Let’s talk about career guidance in secondary schools!
A consideration of the professional capital of school staff in Ireland and England

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Abstract
The delivery of a comprehensive career guidance service in secondary schools through the whole school model that equips students with requisite career learning and development competencies has garnered credence in recent years. This article deliberates on the current situation of this type of provision in secondary schools in Ireland and England and the implications for professional practice in both countries. Specifically, it considers the conditions that could support the delivery of a whole school approach to career guidance through the concept of professional capital.

Keywords Career guidance · Secondary schools · Professional capital

Résumé
Parlons du conseil de carrière en école secondaire ! Une considération du capital professionnel du staff des écoles en Irlande et en Angleterre. La mise en place d’un service de conseil de carrière complet en école secondaire à travers tout un système scolaire qui équipe les élèves avec la connaissance requise des carrières et le développement de compétences a gagné en crédibilité durant les dernières années. Cet article va traiter de la situation actuelle de ce type de disposition dans les écoles secondaires d’Irlande et d’Angleterre et les implications pour la pratique professionnelle dans les deux pays. Spécifiquement, il va considérer les conditions qui pourraient faciliter la mise en place d’une approche scolaire globale du conseil de carrière à travers le concept de capital professionnel.

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Abstrakt
Sprechen wir über die Laufbahnberatung in der Sekundarstufe! Eine Betrach tung des beruflichen Kapitals des Schulpersonals in Irland und England. Die Bereitstellung eines umfassenden Bildungs- und Berufsbetreuungsdienstes in den Sekundarschulen durch das ganzheitliche Schulmodell, welches die Schüler mit den erforderlichen Kompetenzen für die eigenständige Gestaltung ihrer Laufbahn und relevante Lernprozesse ausstattet, hat in den letzten Jahren an Bedeutung gewonnen. In diesem Artikel werden die aktuellen Rahmenbedingungen entsprechender Angebote an Sekundarschulen in Irland und England sowie deren Auswirkungen auf die Beratungspraxis in beiden Ländern erörtert. Insbesondere werden die Bedingungen betrachtet, welche die Verwirklichung eines ganzheitlichen schulischen Ansatzes zur Bildungs- und Berufsbetreuung in Hinblick auf das Konzept des beruflichen Kapitals unterstützen könnten.

Resumen
¡Hablemos de orientación profesional en las escuelas secundarias! Una consideración del capital profesional del personal escolar en Irlanda e Inglaterra. La prestación de un servicio integral de orientación profesional en las escuelas secundarias a través de todo el modelo escolar que prepara a los estudiantes con las competencias necesarias de aprendizaje profesional y desarrollo ha ganado credibilidad en los últimos años. Este artículo delibera sobre la situación actual de este tipo de provisión en escuelas secundarias en Irlanda e Inglaterra y las implicaciones para la práctica profesional en ambos países. Específicamente considerará las condiciones que podrían respaldar la implementación de un enfoque escolar completo para la orientación profesional a través del concepto de capital profesional.

Introduction
Although the policy and practice of career guidance activities may diverge across European countries, the particular aims of career interventions lack precision and thus contribute to ongoing variability in the quality of career guidance provision in secondary schools (Bergmo-Prvulovic, 2012; Hearne, King, Geary, & Kenny, 2018). Career interventions appear to be shaped by shifting ideologies and interpretations of the role of career guidance as an educative process, human resources management measure or a societal benefit outcome (Hearne, King, Kenny, & Geary, 2016; Hughes, Law, & Meijers, 2017). This article specifically concentrates on the secondary school sector in Ireland and England, where career guidance made available to students has become firmly entrenched in neo-liberal policy agendas (Department of Education and Skills, DES, 2016; Department for Education, DfE, 2017). However, provision varies considerably in both countries; For example, according to Irish legislation, all secondary schools are mandated to provide appropriate guidance to students to support their education, career decision-making and future progression (Government of Ireland, 1998). In England, there has been an overt instruction through the Careers Strategy (Department for Education, DfE, 2017) and the subsequent statutory guidance (Department for Education,
DfE, 2018a) requiring state-funded schools to provide independent personal guidance. This directive is not, however, applicable within the independent sector (Hutchinson, 2018). Nonetheless, this does not imply that career guidance is not provided to these young people.

The conception of a whole school guidance approach to embed a comprehensive career guidance programme within secondary schools has been gaining momentum, with some countries more advanced in this endeavour than others (Everitt, Neary, Delgado, & Clark, 2018; Foxx, Baker, & Gerler Jr, 2017; Gysbers & Henderson, 2014; Hearne et al. 2018; Hutchinson, 2018; Lam & Hui, 2010). In Ireland, the holistic and integrated model of guidance counselling comprises three dimensions—personal and social, educational and career guidance counselling—and two activities—guidance and counselling—(Department of Education and Science, DES, 2005; National Centre for Guidance in Education, NCGE, 2004, 2017). However, the complexities of delivering this comprehensive model have become more apparent in the context of supporting student wellbeing, resource deficits in schools and the professional role of school guidance counsellors (Hearne et al., 2016; Institute of Guidance Counsellors, IGC, 2016; Leahy, O’Flaherty, & Hearne, 2016). In England, shifting policy over the last decade has also resulted in career and personal guidance becoming firmly the responsibility of secondary schools (Education Act, 2011). This agenda has been strongly driven by the implementation of the Gatsby Benchmarks (DfE, 2018a; Gatsby Foundation, 2014), which have also influenced terminology, as one-to-one guidance is now referred to as personal guidance (Everitt et al., 2018). Whereas the focus in Ireland is holistic and integrated, in England, the career and personal functions are separated. Career guidance focuses exclusively on progression outcomes, and mental health and wellbeing issues are located within counselling services (DfE, 2016).

Hughes (2017) presents key drivers for careers work as the achievement of social justice and attainment of meaningful skilled employment. These two contrasting but complementary ideological debates concerning the benefits of careers work offer an interesting exploration as to the evolution of national and localised careers support in secondary schools and alignment with perceived and evolving socio-political imperatives in both Ireland and England. In recent years, both countries have experienced highly impactful policy resulting in significant reconfiguration of career guidance provision for young people in secondary schools. This paper teases out convergence and divergence in career guidance practice in each country exploring the socio-political discourse, types of career guidance delivery and the implications for professional practice. It considers some of the institutional conditions that could support whole school career guidance provision through the concept of professional capital espoused by Hargreaves and Fullan (2012).

**Socio-political positioning of career guidance in secondary education**

Career guidance in secondary education continues to be an extremely political process (Hearne et al., 2016; Hughes, 2017; Sultana, 2014; Watts, 1996). The four main ideological positions, namely liberal, conservative, progressive and radical (Watts,
have some resonance for career guidance provision in secondary education in Ireland and England. The liberal or non-directive perspective, which aligns with humanistic psychology and the person-centred approach (Rogers, 1961), forms the basis of practitioner training in Ireland and is predominantly applied in the holistic model in the secondary school system (Hearne et al., 2018). It also reflects the dominant paradigm in the training of practitioners in England and generally describes the normalised approach to the delivery of career and personal guidance in English secondary schools (Gough, 2017; Wilden & Le Gro, 1998). However, this perspective is critiqued by those who view career guidance as a conservative force and means of social control, where opportunity structures often circumscribe young people’s choices and prospects and idealised models of human potential have less force within the real world of employability (Roberts, 1977; Roberts & Atherton, 2011). This presents some clear challenges given that career guidance is a public-funded service in Ireland and England and is linked to policy goals and specific labour market initiatives (Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, BEIS, 2017; HM Government, 2017; IBEC, 2018; Indecon, 2019).

The progressive perspective, which views career guidance as a means of instilling change within individuals, can also be found in the Irish and English secondary school system (Watts, 1996). It favours a proactive approach to address the ambitions of students across social classes, with particular emphasis on motivating and raising their aspirations, in particular those from disadvantaged backgrounds (DES, 2005; Sultana, 2014; Watts, 1996; Watts & Kidd, 2000). In the Irish system, a key function of the school’s guidance service is to support social inclusion, progression and mobility of marginalised and socio-deprived students (DES, 2005, 2016; NCGE, 2004). In England, the Gatsby Benchmarks (2014), devised from research identifying what good guidance looks like, have been systematised within English schools, and also closely align career guidance with social mobility (Department for Education, DfE, 2018b). This focus on increased social and cultural capital for all young people through engagement with employers and the labour market is envisaged as addressing the systemic inequality within both countries educational systems. However, by placing emphasis on individual factors that prevent change, this stance overlooks community, social and economic influences that can impede progression. This has implications for career guidance in schools, whereby students may be exposed to a range of future possibilities but are prevented in achieving them if external social and systemic structures circumscribe their opportunities and prevent them from doing so when they leave school (Roberts & Atherton, 2011; Sultana, 2014).

Conversely, the radical position, which promotes social change and equality, assumes that the advancement of underprivileged groups within society requires hierarchical systems change (Lynch & Crean, 2018). Nonetheless, this approach is critiqued for its adherence to measuring successful guidance support through the provision of equality to all clients, irrespective of their needs or abilities (Sultana, 2014). This raises several professional practice issues, as providing career guidance for all at the same time, regardless of needs, fails to address and respond to the complex needs of some students; For example, in Ireland, the holistic model infers that personal guidance counselling for complex psychological issues is a key activity and has become an integral element of guidance counsellors’ work.
(Dowling & Doyle, 2017; Hearne et al., 2018; IGC, 2016). But it has also become a political football, when there are resource pressures in schools and practitioners are being forced to choose between providing personal guidance counselling or career guidance to students in their care (Hearne et al., 2016; Hearne et al., 2018; Leahy et al., 2016; IGC, 2016).

With regard to the English school system, in recent research by the Careers and Enterprise Company (CEC), Everitt, Neary, Delgardo and Clark (2018) identified that, while schools are attempting to address the need to provide all young people with a minimum of two personal guidance interviews at appropriate times (Gatsby Benchmark 8), the timing of interviews is circumscribed by the type of schools (11–16 or 11–18 years) and the length of lessons. An evaluation of the pilot implementation of the Gatsby Benchmarks shows that schools are struggling with the bespoke nature of guidance as demanded by Gatsby Benchmark 3 (Hanson, Vigurs, Moore, Everitt, & Clark, 2019). This is also borne out in the Careers and Enterprise Company’s recent State of the Nation report (Careers and Enterprise Company, 2019), which shows that, although progress is being made in providing young people with access to personal guidance, schools are struggling in addressing the needs of individual pupils (Benchmark 3). This suggests that mechanised, functional and reductive approaches to the delivery of personal guidance to students are being used, which are convenient to schools rather than to the individual needs of students (Everitt et al., 2018). This presents interesting dilemmas, in particular: which is the better option, a universal career guidance service where all students get some support regardless of need or a targeted service where only those meeting certain criteria are able to access support? Currently, English schools are arbitrarily, in the main, choosing the former, but have extensive experience of the latter. Previously, Connexions, which provided a holistic support service for young people, espoused a universal service but targeted those identified as potentially ‘not in education, employment or training’ (NEET) (Hutchinson, Rolfe, Moore, Bysshe, & Bentley, 2011; Milburn, 2009). Connexions was disbanded in 2010 as a result of severe criticism of its careers work and the reliance in schools on careers support being provided by untrained teachers (Milburn, 2009). It could be argued that, by adopting a universal approach with access to qualified professionals (DfE, 2018a), all young people’s needs would be addressed rather than solely focusing on those who have perceived needs, thus holistically embedding personal guidance as a norm rather than as a tool for those with a label such as NEET or disadvantaged.

Professional practice in Irish and English secondary schools

This section discusses the professional practice of career guidance in Irish and English secondary schools, where different terminology is used in both jurisdictions to describe the professional identity of practitioners and the functions associated with their roles in schools.
Career guidance in Irish secondary schools

Since its inception in secondary schools in Ireland in the mid-1960s, guidance counseling has evolved and been shaped by educational, societal and economic changes. The conception of a holistic and integrated approach to guidance counselling first emerged in Irish policy discourse in the 1990s (Department of Education, DE, 1992; Hearne et al., 2018). Holistic guidance counselling, which incorporates personal and social, educational and career guidance counselling, is delivered by professionally trained guidance counsellors through classroom-based and one-to-one guidance activities. The integrated component means that guidance counselling provision is now the responsibility of the whole school community. This requires the direct involvement of school management, teaching and resource staff and guidance counsellors, who are required to take a leadership role in whole school guidance planning and delivery of curricular (i.e. classroom-based) guidance activities (DES, 2005, 2012; Hearne et al., 2018; NCGE, 2004; Smyth, Darmody, & Dunne, 2006). This aligns with the particular emphasis on embedding career learning and development (CLD) within the school curriculum that has emerged as part of the neo-liberal agenda in preparing students for sustained employment in the future (Bassot, Barnes, & Chant, 2014; DES; IBEC, 2018; Indecon, 2019). Although Irish government policy promulgates the whole school model, the gulf between policy directives and practice in schools can be wide (Draaisma, Meijers, & Kuipers, 2018; Hearne et al., 2016).

Nonetheless, the rhetoric of ‘whole school responsibility’ is not exclusive to guidance as policies on literacy, numeracy and wellbeing have also emerged in Irish education in recent years (Hearne et al., 2016). Pertinent to guidance counselling has been the inclusion of a specific ‘wellbeing’ component in the new Junior Cycle curriculum from 2017 onwards, i.e. the first 3 years of secondary education, to address students’ personal and social needs (DES, 2013; National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, NCCA, 2017). This element of the curriculum comprises 400 h of whole school wellbeing by 2020, with a Guidance subject being one of a number of subject areas within the 400 h. It is advocated that Guidance be delivered through a collaborative process underpinned by a continuum of support model through ‘whole-class teaching and learning, smaller groups and one-to-one sessions with individual students who require particular support’ (NCCA, 2017, p. 48). Thus various elements of guidance counselling are to be infused within the Junior Cycle curriculum, including topics related to transitions, self-management, education and career progression (NCCA, 2017). This could be viewed as a measure to close the gap in equitable provision of guidance to Junior Cycle students who have been poorly served as the emphasis has been on supporting older students (i.e. Senior Cycle) in their career related decisions and progression in the latter stages of their secondary education (Hearne et al., 2016; Smyth et al., 2006).

Career guidance in English secondary schools

The provision of career guidance delivered by qualified careers advisers in England has a long history, dating back to the turn of the 20th century (Andrews & Hooley...
But the establishment of the careers service in secondary schools as a mandatory service provided by local authorities was enshrouded in the Employment and Training Act (1974), resulting in a partnership approach between schools and the local careers services (Andrews & Hooley 2019). Unlike Ireland, the concept of a holistic approach to supporting young people only became mainstreamed with the introduction of the Connexions Service in 2001, which lasted for 10 years. This holistic approach to meeting the needs of young people, specifically those at risk of disengagement, resulted in targeted provision and the demise of professional career guidance (Langley, Hooley, & Bertuchi, 2014; Lewin & Colley, 2011). This arose from the focus on careers becoming lessened as greater emphasis was placed on inclusion and support for personal and social issues increased.

The 21st century has resulted in a series of complex and confusing re-engineering of career guidance to young people, resulting in a lack of systemic support for many (Hughes, 2017). The introduction of the Education Act (2011) gave rise to a careers vacuum as funding for the Connexions service became a casualty of austerity measures, and careers practitioners were widely made redundant (Langley et al., 2014; Lewin & Colley, 2011). The 2011 Act allocated the responsibility for career guidance provision directly to schools with no dedicated funding, support or expertise as the majority of schools had been passive recipients of career guidance provided to them. These dark days for career guidance resulted in years of confusion, de-professionalisation and exodus of many practitioners resulting in what is now challenging recruitment times for many employers (Neary & Priestley, 2018). In recent years, the focus on employability skills combined with social mobility has been the key driver for career guidance in schools. This has been explicated by the need to better align schools with employers so that young people have increased aspirations (Mann, 2012; National Career Council, 2013). These changes have impacted significantly on the careers workforce, with many more school-based careers advisers directly employed by institutions (Everitt et al., 2018).

In terms of professional role and execution of career guidance in schools, while the emphasis and responsibility for delivering the guidance service in Ireland continue to lie on the professionally qualified guidance counsellor (DES, 2012; Hearne et al., 2016), in England, a new role of careers leader has been introduced (DfE, 2017, 2018b). This role is ‘required’ though not statutory, but schools are expected to appoint a careers leader, which is conceptualised as a senior leader within the school having responsibility for promoting the careers agenda (Hooley & Andrews, 2019). Though not envisaged as directly delivering career guidance, it has been recognised that it is important that these staff receive training, which is currently being funded through the Careers and Enterprise Company (DfE, 2017). This is resulting in a team approach to careers delivery in schools, each with defined roles, which are likely to include the careers leader, who has a strategic role in supporting the school to achieve the Gatsby Benchmarks, planning schemes of work and liaison with senior leaders and implementing career coordinators strategy and curriculum activities and events, while careers advisers deliver one-to-one personal guidance (Everitt et al., 2018; Andrews & Hooley, 2019).

Together with the centrality of the Gatsby Benchmarks and a more explicit recognition of careers within the new Ofsted framework (Ofsted, 2019) to be introduced
in September 2019, a more integrated approach to careers support in schools is now being presented. The expectation is that career and personal guidance be recognised as a core activity embedded across the institution and be everyone’s responsibility. The Benchmarks call for curriculum learning to be linked directly to career guidance (Gatsby Foundation, 2014) and for the benefits of personal guidance to be recognised more broadly, with preparation and feedback built in to support a more meaningful experience (Everitt et al., 2018). Collectively, these all contribute to foregrounding career and personal guidance away from its previous peripheral and marginal position within schools. However, the introduction of the careers leader role, although welcomed, is not a panacea; there are still concerns about sustainability as funding for professional training is only allocated until 2020, which incidentally is the lifetime of the careers strategy (DfE, 2017). Additionally, schools receive no additional funding to provide career and personal guidance; this is financed from existing budgets (Hooley, Watts, & Andrews, 2015), which are severely challenged, and as priorities evolve, careers may also again become a casualty of funding.

Professional capital in delivery of school career guidance

The sections above have explicated the current status of policy and provision of career guidance in secondary schools in Ireland and England, highlighting convergence and divergence in the two jurisdictions. This section considers the particular conditions that could support a whole school approach to career guidance through the lens of professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) propose that professional capital, which comprises human, social and decisional capital, can contribute to a transformational process in the delivery of education in schools. Human capital refers to the requisite knowledge and skills to teach a subject (in this case, career guidance), understand how students learn and engage, appreciate the diversity of students and their cultural and familial backgrounds, demonstrate emotional empathy and have a moral commitment to their profession. Social capital denotes how the level and quality of interactions and relationships amongst people impact on their knowledge acquisition, expectations, obligations and levels of trust. Finally, these two components are insufficient if there is a lack of decisional capital, which refers to the ‘ability to make discretionary judgements’ (Hargreaves & Fullan 2012, p. 93). In the school context, decisional capital is amplified through collegial engagement with peers, professional experience and reflective practice.

Hargreaves and Fullan’s (2012) professional capital orientation offers the potential for a transformational process in the delivery of career guidance in secondary schools in both countries. With regard to the human capital component (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012), a common issue identified herein through the accounts of the delivery of career guidance as part of the holistic and integrated model in Ireland and the re-establishment of career and personal guidance in England is the impact on the professional identity of the secondary school workforce, in particular within the context of whole school delivery methods. Unless there is a clear articulation of the roles and responsibilities of all school staff in the whole school model, career
guidance provision is likely to be disjointed and incoherent (DES, 2005, 2012; Hearne et al., 2018). Connected to this is the need for the appropriate education and training of career guidance and teaching staff in the concepts of and engagement with whole school career guidance delivery (Foxx et al., 2017; Hearne et al., 2016) to dispel the view that career learning and development in the curriculum is ‘everybody’s and nobody’s responsibility’ (Barnes, Bassot, & Chant, 2010, p. 70).

In the Irish system, where the professionally qualified guidance counsellor is fully embedded within the school staff allocation, which is based on student numbers, available resources and staffing allocations are made by school management (Hayes & Morgan, 2011; Hearne et al., 2018). The guidance counsellor is required to deliver a holistic and integrated model of guidance counselling but may also be required to do curriculum subject teaching (DES, 2012; Hayes & Morgan, 2011; Hearne et al., 2016; Leahy et al., 2016; IGC, 2016). This raises particular concerns about role diffusion, professional isolation and burnout for guidance counsellors, who have become over-stretched and under-resourced (Leahy et al., 2016; Mullen, Blount, Lambie, & Chae, 2017; O’Reilly, 2018). The support of teaching staff to reinforce the delivery of the curricular components of careers guidance is extremely important, but this may be a new professional area to participate in that requires a disposition towards career guidance work as well as a new set of skills and competencies (Foxx et al., 2017; Hearne et al., 2016; Lam & Hui, 2010; Hearne & Galvin, 2014). However, although some continuous professional development (CPD) has been provided to teaching staff delivering the new ‘wellbeing’ component in the Irish Junior Cycle curriculum, the inclusion of this curricular content in initial teacher education and ongoing CPD ought to be enhanced. If this is not addressed, teaching staff buy-in will continue to be a major barrier to whole school career guidance engagement.

Conversely, in England, the role of the career guidance practitioner has become somewhat blurred as the models and modes of delivery of career and personal guidance have emerged as more complex, confused and localised. The responsibility for the provision of career guidance is now with schools, and as such, this encourages schools to select an approach that is right for their students (without any additional funding). This has resulted in two dominant human capital modes: the commissioning of external careers provision from a range of providers including career organisations and individual career practitioners and the employment of an in-house careers adviser (Andrews & Hooley, 2019; Everitt et al., 2018). Research by Tanner, Percy and Andrews (2019) identifies that the role varies differently across schools, and just over half (58%) are teachers, with the remainder coming from predominantly education, industry or career related backgrounds. Andrews and Hooley (2019) identify 19 career leader tasks to be accomplished which require dedicated training. The creation of the career leader is thought-provoking on numerous levels.

Most schools have usually had a careers coordinator to facilitate the work of the careers advisers, and there has been no statutory role descriptor, training or qualifications associated with it. Yet, now a more senior role has been created, requiring the post holder to be authoritative and have power to enact change through professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). The Careers and Enterprise Company which is tasked with implementing the Careers Strategy (DfE, 2017) is providing
£2 million to train career leaders, investing in human capital and ensuring the careers leadership role is performed by a manager with the knowledge and skills to be effective in the role (this should be the norm when taking on a new discipline). However, this may be aspirational, as Tanner et al. (2019) find that 54% of career leaders have completed training and another 30% were planning to do so. This high level of engagement may be a result of funding made available from the Careers and Enterprise Company, which as well as fees, also includes cover for staff. They also identified that one-third of career leaders are not in a leadership role, and an equivalent number have no budget for careers work, both of which potentially impact on decisional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012) and may limit the impact they can have in promoting career and personal guidance. Notwithstanding this, their research also identifies that 88% of career leaders feel their role is making a difference and having an impact on the educational and career outcomes of young people and 94% think that the Gatsby Benchmarks have improved career guidance in their school (Tanner, Percy, & Andrews, 2019).

Fundamentally, the delivery of career guidance in schools is a social activity that requires collegiality, support and trust from a range of stakeholders in schools. From a social and decisional capital perspective (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012), attitudes to partnership, understanding about career guidance and leadership decisions amongst management and staff, which are based on school ethos, values and expectations, are central to successful career guidance provision in secondary schools (Foxx et al., 2017; Hearne et al., 2018). To execute whole school career guidance, strong support and leadership from school management that filters down to the whole school community is necessary (Draaisma et al., 2018). In situations where school management view this model as part of the school culture and a priority area for student development, it is more likely to be efficacious, but this varies considerably in Ireland and England (Hearne et al., 2018; Hutchinson, 2018; Smyth et al., 2006).

In Ireland, the consistent argument for management, teaching, resource and guidance staff collaboration during a time of policy and school-based initiatives overload, which have put enormous pressure on schools to cater for the diverse learning, personal and social needs of students, has implications for the prioritisation of whole school career guidance (Hearne & Galvin, 2014; Hearne et al., 2018). In England, five interconnected conditions that need to be in place within schools to ensure career and personal guidance works have been identified and could be applied also in Irish schools (Everitt et al., 2018). These include: the extent to which it is integrated in a wider set of curricular activities within schools, space and time, the status and resource afforded to careers delivery within the school, how young people are prepared and how the outcome of their guidance interview is reviewed and connected to other activities they engage in, and the effectiveness of the interaction combined with the professionalism of staff. Work is currently under way in England to pilot innovative approaches in delivering personal guidance which will inevitably influence the extent to which these are preconditions of effective personal guidance. The conditions acknowledge the role and importance of training and development to ensure practice is the best it can be, collegiality through integration and inclusivity of personal guidance within wider school activities and status of individuals to enact and deliver effectively career and personal guidance. Although these are potentially
aspirational to a certain extent, they contain the elements of professional capital and provide a useful framework that is equally applicable within both models of delivery in Ireland and England.

Finally, through engaging in specific types of professional training, CPD and reflective practice, the three components of professional capital could be realised by qualified career guidance practitioners and other school staff involved in whole school career guidance delivery. Access to relevant CPD has the potential to enhance confidence, provide intellectual stimulation and support professional identity formation (Neary, 2014, 2016). Irish guidance counsellors generally engage in a range of social networking and CPD activities through their schools and professional bodies such as the Institute of Guidance Counsellors. In the case of the newly created career leader post in England, Tanner et al. (2019) evidence that the majority are members of careers related networks, and just over one-third are members of the professional association, Career Development Institute (CDI). The CDI has also recently created an on-line community of practice for career leaders. All of these contribute not only to social capital but also to the professionalisation of practitioners within a new and evolving role. As leaders in schools rather than administrators, they have the discretionary capital to make judgements and decisions about career guidance provision within their schools. However, one particular issue for the new cadre of career leaders is the urgent need for the various responsibilities in the delivery of career and personal guidance in schools to be clearly defined. Whilst training for the role is required, the provision of training, although generally standardised, does not have a common curriculum, assessment rubric or a recognised formal qualification at a specified level.

Conclusions

The exploration of similar but divergent models of career guidance provision in secondary schools in Ireland and England provides stimulating insights into how school-based career guidance services are evolving to meet the perceived and varied needs of students. Both are located within a social justice perspective, acknowledging that social and cultural capital are not the norm for all young people in the school system. They both recognise the importance of career and personal guidance in supporting young people to successfully progress through life. Although the Irish model is somewhat more holistic and integrated than the English one, the re-culturing of schools whereby career guidance becomes an embedded component of the curriculum to educate students in their CLD is an important feature in the two systems (Draaisma et al., 2018; Draaisma, Meijers, & Kuijpers, 2017). This requires considerable educational change (Fullan, 2007), including a much broader discussion on the role and function of schools to equip students with personal, social and career-related competencies, as well as the professionalisation of career-guidance and teaching staff in the delivery of whole school career guidance services. In this article, we begin this deliberation and put forward a possible framework (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2014) to enhance such transformational undertakings in both Ireland and England.
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