  
161 ‘employability skills’, with education providers remaining focused on quali-  
162 fications targets rather than preparation for the workforce.

163 The report went on (page 7) to suggest that “skills-hungry knowledge  
164 intensive sectors (are) critical to the future growth of the UK”, suggest-  
165 ing that there would continue to be strong demand for individuals with  
166 higher skills and qualifications due to the advance of the knowledge-based  
167 economy (KBE: OECD 1996). This derived from a common perspective  
168 at the end of the twentieth century that due to demographic change and  
169 the rise of the KBE there would be a limited pool of talent with the poten-  
170 tial to fill higher level positions, thus creating a ‘war for talent’ (a term first  
171 used by McKinsey consultants: see Michaels et al. 1997). At the same time  
172 the increasing sophistication of work would create a need for additional  
173 skill requirements, thus creating jobs to be filled by graduates, a notion  
174 known as job-upgrading (CIPD 2015b) or up-skilling (Felstead 2013). In  
175 fact, Felstead acknowledged that the up-skilling process was weakening by  
176 2012, while the supply of graduates continued to grow, but clearly stated  
177 his perspective that: “the economy’s prosperity is based on the skills of its  
178 jobs” (p. 17).

179 More recent perspectives have challenged the notion of up-grading or  
180 up-skilling . First, automation may have the opposite effect of de-skilling  
181 work by replacing discretionary decision-making with intelligent systems,  
182 ‘making knowledge work more routine’. Second a diminishing demand  
183 for labour may mean that more skilled and qualified candidates (gradu-  
184 ates) displace the less favoured, even where the graduates may be under-  
185 employed (CIPD 2015b). The same source described this phenomenon of  
186 graduate employment in what were formerly non graduate jobs as ‘occu-  
187 pational filtering down’ (page 28), a nicely euphemistic term for what  
188 could also be called de-professionalisation. Espinoza (2015) noted that  
189 one-third of UK graduates from the previous year were in roles that did  
190 not require a degree. Goldwyn-Simkins (2015) in the UK’s ‘What do  
191 Graduates Do’ publication, noted that although the number of gradu-  
192 ates in what was called ‘professional-level employment’ had risen, this was  
193 still only 68%. At the same time the CIPD’s Labour Market Outlook for  
194 the fourth quarter of 2015 noted that 49% of employers had hiring dif-  
195 ficulties, especially for engineering and managerial roles (CIPD 2015a),  
196 suggesting a mismatch between supply and demand in the labour market.

It has been suggested that the focus on skills as a “social and economic panacea” (Keep 2010, p. 565) has diverted attention away from considering other practical policies and strategies. Challenges to contemporary policy approaches, included Orton (2012, p. 357) who suggested that: “ – employability without employment does not make sense in a capabilities perspective”. Orton suggested that the real issue was to raise the number of jobs available and a need for alternative policies to the neo-liberal orthodoxy. Chertkovskaya (2013) suggested that:

governments, rather than creating jobs, helped the unemployed to improve their employability, as well as making benefits dependent on it, with getting out of unemployment becoming the individual’s responsibility.

What actually appears to have happened in post-industrial societies in the last decade (accelerating in the last five years) is further cost-based job migration but not just of routine-level jobs. The outsourcing of professional work and the rapid rise of professional shared service centres, many of which are outside the UK, has seen higher-level work migrate overseas as well (Rothwell et al. 2011; Herbert and Seal 2014), satisfying demand for professional service work by a rapidly growing, technically literate and educated population in the developing world. Thus there may continue to be strong demand for individuals such as graduates with higher skills and qualifications due to the global advance of the knowledge based economy, but it won’t necessarily be in the post-industrial nations. We suggest that by committing to a KBE based on ‘graduate work’ and professional services, the post-industrial nations have missed the point: skills deficits may persist, and worsen, but in technical skills (which aren’t being delivered by many education systems, notably the UK) to a greater extent than skills for professional services. There will be no net increase in high level domestic jobs, they will simply migrate overseas, encouraged by surpluses of graduate labour in lower-cost economies such as India and China (Sharma 2014).

As concluding comments, employability as policy has fallen victim to a series of oversights, and one cannot escape the feeling that either little has been achieved or that the debate has not sufficiently evolved. Our principal challenge, which we will return to later, is that an ‘upskilled’ economic future premised on the KBE may be at best unsustainable and at worst a myth. The next section briefly considers employability as a strategy within Human Resource Management, after which we focus our attention on Higher Education.

## EMPLOYABILITY AS A HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

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236 Employability also exists as a concept within the managerial toolkit.  
237 Changing labour market conditions throughout the western world in  
238 the 1990s signalled the end of employment security (Doherty 1996).  
239 Employability emerged as a possible way forward (Garavan 1999). Pascale  
240 (1995, p. 21) noted a somewhat idealistic view:

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Employability has been advanced as the mechanism to restore a healthier  
*quid pro quo* – In exchange for the employees' dedicated efforts in a shorter-  
term employment relationship, the company pays higher wages and invests  
in the employees' development. This makes them more marketable when it  
is time to move on.

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Tamkin and Hillage (1999) emphasised what employers could potentially  
do to enhance the employability of their workforce suggesting that if they  
could not offer a job-for-life (still a cherished notion in the 1990s!) then  
it would be good practice to give employees the ability to get other work  
should this be necessary including an emphasis on learning and develop-  
ment, coaching, mentoring and developing key contacts. Similarly Thijssen  
et al (2008, p. 169) suggested a focus in the 1990s on 'companies offering  
facilities to improve the responsibility and initiative of employees', linking  
this to the notion of the boundaryless career. Baruch (2001, p. 553) was  
blunt in his conclusions:

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employability' as a managerial concept is flawed. In the short term people  
will not believe in it; in the long term it will damage the company.

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His assessment was based on research with HR managers whose views  
included the idea that promoting employability would de-stabilise the  
company, that they wanted people to develop "skills for us, not for others"  
(p. 560), and the notion of promoting employability as a benefit "would  
be completely illogical". Despite these potentially negative perceptions,  
there are some contemporary examples which illustrate the persistence of  
the HRM perspective. Nauta et al. (2009, p. 233) examined the 'push and  
pull' motives related to the turnover intent of Dutch health care workers  
and concluded that an 'employability culture' would help organisations  
adapt to change while 'simultaneously decreasing turnover intentions'.



Finally, as a philanthropic perspective, Dobbs et al. (2012) cited (p. 67) the beverage company Diageo which set up a UK charity to help long term unemployed people find jobs, education or training.

An overall evaluation is of a complex picture relating to employability within HRM, worthy of further research. For graduates, the implications are that while they may expect development in their ‘first destination’ appointments, employers may be reticent to provide this unless some trade-off can be made such as training (essentially lock-in) agreements. As a counter-view, the World Economic Forum suggested that the expectation on the part of employers that they be “consumers of ready-made human capital” (WEF 2016, p. 7) was unrealistic, and that they should put talent development “front and centre to their growth”.

## GRADUATE EMPLOYABILITY AND THE HIGHER EDUCATION CONTEXT

From the 1980s onwards a focus emerged on employability within the Higher Education (HE) context including the promotion of initiatives to develop employability such as internships and work experience. In this section of the chapter we commence with some observations on graduate employment (not just in the UK), followed by some sector-level developments such as those promoted by the Higher Education Academy. We will then consider selected examples of specific curriculum initiatives, and a selection of employability measures or psychometric tools that are relevant to graduates. We consider the relationship between employability initiatives and subsequent employment outcomes, concluding with some challenges to the phenomenon of graduate employability. Is it a potential solution to a global jobs crisis, or worse, as Cherkovskaya, Watt, Tramer and Spoelstra suggested (2013, p. 707): ‘a promise empty of any substantive meaning – that empties all it touches’.

Some of the earliest references to employability could be found in an educational context (Robbins 1963). The term was to re-emerge in the 1980s in the context of concerns about rising graduate unemployment in the UK (Haigh and Gibbs 1981) and graduate suitability for employment (NCIHE 1997) at the same time as ‘massification’ of the higher education sector. Wright et al. (2010, p. 11) noted that 36% of the employed UK workforce had a degree or equivalent in 2010, and that the Labour party had aimed to get 50% of young people to enter higher education

304 (or equivalent) and 75% to enter post-secondary education (Leitch Review  
305 of Skills 2006).

306 In the UK context graduate salaries, employment rates and expecta-  
307 tions are variable and the outlook for graduates has been mixed for some  
308 time. Scurry and Blenkinsop (2011) explored the notion of graduate  
309 under-employment, and emphasised the importance of managing expecta-  
310 tions. Unemployment or under-employment may well be due to quali-  
311 tative and quantitative mismatches: in the former case subject knowledge  
312 (not just skills) that do not match labour market requirements (Woodman  
313 and Hutchings 2011), and in the latter case simply too many graduates.  
314 A report entitled ‘Over-qualification and skills mismatch in the graduate  
315 labour market’ (CIPD 2015b) noted the increasing proportions of gradu-  
316 ates in professional and ‘associate professional’ (p. 3) occupations between  
317 1991 and 2014, but also (p. 4) that the UK has witnessed one of the high-  
318 est rates of Higher Education expansion across Europe in recent decades’,  
319 with (p. 15) 58.8% of graduates in non-graduate jobs, one of the high-  
320 est proportions in Europe. The CIPD acknowledged a generally higher  
321 level of skill requirements in the workforce, and that some degree courses  
322 were delivering training once the preserve of vocational education. They  
323 suggested that in some cases jobs have upgraded “as graduates moved  
324 into them in increasing numbers” (p. 5) whereas in other cases graduates  
325 have simply replaced non-graduates in less demanding jobs. They (2015, [AU6](#)  
326 p. 11) cited the notion of ‘Digital Taylorism’ as graduate level jobs were  
327 subjected to increasing automation, including of decision-making pro-  
328 cesses. A contrasting view (at first impression) was presented by Goldwyn-  
329 Simpkins (2015) whose findings suggested that the UK graduate labour  
330 market had recovered from the recession (2014–2015 cohort, surveyed  
331 six months after graduation), with mean salaries of £20,637 and 68% of  
332 graduates in graduate-level jobs. Notwithstanding the mismatch in infor-  
333 mation, this presents a challenging contemporary picture overall for UK  
334 graduates.

335 The UK HE sector responded to challenges described by investing sig-  
336 nificantly in employability initiatives. The greatest body of work was devel-  
337 oped by the UK’s Higher Education Academy (HEA), specifically their  
338 ‘Subject Centres’ and ‘Centres of Excellence in Teaching and Learning’  
339 (CETLs) and there are numerous examples of good practice across a very  
340 broad spectrum of subject areas. The CETL activity was summarised by  
341 Butcher et al. (2011) and claimed impact at a number of levels including  
342 embedding employability in institutional strategy, promoting innovation

in teaching and learning, enterprise education, research to inform practice and employer engagement. In that account employability appeared to have subsumed a number of other activities including work-based learning (p. 9) and entrepreneurship. A comprehensive perspective on employability for university students was offered by Redmond (2010) who suggested that University reputation could impact on an individual's future employability ( a view not widely acknowledged in the UK academic community), and that employability could be represented by the formula:  $E = Q + WE + S \times C$ . This being, Employability = Qualifications + Work Experience + Strategies x Contacts. The inclusion of 'contacts' is interesting: could it be that despite widening participation initiatives, individuals from more affluent backgrounds are more likely to attend highly ranked universities and to have the contacts to acquire entry level positions or internships? Illustrative of works that focus on key employability-creating factors, Lowden et al. (2011) found that their research (p. vii) 'overwhelmingly highlighted' the importance of work experience to promote the employability of graduates.

Holmes (2015) focused on the formation of 'graduate identity' through analysis of personal narratives of individuals who had engaged with graduate selection processes. Their success or otherwise either confirmed or refuted their sense of 'worthiness' to be considered suitable for what they perceived as a graduate level role, and indeed the value of being a graduate in the first place. In the context of widespread concerns about graduate under-employment, Holmes presented some important issues: is higher education over-selling the promise of graduate employment, and if this is not achieved is the consequence psychologically damaging for individuals?

There are numerous publications which directly describe employability initiatives in various Universities. Many are claimed to be successful, and undoubtedly rest on exceptional efforts by dedicated individuals, but there are relatively few longitudinal studies that actually capture the impact of employability initiatives. We present a small selection here, identified as much for their differences as their similarities. For example, Dacre Pool and Sewell (2007) described the 'CareerEDGE' model as including curriculum components to develop employability, including (page 49) career development learning, experience, the degree subject, skills and emotional intelligence; they also emphasised the value of opportunities to develop work experience. They concluded (p. 287) that 'self-esteem is a major part of the key to employability'. A later publication (Dacre Pool and Qualter 2013) introduced an element of longitudinal study in that it examined the

382 perceptions of 'working graduates' (alumni) to retrospectively consider the  
383 impact of a range of variables within self-perceived employability, includ-  
384 ing career satisfaction and including emotional self-efficacy (an alternative  
385 label for trait-emotional intelligence: p. 215). The latter was found to be  
386 important for both employability and career satisfaction, supporting an  
387 argument for EI to have more curriculum emphasis. Smith et al. (2014)  
388 reported a substantial study undertaken in Australia with more than 3000  
389 responses in one of the five separate phases, including over 1400 responses  
390 in what was described as a 'proxy longitudinal study' (p. 21). This very  
391 diverse (in terms of subject) study focused on employability and especially  
392 work-experience provision within the curriculum. It had a longitudinal  
393 aspect in the sense that the phases included students at different stages  
394 of their degree programme, individuals close to completion of a 'work  
395 placement', and a qualitative phase with alumni who had benefitted from  
396 'work-integrated learning' (p. 22). The first phase examined employability  
397 related curriculum initiatives: recommendations included the fundamental  
398 importance of work experience in shaping employability in the long run.

399 Maxwell et al. (2015) described the 'Employability Plus' initiative at  
400 Northampton University based to a large extent on voluntary community  
401 action and 'social learning', which blended curricular and extracurricular  
402 activity and included reflective aspects as well as 1:1 meetings between  
403 advisors and students, as part of a wider strategy of curriculum innova-  
404 tion and employer engagement. Despite a claimed 97% employability rate  
405 among the University's graduates, only 65% of these were acknowledged  
406 to be in graduate level jobs. Ball (2015, p. 4) noted that 'graduate level'  
407 meant (in terms of UK statistical returns and definitions as reported in  
408 'What do Graduates Do?', jobs falling under the 'professional' banner.  
409 Even this can be problematic: Ball cited 'shop-keeping' as being consid-  
410 ered 'professional', when finance and veterinary work were not, necessarily.

411 What has become noticeable in the last two to three years has been the  
412 level of interest in graduate employability worldwide, generally driven by  
413 Higher Education expansion and a corresponding concern about gradu-  
414 ate unemployment or underemployment. Across Europe, the CIPD  
415 (2015a) noted that high-skilled jobs had generally tended to increase  
416 more slowly than the number of high-skilled workers available with some  
417 countries, notably Greece, reporting particular problems. Further afield  
418 Sharma (2015) reported that 30% of this year's graduating cohort (2.3  
419 million individuals) in China could be unemployed, with graduates more  
420 willing to take non-graduate jobs. In India, according to the Indian

Ministry of Labour and Employment (Labour Bureau 2014, p. 7): 421  
 “In the case of graduates and post graduates the unemployment rate 422  
 is about 14 per cent and 12 per cent respectively.” Sharma reported 423  
 high levels of alienation and discontent in both India and China among 424  
 the large numbers of educated young people unable to join the middle 425  
 class. Two key differences here are the rapidly increasing population of 426  
 India, with slower growth in China as a legacy of the now- relaxed ‘one- 427  
 child’ policy. Rufai et al. (2015) described a model of graduate employ- 428  
 ability in the context of Malaysia, also experiencing rapid population 429  
 (and graduate) increases which may (p. 43): “out-pace the generation of 430  
 employment opportunities”. There is evidence of significant interest in 431  
 graduate employability in Australia, with government-led initiatives to 432  
 identify and promote best practice (see eg. Jackson 2013; Kinash et al., 433  
 2014) with the former paper noting (p. 2) “persistent gaps in certain 434  
 non-technical skills in business graduates”. 19 such skills were identified 435  
 and more than 45 behaviours. 436

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Readers familiar with the UK’s Higher Education Academy’s work on 437  
 employability may well be surprised at the brevity of this section. Our aim 438  
 is not so much to present a comprehensive view of employability good 439  
 practice, as to offer a balanced consideration including some limitations: 440  
 in this vein some shortcomings of the HEA’s output have been observed. 441  
 Pegg et al. (2012) presented an update of the numerous earlier HEA pub- 442  
 lications on ‘pedagogy for employability’ which aimed to develop (p 45) 443  
 “the creative, confident, articulate graduate” They concluded that this 444  
 would be based on action in respect of learning, teaching and assessment 445  
 to develop employability, work experience or simulated work-based learn- 446  
 ing, and an institutional commitment to employability. They noted the 447  
 development of an explicit connection between study and the workplace, 448  
 including student and employer expectations, but at the same time a – 449  
 “lack of evaluation of initiatives and approaches to teaching and learning 450  
 employability skills” (46). A further view was offered by Waltz (2011) 451  
 who suggested that in attempting to force a fit of individual values with 452  
 organisational values in the name of employability, individuals may experi- 453  
 ence cognitive dissonance due to the need to subordinate their own values 454  
 to that of the organisation. 455

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A report summarising the proceedings of a teaching and learning 456  
 summit (Tibby 2012), also documented some of the key issues and was 457  
 relatively frank about the challenges of employability, noting among oth- 458  
 ers (p. 3): 459

460 (a) lack of clarity as regards the concept of employability – lack of student  
 461 engagement with employability – training and resource issues for staff  
 462 involved in delivering employability support – the challenge of assessing the  
 463 impact of employability provision.

464 A further observation could be that employability approaches take an  
 465 overly simplistic consideration of the development and manifestation of grad-  
 466 uates' skills. According to James et al. (2013) skill acquisition may not just  
 467 be in higher education, but prior to it and even parallel to it, some of the  
 468 best examples including volunteering or extra-curricular activity (Rothwell  
 469 and Charleston 2013). Similarly, Williams (2012) expressed a concern  
 470 that teaching employability skills was actually a distraction for subject-  
 471 specialist academics, in a context where students saw university as the only  
 472 option (due to a lack of jobs) rather than a positive choice. Wilton (2011)  
 473 introduced a note of concern in his observation that despite employabil-  
 474 ity initiatives, graduates were still likely to encounter barriers attributable  
 475 to 'traditional labour-market disadvantage', such as social class. There is  
 476 nonetheless a perception that many publications on employability related  
 477 to UK higher education in particular tend to be repetitive, descriptive and  
 478 uncritical (Pegg et al. 2012).

479 We suggest that despite the immense amount of energy and effort that  
 480 has been expended on university level employability, this may actually dis-  
 481 guise some issues of concern. First, universities in the UK (and elsewhere)  
 482 expanded dramatically in the early part of the twenty-first century but not  
 483 always in the shortage 'STEM' subjects required for sustainable economies.  
 484 Second, in some cases graduates apparently still lack many of the basic skills  
 485 employers require (Lowden et al. 2011). Third, universities have been  
 486 complicit, globally, in promoting the notion of 'graduate employment' in  
 487 mass Higher Education when the prospect of attaining success from a not  
 488 inconsiderable investment is not always a realistic aspiration. Fourth, the  
 489 increasing global concern about graduate employability suggests a bigger  
 490 over-supply problem, exacerbated by a global jobs shortfall.

#### 491 THE INDIVIDUAL FOCUS: EMPLOYABILITY MEASURES 492 AND SELF-PERCEIVED EMPLOYABILITY

493 In the three approaches to employability discussed so far, employability  
 494 has been viewed in a detached way: as applied to individuals or groups  
 495 within society as a whole, within the education system, or an organisation's

workforce. A fourth perspective on employability examines the individuals' understanding of their own situation and opportunities. It mainly evolved from the 1990s literature on changing careers and the 'new psychological contract', echoing earlier notions of less government intervention and more employee pro-activity. Broadly, within the literature self-perceived employability (SPE) appears to have internal and external aspects. The internal dimension includes the individuals' self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), knowledge and skills (Engelberg and Limbach-Reich 2011), mastery of career management and job search (Hillage and Pollard 1998), individual attributes such as age which was also linked to promotions (Van der Heijden, Lange, Demerouti, Van der Heijde 2009), and internal job-promotion opportunities (Rothwell and Arnold 2007). Van Emmerik et al. (2012) also noted the importance of aspects inherent within the job such as autonomy, variety and feedback, mediated by individual motivation. The external dimension includes the general state of the labour market and the demand for one's occupation at a particular point in time (Hillage and Pollard 1998, Rothwell and Arnold 2007). Positive perceptions of one's employability may be advantageous: Berntson and Marklund (2007) found through longitudinal study that it predicted mental well-being and general health due to a perceived ability to escape work situations seen as unfavourable.

Self-perceptions of employability (SPE) apply to individuals in the context of transitions between education and work. Rothwell et al. (2008) examined SPE for business students in low-ranked, middle-ranked and high-ranked universities based on a four-component model comprising the individual, their course of study, the status of their institution and the general state of the labour market. They found, perhaps counter-intuitively, that respondents from the highest ranked university actually had the lowest employability expectations. This was initially attributed to these individuals having a greater reality-sense and awareness of the real challenges in the labour market. Their views contrasted with those of students in the sample from post 1992 Universities, who were found to be from a 'widening participation' background, with lower grades on entry and the first in their families to engage with higher education. The students from the high-ranked institutions also reported greater selectivity in the jobs they were willing to apply for. Their uncompromising 'red-brick, blue chip' approach indicated that they were less easily satisfied than their peers. Rothwell et al. (2009) replicated the above study with international post-graduate students. In each of the latter studies actual scale items used were appended to the papers, with factor analyses and details of scale construction.

535 Picking up on the international note above Potgeiter and Coetzee  
536 (2013) analysed the attributes of their ‘employability attributes scale’,  
537 which they used in conjunction with the Myers-Briggs Type indicator  
538 (MBTI™) in their South African study. This was based on a model which  
539 accounted for (p. 3) personal agency, career success and sustained employ-  
540 ability, as well as the employment context. Individual factors included  
541 career self-management, cultural competence, self-efficacy, career resil-  
542 ience, sociability, proactivity, emotional literacy and entrepreneurial orien-  
543 tation. This paper also looked at postgraduate employability – arguably  
544 an under-researched area. Nwogu and Momoh (2015), also utilised the  
545 MBTI alongside their (p. 245) “graduate employability qualities and per-  
546 sonality preferences” scale, noting (p. 242): “-increased concerns about  
547 the employability of young adults in the Nigerian context”. While these  
548 are by no means the only international examples, they do illustrate the  
549 increasing global concern around graduate employability. As with other  
550 categories, research on SPE presents a mixed picture with some poten-  
551 tially contradictory results. Despite a growing body of literature the actual  
552 impact of the above research has been modest, and has yet (for example)  
553 to inform significant practical tools that could be used in an employment  
554 context, such as career counselling.

### 555 *Employability: Potentially Helpful, But Not the Answer?*

556 We have suggested that there has been extensive attention paid to employ-  
557 ability, but not enough to employment. Our arguments here have a special  
558 resonance for graduate employment. Despite predictions that there  
559 will be increased demand for ‘highly skilled talent’ in advanced economies  
560 (e.g. Dobbs et al. 2012), this demand may be moderated by continuing  
561 job migration. Dobbs et al. also noted (page 43) that as China moves  
562 towards ‘wealthy nation status’, it will create up to 64 million more knowl-  
563 edge-intensive jobs in the service sector, including in ‘education, finance  
564 and business services’. The work for these jobs was not likely to be entirely  
565 home-grown. Subsequent commentators (e.g. Sharma 2014) have noted  
566 high levels of graduate unemployment in China attributable to over-supply  
567 hence meeting the demand for such work is not likely to be an issue. Nor  
568 have governments given adequate protection to employment. Kochan  
569 (2012 p. 3) noted that a U.S. corporation might close a plant and send  
570 the jobs overseas to be undertaken at lower labour costs, but society “picks  
571 up the tab for their lack of investment in human capital: slow economic



growth, unemployment, welfare, and so on”. Looking further afield, we have suggested that increasing levels of global education, including graduate education, may simply create more pain and more unmet expectations of employability, described by Valenzuela (2013, p. 863) as: “mortifying guilt arising from a lack of knowing how to realise it”.

Few of the analyses discussed so far have even mentioned the potential consequences of widespread automation. Indeed, this appears to be an ‘elephant in the room’ so far as economic and employment policy is concerned, despite increasing attention to the subject (Frey and Osborne 2013; Manyika et al. 2015). In Australia, Oliver (2015, p. 57) suggested that five million jobs (there) could be replaced in the next decade.

How did we get to where we are today in a business and policy sense? Torres (2012) noted (page x) the “imbalance between the voice of the real economy and that of the financial sector” (or ‘financialisation’, Palley 2007); Huffington (2010) a political system in the USA (but it could be applied elsewhere) in thrall to a small financial elite. Similarly Kochan (2012, p. 9) described the importance of rebalancing “shareholder and stakeholder considerations”; while Featherby (2012) argued for: “mega-businesses, those business that control the way we live, to be given a civic responsibility as well as a private purpose”. Although not specifically mentioned, this responsibility could include for example not being so ready to ship jobs overseas in search of lower labour costs, and business having a sense of community responsibility. Finally, despite the emergence of a considerable body of academic and practitioner knowledge on employability and a sophisticated understanding of the labour market, we suggest that academics may also be culpable in that they have not fulfilled an intellectual and moral leadership role to guide policy makers and entrepreneurs in respect of sustainability and responsible stewardship.

## CONCLUSIONS 600

In the present century many of the former world-leading economies of the twentieth century have been scarred by unemployment, welfare dependency, the desolation of communities, the displacement of people and the creation of ‘lost generations’, including many graduates, for whom sustainable employment remains a distant aspiration. Globally, such phenomena have the potential to lead to unfulfilled potential, demotivated and disenfranchised youth, an epidemic of drug dependency and mental health issues, an increasingly fragile balance between the haves and have-nots 601  
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609 both within and between nation states and an increasing risk of political  
 610 and social unrest. Even the most relentless optimist would agree that the  
 611 structural changes (in the west) that lie behind these challenges will be  
 612 extremely difficult to undo, while in emerging economies it is difficult to  
 613 argue against rising numbers of graduates having aspirations to match.

614 Clearly having some understanding of what contributes to graduate  
 615 employability is important at an individual, institutional and international  
 616 level. However, the (now) vast body of literature on employability gen-  
 617 erally under-estimates the importance of the employment context where  
 618 there are major concerns. First, developing nations have every right to ris-  
 619 ing educational attainment levels, and the western nations have no more  
 620 ownership rights than anyone else to graduate jobs and employment.  
 621 These, if left to market forces, aided by the emergence of sophisticated  
 622 global logistics and a levelling technological playing field in terms of most  
 623 business processes, will tend to follow lower labour costs. Hence our over-  
 624 all conclusion is that a focus on employability misses a key point which is  
 625 the creation, acquisition and retention of good quality, sustainable jobs –  
 626 globally. Initial concerns about the validity of employability as a construct  
 627 are best described as ‘valid in part’. From a critical distance, employability  
 628 does indeed appear to be a well-intentioned construct that is applied to a  
 629 range of related topic areas. In respect of education and especially Higher  
 630 Education, a not insignificant body of knowledge has emerged which aims  
 631 to support student transitions to the workplace. There are still areas for  
 632 potential research. There are still relatively few longitudinal studies that  
 633 assess the impact of employability initiatives on graduate employment.  
 634 There is considerable potential for international replication of existing  
 635 studies especially in emerging economies. A further aim might be to pro-  
 636 vide an evidence base to underpin public policy and in turn to promote  
 637 sustainable employment. While this potential has yet to be realised and is  
 638 now the employability challenge for the twenty-first century, we suggest  
 639 that global graduate employment itself will now present far greater chal-  
 640 lenges, and should be a focus for long overdue attention.

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# Author Queries

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AU8	"Waltz (2015)" has been changed to "Waltz (2011)" as per the reference list. Please check if okay.	
AU9	References "Bernstein (2000), Brown and Hesketh (2004), CEDEFOP (2009), Committee on Higher Education (1963), Crompton (2010), Davis et al. (2015), Grist et al. (2011), Krell (2011), Lallement (2011), Lindsay and Dutton (2010), Lindsay and Mailand (2009), McFall (2012), Quintini (2011), Van der Heijden (2009)" are not cited in the text. Please cite in text.	
AU10	Please provide publisher location for Kinash et al. (2014).	