Understanding Careers Around the Globe

Understanding Careers Around the Globe

Stories and Sourcebook

Edited by

Jon Briscoe

Professor of Management, College of Business, Northern Illinois University, USA

Michael Dickmann

Professor of International Human Resource Management, School of Management, Cranfield University, UK

Douglas T. Hall

Professor Emeritus, Boston University, USA

Wolfgang Mayrhofer

Professor of Management and Organisational Behaviour, WU Vienna, Austria

Emma Parry

Professor of Human Resource Management, School of Management, Cranfield University, UK

Edward Elgar PUBLISHING

Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

Published by
Edward Elgar Publishing Limited
The Lypiatts
15 Lansdown Road
Cheltenham
Glos GL50 2JA
UK

Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
William Pratt House
9 Dewey Court
Northampton
Massachusetts 01060
USA

A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2023931411

This book is available electronically in the Elgaronline
Business subject collection
http://dx.doi.org/10.4337/9781035308415

ISBN 978 1 0353 0840 8 (cased)
ISBN 978 1 0353 0841 5 (eBook)

Contents

Contributors

Argentina

Pamela A. Suzanne is Professor of Leadership and Careers in the Business School at Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina. Her primary research interests are in the areas of careers, social relationships, confidence, and women in management.

Vanesa Vidal is a professor of management at Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina. Her research interests lie in symbolic barriers to women's access to leadership positions. As a consultant, she facilitates the adoption of a gender perspective in organizational processes in Latin America.

Australia

Narelle Hess is a lecturer in Organizational Psychology at the School of Psychological Sciences, Macquarie University, Australia. Narelle's research explores how individuals navigate careers within and across organizations and how organizations can best support employee career development. She has a strong professional background in organizational psychology consulting and high-performance sport and she uses this practical experience to inform her teaching and research practice.

Denise Jepsen is a Professor of Management at the Macquarie Business School, Macquarie University, Australia. Denise's research explores organizational behaviour and human resource management and she has a special interest in careers attitudes and particularly the aged care workforce. Prior to academia, Denise was a careers counsellor and management consultant.

Austria

Petra Eggenhofer-Rehart earned her doctorate at the Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU Vienna), Austria, where she conducts research on careers with a particular focus on career orientations and success, post-organizational careers, women's and refugees' careers, and age/period/cohort (APC) effects. She also studies what role language plays in stereotyping and discriminatory practices in recruiting processes.

Wolfgang Mayrhofer works at Vienna University of Economics and Business

(WU Vienna), Austria. He conducts research on comparative international human resource management and work careers, spirituality as well as systems theory and management and regularly provides consultation to both private and public sector organizations, with an emphasis on leadership, team, and self-development through outdoor training/sailing (www.championships.at).

Astrid Reichel is a full professor of human resource management (HRM) and head of the HRM group at University of Salzburg, Austria. She previously worked as an associate professor at Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU Vienna). Her main research interests revolve around the influence of (institutional) context on organizational HRM practices and on careers. Her work has been published in journals such as *Human Resource Management Journal*, *Human Resource Management*, and *Journal of Organizational Behavior*.

Lea Katharina Reiss is a research and teaching associate at Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU Vienna), Austria and graduated from Copenhagen Business School with a specialization in change and diversity management. Since 2019, she has been working toward her PhD degree in Economics and Social Sciences at WU Vienna. Her research focuses on social inequality issues including sexism, heterosexism, and classism in the context of work and society. In her dissertation, she brings attention to how the interplay of gender and social class origin shapes biographies and possibilities for class mobility.

Belgium

Nicky Dries is Full Professor of Organizational Behavior at the Department of Work and Organization Studies at KU Leuven, Belgium and at the Department of Leadership and Organizational Behaviour at BI Norwegian Business School, Norway. Her research interests are the future of work, employee reactions to talent management, and subjective career success. Currently, her main focus is on re-politicizing the future of work by studying 'imaginaries' of the distant future in news and fiction (see https://feb.kuleuven.be/research/FEBTalks).

Marijke Verbruggen is Full Professor at KU Leuven, Belgium and head of the Department of Work and Organization Studies. Her research interests are career management, career inaction, the work–non-work combination, employability, and flexible ways of working.

Canada

Rick Cotton is associate professor of talent management and sustainable innovation at the Gustavson School, University of Victoria, Canada. His research interests include career success, developmental networks, talent management, cross-cultural management, and leadership with a focus on how human, social, and positive psychological capital enable thriving in a variety of contexts. He is also a core research team member of the GLOBE project (https://www.globeproject.com/). Rick is a past Division Chair of the Academy of Management Careers Division and was a Careers Executive Committee Member from 2015–2024. He regularly consults public and private sector organizations.

Mila Lazarova is the William Saywell Professor of International Business at the Beedie School of Business, Simon Fraser University, Canada. Her research interests are global mobility, careers and career management, international human resource management, and knowledge transfer in multinational corporations.

Finland

Adam Smale is a professor of management in the School of Management at the University of Vaasa, Finland. His research interests lie in human resource management, talent management, and careers in multinational corporations. He is the author of a best-selling teaching case on global talent management published by The Case Centre.

Germany (Bamberg)

Maike Andresen is Professor of Human Resource Management and Organisational Behaviour at University of Bamberg, Germany and was coordinator (2018–2021) of the H2020 project GLOMO on global mobility of employees (www.glomo.eu; budget of 4 million euro). Her primary research interests are in the area of international mobility, (global) careers, and work flexibilization.

Svenja Rosseburg is a PhD candidate at the Chair of Human Resource Management and Organisational Behaviour at University of Bamberg, Germany. Her primary research interests are in the area of employees' (international) career decision-making over time.

Germany (Hamburg)

Nanni Schleicher is a self-employed lecturer, consultant, trainer, and founder of the Knowledge Awareness Health Concept (www.KAH-Konzept.com). She combines the scientific findings of 'career' and 'new work' research with the knowledge of ancient yogic philosophy to address and treat causes of suffering in organizational systems and to encourage healthy working environments that are conceptually rooted in a holistic understanding of health and sociology.

Florian Schramm is Professor of Human Resource Management at University of Hamburg, Germany. His primary research interests are career studies, quality of working life, and behavioural analysis of labour law.

Greece

Leda Panayotopoulou is Assistant Professor of Human Resource Management at the Athens University of Economics and Business, Greece. Her research interests include the areas of strategic human resource management, career management, and systemic interventions in training.

India

Sushanta Kumar Mishra is a professor at the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore, India. His scholarly work has been published in *Journal of Management Studies*, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, *Journal of World Business*, *Journal of Business Research*, *Human Resource Management*, *Human Resource Management Review*, *Human Resource Management Journal*, and many other journals of repute. His paper in the *International Journal of HRM* received the Michael Poole Highly Commended Award for the year 2019. Currently he is the president of the Indian Academy of Management.

Richa Saxena is an Associate Professor at Institute of Management Technology, Ghaziabad, India. She is currently the Chairperson for the PGDM Program for Working Executives. Her research interests include the issues related to contemporary careers; gender issues in management; and diversity and inclusion. She has published in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, *Human Resource Management Journal*, *Journal of Education and Work*, and other reputed peer-reviewed journals. She is at present on the Editorial Board of *South Asian Journal of Human Resources Management*. She is serving the Indian Academy of Management as an executive member.

Akhila Veldandi is a research scholar in the Organization Behaviour and Human Resource Management area at the Indian Institute of Management Indore, India. Her research is in the domains of career–family interactions, personality, emotions at the workplace, and social issues.

Ireland

Janine Bosak is Professor of Work and Organizational Psychology and Director of Research of the Leadership and Talent Institute (LTI) at Dublin City University, Ireland. Her research interests lie in the areas of women and leadership, employee well-being in organizations, and culture.

Pat O'Connor is Professor Emeritus Sociology and Social Policy, University of Limerick and Visiting Full Professor, Geary Institute, University College Dublin, Ireland. Her primary research interests are in the area of gender equality in higher education and the gendering of leadership, excellence and merit. She has over 120 publications including eight books, 80 peer-refereed journal articles, and 30 book chapters.

Italy

Silvia Bagdadli is Associate Professor of Human Resource Management at Bocconi University, Milan, Italy. She conducts research on careers, talent, and HR management, with an interest at the intersection of the individual and organizational perspective and an international focus. She directs an MSc in Human Resource Management. She is a professional coach (ICF certified) and works with managers and executives on leadership development at SDA Bocconi Business School, Italy.

Martina Gianecchini is Associate Professor of Human Resource Management at the University of Padova, Italy. She conducts research on careers and human resource management, with an interest in the impact of technology on organization of work. She is Director of the Executive Master in Human Resource Management at CUOA Business School, Italy, working regularly with managers and professionals.

Japan

Chikae Naito is Assistant Professor at Reitaku University, Japan. Her main research focus is on workplace diversity and fault lines in public and private organizations and designing inclusive workplaces, especially focusing on individual and organizational behaviours in relation to the flexible work arrangement.

Mami Taniguchi is Professor of International Business at Waseda University, Japan. She conducts research on diversity and inclusion, focusing on the salience of different diversity types in top management teams during strategic change. She serves on several Japanese government committees on sustainable corporate values and human capital and is a board member of a major Japanese corporation.

Lithuania

Bernadeta Goštautaitė earned her MSc at the University of Mannheim, Germany and her PhD at ISM University of Management and Economics, Lithuania. Her research interests include aging at work, diversity, and adaptability across the working lifespan. She teaches at ISM and conducts HR-related research for private and public organizations.

Virginija Putnaitė earned her MSc at ISM University of Management and Economics, Lithuania. She leads the education processes in the Vilnius Vocational Training Centre of Technologies and is in charge of human resource management. She is a methodologist for the National Agency for Education and carries out external audits in Education Leadership and Management at various vocational training institutions in Lithuania.

Mexico

Sergio Madero Gómez studied for a PhD at Universidad de Deusto, San Sebastián, Spain. Currently he is working as a full-time research professor in the School of Business in the Management and Leadership Academic Department at the Business School of Tecnológico de Monterrey, Region Monterrey, Mexico. He is a member of the National System of Researchers (CONACYT) in Mexico (SNI level 2). The current research agenda focuses on innovative human resource management (HRM), automation in HRM, organizational flexibility, and the future of work.

José Luis Montes Martínez did his PhD at the Universidad de Deusto, San Sebastián, Spain. Currently he is working as a full-time research professor in the School of Business in the Management and Leadership Academic Department at the Business School of Tecnológico de Monterrey, Region Monterrey, Mexico. He is director of the undergraduate programme for Organizational Psychology and his research interests focus on talent management, leadership programmes, and strategies in human resource management.

Nigeria

Ifedapo Adeleye is Professor of the Practice and Faculty Director of the Human Resources Management Programme at Georgetown University, USA. A global HR scholar, a major strand of his research explores people management in the African context. Dapo received his PhD in International Management from The University of Manchester, UK.

Yetunde Anibaba is a senior lecturer at the Lagos Business School, Nigeria. Her research and consulting interests revolve around change leadership, behavioural sciences, and gender equality in organizations. Yetunde holds a PhD in Organizational Behaviour and Human Resource Management from Pan-Atlantic University, Nigeria.

Furo Bakare is Lead Consultant at BluePro HR, a consulting firm committed to supporting successful people strategies in start-ups and SMEs in Nigeria. She also offers career planning and coaching to young and mid-career professionals. Furo completed her master's degree in Human Resource Management at the University of Surrey, UK, and she is a Chartered Member of the CIPD.

Norway

Anders Dysvik is a professor of Organizational Behaviour at the Department of Leadership and Organizational Behaviour, BI Norwegian Business School, Norway. His main research interests lie within human resource management and organizational behaviour. He is an associate editor of *Human Resource Management Journal* and *German Journal of Human Resource Management* and member of the Editorial Board for *Academy of Management Learning and Education*.

Bryndís Steindórsdóttir is a PhD candidate in Leadership and Organization at BI Norwegian Business School, Norway. Her primary research interests are in the area of career success and lifespan development.

Pakistan

Noreen Saher is Head of Department in the Department of Anthropology at International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. She received her PhD in Social Anthropology. Her research interests are in cross-cultural organizational behaviour, comparative international human resources management, career success, and gender and women issues. Her work has been published in several books, chapters, and journal articles.

Portugal

Silvia Dello Russo is an associate professor in the Department of Business and Management at Luiss University, Rome, Italy. She has previously held positions in Portugal and France. Her research, funded by the SIOP Foundation (USA) and FCT (Portugal), spans HR practices for development (including career management), aging in the workplace, and supervisor–collaborator interpersonal relationships.

Henrique Duarte is an associate professor in the Department of Human Resources and Organizational Behaviour at ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon, Portugal, where he coordinates the Organizational Behaviour and Human Resources specialization of the doctoral programme of Management. His research interests revolve around uncertainty, cooperation, and counter-productive behaviours in teams, as well the relationship between HR practices and the establishment of power asymmetries and trust.

Russia

Evgenia I. Lysova is an associate professor in Organizational Behaviour at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Her research interests concern such topics as the meaning of work as a calling, meaningful work, corporate social responsibility, and relationships. She has edited several special issues and co-authored several articles in reputable international journals.

Svetlana N. Khapova is Professor of Careers and Organization Studies at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She is past Division Chair of the Careers Division of the Academy of Management. Her research focuses on contemporary issues related to individuals' career and work. She is co-author (together with M. B. Arthur and J. Richardson) of the book *An Intelligent Career: Taking Ownership of Your Work and Your Life* published by Oxford University Press in 2017.

Konstantin Korotov, PhD, is Professor of Organizational Behaviour and Faculty Lead of the Executive MBA Programme at ESMT Berlin, Germany. His research interests are leadership development, executive coaching, executive education, and careers. He has authored or co-authored multiple award-winning case studies, articles, and books, and he is actively teaching executives worldwide.

Slovakia

Sonia Ferencikova is Professor of International Business and Management at the University of Economics in Bratislava, Slovak Republic. Her research interests and publications are in the areas of strategy and management of international business, international human resource and career management, foreign direct investment, and doing business in Central and Eastern Europe.

Switzerland

Martin Gubler is a vice dean at the Lucerne School of Business, Switzerland. Building on many years of work experience as a teacher, a senior IT HR professional in international roles, and a career counsellor, his research mainly focuses on career concepts, career patterns, and career development.

Turkey

K. Övgü Çakmak-Otluoğlu is an associate professor of human resource management in the School of Business at Istanbul University, Turkey. Her research interests are human resource management, protean careers, and boundaryless careers.

United Kingdom

Katharina Chudzikowski works as Associate Professor at the School of Management, University of Bath, UK. Her research focuses on changing work practices and working careers across cultures. Particularly, she is interested in the interrelatedness of individual actors and forms of organizing. She has several scientific and practical publications, including articles in the

Journal of Occupational and Organisational Psychology, Human Relations, Journal of Vocational Behaviour, Human Resource Management Journal and *International Journal of Human Resource Management.*

Michael Dickmann is Professor of International Human Resource Management at Cranfield University, UK and the Senior Editor-in-Chief of *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*. His primary research interests are international human resource management, careers, and global mobility.

Emma Parry is Professor of Human Resource Management and Head of the Changing World of Work Group at Cranfield School of Management, UK. Her research interests focus on the impact of the changing external context on managing people, particularly the impact of national context, technological advancement, and changing workforce attitudes.

United States

Jon Briscoe is Professor of Management at Northern Illinois University, USA. His research interests centre around career management, career values, and cross-cultural comparative careers research. He is a co-founder of the 5C Group.

Douglas T. Hall is Morton H. and Charlotte Friedman Professor of Management Emeritus in the Questrom School of Business at Boston University, USA. In the business school he has also served as Acting Dean, Associate Dean for Faculty Development, Organizational Behavior Department Chair, and Faculty Director for the MBA programme. He has held faculty positions at Yale, York, Michigan State, and Northwestern universities, as well as visiting positions at Columbia, Minnesota, the University of Canterbury (New Zealand), Boston College, and the Center for Creative Leadership. His research deals with careers, retirement, work-life integration, and leadership development.

PART I

The lay of the land

1. Careers: what they are and how to look at them

Wolfgang Mayrhofer, Jon Briscoe, Michael Dickmann, Douglas T. Hall and Emma Parry

Careers are central to people's lives. They are fascinating for both those having a career and those who are their observers, be they scholars or interested bystanders. Situated at the intersection of individual biography and societal history (Grandjean, 1981) and covering issues of being, time and space (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2018), careers mirror individual, organizational, cultural and institutional commonalities and idiosyncrasies (Briscoe, Hall, and Mayrhofer, 2012).

A fascinating phenomenon is often one that affects many of us deeply, has various facets that are difficult to fully grasp, and where future developments are not easily forecast. Careers are no exception. On the one hand, careers affect everyone in the world of work and have identifiable building blocks that are interlinked. On the other hand, they are not easily captured or fully understood, and their future development is shrouded in a mist of guesses, hopes and worries.

EVERYONE HAS A CAREER – AND IT MATTERS PROFOUNDLY

In contrast to a popular, yet misleading, understanding that only successful people have a career, a more sober and scientifically grounded understanding suggests that every person taking part in the world of work has one. In its most reduced form, it constitutes a sequence of positions in social, temporal and geographical spaces. Of course, more sophisticated definitions abound. Here are a few examples:

- The moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole (Hughes, 1958: 63).
- The individually perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviours associated with work-related experiences and activities over the span of the person's life (Hall, 2002: 12).

- The sequence of an individual's different career experiences, reflected through a variety of patterns of continuity over time, crossing several social spaces, and characterized by individual agency, herewith providing meaning to the individual (De Vos and Van der Heijden, 2015: 7).
- A pattern of a career actor's positions and condition within a bounded social and geographic space over their life to date (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2018: 70).

While major handbooks indicate a number of different viewpoints (e.g., Arthur, Hall, and Lawrence, 1989; Gunz, Lazarova, and Mayrhofer, 2020; Gunz and Peiperl, 2007), some commonalities in the conceptualizations of careers emerge. These demonstrate that everyone who does paid work has a career. Modern career concepts are much broader than simply charting connotations of upward mobility and monetary success.

Other commonalities are that careers unfold in a bounded social and geographical space. This implies external boundaries formally and/or informally regulating entry and exit. For example, this might apply to entry into a professional field such as accounting or activities such as bricklaying. Likewise, internal boundaries such as requirements for promotions influence movements within the space. We move from position to position, for example jobs that are available or informal positions such as 'newcomer' or 'elder statesperson'. Career transitions are the result of these moves from position to position.

It is important how we personally view these moves and how we feel about them. When evaluating our careers, we can draw on seven dimensions of career success related to growth, life design or material output. They are entrepreneurship, learning and development (growth); work-life balance, positive impact, positive work relationships (life design); and financial security and financial success (material output). Underlying this is the crucial differentiation between objective and subjective career success. Objective career success is related to indicators such as income and promotion. Subjective career success, meanwhile, is linked to growth, meaning and, ultimately, satisfaction.

Careers unfold not only in space, but also in time. While it is possible that career episodes overlap, they are often distinct, which makes them and associated career transitions exciting to investigate from a temporal perspective. It is important to stress that time is not necessarily monolithic; instead, highly differentiated conceptualizations of time exist. Figure 1.1 gives an overview of the basic components of careers.

Not only does everyone working have a career in the sense just outlined, but we are also heavily affected by our careers. Careerists can be sovereign competent actors determining their own fate or they can at least be partially thrown around by luck and other external contingencies. Navigating our way through the world of work requires and leads to a substantial involvement of our selves.

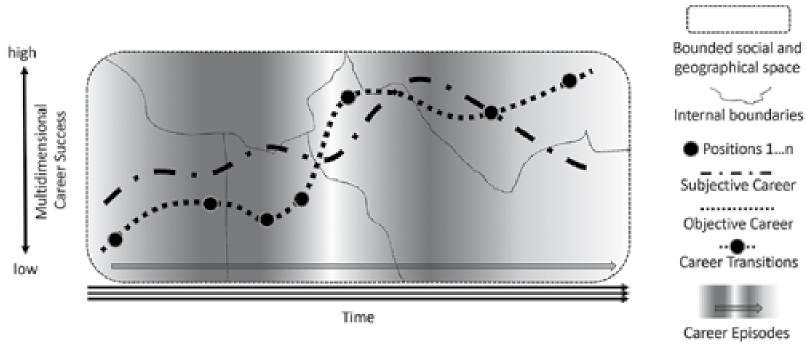


Figure 1.1 *Anatomy of careers*

It is essential for our identity and social status. Our objective careers – visible because of our jobs conveying a certain status, the trajectory displayed in our CVs, the income we have at our disposal expressed through housing, cars or education for our children – express and, at the same time, form our social status. They provide crucial building blocks of our identity. Likewise, our subjective career expresses and contributes to our well-being and gives an emotional connotation to who we are in the world of work and beyond.

Above, we have introduced the concept of 'being', the career actors who influence their career journeys through their motivations, behaviours and attitudes. This career agency is embedded in a 'space'. One of the strengths of this book is that it takes up the call to explore such issues in different social and geographical contexts (Mayrhofer, Smale, Briscoe, Dickmann, and Parry, 2020), depicting perceived career realities across all inhabited continents of the world. In addition, time matters, and many of the chapters convey an acute sensitivity to the career context of actors at a particular time. In a nutshell: careers matter deeply, and they are shaped by being, space and time.

CORE PERSPECTIVES ON CAREERS

Careers constitute a rich, multifaceted phenomenon. Above we have argued that careers are profoundly impacted and driven by our selves, that they are embedded in a holistic context and located in time. Against the backdrop of this anatomy, three perspectives on careers – ontic, spatial and temporal – emerge. They help to identify and illuminate crucial aspects of careers.

Being. The ontic perspective[1] on careers centres on various conditions of the career actor, here: the persons having a career. This includes issues such as their gender, age, job, career satisfaction and career stage – in short, everything that matters and helps to characterize the person's condition. The chapters in this book will provide a wide range of examples from the ontic perspective, reflecting the broad spectrum of individual conditions important in careers. They include, for example, career resilience (Italy), career reinvention linked to significant identity changes (Russia), career capitals that individuals own and discover (Turkey), psychological needs (Germany/Hamburg), career goals (Lithuania), and expectations vis-à-vis their work (Mexico).

Space. The spatial perspective acknowledges that careers unfold not in a vacuum, but in a defined social and geographical space. This space is structured by external and internal boundaries, populated by other individuals, groups and organizations, and governed by formal and informal rules that individuals may or may not be aware of. Countries constitute such spaces. While all of the chapters testify to that, some zoom in on this space, for example when looking at migrants returning home from diaspora (Nigeria) and when discussing prevailing national views on what is (not) expected from different societal groups (Argentina) and on the effects of national and transnational disruptions (Greece, Portugal). Indeed, institutional approaches and how government policies are interpreted, implemented and perceived can have a substantial effect on foreign careerists (United Kingdom). Professions such as professional sports (Australia) or academia (Ireland) are other examples for varying institutional approaches and government policies. Likewise, organizations constitute such spaces. They provide career opportunities and manage the careers of employees in specific ways (Finland) and directions beyond mere advancement (Norway). In a similar manner, relationships with crucial individuals within one's personal social space, whether related to one's family (India, Slovakia) or in the work setting (Pakistan), matter for career advancement.

Time. The temporal perspective points towards time as a crucial aspect underlying careers. Sometimes, time is an obvious issue when looking at careers. This is the case when we compare different generations and how they approach careers (Switzerland) or look at social mobility (Austria), the challenges and rewards of the life and career transitions of newcomers and the importance of mentoring and developmental networks in enabling cultural and identity transitions (Canada), and forced migration in the case of refugees (Germany/Bamberg). In other cases, time is more in the background, but is still of crucial importance. Examples include the hesitation about making a career move (Belgium) and the interplay between change and continuity in the national context (Japan).

CAREER OUTCOMES

The outcomes of careers are manifold. Basically, we can differentiate between objective and subjective career success (Gunz and Heslin, 2005; Hughes, 1937). The former comprises indicators that are hard facts and, as a rule, can be observed by others. As discussed above, they include income, number of promotions and hierarchical position within an organization. Subjective career success addresses how individuals perceive and feel about their careers, resulting in indicators such as career satisfaction and fulfilment. Building on this and on an extensive study of all the culture clusters of the world, work from the 5C Group (Briscoe et al., 2021, 2012; see also www.5C.careers) suggests there are seven facets of career success, divided into three groups – growth, life design and material output – that individuals use across the globe (Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 Facets of career success (building on Mayrhofer et al., 2016)

Figure 1.2 shows that growth, life design and material output relate to career success and depicts some sub-dimensions. Learning and development covers aspects linked with growth such as professional development and personal growth. Entrepreneurship covers aspects linked to self-employment and running one's own business. Work-life balance addresses the satisfying integration of various aspects of one's life. Positive impact relates to the opportunity of contributing to the development of others and leaving people and places better as a result of one's own doing. Positive work relationships articulate the importance of good relationships with the people one is working with. While financial security addresses the importance of survival and basic necessities, financial success is about achieving wealth beyond this. Given such career outcomes, the importance of career success cannot seriously be questioned. Each chapter in this book charts careers in different contexts, outlining some career outcomes.

THE USEFULNESS OF THIS BOOK FOR THE READER

The stories and some of the frameworks in this book (including the career success outcomes framework) were produced by authors belonging to an ongoing international research project carried out by the 5C Group (Cross-Cultural Collaboration on Contemporary Careers; more information can be found at www.5C.careers). Founded in 2004 by Jon Briscoe at Northern Illinois University, Douglas (Tim) Hall at Boston University and Wolfgang Mayrhofer at Vienna University of Business and Economics (WU Vienna), this group has sought to understand careers from a local and cross-cultural perspective. Starting with a qualitative study in 12 countries, the 5C Group has since conducted two major surveys on career success, including one on coping during the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2023, over 30 countries from the major cultural regions of the world are represented in 5C. The group's goal is to help individuals, their families and other social communities, line managers, human resource management, organizations and society to support flourishing careers through better understanding them.

As part of fulfilling that goal, this sourcebook intends to give hands-on, real-life examples of how careers play out in different countries as the primary and most visible point of reference. In exploring the wide array of different career shapes, dynamics and spaces, it is fascinating to see how context and time impacts on the careers of 'beings'. The stories in the book are multifaceted and instructive of the wide opportunities that working people have as well as some of the barriers they may encounter.

While this is (hopefully) entertaining and informative, it also requires some form of scaffold that readers can revert to in order to sort and systematize the issues addressed and to make sense of them. Both the anatomy of careers and the three perspectives of being, space and time can form such a scaffold. The next chapter provides a brief guide on how to successfully navigate the rich contents of this book.

NOTE

1. Ontic comes from the philosophy of Martin Heidegger and 'is concerned primarily with entities and the facts about them' (Heidegger, 1962: 31).

REFERENCES

Arthur, M. B., Hall, D. T., and Lawrence, B. S. (Eds). 1989. *Handbook of Career Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., and Mayrhofer, W. 2012. *Careers Around the World: Individual and Contextual Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. 2021. Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, (130)103612.

De Vos, A., and Van der Heijden, B. I. J. M. 2015. *Handbook of Research on Sustainable Careers*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Grandjean, B. D. 1981. History and career in a bureaucratic labor market. *American Journal of Sociology*, 86(5): 1057–1092.

Gunz, H. P., and Heslin, P. A. 2005. Reconceptualizing career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 105–111.

Gunz, H. P., Lazarova, M. B., and Mayrhofer, W. (Eds). 2020. *The Routledge Companion to Career Studies*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Gunz, H. P., and Mayrhofer, W. 2018. *Rethinking Career Studies: Facilitating Conversation across Boundaries with the Social Chronology Framework*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gunz, H. P., and Peiperl, M. 2007. *Handbook of Career Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hall, D. T. 2002. *Careers In and Out of Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Heidegger, M. 1962. *Being and Time*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA, USA: Blackwell.

Hughes, E. C. 1937. Institutional office and the person. *American Journal of Sociology*, 43(3): 404–413.

Hughes, E. C. 1958. *Men and Their Work*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Mayrhofer, W., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., Dickmann, M., Dries, N., et al. 2016. Career success across the globe. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 197–205.

Mayrhofer, W., Smale, A., Briscoe, J., Dickmann, M., and Parry, E. 2020. Laying the foundations of international careers research. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 30(3): 327–342.

2. One, two, many ways – a hands-on guide to how to navigate this book

Wolfgang Mayrhofer, Jon Briscoe, Michael Dickmann, Douglas T. Hall and Emma Parry

This is one of those books that one does not expect readers to read from front to back, although, of course, this is possible and fruitful. More likely, readers attracted by the promise of rich stories from a number of contextual settings around the globe will leaf through it to find those chapters and passages that have the most appeal in terms of what they are looking for.

Two things might be helpful for gaining orientation. First, the overall structure of the book and the chapters. Part I contains, besides this current chapter on how to navigate this book, a brief introduction to the concept of careers and how to look at them from various perspectives. This helps readers to better understand what the chapters deal with. Parts II to VII contain 24 chapters with career stories from all the populated continents of the world, grouped into six broad themes:

- Personal Characteristics
- Stability and Change
- The Boundaries and Borders
- Gender
- Generations
- Organizations

Each chapter in the book, after starting with a title that highlights the core themes and signposts the country it comes from, follows a similar line of thought. Either very strictly or in a looser sense and in varying order, the chapters commence with a point of departure that sets the scene or constitutes a dilemma or a problem or the like, before then contextualizing the situation. This usually is done through a brief introduction to the country and its specifics regarding careers and the core of the emerging story. The story itself puts flesh on the bones of the respective issues. Reflections on the story point towards core issues and related theoretical discourses. ‘Stop and Think’ sections with a few questions intended to stimulate further thoughts about the story close each chapter and are geared to produce relevant takeaways for the reader.

Second, a more in-depth guide beyond the book and chapter structure might be helpful to harvest the rich and multifaceted chapter content. The following table gives an overview of the major issues addressed by the chapters based both on our own reading and on the verdicts provided by each author/author team (Table 2.1).

It is important to bear in mind that the issues are not grouped according to a stringent theoretical framework but, having the interested reader in mind, are arranged in alphabetical order, similar to a front-end index. The table allows the quick identification of the core issues of each chapter in two main ways. Those readers who are interested in a specific region or country can go to the respective columns and can easily see which issues are addressed in more depth in the various chapters. In turn, readers who want to learn more about how a specific issue plays out in different contextual settings, can search in the topic list and then follow the line to see in which country chapters it is addressed.

Of course, we provide a selective and not comprehensive list of issues. Additional issues can be discovered in the various chapters. Therefore, reading the whole book might still be a valuable option …

Table 2.1 *Landscape of issues covered in chapters*

Continents	Africa	Americas			Asia and Oceania				Europe															
Countries	NGR	ARG	CAN	MEX	AUS	IND	JPN	PAK	AUT	BEL	FIN	GBR	GER -BA	GER -HH	GRE	IRL	ITA	LTU	NOR	POR	RUS	SUI	SVK	TUR
Issues																								
Agency										■						■	■			■	■			
Aging				■														■						
Barriers and Resistance		■	■							■						■							■	
Boundaries and/or boundary crossing												■		■					■	■	■	■	■	■
Brain Drain								■												■				
Capitals, Forms of	■																				■			
Career Management	■		■	■	■	■							■	■				■	■		■	■		
Career Shock							■					■	■		■		■						■	
Career Success – Objective, Subjective	■		■	■			■							■			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Career Transition	■		■		■	■				■			■		■		■	■	■	■			■	■
Crisis and Disruption							■	■				■	■		■						■		■	■
Cultural and/or institutional			■				■	■			■	■	■							■				■
Developmental Networks/mentoring			■										■	■		■	■						■	
Developments over time													■	■		■	■				■		■	

Continents	Africa	Americas			Asia and Oceania				Europe															
Countries	NGR	ARG	CAN	MEX	AUS	IND	JPN	PAK	AUT	BEL	FIN	GBR	GER-BA	GER-HH	GRE	IRL	ITA	LTU	NOR	POR	RUS	SUI	SVK	TUR
Issues																								
Different Generations				■				■														■	■	
Digitalization																								■
Discrimination		■						■	■							■								
Elite Careers					■			■																
Employability				■													■			■				
Employment, Forms of														■										
Ethnicity								■																
Family						■		■															■	
Fit/Match							■							■			■							
Gender		■				■		■	■							■								
Gender Equality		■							■							■								
Goals			■							■														
Identity			■				■				■													■
Intersectionality									■															
Job Mobility				■						■		■		■			■		■					
Migration	■		■									■											■	
National							■	■																■
National Culture						■	■				■										■			
Opportunities													■				■		■	■				
Organizational Career Management					■						■								■					

Continents	Africa	Americas			Asia and Oceania				Europe															
Countries	NGR	ARG	CAN	MEX	AUS	IND	JPN	PAK	AUT	BEL	FIN	GBR	GER -BA	GER -HH	GRE	IRL	ITA	LTU	NOR	POR	RUS	SUI	SVK	TUR
Issues																								
Organizational Culture																■								
Personal Needs and Well-Being										■				■				■						
Political Systems												■												
Professional																					■			
Professions and Industries		■			■																			■
Relocation	■		■									■	■											
Resilience		■													■		■				■			
Retirement, Post-Retirement																		■						
Social Background and Class													■											
Social Inequality								■	■							■								
Social Mobility									■															
Talent Management				■							■													

PART II

Personal characteristics

3. Walking a tightrope – the fulfillment of psychological needs in a self-determined two-job situation in Germany

Nanni Schleicher and Florian Schramm

SETTING THE SCENE

It is Thursday evening and Paul (name changed) is packing his suitcase for a three-day layover in Mexico City. Paul works as a flight attendant for a German airline. He is looking forward to this trip. Mexico City is one of his favorite destinations. There are two people on the crew list with whom he has already worked with in the past, so Paul is certain that he will have a good time.

While packing, Paul is reviewing his day. For some weeks now he has been working with this one client. It has been a complicated and complex task. Finally, today they have successfully closed this assignment. This challenging task has especially fulfilled Paul in his self-employed business. For the last six years, he has been working in this dual-employment arrangement as a flight attendant and as a self-employed sales and marketing entrepreneur.

Paul's design of an individual and self-determined dual-employment career is representative of the *new career* idea (e.g., Briscoe and Finkelstein, 2009, p. 243). It can be assumed that Paul chose to engage in a two-job situation voluntarily since his high level of qualifications and academic background would have enabled a traditional, well-paid career (Schleicher, 2019, p. 90). The phenomenon of the *new career* is based on the satisfaction of *subjective career success criteria* such as work-life balance and the fulfillment of work-related values (Heslin, 2005a, p. 121). This in turn justifies the belief that *subjective success criteria* are largely responsible for Paul's choice of a dual employment and is essential for explaining his career pattern (e.g., Arthur et al., 2005; Dries et al., 2008; Heslin, 2005a; Mayrhofer et al., 2016).

CONTEXTUALIZING

Most employees in Germany work in one job. However, there is a significant minority of individuals who work in a two-job situation like Paul. Various terms can be found in the literature that describe the combination of two or more occupations, such as multiple employment or second job (e.g., Brenke, 2009; Hirschenauer and Wießner, 2006; Klinger and Weber, 2017; Müller, 2014). Paul is financially compensated in both of his occupations and thus achieves a income through both jobs. Based on this understanding, the term dual employment is used to define Paul's work life. Depending on the data source and the consideration of different groups in the labor market, the statistics on persons in a two (or more) job situation varies. Yet all the statistics have clearly shown a strong increase in this situation over the past few years and it is assumed that this upward trend will continue.

According to the working-time calculation of the Institute for Labor Market and Employment Research Nuremberg (IAB), 3.07 million employees in Germany in 2016 had a side job in addition to their main occupation. This number has more than doubled since 2003 (Klinger and Weber, 2017, p. 2). Based on the data of the labor force survey (Arbeitskräfteerhebung) carried out by the German Federal Office of Statistics, 5.3 percent of all employed people had at least one other job in 2016 (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2018). This number corresponds to almost two million people. The labor force survey is based on information from respondents and thus shows a lower proportion of employees with other jobs than other labor market statistics whose data is based on reported employments. The labor force survey also takes the self-employed into account. An analysis of the German Socio-Economic Panel (Schleicher et al., in progress) shows that a multiple-job constellation usually consists of a main job and an additional sideline job. Furthermore, multiple-job constellations are not stable over time, with most of them disappearing after two or three years. In a European comparison, it becomes clear that fewer people in Germany are in a two (or more) job situation compared to other European countries (Brenke, 2009, p. 599). In countries such as Estonia, Latvia, Holland, Portugal, and Iceland, as well as in the Scandinavian countries, working in a second job is more common in comparison to Germany (Eurostat, 2018).

Although there is a growing trend towards having multiple jobs, little research has been carried out into the reasons why employed people have more than one occupation (Müller, 2014, p. 32). The reasons for engaging in two (or more) jobs are divided into two categories. The first category comprises the motives that are based on a necessity to take on further paid employment, usually as a result of financial and/or work-time restrictions imposed by their main job (Klinger and Weber, 2017, p. 1). Dissatisfaction with the salary as well as the restriction to a part-time position in the main job are often mentioned (BAuA, 2014; Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 2014). The second category comprises the motives that are based on a voluntary choice to pursue other work, such as enjoying the second job or the reputation gained from doing it. This could include a professor who also works as a consultant and receives another income from it or an assembly-line worker who plays as a musician in a band and gets paid for the concerts (Klinger and Weber, 2017, p. 1). In this category, the second job could satisfy the wish for some additional earnings or provide compensation for not adequately using one's expertise in the first occupation (BAuA, 2014). To sum up, the reason for an individual being in a dual-employment situation can be that it is economically essential or voluntarily chosen.

PAUL'S WAY INTO A TWO-JOB CAREER

Paul has had a very colorful working career. After he had completed his (first) studies at university in a field where only a few jobs were vacant, he had to reorient. An advert from a big German airline and his wanderlust motivated Paul to apply as a flight attendant ("I will discover the world, were my thoughts back then").

A short time later, Paul realized that the job as a flight attendant alone was not fulfilling enough ("I found the work itself boring, I always thought something else had to come"). Paul's longing for "real" work ("I needed something for my head") increased steadily. After two years of flying he finally quit the flight attendant job and went back to university to study business administration.

For several years, Paul climbed the "traditional career ladder" in an international company. He was sent to many places and gained more responsibilities, a higher salary, and many more monetary benefits. Paul worked in a great position, but he missed his job as a flight attendant.

> For definitely five or six years, I experienced stomach pangs in each aircraft I flew in and that, ah, I'd gladly have all that again, it was so much fun! You didn't have to carry around your cell phone or laptop, and you had your time off whenever you clocked out. I would gladly do it all again. But it never came to mind: I'm applying again and I have to give up everything I had achieved up to this point.

Paul worked very long hours until eventually he suffered a mental breakdown, which made him quit his well-paid job. After several years he took this opportunity to apply once more for flight attendant work. He started again at his former airline from square one with a training course and describes being back in this job as a great feeling of "coming home again". One year later, Paul felt that he needed another challenge in his career. Based on his professional experience, he founded his own company. He combined his self-employed work with the work as a flight attendant. Paul has maintained his two-job career for six years now.

The work as a flight attendant satisfies various needs that primarily take place on an affective level and are therefore strongly connected with emotions. There is a strong sense of belonging to this "family of flyers", which Paul articulates clearly and repeatedly in different ways. He perceives the working environment as respectful and informal. Even though they barely know each other, the relationship with his colleagues is close and uncomplicated, with a great expression of solidarity. Paul describes this job as easy and uncomplicated owing to the precise structure in place, a clear distribution of responsibilities, and a defined completion time. The work of a flight attendant is associated with fun and pleasure, almost like paid holiday, and thus satisfies the need for vitality.

On top of this, in his self-employed work Paul experiences other areas of satisfaction, especially through working with content that stimulates his cognitive skills and continuously challenges him. In this profession, Paul has the possibility of contributing his own intellectual competencies and expertise as well as making his own decisions and thus exerting direct influence on the processes in place. In particular, he has the freedom to design and create the content of his work himself and he underlines the importance of further development. He enjoys the fact that his individual performance is valued and appreciated. With his self-employed work being based on having an academic background, he feels he is "someone in society" and has a certain job status. Paul values the appreciation he receives through this profession for his individual performance and personal abilities.

In combining his two distinct occupations, Paul experiences a feeling of freedom. This perceived autonomy is a reflection of the possibility to be independent and self-determined in his working life, rather than being controlled or instructed by someone else. Another positively highlighted aspect is the synergetic effect arising from the (almost perfect) combination of two very different professions. The taking on of two very different activities, one of which is primarily physical and the other primarily intellectual, creates a form of balance. Paul finds it easier to separate the two jobs due to the different types of activity each job entails. Furthermore, in combination, the job as a flight attendant and that of his self-employed profession create a feeling of security for Paul. This perceived security is generated by the feeling that with the second job he has created a safety net.

CLOSING THE SCENE

Paul's dual-employment career demonstrates the importance of the fulfillment of needs through work and shows that the desire for a broad form of need fulfillment was decisive for him in creating this career model. As a flight attendant he experiences a strong sense of belonging and vitality. Through his academic-based self-employed profession he receives appreciation and the possibility of development. The combination of the two occupations leads to a feeling of autonomy and security. Further, it provides a synergetic effect.

REFLECTIONS

Paul's multi-job career concept clearly comes under the umbrella of the greatly discussed idea of the *new career* (e.g., Arthur, 2014; Briscoe and Finkelstein, 2009; Mayrhofer et al., 2002) and its diverse concepts. Through his strong identification with the concept of dual employment itself and his emphasis on a feeling of autonomy, Paul understands himself as his own career manager who combines different occupations (*portfolio career*; Handy, 1995). Paul created his career based on the ideas of "independence from, rather than dependence on, traditional organizational career arrangements" (*boundaryless career*; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, p. 6), the ongoing reinvention and development of his own career (*protean career*; Hall, 1996), the combination of distinct career parameters (*kaleidoscope career model*; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005, 2006), and the taking advantage of various career opportunities (*post-corporate*; Peiperl and Baruch, 1997). In many aspects, Paul's concept of a career mirrors that of the *new career* idea in their common understanding of distancing oneself from the idea of a traditional career and seeing the individual, rather than the company, as being the career manager.

Paul's dual-employment career concept is formed on the basis of fulfilling his personal work-related values. Guided by the desire for psychological success and job satisfaction, Paul mainly maximizes his *subjective career success* on the basis of his individual definitions of satisfaction (e.g., Briscoe and Finkelstein, 2009, p. 243; Heslin, 2005b, p. 377; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009, p. 1543). The seven categorized motives (belonging, vitality, development, appreciation, autonomy, security, and synergetic effect) for Paul engaging in dual employment can be interpreted as his subjective career success criteria. They reflect Paul's unique career design and his individual understanding of career success (Gunz and Heslin, 2005, p. 106). In this context, experience serves as a determinant of human behavior. It is the way people experience and interpret certain events and the perceived relationship between those events and their psychological needs that dictates their behavior (Ryan and Deci, 2008, p. 654). In other words, it is the way Paul evaluates his career in relation to his psychological needs (e.g., Briscoe et al., 2021; Mayrhofer et al., 2016; Smale et al., 2019).

Paul's voluntary dual-employment career enables him to satisfy various career success criteria that he could not fulfill through one job alone. Further, this career makes the fulfillment of the three basic psychological needs for *autonomy*, *competence*, and *relatedness* feasible. These three psychological needs are the foundation of the *Self-Determination Theory* (SDT) developed by Deci and Ryan, which is an empirically based macro-theory dealing with human motivation, human development, and human well-being (Deci and Ryan, 2002). The need for *autonomy*, *competence*, and *relatedness* is universal and innate. Satisfying these needs has been shown to form the foundation for sustained psychological growth, integrity, and well-being (Deci and Ryan, 2000, p. 229) and has a direct effect on intrinsic motivation.

The work as a flight attendant fulfills the need for *relatedness* through the perceived feeling of belonging. *Relatedness* is expressed by the general integrative tendency in life to be in a secure connection and unity with others (Deci and Ryan, 2002, p. 7). The satisfaction of this need can be found in Paul's narrations in the perceived "membership" of a rather protected aviation world and the close, collegial, and informal crew life. The need for *competence* is satisfied by his other profession and the resulting experience of (personal) development. *Competence* is the need of people to seek challenges that optimally correspond to their capacities in order to constantly maintain and improve their skills and opportunities through these activities (Deci and Ryan, 2002, p. 7). This fits with Paul's need for dealing with challenging tasks and being responsible for creating his own content. By combining the two occupations, the need for autonomy is satisfied through having a self-designed career and the perceived independence this gives. *Autonomy* results from performing activities that are self-determined and expresses the origin of intrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan, 2000, p. 234).

This theory is based on the premise that *autonomy* and *competence* are integral parts of intrinsic motivation, and that contextual events can have a supportive or a disabling effect on intrinsic motivation and thus on basic psychological needs (Deci et al., 1999, p. 628; Deci and Ryan, 2002, p. 11). The concept of basic psychological needs is different from ideas about personal motives, desires, and aspirations. While the fulfillment of basic needs always goes hand in hand with a positive effect on personal development and individual well-being, motives and aspirations can also have an opposite effect. Even if people fulfill their aspirations very effectively, this can precisely counteract the satisfaction of their basic psychological needs and thus reduce personal well-being. This difference shows that the achievement of personal goals does not necessarily guarantee a sense of well-being but even suppresses it in the worst-case scenario (Deci and Ryan, 2002, p. 8). This could be the case, for example, if the striving for appreciation fulfills the need for *competence* but reduces the sense of *autonomy* and/or *relatedness*. In other words, if Paul's motives do not have an inhibiting effect on the fulfillment of his basic needs, then his dual employment provides a career that has a positive influence on his personal performance and individual well-being.

Even though an upward trend of dual employment is observable and the current changes and developments in individual careers are significant, the German labor market and tax system are still based on the structure of a traditional career and the clear differentiation between a main job and a side job (Klinger and Weber, 2017, p. 2; Schmidt and Voss, 2014, p. 42). This traditional way of dividing Paul's career into a main job and a side job cannot be applied to his emotional perceptions. Paul identifies his career as taking the form of dual employment, which is therefore perceived as being the main occupation itself. This becomes particularly clear through his experience of autonomy, which makes him his own career agent, regardless of his employment relationships.

BOX 3.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Think about your environment: Do you know people working in a two-job situation? What are their reasons for doing so? Which jobs are they combining?
2. How is your country supporting individually created career designs? What are the legal circumstances for individuals in a two (or more) job situation?
3. What are the differences between psychological needs and motives? Think about motives in your (career) life which might have a negative effect on your psychological needs.
4. Do you think that a two-job situation could be a stable arrangement for many years?

REFERENCES

Arthur, M. B. 2014. The boundaryless career at 20: Where do we stand, and where can we go? *Career Development International*, 19(6): 627–640.

Arthur, M. B., Khapova, S. N., and Wilderom, C. P. M. 2005. Career success in a boundaryless career world. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 177–202.

Arthur, M. B., and Rousseau, D. M. 1996. Introduction: The boundaryless career as a new employment principle. In M. B. Arthur and D. M. Rousseau (Eds), *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*: 3–20. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brenke, K. 2009. Erwerbstätige mit Nebentätigkeiten in Deutschland und in Europa. *DIW Wochenbericht*, 76(35): 598–607.

Briscoe, J. P., and Finkelstein, L. M. 2009. The "new career" and organizational commitment: Do boundaryless and protean attitudes make a difference? *Career Development International*, 14(3): 242–260.

Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. 2021. Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, (130)103612.

Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsschutz und Arbeitsmedizin (BAuA). 2014. *Nach Feierabend in den Zweitjob!? Mehrfachbeschäftigung abhängig Beschäftigter*. Factsheet 06. https://www.baua.de/DE/Angebote/Publikationen/Fakten/BIBB-BAuA-06.pdf?__blob=publicationFileandv=8.

Deci, E. L., Koestner, R., and Ryan, R. M. 1999. A meta-analytic review of experiments examining the effects of extrinsic rewards and intrinsic motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(6): 627–668.

Deci, E. L., and Ryan, R. M. 2000. The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11(4): 227–268.

Deci, E. L., and Ryan, R. M. 2002. An overview of self-determination theory: An organismic-dialectical perspective. In E. L. Deci and R. M. Ryan (Eds), *Handbook of Self-Determination Research*: 3–33. New York: Rochester Press.

Dries, N., Pepermans, R., and Carlier, O. 2008. Career success: Constructing a multidimensional model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 73(2): 254–267.

Eurostat. 2018. *Beschäftigungsstatistik 2017*. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Employment_statistics/de#Personen_mit_mehr_als_einer_T.C3.A4tigkeit.

Gunz, H. P., and Heslin, P. A. 2005. Reconceptualizing career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 105–111.

Hall, D. T. 1996. Protean careers of the 21st century. *Academy of Management Executive*, 10(4): 8–16.

Handy, C. B. 1995. *The Age of Unreason*. London: Random House.

Hans-Böckler-Stiftung o.V. 2014. Zweitjob, um über die Runden zu kommen. *Böckler Impuls*. https://www.boeckler.de/47054_47069.htm.

Heslin, P. A. 2005a. Conceptualizing and evaluating career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 113–136.

Heslin, P. A. 2005b. Experiencing career success. *Organizational Dynamics*, 4(34): 376–390.
Hirschenauer, F., and Wießner, F. 2006. *Mehrfachbeschäftigung: Ein Job ist nicht genug*. IAB Kurzbericht Aktuelle Analysen aus dem Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung der Bundesagentur für Arbeit no. 22, Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB). https://doku.iab.de/kurzber/2006/kb2206.pdf.
Klinger, S., and Weber, E. 2017. *Zweitbeschäftigungen in Deutschland: Immer mehr Menschen haben einen Nebenjob*. IAB Kurzbericht Aktuelle Analysen aus dem Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung der Bundesagentur für Arbeit no. 22, Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB). http://doku.iab.de/kurzber/2017/kb2217.pdf.
Mainiero, L. A., and Sullivan, S. E. 2005. Kaleidoscope careers: An alternate explanation for the "opt-out" revolution. *Academy of Management Executive*, 19(1): 106–123.
Mainiero, L. A., and Sullivan, S. E. 2006. *The Opt-Out Revolt: Why People Are Leaving Companies to Create Kaleidoscope Careers*. Mountain Viwe, CA: Davies-Black Publishing. https://books.google.at/books?id=t9BzRZyim-4C.
Mayrhofer, W., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., Dickmann, M., Dries, N., et al. 2016. Career success across the globe. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 197–205.
Mayrhofer, W., Meyer, M., Steyrer, J., Iellatchitch, A., Schiffinger, M., et al. 2002. Einmal gut, immer gut? Einflussfaktoren auf Karrieren in "neuen" Karrierefeldern. *Zeitschrift für Personalforschung*, 16(3): 392–414.
Müller, T. 2014. Erwerbstätige mit Nebentätigkeiten in NRW 2012. In Information und Technik Nordrhein-Westfalen (Eds), *Statistische Analysen und Studien. Entwicklungen am Arbeitsmarkt Nordrhein-Westfalens*, 80: 32–36. Düsseldorf.
Peiperl, M., and Baruch, Y. 1997. Back to square zero: The post-corporate career. *Organizational Dynamics*, 25(4): 7–22.
Ryan, R. M., and Deci, E. L. 2008. Self-Determination Theory and the role of basic psychological needs in personality and the organization of behavior. In O. John, R. Robins, and L. A. Pervin (Eds), *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*: 654–678. New York: The Guildford Press.
Schleicher, N. E. 2019. *Das Beste aus zwei divergenten Arbeitswelten: Eine Analyse individueller Karriereverläufe und -konzepte von Personen in einer Doppelerwerbstätigkeit unter Einbeziehung der Self-Determination Theory*. München: Rainer Hampp Verlag. https://doi.org/10/3482.
Schleicher, N. E., Schlese, M., and Schramm, F. in progress. *Dual Careers: A New Form of Professional Biography?*
Schmidt, T., and Voss, D. 2014. Arbeitsmarkt- und geschlechtsdifferenzielle Einflussfaktoren für die Ausübung einer geringfügigen Nebenbeschäftigung. *Industrielle Beziehungen*, 21(1): 36–57.
Smale, A., Bagdadli, S., Cotton, R., Dello Russo, S., Dickmann, M., et al. 2019. Proactive career behaviors and subjective career success: The moderating role of national culture. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 40(1): 105–122.
Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland. 2018. *Erwerbstätige, die mehr als eine Erwerbstätigkeit ausüben*. https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/QualitaetArbeit/QualitaetDerArbeit.html?cms_gtp=318944_slot%253D3.

Sullivan, S. E., and Baruch, Y. 2009. Advances in career theory and research: A critical review and agenda for future exploration. *Journal of Management*, 35(6): 1542–1571.

4. Leonardo da Vinci's spirit: a career story of an Italian creative entrepreneur

Silvia Bagdadli and Martina Gianecchini

SETTING THE SCENE

Elena Dominique Midolo, born in 1977, has dreamed of a career in academia since her childhood. She pursued her dream with passion and perseverance, earning a *magna cum laude* in Foreign Languages and Literature (2001), with a specialization in Cultural Studies, and a PhD in Sociology (2007) at the Catholic University of Milan, Italy. As a PhD student, she participated in international research projects, authored several articles and two books, taught in different courses, and moved temporarily to the United Kingdom to conduct field research for her doctoral thesis at the Goldsmiths' College Centre for Cultural Studies. She worked hard because she believed that to climb the traditional ladder in academia she had to prove her dedication and intellectual ability. Over the years, she has managed to combine scientific rigor with her distinctive skills and attitudes, including innovation and eclectic and interdisciplinary approaches, as well as her entrepreneurship spirit. In spite of her efforts and results, gradually, her idealized image as a free and innovative thinker started to falter. Throughout her career, she faced the bureaucratic burden of a regulated profession and the challenges of a work environment which rarely rewarded individual initiative and merit. As she experienced in 2008, the organizational politics surrounding academia are of utmost importance. Her involvement in an important international research project, to which she dedicated several months of effort, risked disappearing because of the minimal interest of some senior scholars she was working with. It served as a "wake-up call" to refocus her efforts dedicated to an academic career and devote her passion to something else.

The same year, her brother, Claudio Midolo, a designer, video maker, and tech enthusiast, married Clio Zammatteo, a young YouTube creator, who developed a strong interest in makeup tutorial videos. Meeting Clio represented a life-changing event for Elena. Due to her academic background in sociology of culture and new media, she immediately recognized Clio's potential: her innovative, unique communication style combined with her impressive skills and extensive knowledge as a makeup artist. In 2008, after Claudio and Clio cofounded the YouTube channel "ClioMakeUp," Elena started to manage Clio's business, initially informally and then through a formal agreement. Since then, the three began to have a shared career, as Clio became the face and the art director of the brand, Claudio its chief technical officer, and Elena its general manager. Their collaboration has led to three different beauty businesses throughout the years, allowing Elena to evolve toward a career matching her goals and interests.

CONTEXTUALIZING

Italy has many contradictory institutional systems in place. The two most relevant systems are, on the one hand, the industrial system, characterized by efficient and innovative small businesses, and on the other, the large public sector, characterized by poor efficiency, bureaucracy, non-meritocratic policies, and a high rate of absenteeism.

Italy's diversified industrial economy is the eighth largest in the world (seventh prior to Covid-19). Entrepreneurship and creativity are the two important characteristics of the Italian industrial system that distinguish it from the system in many other countries: Valentino Garavani, Domencio Dolce and Stefano Gabbana, and Giorgio Armani in the fashion industry; Enzo Ferrari, Giorgetto Giugiaro, and Antonio Ducati in the automotive industry; and Pietro Ferrero and Massimo Bottura in the food industry are just a few examples of creative individuals who converted their passion into an entrepreneurial career. According to International Labour Organization data for 2020, entrepreneurs make up approximately 6 percent of the Italian labor force (even though this percentage has been declining over the last decade), placing Italy among the top ten countries for entrepreneurial activity.

Italy's second institutional system is its vast public administration sector, which employed over 3.5 million long-term employees in the first decade of the 2000s, roughly half of them in local bodies and organizations and half in the centralized bodies (Corazziari, 2007), with the number gradually decreasing to 3.2 million in 2020 due to retirements.

The public sector in Italy began to expand after World War II. Amintore Fanfani, one of the fathers of the Italian Republic and one of the most prominent politicians in the Christian Democratic Party, played a critical role in this expansion and in the development of a culture far removed from one of "public service and interest" (Samuels, 2003). As a result of this system, Italian public administration has been characterized by low productivity, a non-meritocratic culture, and a high rate of absenteeism (Ichino, 2008). In the 1990s, the global phenomenon of public management reforms reached Italy too, but "resulted in an 'implementation gap': it appears that there is a certain gap between the contents of the reform laws and the actual diffusion of the corresponding management tools; and an even greater gap between the mere presence and the actual utilization of the management tools" (Ongaro and Valotti, 2008, p. 174).

The Italian state university system, which incorporates most of Italy's universities, is completely integrated into the public administration sector and the malfunctioning of the system reflects the malfunctioning of the public administration sector, regardless of the legislative attempts to change the recruitment or incentive systems. Academic careers in Italy are characterized by a series of promotions (strictly intended as upward movement) within a very traditional professional hierarchy. Since 1980, the Italian academic career path has had three stages: researcher, associate professor, and full-time professor. All formal roles are tenured in the Italian academy. Promotion to each stage requires the approval of would-be peers, following a formal process as stated by law. Various reforms have affected the nature of this process but left substantially untouched the idea of a formal evaluation, which is referred to as "*concorso*" ("contest").

Embedded in this contradictory context, Elena started her career in the academic system equipped with skills such as pragmatism and creativity and an entrepreneurial spirit that she soon realized she could not fully utilize or express in that system. Additionally, she conducted research mainly overseas and taught frontier and new topics such as new media and digital and popular culture, pioneering an area that was not immediately recognized by the Italian academia.

It was necessary for her to make a decision. Should she remain stuck in the system, watching her dreams slowly fade away, or should she move out from a structured yet uncertain system and venture into a completely new one?

The details of this career change and venture will be revealed in the following section. Besides the content, there are two main theoretical reasons for reading through it: 1) to understand the agentic role of individuals in shaping their careers and 2) to understand how the transition from an individual career to a shared career can be made.

THE STORY

Elena Dominique Midolo graduated from the Catholic University of Milan in 2001 with a degree in Foreign Languages and Literature (English and German). Thereafter, she worked as a market research analyst in London for some time. She began working as a teaching assistant in several courses at the Catholic University of Milan in 2003, before being accepted with a scholarship, in 2004, as a PhD student in Sociology at the same university. While earning her PhD she worked toward realizing her childhood dream, as she vividly expressed in interviews: "*I always dreamed of having a university career since childhood.*"

She developed her skills as a researcher and teacher, and identified a topic for developing her own research path, namely *Popular Music Studies*: music as an expression of youth cultures in multiethnic contexts. As a means of attaining a deeper understanding of the topic, she first moved to Newcastle upon Tyne, studying at Northumbria University, and then to London, to study at the prestigious Centre for Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths' College, where she had the opportunity to network with senior scholars with similar research interests. However, some senior Italian professors did not acknowledge her potential and considered her research topic as "*totally irrelevant.*" Their attitude did not discourage Elena, who persisted in her efforts and, to demonstrate her abilities, built relationships with other international universities so that her university could participate in international research bids. Despite her considerable efforts – contributing to the writing of the project, developing international relationships, and drafting the budget – the seniors she worked with in Italy did not fully engage in the project. Such an episode served as a "*wake-up call*" for her.

> The working conditions and opportunities in academia were beyond my control. It was possible to reach a certain point with my strengths and my skills, but the many factors I could not control worried me a lot.

Furthermore, Elena felt her perspective did not align with the common attitude in academia that disregards the economic dimensions of research.

> I consider being a university professor as any other profession, and believe that every profession should be properly rewarded. I appreciate the so-called Protestant work ethic: if things are going well financially, it is a blessing. It signifies that your work is being recognized. On the contrary, at that point in Italy and in the environment I was working in, fundraising activities were not valued: the general approach can be described with the Latin expression "*pecunia olet*."

In general, Elena felt she would be defined by her research interests and placed into the "*not so relevant*" category. She also felt that her work was not valued enough and that the "*dysfunctional*" organizational micro-politics would hinder her overall career progression. More than once, she got the impression that other mechanisms were advancing others over her, and that her merits, initiatives, and qualifications would not suffice, thus decreasing her willingness to dedicate herself to such an environment.

After the difficulties encountered with the participation in the international research bid described above, she began to question her desire to pursue a career in academia.

> In the same way that a player has a limited number of chips in hand and must decide where they should be placed, I realized that the particular table would not provide me with what I had in mind. (…) I felt like a lobster at that point: the carapace was too tight for me, and it was time to change it.

The opportunity for a career transition emerged from her personal life, during the preparations for her wedding in June 2008. Since she wanted everything to be perfect, she scouted out many makeup artists, looking for the best. The most suitable makeup was provided to her by her own sister-in-law, Clio. She trusted her, and it was a success.

> All the female guests at my wedding expressed great interest in my make-up: they were enthusiastic about it and said I looked like a red-carpet diva.

Clio Zammatteo, Elena's sister-in-law, moved to New York immediately after her graduation along with Claudio, Elena's brother. In the beginning, Clio worked casual jobs to pay the rent and attended a professional school for makeup artists, while Claudio started working as a game designer for New York's "Institute of Play." Clio was passionate about makeup and new media, and the praises she received during Elena's wedding inspired her to pursue her dream of working as a makeup artist. Claudio convinced her to create her first YouTube video in 2008 and thus "ClioMakeUp" was founded. In her first contribution, Clio expressed her desire to publish DIY tutorials, sharing with others online what she was learning at the prestigious school for makeup artistry that she was attending in New York City. YouTube was born in 2005, when content creation was still in its infancy: users were sharing funny or amateur music videos. In 2008, recording and publishing tutorials in Italian, even if with a basic editorial plan, was considered very innovative and cutting edge. It was a huge success for Clio. Starting her own business as a content creator and independent video publisher, Clio sought advice from Elena regarding strategic issues.

> As a result of my academic background, she felt comfortable and secure, and, consequently, we developed a relationship of mutual trust.

At the beginning of 2009, Clio began receiving numerous requests for collaborations from different makeup brands due to the success of her tutorials.

Clio, inexperienced and concerned, sought the assistance of Elena to deal with clients and her growing business.

> During that time, Clio granted me access to her e-mail account. I continued to conduct research at the university during the day, while at night I worked a second shift answering fans and companies on Clio's behalf.

This informal collaboration, which was not regulated by any written agreement, lasted for several years. Elena did not receive any monetary compensation in the beginning, but she was motivated by their common "*passion.*" As Clio's business prospered, she published two makeup manuals (*Clio Make-Up: La scuola di trucco della regina del web* and *Clio Make-Up Beauty Care*) with a major Italian publisher, worked with all the major cosmetic and beauty brands – from Vogue to L'Oréal, from Pierre Fabre to Estee Lauder, from Dior to Coty – and became a celebrity. In February 2012, Elena discontinued her research activities at the university, while continuing to teach. She and Clio decided to sign a formal agreement to regulate their partnership. According to that contract, Elena would manage Clio's relationship with clients and the media, as well as collaborate with her brother Claudio in guiding the operational and strategic development of Clio's commercial and business activities. Elena understood their respective roles in the business relationship from the very beginning.

> As the artist, Clio must only be concerned with the content, without any worries. My role is to create the best business and organizational environment and conditions to allow Clio to work with freedom, autonomy and independence.

Initially, she was not driven by a clear business plan, but rather by her "*gut feeling*" as an entrepreneur. Meanwhile, Clio's business, powered by Claudio and now managed by Elena, was rapidly growing. By 2013, Clio had hosted three daily television shows on Real Time, an Italian television channel owned by Discovery Networks Europe. Ultimately, to structure the activities and businesses arising from this show as well as to protect Clio's image rights, it was decided to establish their first company in 2013.

> The company's name was inspired by an impregnable castle. We created the company to safeguard Clio's interests and work: we wanted to ensure that she would never feel at risk.

Elena was the majority shareholder (with 99 percent of the shares) and CEO of the company, responsible for the success or failure of the business activity Clio and Claudio assigned to her. Her management style was particularly cautious and strongly affected by an "adverse event that threatened the survival of the business itself." Following that negative event, she built a network of external consultants, "*the best in every area of the business.*"

One year later, in 2014, a second company was founded to manage the digital content for the ClioMakeUp editorial department. Over the past couple of years, Elena and Claudio have worked tirelessly to develop a blog where Clio could express herself. They followed a reverse development path, moving from the production of videos (YouTube) to writing (blog) content, whereas many influencers start their activity writing simple texts and only eventually publishing videos on social media platforms. As a result of the creation of the blog, they had to initiate two major changes in the business: an increase in the company's size to hire editorial staff to support Clio in writing the blog, as well as a diversification into a digital business as the blog was published on a proprietary platform.

Table 4.1 Company's figures (2018–2021)

Company activity	Clio image rights protection	Public relations and digital content activities	Cosmetics production
Foundation year	2013	2014	2016
Revenues – 2020 (€)	N/A	1,004,479	7,268,446
Revenues – 2019 (€)	379,744	617,544	6,752,596
Revenues – 2018 (€)	555,876	670,626	3,837,489
Employees – 2020	N/A	4	14
Employees – 2019	1	3	11
Employees – 2018	0	2	5
Other business info (September 2021)	**ClioMakeUp Blog** 5.2 million users/month; 19.2 million page views/month **Facebook** 2.6 million followers **Instagram** 3.1 million followers **Instagram stories @cliomakeup** 500k views/story **YouTube** 4 million views/month; 350 million total views; 1.6 million subscribers **Pinterest** 110.9k followers		

The last company was founded in 2016 and specializes in the production of cosmetics products under the ClioMakeUp brand (Table 4.1). In April 2017, Claudio launched a proprietary e-commerce website (ClioMakeUpShop), which he developed using an innovative platform for the Italian market

(Shopify), to commercialize their products. On the same day they opened their virtual shop, all the products were sold out.

Elena faced several difficulties in her entrepreneurial career. For example, the cosmetics company was experiencing difficulties (delayed delivery times) with its suppliers regarding the production of lipsticks in 2017. Consequently, the newly founded company decided to transform this liability into a business opportunity by opening a temporary store – "*gelateria*" style – where they created lipsticks on-demand. This event prompted Elena to open a plant in 2018, supervising its industrial design with Claudio in order to increase their "*independence from the suppliers and control the entire production of the most important products.*" Recently, Elena has been struggling with managing the increasing number of employees joining the companies, the typical "*people management*" dilemma. Hence, managers (e.g., a human resource manager) have been hired, whose goal is to help the brand grow harmoniously. The road ahead is open; the future is as bright and colorful as makeup can be!

REFLECTIONS

Elena's career is characterized by two major theoretical themes: a continuous struggle between individual agency and institutional (organizational and business) structure, and a transition from an individual career to a shared one.

As far as the relationship between *individual agency and institutional structure* is concerned, career literature (Duberley et al., 2006; Schneidhofer et al., 2020) has explored its dualistic character to understand how individuals make sense of their careers and utilize them in a variety of settings. Exploring career transitions and mobility (Forrier et al., 2009), scholars focus on how social structures and material conditions determine the extent to which individuals are free to act according to their desires and aspirations. In this instance, normative constraints (McRae, 2003) – the set of cultural and social expectations that we place on ourselves and others – appear particularly relevant in the early stages of Elena's career. As a young researcher in Italian academia, Elena demonstrated her agentic attitude by proposing innovative research topics and joining international research networks. However, a perceived lack of meritocracy, a lack of interest in interdisciplinary topics, and the bureaucratic academic structure hindered her desire to pursue a career in academia. During the later stages of Elena's career, she operated as an entrepreneur in the beauty business; structural constraints – the set of institutional conditions related to the economic and social environment – conditioned her career. The presence of big competitors in the cosmetics industry and of aggressive venture capitalists more interested in financial returns than in the development of a nascent business forced Elena to make career decisions (e.g., establishing three companies) aimed at protecting Clio's creativity, innovativeness, and independence and interests.

Elena's agentic approach was forged by normative and structural constraints throughout her entire career: a general skepticism regarding her research interests, the international bid whose potential was not appreciated, delays in the delivering of materials, and difficulties in managing employees. By overcoming such adversities Elena demonstrated her *career resilience*, defined as "a developmental process of persisting, adapting, and/or flourishing in one's career despite challenges, changing events, and disruptions over time" (Mishra and McDonald, 2017, p. 216). By reacting to crisis, Elena not only learned how to face similar challenges in the future, but also, based on a *career capital* perspective that differentiates between knowing-why, knowing-how, and knowing-whom (Arthur et al., 1995; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994), clarified her knowing-why in terms of career motivation and identification of the fit between one's professional identity and choices made in relation to tasks, projects, and organizations.

The second theoretical theme is that Elena's career has been characterized by a twofold career transition (Chudzikowski, 2012): from a public administration professional to an entrepreneur in the beauty industry, and from an individual career to a shared one. During her transition from a professional (researcher and teacher) in public administration to an entrepreneur, Elena leveraged the second dimension of her career capital, namely the knowing-how, which is defined as the job-related skills and expertise that one accumulates over time and that can transfer across organizational boundaries. In particular, her knowledge of new media and of the creative and cultural industry was beneficial not only in recognizing Clio's potential, but also in orienting and negotiating important business decisions (e.g., the decision to develop a blog, television shows, a cosmetic line, to name a few). Having such expertise formed the basis of Clio's trust in Elena, and was therefore one of the determining factors in transforming Elena's, Clio's, and Claudio's individual careers into a *shared one* (Svejenova et al., 2010). The term "shared career" refers to a collaboration between two or more individuals who jointly pursued career opportunities. These collective responses reflect common goals and mutual accountability, as individuals in shared careers identify, define, and modify some of their career goals together. Ultimately, though, while individual motivations do play a role in a shared career, the relationship itself is the principal career anchor. The second part of Elena's career is shared with Clio, Clio being the artist and Elena acting as her manager who, in this particular case, created a series of business ventures for protecting and developing the creative skills of her counterpart. At the foundation of Elena, Clio, and Claudio's shared career lies their mutual trust, both on a personal and a professional level. Their relationship extends beyond work collaboration and is fundamentally embedded in their family connection, which is featured on screen in an original docuseries produced by Discovery Channel. While this deep personal connection may become a liability in cases of business decisions with potentially negative externalities on their personal relationship, as demonstrated by many failed Italian family businesses, on the contrary, it could represent a potential advantage in comparison with common artist–agent relationships focused solely on economic gains.

BOX 4.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Would there be a ClioMakeUp company without Elena Midolo?
2. How did Elena demonstrate her agentic attitude to pursue her career? What role does an agentic attitude play in shaping a career in general?
3. What skills and knowledge has Elena gained during her career transition?
4. How could you leverage your skills in order to change your career?
5. What are the contextual conditions that favor (or hinder) the development of an entrepreneurial career?
6. Does the country you live in encourage entrepreneurial careers?

REFERENCES

Arthur, M. B., Claman, P. H., and DeFillippi, R. J. 1995. Intelligent enterprise, intelligent careers. *Academy of Management Executive*, 9(4): 7–20.

Chudzikowski, K. 2012. Career transitions and career success in the "new" career era. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 81(2): 298–306.

Corazziari, G. 2007. *La pubblica amministrazione in Italia*. Roma: Dipartimento economico dell'Eurispes. http://bancadati.italialavoro.it/bdds/download?fileName=C_21_Strumento_4254_documenti_itemName_0_documento.pdf&uid=29a7af72-3750-4bd9-9cc7-3d68cee13699.

DeFillippi, R. J., and Arthur, M. B. 1994. The boundaryless career: A competency-based perspective. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 15(4): 307–324.

Duberley, J., Mallon, M., and Cohen, L. 2006. Exploring career transitions: Accounting for structure and agency. *Personnel Review*, 35(3): 281–296.

Forrier, A., Sels, L., and Stynen, D. 2009. Career mobility at the intersection between agent and structure: A conceptual model. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82(4): 739–759.

Ichino, P. 2008. *I nullafacenti: Perché e come reagire alla più grave ingiustizia della nostra amministrazione pubblica*. Milano: Mondadori.

McRae, S. 2003. Constraints and choices in mothers' employment careers: A consideration of Hakim's preference theory. *British Journal of Sociology*, 54(3): 317–338.

Mishra, P., and McDonald, K. 2017. Career resilience: An integrated review of the empirical literature. *Human Resource Development Review*, 16(3): 207–234.

Ongaro, E., and Valotti, G. 2008. Public management reform in Italy: Explaining the implementation gap. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 21(2): 174–204.
Samuels, R. J. 2003. *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Schneidhofer, T. M., Hofbauer, J., and Tatli, A. 2020. On the agency/structure debate in careers research: A bridge over troubled water. In H. Gunz, M. B. Lazarova, and W. Mayrhofer (Eds), *The Routledge Companion to Career Studies*: 59–74. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.
Svejenova, S., Vives, L., and Alvarez, J. L. 2010. At the crossroads of agency and communion: Defining the shared career. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 31(5): 707–725.

5. Agency and structure in career-related decisions: an example from the financial crisis in Portugal

Silvia Dello Russo and Henrique Duarte

SETTING THE SCENE

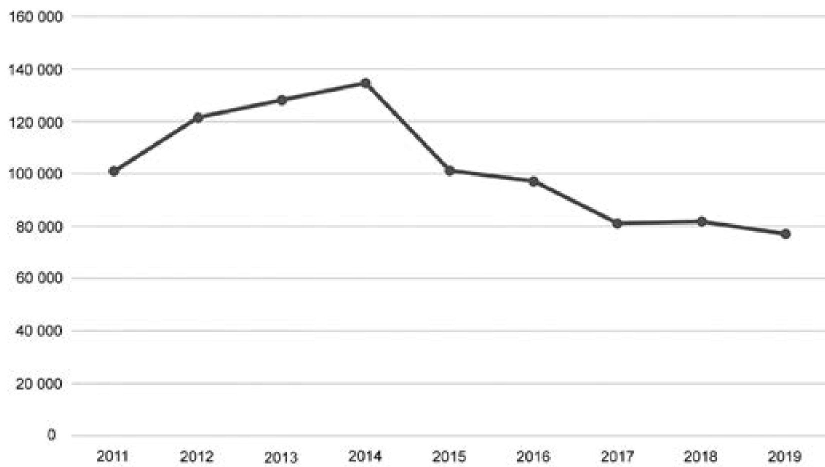
Deep in thought, Joana strolls around Hamburg's monumental port and looks out over the water. "What should I do?", she asks herself.

> I really think the interview went well … So, what if they offer me the job? Hamburg is a lovely city but it is not *my* city! Am I ready to leave my home and my beloved Lisbon? I'd tried this path and decided I didn't want to live and work abroad. Plus, it is one thing to go abroad to study, and have a clear end date and a view to coming back … But this? This would be different … All I've built so far – at work and outside work … Am I ready to start all over again?

Joana's situation seems like a catch-22. A decision impossible to take lightly since the choice inherently requires giving up something extremely important to her. Individual choices, however, are never independent of the broader context in which they are embedded. Even the simple existence of certain options – including the job offer that Joana is expecting to receive – depends on the larger context. Let us examine the broader socio-economic and historical elements that defined her own home country, Portugal, at the moment of her dilemma, and those of her likely host country, Germany.

CONTEXTUALIZING

It is 2012, the year in which Portugal was sanctioned by the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Union (EU) for exceeding the permitted ratio between national GDP (gross domestic product) and debt. This came as the result of a severe deficit crisis in many countries, which forced the IMF to intervene in Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Spain and Cyprus during the sovereign debt crisis over the period of 2010–2014 (Serapioni and Hespanha, 2019). Although the financial crisis affected the whole of the eurozone, the more fragile economies felt its effects more deeply (Serapioni and Hespanha, 2019). In particular, unemployment rates dramatically rose in those years, which had a direct effect on emigration – particularly that of young, qualified workers (King and Lulle, 2016). We can observe from Figure 5.1 that the emigration fluxes from Portugal closely followed the economic cycle: rising during the crisis (from 2011 to 2014) and falling with the economic recovery (starting in 2015).



Source: INE – Instituto Nacional de Estatística (Portuguese National Institute of Statistics).

Figure 5.1 Trends in Portugal's emigration fluxes: number of emigrants per year

Flipping the coin, it can be argued that while some countries face economic difficulties and consequently emigration rises, others might experience periods of growth and, conversely, have an increase in immigration. In this scenario, the capacity of the latter countries to attract qualified workers and offer them more job opportunities, more sustainable career advancement and higher wages will become stronger (Góis et al., 2016). The different economic dynamics will, therefore, induce different migration fluxes, leading to some countries exerting a greater attraction, while others correspondingly have a poorer retention capacity.

Looking at the net migration rates in European countries over the period of 2010–2014 (Table 5.1), we can observe striking differences both between and within countries from a temporal and dynamic perspective. In particular, we can see how some countries – which in 2010 had positive net migration rates, meaning that they had more immigrants than emigrants – had, after four years, completely reversed their migration fluxes and presented a negative net migration rate. This means that over four years, there were more people leaving the country in search of work than there were people coming in from other countries seeking employment. The most striking examples of such movements are Belgium, Cyprus, Spain and Portugal. At the other extreme, we can find countries that already had some capacity of attraction in 2010 (i.e., positive net migration rate) and saw it increase even further over the course of the four years. Examples in this category include Austria, Luxembourg and Germany.

In an even more systematic way, we can observe that the countries that saw their GDP per capita increase over the years 2010–2014 also presented a positive difference in their net migration rates. This is the case, for example, of Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Austria, Germany and Luxembourg. Conversely, at the other extreme, we observe that countries that experienced a negative variation in their GDP per capita also showed a decrease in their net migration rate. Most notably, this is the case of all the countries in the Southern European cluster (Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal and Cyprus).

Table 5.1 Comparison of EU GDP per capita (PPS) and net migration rate in the period 2010–2014

	GDP per capita (PPS)		Net migration rate		GDP per capita variation rate (%)	Net migration differential
	2010	2014	2010	2014		
Lithuania	61	76	-25.2	-4.2	24.6	21.0
Latvia	54	64	-17.0	-4.3	18.5	12.7
Malta	87	93	0.2	7.1	6.9	6.9
Austria	128	132	2.6	8.7	3.1	6.1
Germany	121	127	1.6	7.2	5.0	5.6
Luxembourg	260	272	15.1	19.9	4.6	4.8
Denmark	131	129	3.0	6.5	-1.5	3.5
Sweden	128	127	5.3	7.9	-0.8	2.6
Estonia	66	79	-2.8	-0.5	19.7	2.3
Bulgaria	44	47	-2.4	-0.3	6.8	2.1
Ireland	132	138	-5.6	-3.6	4.5	2
Romania	52	56	-2.4	-0.8	7.7	1.6
Slovakia	76	78	-0.9	0.3	2.6	1.2
Czechia	84	88	1.4	2.1	4.8	0.7
Finland	118	113	2.6	2.8	-4.2	0,2

	GDP per capita (PPS)		Net migration rate		GDP per capita variation rate (%)	Net migration differential
	2010	2014	2010	2014		
Netherlands	137	133	2.0	2.1	-2.9	0.1
Slovenia	85	83	-0.3	-0.2	-2.4	0.1
France	109	108	0.6	0.5	-0.9	-0.1
Poland	63	68	0.1	-0.3	7.9	-0.4
Hungary	66	69	1.2	0.5	4.5	-0.7
United Kingdom	111	111	4.2	3.3	0.0	-0.9
Croatia	60	60	-1.0	-2.4	0.0	-1.4
Italy	106	98	3.4	1.8	-7.5	-1.6
Greece	85	72	-5.9	-8.5	-15.3	-2.6
Portugal	83	78	0.4	-2.9	-6.0	-3.3
Spain	96	91	1.6	-2.2	-5.2	-3.8
Belgium	121	121	7.9	3.0	0.0	-4.9
Cyprus	102	81	19.2	-17.6	-20.6	-36.8

Notes:
Net migration rate = ((Immigrants - Emigrants) / Midyear population) × 1,000 inhabitants.
The volume index of GDP per capita in Purchasing Power Standard (PPS) is expressed in relation to the EU average set to equal 100. If the index of a country is higher than 100, this country's level of GDP per capita is higher than the EU average and vice versa.
GDP per capita variation rate = ((GDP per capita 2014 - GDP per capita 2010) / GDP per capita 2010) × 100.
Net migration differential = Net migration 2014 - Net migration 2010.
Source: Eurostat.

THE STORY

Joana (name changed) is a young Portuguese woman, born into and raised by a middle-class family. After high school, she enrolls on one of the first English-speaking programs at a highly reputed public university in Lisbon. During her studies, she also participates in the Erasmus program (an exchange program among European countries that allows university students, via dedicated scholarships, to spend at least one trimester at a foreign university). At the end of her course, she graduates in Economics and International Relations and goes on to do an internship in the field of international cooperation; specifically, she works as a diplomat's assistant in an intergovernmental organization in France. After one year, the internship contract comes to an end and, in 2004, she moves back to Portugal. There, within just a few months, she starts working as a consultant in one of the Big Four consulting firms.

This was quite a change from her original course of studies and opened the door for her to the management world. The consulting work is what Joana considers her “first real job” and it gave her the opportunity to help companies from many different sectors, such as the armed forces, healthcare, public administration and aviation.

> From all these areas, my heart was with healthcare and I have done many projects in this sector.

Nearly four years into her consulting job, and with a genuine passion for the healthcare sector, she is motivated to take on a new challenge and decides to invest in furthering her education with an MBA. She applies for an International MBA (IMBA) at one of the best business schools in Europe, more specifically, in Spain. Joana is awarded a scholarship for women by the World MBA Tour and in 2009 completes her course among the top 20 students in the overall cohort of the IMBA students. The MBA is truly her passport to better things.

> The MBA allowed me to transition to an industry where I had no inside experience.

She is hired as a Product Manager by a pharmaceutical firm in Lisbon. She works there for three years, satisfactorily but with little prospect of growing in her career, both in terms of competencies and in terms of official position. This is what lay behind her application for the job in Germany, and that is where we meet her – in the port of Hamburg.

CLOSING THE SCENE

It is now 2021, and Joana agrees to be interviewed about her career path. Today, she is the Global Director of a product division for a multinational firm operating in the medical devices sector, having held that position since 2019. It is the same company she interviewed for in 2012. Back then, as she had sensed, the interview had gone pretty well, and she had been offered a job as Product Manager. She accepted it and started her career path with this company that she still works for today, being promoted to Marketing Manager for the European region before achieving the position she holds now.

> I have lived now for eight years in Hamburg but because my job is EMEA related and now Global, I travel almost every week. So, Hamburg is more of a staging post than a real home, as my constant absence has made it difficult to socialize and establish friendships outside of work. Germany is very different from Portugal and when I started in my company there were very few non-German-speaking foreigners. So … it was very hard because the company didn’t yet have an international mindset.

> Office etiquette was vastly different from what I was used to, and it was quite hard in the beginning. It all looked very "unfriendly" to me. Somehow, you make it work and eight years later I am still in the same company and happily watching its international transformation.

REFLECTIONS

Joana's story can help us understand the importance of conceptualizing *career success* as *subjective* and *multidimensional* (Dries et al., 2008).

To understand her reasons for pursuing and accepting the job offer in Germany, it would not suffice to assume a generic financial motivation (e.g., salary) or a desire to get ahead (e.g., promotion). These are traditional and objective ways of defining careers as "successful" (Dries et al., 2009) and are still largely used. Nonetheless, in her case the move was not immediately associated with a promotion and, while the salary may have been higher in Germany, the cost of living was also higher there. We should, therefore, employ additional and multiple criteria which, being subjective, may be relevant and important to some individuals but not others (Briscoe et al., 2021). Seven subjective career success dimensions have been identified by the 5C Group (Briscoe et al., 2021; Mayrhofer et al., 2016). They comprise learning and development, entrepreneurship, work-life balance, positive impact, positive work relationships, financial security and financial success. What is more, each of the seven dimensions captures two aspects, namely "importance" and level of "achievement". Hence, we should take into consideration not only what people value most, but also the gap between those values and their current levels of achievement in each of the dimensions (i.e., the perceived discrepancy between their achievement level and the importance attributed to a given aspect of their career). Such gaps may be stronger motivators than absolute values of importance and achievement. This is consistent with control theory, which holds that individuals are motivated to act in an attempt to reduce the discrepancy they feel exists between a current and a desired state (Carver and Scheier, 1981). In this case, not only did Joana very much value the chance to take on the challenge of working on new and different projects that she could learn from and increase her competencies (i.e., she most likely attributed great importance to the subjective career dimensions of learning and development), but she also felt that her current job did not satisfy her needs at the level she wished it to. This provided the motivation to go after the job in Germany and to accept it.

As stated when setting the scene for this chapter, no career path can be understood in isolation from its broader context. In this case, we can see how two concepts largely used in the career literature but too often regarded as "individual attributes", namely employability and boundaryless career attitude, acquire specific meaning, or can manifest themselves thanks to the presence of certain contextual conditions.

Employability can be broadly defined as “the individual’s ability to keep the job one has, or to get the job one desires” (Rothwell and Arnold, 2007, p. 25). Even based on this simple definition, it is clear that the emphasis is on the individual and their ability to maintain or secure employment. Such emphasis is not entirely justified, as some authors have recently pointed out (Forrier et al., 2018) and which Joana’s story is testimony to. Regardless of who assesses it – be it an employee (Berntson et al., 2006), an employer (Hogan et al., 2013) or political decision makers (OECD et al., 2016) – employability ultimately involves a match between a person’s skill set and the demands and opportunities offered by a job at a given time. In this respect, Joana’s story reveals that it is hard to speak of employability in abstract terms, without contextualizing it (Fugate et al., 2021). We always need to consider, for example, a specific job a person may be employable for (e.g., the current one or different ones); a specific organization (e.g., employability may be associated with firm-specific human capital; Coff and Raffiee, 2015); and the time frame of one’s employability (e.g., employable in the present, or in the future in relation to anticipated changes in a job). Joana was employable in her job at the pharmaceutical firm she worked for in Portugal. Yet, as the country (and consequently the organization) was undergoing an economic cycle of recession, that same firm could not provide her with future employment opportunities that fitted her profile and ambitions. Instead, it was the multinational medical devices firm in Germany that she decided to move to that proved to be a better fit for her in terms of present and future employability. We can see how her previous investment in education (the MBA) and her previous work experience (in the pharmaceutics sector) jointly contributed to enhancing her human capital and how this ultimately influenced her career success (Bagdadli et al., 2021).

A *boundaryless career attitude* identifies a preference for boundaryless careers (Arthur, 1994) and is explicitly concerned with the physical and psychological mobility of individuals. Conceptually, it comprises two dimensions, namely an organizational mobility preference and a boundaryless mindset. Organizational mobility preference is defined as “the strength of interest in remaining with a single (or multiple) employer(s)”, and a boundaryless mindset is conceptualized as “one’s general attitude to working across organizational boundaries” (Briscoe et al., 2006, p. 33). Accordingly, an individual with a boundaryless career attitude is comfortable and enthusiastic about having a career played out across several employers and geographical locations. Joana, with her career path, clearly displays a boundaryless career attitude. Moreover, we can observe that the context has shaped and likely strengthened her boundaryless career attitude. First, we can consider the broad institutional context, which is the EU with its open borders. This has offered her opportunities for mobility that would have been way more complex in earlier times, or that might even have frustrated mobility ambitions. We could go as far as to say that Joana's boundaryless career attitude was first shaped by her early experiences abroad during the Erasmus program at university – again ascribable to the EU. Second, we can consider the specific socio-economic and historical circumstances that characterized the two countries in this story. Conditions in Portugal, with its acute crisis back then and the very limited initiatives the government put in place to retain talented people, acted as a push factor – facilitating, or reinforcing, a boundaryless attitude. The stable economy and the tradition of decent working conditions in Germany, on the other hand, acted as pull factors. Such considerations are particularly important in light of the criticism that has, over the years, been leveled at the concept of boundaryless careers (Inkson et al., 2012). Taking this criticism into consideration, an individual's agentic role in shaping their career should not be overemphasized, as boundaries do exist and can condition the road map that careers take. Our story clearly demonstrates that while Joana might have had an inclination for a boundaryless career, she did not initially pursue one. On the contrary, after all her previous experiences abroad she had returned to Portugal. It is only after 2012 that the context, brought about by several conditions in her home country, acted as an enabler of Joana's boundaryless attitude.

In keeping with the push and pull factors mentioned above, Joana's story allows us to reflect more broadly on the macro-contextual factors that play a role in individuals' career decisions.

Countries' migration fluxes (illustrated at the start of the chapter) constitute movements that have a strong economic impact. This is because the more attractive countries (i.e., those with positive net migration rates) gain benefits from the arrival of qualified people who will enhance their collective human capital, without having incurred the cost of their education. This phenomenon is known as *brain gain*. Conversely, the countries that undergo an economic crisis have fewer possibilities to offer new jobs, which leads to increasing (youth) unemployment rates and higher emigration fluxes. In this way, such countries lose their educational investments, together with the possibility of enhancing the country's human capital and, consequently, their potential for development (Giousmpasoglou and Koniordos, 2017). This depletion of a country's human capital due to its lower competitive advantage is known as *brain drain*.

The interplay between *brain gain* and *brain drain* has been the topic of much, often heated, debate among the EU institutions (Hasselbalch, 2017). In fact, the economic gains and losses associated with migration fluxes cannot be looked at from a Manichean perspective. Some authors propose that the *brain effect* resulting from investing in human capital can better flourish (and be harvested) in countries other than the one of origin, and that the emigration country would receive its returns on investment through financial transfers (Hasselbalch, 2017). However, and from a strictly human resource management perspective, it is clear that the *brain drain* will directly and negatively affect the organizations that operate in countries undergoing an economic crisis. To what extent will depend on the impact the crisis has on the younger and highly educated workers' decision to stay or leave. Young and highly educated individuals like Joana, who tend to have more self-confidence and greater career expectations, would more likely find fulfillment of their career aspirations in foreign countries, exploiting opportunities for international mobility (Auriol, 2010; King and Lulle, 2016; Pires et al., 2016). Conversely, organizations in countries with more prosperous economic conditions would enjoy the *brain gain* of their country via greater availability of human resources – often at a lower cost (because migrant workers tend to be less demanding rewards-wise). Overall, it is clear that organizations' recruitment, career management and reward policies will all be much affected by country-level economic aspects, including the *brain gain* versus *brain drain* dynamics.

We are in the presence of a "global race for talent" that leads to a greater accumulation of talent where there is already significant human capital (Münz, 2014). In this talent race, both companies and workers will follow scripts hardly of their own choosing, and which they contribute to shape only in very small part. If we look at Joana's story in this light, we can regard her as an actor in a play that she has not written and that she will act out according to macroeconomic rules.

BOX 5.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Would traditional models of career development (such as career stage models) be helpful in understanding Joana's career path? If so, what would they be able to explain? If not, what are they missing?
2. How can organizations design their human resource and career management practices with the goal to respond to major economic changes in their countries (e.g., in their country's GDP per capita)?

REFERENCES

Arthur, M. B. 1994. The boundaryless career: A new perspective for organizational inquiry. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 15(4): 295–306.

Auriol, L. 2010. *Careers of doctorate holders: Employment and mobility patterns*. OECD Science, Technology and Industry Working Papers No. 04, OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/5kmh8phxvvf5-en.

Bagdadli, S., Gianecchini, M., Andresen, M., Cotton, R., Kaše, R., et al. 2021. Human capital development practices and career success: The moderating role of country development and income inequality. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 42(4): 429–447.

Berntson, E., Sverke, M., and Marklund, S. 2006. Predicting perceived employability: Human capital or labour market opportunities? *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 27(2): 223–244.

Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., and DeMuth, R. L. F. 2006. Protean and boundaryless careers: An empirical exploration. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(1): 30–47.

Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. 2021. Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, (130)103612.

Carver, C. S., and Scheier, M. F. 1981. *Attention and Self-Regulation: A Control-Theory Approach to Human Behavior*. New York: Springer.

Coff, R., and Raffiee, J. 2015. Toward a theory of perceived firm-specific human capital. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 29(3): 326–341.

Dries, N., Pepermans, R., and Carlier, O. 2008. Career success: Constructing a multidimensional model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 73(2): 254–267.

Dries, N., Pepermans, R., Hofmans, J., and Rypens, L. 2009. Development and validation of an objective intra-organizational career success measure for managers. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 30(4): 543–560.

Forrier, A., De Cuyper, N., and Akkermans, J. 2018. The winner takes it all, the loser has to fall: Provoking the agency perspective in employability research. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 28(4): 511–523.

Fugate, M., Van der Heijden, B., De Vos, A., Forrier, A., and De Cuyper, N. 2021. Is what's past prologue? A review and agenda for contemporary employability research. *Academy of Management Annals*, 15(1): 266–298.

Giousmpasoglou, C., and Koniordos, S. 2017. Brain drain in higher education in Europe: Current trends and future perspectives. In C. Giousmpasoglou, E. Marinakou, and V. Paliktzoglou (Eds), *Brain Drain in Higher Education: The Case of the Southern European Countries and Ireland*: 229–262. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Góis, P., Marques, J. C., Candeias, P., Ferreira, B., and Ferro, A. 2016. Novos destinos migratórios: A emigração portuguesa para o Reino Unido. In J. Peixoto, I. T. de Oliveira, J. Azevedo, J. C. Marques, P. Góis, et al. (Eds), *Regresso ao Futuro. A Nova Emigração e a Sociedade Portuguesa [Return to the Future: The New Emigration and the Portuguese Society]*: 71–108. Lisbon, Portugal: Gradiva Publicações, S.A.

Hasselbalch, J. 2017. *The European politics of brain drain: A fast or slow-burning crisis?* CSGR Working Paper No. 285/17, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick. www.warwick.ac.uk/csgr/papers/285-17.pdf.

Hogan, R., Chamorro-Premuzic, T., and Kaiser, R. B. 2013. Employability and career success: Bridging the gap between theory and reality. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 6(1): 3–16.

Inkson, K., Gunz, H., Ganesh, S., and Roper, J. 2012. Boundaryless careers: Bringing back boundaries. *Organization Studies*, 33(3): 323–340.

King, R., and Lulle, A. 2016. *Research on migration: Facing realities and maximising opportunities: A policy review*. Luxembourg City, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2777/414370.

Mayrhofer, W., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., Dickmann, M., Dries, N., et al. 2016. Career success across the globe: Insights from the 5C project. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 197–205.

Münz, R. 2014. *The Global Race for Talent: Europe's Migration Challenge*. Brussels: Bruegel.
OECD, ILO, World Bank, and IMF. 2016. *Enhancing employability: Report prepared for the G20 Employment Working Group*. Paris: OECD. http://www.oecd.org/g20/topics/employment-and-social-policy/Enhancing-Employability-G20-Report-2016.pdf.
Pires, R. P., Pereira, C., Azevedo, J., Espírito-Santo, I., and Vidigal, I. 2016. *Emigração Portuguesa. Relatório Estatístico 2016*. Observatório da Emigração. http://hdl.handle.net/10071/12477.
Rothwell, A., and Arnold, J. 2007. Self-perceived employability: Development and validation of a scale. *Personnel Review*, 36(1): 23–41.
Serapioni, M., and Hespanha, P. 2019. Crisis and austerity in Southern Europe: Impact on economies and societies. *E-Cadernos CES*, (31). https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.4068.

6. Crises and digitalization: your skills are unlimited, just discover them! Individual skills and their discovery in times of turbulence

K. Övgü Çakmak-Otluoğlu

SETTING THE SCENE

Ayşegül Güngör is the Founder and Managing Director of Minerva Training and Consulting Company, which provides financial and management trainings for both companies and professionals in Turkey. As a former banking professional, she handled many responsibilities in her company, including the design, development, and implementation of customized financial training programs. She was also involved in delivering various training modules. Since founding her company in 2001, Ayşegül has successfully overcome many challenges such as raising awareness of her company and leading marketing activities. However, she has recently faced a new challenge: traditional forms of training are more likely to be replaced by digital solutions and the training industry, which is growing more every year, is highly competitive in Turkey. Ayşegül therefore begins to think about how to benefit from the power of digital solutions to survive in this highly competitive environment and make the trainings more effective. Recognizing this, Ayşegül is in search of creating a mobile training application.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Founded in 1923, the Turkish Republic inherited a nonindustrialized, agriculture-based, and war-torn economy from the Ottoman Empire (Aycan, 2006). There was also no accumulation of capital. To overcome the economic difficulties caused by both World War I and the Turkish War of Independence, the State had to play a fundamental role and nationalization was institutionalized without adopting a socialist system (Bakan and Eren, 2017). As its economy was largely based on agriculture, Turkey was a closed economy to foreign investment, and until 1980 it was also subject to two military coups. In the middle of the 1970s, Turkey experienced one of the worst economic downturns in its history. The Turkish economy came to a standstill. For instance, there were power outages for eight hours a day, no foreign currency for oil imports, and high prices for food and other basic necessities on the black market. Due to these economic difficulties, the "January 24th Decisions" were taken in 1980. The Turkish economy made a transition from a closed economy to an open and liberal economy as a result of these decisions (Ridvan and Sevilay, 2016; Siverekli Demircan, 2008). In the period between 1980 and 1989, Turkey therefore experienced radical changes that still have effects even today.

With the decisions of 24 January, foreign investments and partnerships with foreign companies were promoted to increase the supply of foreign currency, and foreign companies were given the right to increase equity capital by 100 percent. The establishment of free zones in 1985, the liberalization of border trade with neighboring countries, and regulation on the opening of branches of foreign banks were important steps taken to attract foreign capital (Ünal, 2015). Foreign capital inflows therefore increased sharply, which resulted in a revival of the banking and tourism industries and a shift from an agriculture-based economy to a service-based economy (Aycan, 2001).

In the 1990s, the Turkish economy was extremely unstable (Selçuk, 1998). The high volatility of inflation increased uncertainty in the country. In terms of national culture, Turkey comes high in relation to uncertainty avoidance (Aycan, 2001). Turkish people therefore felt uncomfortable in this uncertain, ambiguous, and unreliable environment, and they preferred to hold foreign currency instead of local currency. Thus, a financial crisis occurred in January 1994. The economic crisis that followed, which came about with the "April 5th Decisions" announced in 1994, was connected to this financial crisis (Selçuk, 1998). The negative consequences of the severe economic crisis that started in 1994 endured until the 2000s. In 2001, there was another financial crisis, and almost the entire banking system collapsed (Akyurek, 2006).

AYŞEGÜL GÜNGÖR'S STORY

Ayşegül, who was born in 1968, wanted to become a painter as a child. However, she hid her desire to go to fine arts school from her parents, knowing full well that her father would not approve. Parents have an important role in their children's career choices in countries like Turkey, which has a paternalistic culture (Aycan, 2001). Turkish families from the middle and upper socio-economic classes in particular make great investments in their children's education and want them to have a good education and work in prestigious jobs (Ültanir, 2012). Ayşegül's father graduated from Istanbul University, majoring in economics, and worked as a senior bureaucrat in the State. Taking him as a role model, Ayşegül followed in his footsteps and studied econometrics at the same university. In the period between 1985 and 1989, when she was a student at Istanbul University, Turkey was in a process of transition and transformation that began in 1980 and affected everything in the country.

In 1989, with her English-language proficiency skills, she graduated from university as one of the top students. Ayşegül could therefore easily find a job in the banking industry since the financial markets were new, there were fewer people looking for a job, and the service industry needed a qualified workforce. She began working in the Treasury Department of the Turkey Economy Bank in 1989. In 1991, she moved to a foreign bank called Crédit Lyonnais S.A., where she worked from 1991 to 1995. During this period, 1994 began particularly well for her, as she was promoted to the head of the Capital Markets Department in January of that year.

Unfortunately, this joy was short-lived. Even though the banking industry grew considerably with the policies implemented in the 1980s, various structural problems started to emerge in the 1990s. Due to the economic crisis that occurred in 1994, interest rates exceeded 1000 percent. At that time, Ayşegül suddenly lost eight kilos in a month and began to suffer from stomach pain. It was too stressful for her to be the new head, not knowing how to manage a team, trying to manage the crisis, and also trying to explain what was happening to the foreigners, who did not know the country. Ayşegül, who was 26 years old at the time, was struggling to cope with the crises she faced in the banking industry. Luckily, Ayşegül and the bank where she worked somehow survived the crisis, and the bank profited by creating appropriate products to facilitate the taking out of loans. In 1995, she moved to Demir Bank, a growing Turkish bank.

In 1998, Ayşegül took part in the establishment of Demir Investment and Securities Inc. She became Assistant General Manager at the age of 30. Her responsibilities included the management of 11 mutual funds issued by Demir Investment and Demir Bank, the purchase and sale of securities on behalf of Demir Investment, and the management of portfolios of securities products. She was also a member of the strategic management committee. The mutual funds she actively managed achieved a top performance, and she developed a variety of investment products. In 2000, she created the "I plan my future" (Plan B) with her team.

At the end of 2000, the top management of the bank changed. The new chief executive ignored Ayşegül's achievements and wanted to build his own team, which caused her great disappointment. Ayşegül therefore quit her job. One month after she quit, the bank she worked for was transferred to the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund, and then sold to a foreign bank. Two months later, in 2001, the financial crisis occurred.

After she quit her job, she decided to have a baby, thinking it might be best to take a career break during the financial and economic crisis. Taking a career break during her pregnancy enabled her to escape the excessive stress in the banking industry. However, she could not get pregnant as she had planned. She therefore attempted to go back to work, but she couldn't find a job she wanted. Being neither able to get pregnant nor able to find a suitable job made her feel useless.

It was the right time to get some career advice. Thus, one of her friends scheduled a meeting for her with the owner of Turkey's leading brokerage firm. During that long meeting she described herself, talked about her work experiences, and explained her achievements. At the end of the meeting, the owner encouraged her to consider a transition to a career in human resource (HR) management, arguing that her banking work experience and her expertise in trading would lead her to success in the field of HR. She thanked him politely. She knew very well that she was an excellent trader and banking professional. She felt that working as an HR professional did not match her values. When it came to managing her career, she wanted to pursue her own values rather than having them imposed on her.

While looking for a job, she received a job offer from a bank she really wanted to work for. After an interview period lasting one month, she was offered a position similar to her previous one. When she was about to accept the job offer, she discovered that she was pregnant, and therefore rejected it without a moment's thought. Meanwhile, her husband began encouraging her to start her own business. It seemed to be a good idea to use her trading and banking expertise in the training industry. She also had training experience, having worked as an in-house trainer at her previous banks, which might make her good at identifying the training needs of bank employees. Moreover, having her own business could allow her to set her own schedule, to escape the stress of corporate life, and to do a PhD. It seemed that it would be a good opportunity to pursue her own values. She therefore founded Minerva Training and Consulting Company in 2001.

The first years of the company were full of challenges. Although she was excellent at banking systems and had the capability to provide the necessary training, she was entering a completely new industry. First of all, she had to introduce herself and her company to the market. Until then, she had worked for well-known companies and took advantage of the company brand for marketing activities. Thus, she had to build brand awareness for her company. She also had to learn how to price her training products and to compete with the other companies in the training industry. She found herself more and more stressed while wanting to be stress-free at work. She had to deal with almost everything, such as designing and developing training programs, and directing and coordinating sales and marketing activities. Due to the challenges she had to overcome, her friends recommended she work in partnership with, and under the umbrella of, a global training company. However, Ayşegül dedicated herself to creating a business that reflected her own values. One of her main goals was to work with clients whose values matched hers, which cost her both time and money. Nevertheless, she did not despair. Over the years, her company became one of the best-known training companies in Turkey.

Nowadays, Ayşegül is in search of a digital solution to training. She believes that training experiences should be tailored. She realizes that the most critical aspect of mobile application design, which is the digital solution she is pursuing, is content development. By designing and developing training programs, she has specialized in developing content since 2001. She therefore needs to work with a software company. Her plan is that her mobile application will provide training materials on technical (e.g., finance for nonfinance professionals and financial literacy) and personal development (e.g., time management) topics with case studies and exercises.

CLOSING THE SCENE

Today, Ayşegül thinks she would make the same decision again if she could go back to 2001. She earned more money while working in the banking industry. However, her goal is to touch people's lives through her training, which is more important to her than making money. Despite all the difficulties she has dealt with, she now finds her work life more meaningful and fulfilling. Besides running her own business, Ayşegül has lectured on Portfolio Management for the MBA program at Istanbul Bilgi University since 2001, and she has also co-authored two books entitled *Be a Consultant, Not a Salesman in the Finance Sector* and *Invisible Ropes*. Starting her own business, being a university lecturer, writing books, and being a mother. They all match her own values.

When she stops and thinks about it, she notices that all of her experiences have brought her to where she is today. By majoring in econometrics in university she learned to do modeling, which helped her to make a model of the mobile application. By working in the treasury department she learned to manage the decision-making process. By designing and developing training programs she became specialized in developing content. Thus, she has all the skills she needs. She now just remembers a motto: "Your skills are unlimited, just discover them!"

REFLECTIONS

Ayşegül's career journey provides a thought-provoking perspective that allows us to examine her career in terms of *boundaryless career*, *protean career*, and *career success* concepts.

Ayşegül started her career in the banking industry in 1989 and changed employers four times until she quit her job in 2001. Considering that the *boundaryless career* is generally defined as "a sequence of job opportunities that goes beyond the boundaries of any single employment setting" (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994: 307), these changes in employer indicate that she has a boundaryless career. Along with the employer changes, she also changed departments on three occasions. Finally, she changed from working in the banking industry and having her own business in the training industry. In addition to her *physical mobility* between employers, departments, and industries, Ayşegül was also *psychologically mobile*. Psychological mobility refers to the perceptions of capacity to move (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). By being psychologically mobile she could anticipate a boundaryless future and envision various career options such as starting her own business, being a university lecturer, and co-authoring books. Additionally, she could notice that each work and life experience expanded her skills, which then led her to start her own business.

Ayşegül's career also reflects a *protean career*. A protean career refers to a career that is driven by the person not the organization, and to making career choices based on one's values (Hall, 1976, 2004). The protean career has two dimensions: *self-directed career management* and *values-driven career orientation* (Briscoe, Hall, and Frautschy DeMuthh 2006). In the case of Ayşegül, she is *values-driven* in terms of career management. *Values-driven career orientation* refers to reliance on internal values to evaluate one's career decisions (Briscoe and Hall, 2006). During her career break, when she could neither get pregnant nor find a job she wanted, the career advice given to her was to move to the HR field. However, she never considered making this career change because she was clear on her own values. She also turned down the job offer she really wanted when she noticed she was pregnant. Instead, she decided to start her own business in accordance with her clear sense of priorities such as setting her own schedule, escaping the stress of corporate life, and doing a PhD.

Ayşegül is *self-directed* in terms of career management. *Self-directed career management* is defined as taking a personal initiative to manage one's career (Briscoe and Hall, 2006). Despite the setbacks she faced in the training industry, she was passionate about taking control of her own career and having her own business that reflected her own values. She actively directed her own career by quitting her job, taking a career break, getting career advice, co-authoring books, giving lectures, and having her own business.

In her banking career, Ayşegül met the criteria for *objective career success*, including salary, promotion, and hierarchical status (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). However, she complained about the excessive stress in the banking industry which caused her stomach pain and unexpected weight loss. Even though she has faced several difficulties when running her own business in the training industry, she finds her life much more meaningful and fulfilling. Regarding the *subjective/perceived career success*, which is defined as individuals' subjective evaluations of their careers (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, and Feldman, 2005), she meets the criteria for *subjective career success* such as *making a difference* (feeling one has contributed in some positive ways to other people's lives or to the world, such as developing and helping others) (Shen et al., 2015), *entrepreneurship* (founding and running one's own enterprise or pursuing one's own projects) (Mayrhofer et al., 2016), and *satisfaction* (being pleased and content with how one's career has turned out, such as "being satisfied with one's job/work" or "having fun") (Shen et al., 2015).

BOX 6.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Think about your own career: Which boundaries did you cross in your career?
2. Think about your own career: which criteria for subjective/perceived career success are important to you?

REFERENCES

Akyurek, C. 2006. The Turkish crisis of 2001: A classic? *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade*, 42(1): 5–32.

Aycan, Z. 2001. Human resource management in Turkey – Current issues and future challenges. *International Journal of Manpower*, 22(3): 252–260.

Aycan, Z. 2006. Human resource management in Turkey. In P. S. Budhwar and K. Mellahi (Eds), *Managing Human Resources in the Middle East*: 178–197. London and New York: Routledge.

Bakan, S., and Eren, S. S. 2017. 2000'lerde Türkiye'de Burjuvazi Sınıfının Siyasal Dönüşümü. *Birey ve Toplum Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 7(1): 127–149.

Briscoe, J. P., and Hall, D. T. 2006. The interplay of boundaryless and protean careers: Combinations and implications. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(1): 4–18.

Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., and Frautschy DeMuth, R. L. 2006. Protean and boundaryless careers: An empirical exploration. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(1): 30–47.

DeFillippi, R. J., and Arthur, M. B. 1994. The boundaryless career: A competency-based perspective. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 15(4): 307–324.

Gunz, H. P., and Heslin, P. A. 2005. Reconceptualizing career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 105–111.
Hall, D. T. 1976. *Careers in Organizations*. Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing Company.
Hall, D. T. 2004. The protean career: A quarter-century journey. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 65(1): 1–13.
Mayrhofer, W., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., Dickmann, M., Dries, N., et al. 2016. Career success across the globe: Insights from the 5C project. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 197–205.
Ng, T. W. H., Eby, L. T., Sorensen, K. L., and Feldman, D. C. 2005. Predictors of objective and subjective career success: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, 58(2): 367–408.
Ridvan, K. S., and Sevilay, K. 2016. Opening up the economy of Turkey to the outside world: The stabilization decisions of January 24th 1980, economic situation in pre and post January 24th period. *Chinese Business Review*, 15(6): 265–281.
Selçuk, F. 1998. *A brief account of Turkish economy, 1987–1996*. Working Paper No. 9701, Bilkent University.
Shen, Y., Demel, B., Unite, J., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., et al. 2015. Career success across 11 countries: Implications for international human resource management. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 26(13): 1753–1778.
Siverekli Demircan, E. 2008. Girişimci Sıfatıyla devlet: 1980 sonrası Türkiye analizi. *Girişimcilik ve Kalkınma Dergisi*, 3(1): 33–56.
Sullivan, S. E., and Arthur, M. B. 2006. The evolution of the boundaryless career concept: Examining physical and psychological mobility. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(1): 19–29.
Ültanir, E. 2012. The factors affecting career guidance and current status of career guidance services in Turkey. *Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, 48: 135–147.
Ünal, U. 2015. *Özal dönemi ekonomisine genel bir bakış*. Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA) Paper No. 81603, 2–22.

PART III

Stability and change

7. Career reinvention in Russia

Konstantin Korotov, Svetlana N. Khapova and Evgenia I. Lysova

SETTING THE SCENE

Career reinvention, involving investment in new knowledge and career plans, and career divestment, encompassing decisions not to pursue a previously attractive career goal, are at the core of Arina's case. Arina herself identifies as a "business trainer, career consultant, and an expert in managing employee responsibility." She pursues various career paths, which, at times, come to a dead end, and responds by repackaging her offer, making additional investments in her personal development that contribute to the new package. She enhances her career resilience through a strong belief in her ability to reinvent her career, should it be necessary. She is also faced with potential divestments, decisions to not pursue previously attractive career goals.

CONTEXT

Russia has undergone profound economic, social, and political changes in the past decades with significant disruptive effects on individual careers.

During the Soviet era, spanning most of the 20th century, everyone in what today is Russia was expected to have a job. Not having one could be legally punishable (with exceptions for women with children and the disabled). Graduates from universities or vocational training institutes were offered jobs through centralized placement systems. Many people were expected to develop their career in the same organization or, at least, within the same occupational domain. For example, someone trained as a nurse, like Arina, would be expected to work in the healthcare system for the duration of their working life. Soviet dictionaries contained the term "careerism," referring to morally questionable individual efforts to advance upward mobility in the social or occupational system (Skorikov and Vondracek, 1993). The Soviet system did not support self-initiated drives for upward mobility. Career advancement often had to be sanctioned by management and the Communist Party.

In 1990, the Soviet Union's political and socio-economic system collapsed. Many organizations and departments, and therein jobs, ceased to exist. These jobs included Communist Party or planned economy posts, jobs in the propaganda machine, certain military and scientific roles, and so on. For some time, Russians found themselves in liminal conditions. They could not go back to the system they were used to (although they may have not necessarily liked it), nor did they know how to navigate the new environment. With many people's rapidly deteriorating economic conditions accompanying the transition from a planned system to market capitalism, material career goals became increasingly relevant and urgent. Most people had to reinvent themselves to sustain their basic needs and living.

We looked at 140 cases of career changes during the Russian transition to capitalism published in 2005 and 2006 in the Russian daily newspaper *Business* (Gansvid, 2006a, 2006b). From those cases, we observed that the career paths of Russians were affected by several disruptive macro-level events (Korotov and Khapova, 2008), including:

- the overall socio-economic and political shift turning labor relationships into market-driven transactions;
- the disappearance of some jobs, the significant reshaping of others, and the emergence of new ones;
- several negative economic developments leading to economic crises.

While some individuals ended up completely lost under the new conditions of the labor market, others explored new ways to survive and even thrive. The latter had to learn to adapt and reinvent themselves, moving from reliance on an employer to starting their own businesses. One personal story suggests:

> We survived the economic crisis of 1998 with a lot of hardships. … The crisis helped me learn how to deal with my own money: what can I save on, how can I demand delivery on the tasks established, and how to understand where mistakes are made, and what kind of mistakes are those. We learned to count the money. Actually, that was the time when we created our first business plan. (Gansvid, 2006a, p. 27)

The appearance of new jobs, for instance, Human Resources (HR) in its Western understanding (Zhukova and Korotov, 1998), has created multiple opportunities for individuals to learn on the job regardless of their previously attained qualifications.

Russia is a large country with significant natural resources to attract international companies. It is also a large consumer market. Unsurprisingly, the shift to the market economy has created foreign investment and led to the arrival of international companies to the Russian market. With the increase in contacts between Russia and the rest of the world, Western education, training, and consulting methods arrived in Russia. A growing number of Russians study and work abroad. Some Russian companies have started bringing in Western managers and consultants and have even started expanding beyond Russia.

All of a sudden, "careerism" lost its negative connotations. Russians realized that they now had to work on their career opportunities, get rid of previously established views on employment and careers, and even become creative in bypassing career development progression typical for capitalist organizations (Khapova and Korotov, 2007; Korotov, 2008; Korotov et al., 2010). With Russia, we have observed a tremendous shift in the attitude of individuals and society to an individual's role in career management. Alongside new societal career expectations, however, for older generations there remained some strongly entrenched views on how young people should choose their vocational occupations. For example, Arina's parents pushed her towards nursing training with the expectation of eventually entering a medical school and becoming a doctor. Arina recalls her parents' explanation that they hoped they would have a doctor in the family who would attend to their medical needs in old age.

During its transition to the market economy, Russia has seen several local and global economic crises, as well as periods of recovery and growth, including the disappearance of positions and the appearance of new career opportunities. As everywhere, there are "losers" and "winners" in these fluctuations. The "winners" seem to have developed a meta-competency of career reinvention.

ARINA'S CASE

At the time of writing this chapter in early 2022, Arina Gorohovskay (gorohovskaya.com) identified as a "business trainer, career consultant, and an expert in managing employee responsibility." But it all started very differently. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as Russia was trying to build its post-Soviet identity and Arina was coming of age, she started her first career moves under the heavy influence of her parents, not unlike many of her peers. She first experimented with healthcare, learning nursing in a provincial city. The next step, as expected by her parents, would be training to become a medical doctor. Although nursing provided a paycheck for some time, the plans did not work out.

What followed was a period of enjoying marriage, motherhood, and homemaking, which quickly became boring, bringing about a decision to enroll in a university and study psychology. Graduation *cum laude* and a decision not to follow the traditional career paths for psychology graduates – as counselors or school psychologists – led to her first entrepreneurial attempt. Arina made a bold offer to an owner of the city's large beauty business chain to offer psychological support services to the company's clients. Having listened to

Arina's ideas, the owner of the business came up with a counteroffer, a job as an HR manager. Thus, Arina started a new profession, at first applying right-left-and-center psychological tests to the employees and job candidates and later gradually learning the intricacies of personnel management. The learning involved trial and error, employee resistance, and, eventually, the owner's decision to let Arina go.

At this point, she was surprised that she managed to get her next job in an HR department of a local milk plant. The surprise is warranted, given that Arina had her resumé printed on green paper, which she considered cool. Luckily for Arina, she had a good boss from whom she learned a lot about HR and got many developmental opportunities. She received five pay rises in the three years she worked at the factory. But the job, the organization, and the city felt too limiting for her. So did her marriage: she went through a divorce, taking on the full parenting responsibility for her two children. Arina wanted to leave for Moscow, the country's capital, for its many career opportunities.

The sending of her resumé to recruiters in Moscow led to a job in Yekaterinburg, some 1000 miles to the east of the capital, with a salary double what she had indicated as expected compensation. In her new job, Arina had the chance to get further education and training in personnel development, eventually becoming a regional corporate university head. The job offered further learning points, including an understanding of her poor politicking skills. She left the organization without any job offers in hand and started thinking about repackaging her skills.

Another corporate job followed at the invitation of one of her former bosses, requiring another relocation to work between Moscow and St Petersburg and the development of new skills: employee assessment and internal consulting. However, multiple successful projects had to be stopped with an economic crisis hitting Russia. Arina was laid off and felt lost. She remembers answering her hair stylist's question "How are you doing?" by saying she did not know what to do next. Her stylist, turning the chair so that she could face Arina, asked her a good coaching question, "And what is it that you like to do most?"

This question triggered what Arina is doing now. In 2014, she found herself at her first HR exhibition and trade fair as promoter and agent for her new independent project helping organizations increase their employees' feelings of responsibility. She called the project and a related book of hers "Responsing: How to Increase Employee Responsibility." From then on, Arina has been developing her practice, working with companies on their human development challenges and with individuals on managing their career paths.

Arina is open about her career on her website and social media channels. For example, she writes that she does not consider herself as someone who is a super lucky person. However, looking back, she acknowledges that each time before a "f*cking disaster," she made serious "investments." Arina's investments are not stocks, hard currency, or gold bars. She made investments in the next steps of her learning and development. Returns on these investments are new iterations of what Arina does and how she packages her skills in an offer to the market.

The first investment following her initial nursing training was the psychology degree taken after getting married and having two small children. Then, just before the 2008 global financial crisis, which affected Russia very seriously, Arina enrolled in an international coaching training program. Although she had started her learning journey with the financial support of her employer, when the latter cut the budgets for employee training, she continued learning, paying with her own funds. This was not easy for a single mother of two, but the skills learned are valuable in her current occupation.

Arina's next investment was learning self-marketing, helping her become a successful blogger. Arina says that she learned to sell herself and her ideas and develop her business practice. She recalls getting her first clients looking for help with their careers as an outcome of her learning, one of the products of her learning being a video for a Facebook post made with a smartphone while stuck in a traffic jam. This investment forms the foundation of her current business development efforts.

Just before the COVID-19 pandemic and first lockdowns, Arina invested in an expensive training program focusing on the development of online schools. While the early pandemic was full of challenges, including the cancellation or postponement of many of her business-to-business (B2B) projects, she used the new learning situation to transfer her experience into simple methods that she could share with her business-to-consumer (B2C) clients and online students.

Although Arina had worked in various HR roles, she mentions never having made it to Head of HR. For a while, that was one of her career goals. Already independent when she started getting invitations for such positions, she realized that, despite very tempting financial rewards, she was no longer excited about the role and divested from career efforts taking her in this direction.

On the way to developing a career, there are always trials and tribulations. There have been a few on Arina's career path. A coach once told Arina that her uniqueness is in not building a "right-track" career but starting a new route each time there is a need or opportunity for it. Reflecting on this observation, Arina mentions that when a particular career path ends up in a cul-de-sac, she does not get upset. She believes that she can reinvent her career by transforming her previously acquired competencies into something demanded by the market. This meta-competency of career reinvention is what Arina offers to teach her clients.

Arina says that in every career hero's story, there is a part about reaching their first billion. She doesn't have it, at least not yet.

REFLECTIONS

Arina's story illustrates how she navigated turbulent times and proactively enacted her environment, creating personal success and employability – that is, she reinvented her career. Disruptive macro-level events and specific micro-circumstances (such as unsuccessful politicking in one job) triggered her to engage in new education, providing her with new skills more relevant to her present environment.

Theoretically, the concept of disruptive macro-level events is related to the concept of "career shocks" in addressing disruptive and extraordinary events (Akkermans et al., 2021); however, there are differences. Career shocks literature tends to address micro-level events that affect some individuals, but not an entire society. Consequently, studies on career shocks tend to address job search behaviors, job losses, and skills development of certain groups of populations but not all. Disruptive macro-level events refer to wider societal, economic, and political changes making established structures, jobs, and career paths obsolete. In such contexts, small behavioral changes do not salvage a career. Instead, such environments require career reinvention.

Throughout her reinventions, Arina invested in her career and *divested* from her old ways of working. With a growing focus on career investments in careers research (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994; Inkson and Arthur, 2001), we invite attention to be paid to the concept of *career divestments* (Korotov and Khapova, 2008).

Divesting is a phenomenon related to the notion of sunk costs (Korotov and Khapova, 2008). The latter, in investment terms, means throwing good money after bad, for instance continuing to invest resources into something that is not working and should be written off. However, many people honor sunk costs (Arkes and Blumer, 1985; Staw, 1982; Staw and Ross, 1989) and continue to invest without the return. Entrepreneurs, Arina being a prime example, were quick to realize (consciously or not) the danger of honoring those sunk costs. In essence, they managed to make sense of the circumstances around them and their embeddedness in those circumstances. Weick (1995) argues that sensemaking is the process of placing elements of one's history or one's environment into a framework. By engaging in this process, people could find answers to surprising situations, gain meaning of them, and develop interactions to come to a mutual understanding of events and elements of the environment. It is not a simple interpretation of things (i.e., not explaining one word by others) but a phenomenon of simultaneous authoring and interpreting. Assessment of the effectiveness of past investments can be part of the sensemaking process. Ibarra (2005) asserts that when the meaning associated with one's preexisting self changes, the probability of getting engaged in exploring new activities and new relationship networks heightens.

Arina's story illustrates that career reinvention involves a significant identity change and a search for a fresh answer to the question: "Who am I?" The success of a person's career reinvention means moving away from what has been anchoring them in their working life so far. "Knowing-why" divestment is the process through which the person stops identifying themself with a particular job, role, work self, or career path and opens themself to new opportunities. Ibarra (2005) argues that "events motivate exploratory behavior by setting up in motion mental processes whereby the person begins to more acutely consider alternatives to the current situation" (p. 17) Recent work on psychological impasses (Butler, 2007) suggests that unpleasant moments of feeling stuck and not knowing what to do next may be valuable as a spring-board into a better professional or personal future. One of the critical factors in Arina's story seems to be the ability to become unstuck from investments that no longer make sense.

With change in the economic situation becoming the global norm and with significant social transformations occurring in large parts of the world, such as in China and other Asian economies, Eastern Europe, and some countries in Africa and the Middle East, the question of divesting becomes increasingly acute. Moreover, it is not unthinkable to forecast the need for career actors to reassess their "knowing-why" investments in developing economies. With the globalization and delocalization of jobs, economic trends may force people to reconsider their own professional identities to respond to the pressures of career-upsetting events in their up-to-now relatively stable domain of work and life. Previous work on going through transitions and making changes in one's professional and/or personal life (Ebaugh, 1988; Bridges, 1980; Ibarra, 2003; Korotov, 2005) suggests that assessing one's past identity and changing it might be difficult. Learning how people divest from their "knowing-why" to make a new investment could be useful for career researchers wanting to help career actors in various societies. Exploring how people divest may lead to important insights for careerists and those who help them, including counselors, coaches, and HR professionals, among others.

BOX 7.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What were Arina's career-related survival strategies?
2. Which career divestments did Arina make in each of her career episodes?
3. What are other possible ways to succeed in the context of macro-level disruptive events?

REFERENCES

Akkermans, J., Collings, D. G., da Motta Veiga, S. P., Post, C., and Seibert, S. 2021. Toward a broader understanding of career shocks: Exploring interdisciplinary connections with research on job search, human resource management, entrepreneurship, and diversity. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 126: 103563.

Arkes, H. R., and Blumer, C. 1985. The psychology of sunk cost. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 35(1): 124–140.

Bridges, W. 1980. *Transitions: Making Sense of Life's Changes*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus.

Butler, T. 2007. *Getting Unstuck: How Dead Ends Become New Paths*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

DeFillippi, R. J., and Arthur, M. B. 1994. The boundaryless career: A competency-based perspective. *Journal Of Organizational Behavior*, 15(4): 307–324.

Ebaugh, H. R. F. 1988. *Becoming an Ex: The Process of Role Exit*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Gansvid, I. 2006a. *Business est' business 2: 50 nisch and 25 projektov iz zhizni Rossiyskikh predprinimateley*. Moscow: Secret Firmy Publishing House.

Gansvid, I. 2006b. *Business est' business: 60 pravdivykh istoriy o tom, kak prostye lyudi nachali svoyo delo i preuspeli*. Moscow: Secret Firmy Publishing House.

Ibarra, H. 2003. *Working Identity: Unconventional Strategies for Reinventing Your Career*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Ibarra, H. 2005. *Identity transitions: Possible selves, liminality and the dynamics of career change*. INSEAD Faculty and Research Working Paper.

Inkson, K., and Arthur, M. B. 2001. How to be a successful career capitalist. *Organizational Dynamics*, 30(1): 48–62.

Khapova, S. N., and Korotov, K. 2007. Dynamics of Western career attributes in the Russian context. *Career Development International*, 12(1): 68–85.

Korotov, K. 2005. *Identity Laboratory*. INSEAD PhD Dissertation. Fontainbleau, France: INSEAD.

Korotov, K. 2008. *Citius, altius, fortius*: Challenges of accelerated development of leadership talent in the Russian context. *Organizational Dynamics*, 37(3): 277–287.

Korotov, K., and Khapova, S. N. 2008. *Upsetting events and career investments in the Russian context*. ESMT Working Paper No. 08-001.

Korotov, K., Khapova, S. N., and Arthur, M. B. 2010. Career entrepreneurship. *Organizational Dynamics*, 40(2): 127–135.

Skorikov, V., and Vondracek, F. W. 1993. Career development in the Commonwealth of Independent States. *Career Development Quarterly*, 41(4): 314–329.

Staw, B. M. 1982. Counterforces to change. In P. S. Goodman (Ed.), *Change in Organizations: New Perspectives on Theory, Research, and Practice*: 87–121. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Staw, B. M., and Ross, J. 1989. Understanding behavior in escalation situations. *Science*, 246(4927): 216–220.

Weick, K. E. 1995. *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zhukova, M., and Korotov, K. 1998. From a personnel department in Soviet Union to a human resource department in Russia. *Chelovek I Trud*, 8: 88–91.

8. Career inaction in Belgium: when you want to make a career change, but you just … don’t

Nicky Dries and Marijke Verbruggen

SETTING THE SCENE

Ellen (name changed) is 48 years old, married, and has two children aged 16 and 11. After studying industrial engineering, she worked in biochem for two years. She then became a high school science teacher—a career that lasted for 15 years. Her last two years as a teacher were spent in a different school, Ellen having changed schools due to her family moving to a new city. She found that it cost her a lot of time and energy to get socialized at the new school. In addition, she had grown tired of her teaching career, feeling that there was little challenge in it left for her, and unsure as to what to do next. She worried that she had lost all of her technical skills as an engineer having been a teacher for so long. The only possible challenge in the education sector was to become a principal. Ellen did take an assessment for that once (and was one of two final candidates considered) but was caught completely off guard when she was asked to do a role-playing exercise—a task she felt really uncomfortable doing, and in which she did not perform well. In hindsight she thinks that was probably for the best, and believes she is not cut out to be a principal, since teachers (and we quote) “are a special breed.” For the past five years she has been working for the Belgian department of education, in the national exam commission, and is responsible for the development of curricula and graduation requirements. She is very bored, however. When asked for how long she has been wanting to make a substantial career change, her answer is “oh, at least ten years!” In her youth, she wanted to be a singer, and was also an accomplished athlete—passions she speaks about with great nostalgia.

Ellen is not alone in her experience of feeling stuck—we all know people who have career dreams, aspirations, and goals which for some reason or another have not (yet) translated into action. What are the drivers and explanations of such “career inaction”? And how common is this experience?

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Both institutionally and culturally, Belgium is a country characterized by low career mobility. The percentage of employees who change jobs annually ("job mobility index") was 5 percent in 2020—among the lowest in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD; https://stats.oecd.org/). The average number of years spent in one job ("job tenure") was 11.2 in 2020, and it has been around that number since 1992 (https://www.steunpuntwerk.be/cijfers). At the same time, however, 30 percent of the Belgian employees scored low on workplace well-being in a 2019 study of over 12,000 Belgian employees (Bourdeaud'hui, Janssens, and Vanderhaeghe, 2019). A picture is painted of a country where people are (on average) not that happy at work, but also not quite willing or able to make a career change. Research has suggested that feelings of insecurity and fear—which go hand in hand with change—are likely at the heart of this "national resistance to career change" (Verbruggen and De Vos, 2020).

On the cultural side of things, Hofstede's work on cultural values has consistently shown that Belgium is one of the top three most uncertainty-avoidant countries in the world (preceded only by Greece and Portugal), with a score of 94 out of 100 (https://www.hofstede-insights.com/). Uncertainty avoidance is defined as "the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and have created beliefs and institutions that try to avoid these" (Hofstede, 2001). When linked to work and organizational life, it relates to a need for rules, security, and long-term planning, and to an adverse reaction to change. Belgian career scholars have linked the cultural dimension of uncertainty avoidance to the low career mobility in Belgium (Verbruggen, 2019). As a point of comparison, the USA—where most of "boundaryless career" theory has originated (Arthur and Rousseau, 2001)—has an uncertainty avoidance score of 46 (https://www.hofstede-insights.com/). The possible relationship between cultural values and career mobility has increasingly been pointed out by non-USA researchers in recent years, who state that the idea of "boundaryless" careers, in which people change employers on a regular basis, voluntarily, and with satisfactory outcomes, may be a highly "American" ideal (e.g., Dries and Verbruggen, 2012).

Indeed, interview and survey data from Belgium shows that most Belgians do not seem to want a boundaryless career at all. A 2013 study of a representative sample of 6,000 Belgian citizens aged between 25 and 35 found that 52 percent responded "agree completely" with the statement "I hope that one day I will be able to say I worked for one and the same employer for 20 years or more" (Elchardus and Te Braak, 2014). Only 22 percent of young respondents agreed (and 47 percent explicitly disagreed) with the statement "It is more interesting to change jobs regularly than to keep doing the same work." It would thus appear that low career mobility is both deeply ingrained in Belgian culture, and unlikely to change any time soon.

In what follows, we describe the career story of Ellen, a woman interviewed in light of a recent study on career inaction performed in our department at KU Leuven. Ellen's story offers a good case of the process, causes, and consequences of career inaction, as we discuss in the subsequent theoretical reflection.

ELLEN'S STORY—A CASE STUDY

When we talk to Ellen, she appears to feel pretty down on herself. She describes herself as stuck, or even moving backward, plateaued, and in cognitive decline. She also seems a bit embarrassed to tell us the story of her career, as it confronts her with the fact that she has been wanting to make a career change for ten years now but is still not one step closer in achieving it. She has tried some things: she applied for a job as principal once, but lost interest in it after performing badly in the final assessment test for the position. And she went through a career counseling track twice. When she talks about the career counseling, she sounds annoyed.

> "It was nothing at all like what I expected," she says. "I thought they were supposed to be experts, that they would know the playing field, where I don't. But it was just like, what are your talents, what do you like, stuff I could have figured out on my own, and at the end of it I was still exactly where I started—just not any closer to action."

Ellen gets stuck in what she describes as "list-making." She makes lists of pros and cons of different career changes she could make, endlessly weighing all the options, unsure about what would ultimately fulfill her. If she were to find the picture-perfect opportunity, the total package, she says, she would jump immediately. It is just unclear what that new career would look like, and she has no idea when or how it will present itself. Asked what she is looking for, she says she wants a real challenge, a job so important and meaningful she will be glad to get up in the morning and work not just for 8 hours, but 12 or 14 hours out of sheer passion. Her parents used to describe her as a novelty seeker, she says, someone who craves variety and new experiences constantly.

When she was younger, she was very active both in sports and in music. When she had to decide which hobby to devote more time to, she chose music, because "an athletic career has an expiration date, while a musician can work at any age." Her real dream was to become a singer, until she had a heart-to-heart with one of her friends who said that "to make it as a singer, you have to be really, *really* good." She took that to mean that she was not, in fact, that good a singer, and ended her singing career aspirations right there and right then, deciding to study engineering instead. When asked if she regrets that decision now, she says she does not, as engineering gave her "a broad training, that can be applied in many different areas."

When asked about the factors that keep her from making a career change, she says it is not work-life balance and not her work relationships. As her children are 11 and 16 now, she says "the longer this situation lasts, the less the kids are a factor in not being able to make a career change, since they don't need me as much anymore as when they were small." Although she likes her colleagues, she feels she would remain friends with the ones she is closest to even if she were to make a career change. The only two factors that would matter in her decision are distance and money. She mentions that she would not consider a career move that would demand a longer commute. Her major concern, however, is financial, as she states that financial stability is really important to her, although "I've actually been very financially stable in my entire career, also every time I've made a change." She also admits that the more concrete her ideas about making a career change get, and the more she thinks about it, the more nervous she gets about the thought of leaving her secure position. She wants to make a career change—very badly so—and she knows she wants to do something more important and meaningful, but she does not know what that is, and she cannot figure out the correct course of action.

We ask Ellen to imagine that she is looking back at her career at age 65, and under what circumstances she would feel satisfied. Her answer surprises us: "Never." She says her friends describe her as never satisfied. She doesn't believe that is true, necessarily, but she does see herself as always wanting to do better, wanting to do more. She then wants to change her answer: "Actually, it's not that I'll never be satisfied, it's more that there'll always be a 'but.' Maybe I could have done this or that, or done that differently, like there's always something deeply *missing*." She says that she has this pattern where, when she is learning something new, like playing the piano, she thinks it's "amazing, fantastic," and does it for hours and hours, until she gets the hang of it somewhat, and then grows tired of it soon. That's why after two rounds of career counseling she feels like she "no longer believes it would ever help her," and she also feels she should maybe just stop whining and get over herself (her words).

What *would* hurt her, says Ellen, is to wake up one day and realize that she is no longer useful to society; that the skills and talents she has are no longer needed by anyone. That would really make her feel like a failure, especially towards her children. It would still be bad if she didn't have children, she says, but then she would only disappoint herself. She does worry that not making a decision on time will mean that she will be too late to achieve anything more in life. She knows that the endless lists of pros and cons have to stop: “It doesn’t work with the lists. There’s always pros and cons, there’s always an equal amount of pros and cons, it just doesn’t help in getting me unstuck. And the thing about action is, you simply just do it or you don’t.”

REFLECTIONS

Ellen’s case ticks almost all the boxes of the theory of *career inaction*—defined as “the failure to act sufficiently over some period of time on a desired change in one’s career” (Verbruggen and De Vos, 2020: 376). So, there needs to be a *desire* to make a change as well as an *awareness* that the actions taken to affect career change are not sufficient, and the situation also needs to persist for a certain amount of *time*. That is, if a person stays in the same career for decades but is perfectly content, or if he or she wants to make a change but has only been thinking about it for a few months, we would not classify either of these as cases of career inaction. It is clear that all three conditions are fulfilled in Ellen’s case.

Let’s examine the drivers of career inaction in a bit more detail. In their seminal article on career inaction, Verbruggen and De Vos (2020) describe both the process of career inaction, and its causes and consequences. The process of career inaction is characterized by three phases:

1. In the *awareness phase*, people become aware of their desire to make a change in their career. They start imagining what a career change would look like, and how it would improve their lives.
2. An *inaction phase* follows, in which this desire to make a career change is not followed by sufficient action, over an extended period of time.
3. Finally, in the *recall phase* people realize that the inaction they have shown in the face of their desire to make a career change has led to missed opportunities and negative emotions such as regret. The opportunity arises to learn something from this cycle of career inaction, which means that the odds of inaction can be (but are not always) reduced in subsequent cycles through the process.

In Table 8.1 we offer a schematic overview of the causes and consequences of career inaction, as identified in Verbruggen and De Vos’s (2020) theoretical model. We then link each theoretical concept to a specific aspect of Ellen’s career, outlining what characteristics of career inaction are more versus less true of her particular story. We then wrap up our analysis of Ellen’s story by reflecting on the *process* of career inaction, and where we believe her to be in that cycle.

Table 8.1 Linking the theoretical causes and consequences of career inaction to Ellen's story

Theoretical concepts	Ellen's case
CAUSES OF CAREER INACTION	
Job embeddedness:	
People who are strongly embedded in their jobs—for instance because the job has unique benefits that are difficult to leave behind—will find career change more difficult to enact	Although she does not speak much of the perks or positive aspects of her job, Ellen does mention the distance between home and work and a strong need for financial security as factors that make her nervous about making a change
Social norms:	
Both occupations and social environments have specific norms around career mobility—i.e., how "normal" or "expected" it is to make a career change	Ellen mentions that most of her colleagues are perfectly content doing the same thing every day for decades, which she describes as "suffocating"
Pre-factual thinking:	
The stronger the desire for a career change, the more vividly and intensely one thinks about change: "If I could only X, I would feel Y"	Ellen has an intense desire to find an important and meaningful career, for which she imagines getting up in the morning and feeling excited about a 12- to 14-hour workday
Vagueness vs. crystallization:	
The more vague the career change one wants to make, the more likely career inaction is to persist. Crystallized desires can also hinder action, for instance when what one wants is overly specific or difficult to achieve	Ellen remains very vague throughout the entire interview as to what type of career change she wants to make. This is, in fact, the essence of her problem: she has no idea what she would want to do
Internal attribution:	
A key feature of career inaction is that the person feels personally responsible for it. That is, they recognize that they could have done more to address the inaction	Ellen acknowledges that her list-making, and her proneness to boredome, are a big part of the problem. She does engage somewhat in external attribution, as well, when she talks about her disappointment with career counseling
CONSEQUENCES OF CAREER INACTION	
Self-blame regret:	
The most common emotional reaction to inaction and missed opportunities is regret—an emotion that intensifies over time (with continued inaction) and hinders closure	Ellen seems to close herself off from any expression of regret, stating that she still stands by her choices. It is remarkable that she highlights the broad applications of her engineering major, in that she struggles to come up with suitable career paths

Theoretical concepts	Ellen's case
Odds of future inaction:	
Gaining awareness on the causes of one's own career inaction in the past could help a person be more decisive in the future—unless there is a pervasive pattern of career inaction there that is hard to break. Therefore, career inaction could positively or negatively predict further inaction, depending on whether the causes are more contextual or dispositional	On the one hand, Ellen realizes that her current approach (list-making) is suboptimal, which may be the breakthrough she needs to approach career change differently in the future. On the other hand, it is also clear that she has certain traits and beliefs that hinder her in taking action, which may persist. She also seems unlikely to seek professional or social support in getting "unstuck" (she no longer believes in career counseling, and her family and friends see her as perpetually dissatisfied)

It only became clear to us in the process of performing the above analysis—that is, linking aspects of Ellen's career story to the theoretical causes and consequences of career inaction—that even after ten years, Ellen is still stuck in the "inaction" phase. She does not (consciously) demonstrate many of the consequences of career inaction (yet), nor the typical regret-centered reflections characteristic of the recall phase. Despite the long duration of Ellen's "career impasse," she has not fully moved through the cycle of career inaction yet.

A breakthrough for Ellen, then, would lie in the acknowledgment that both the process and the outcomes of her (very limited) career search have been suboptimal, and the process has led to missed opportunities and a situation where she could have been better off today if she had made a career change at some point (and that missing out on this has been the result of her own failure to act). As long as Ellen does not experience these feelings, she will likely remain in the "middle phase" of the model for years to come.

We cannot state with certainty whether Ellen's lack of regret around the inaction is a defense mechanism, or whether she is truly convinced that she has made all the right choices so far. One aspect of the interview that was remarkable to us was how Ellen described herself, and how she said her family and friends described her: an adventure seeker, never content, always looking for something new and better. These qualities seem in stark contrast to the fact that she has been stuck in career inaction for over ten years now. Should Ellen become more aware of this identity conflict in the future (Rogiers, Verbruggen, D'Huyvetter, and Abraham, 2021), this may trigger more self-responsibility for career change, and increase her odds of action. Something else that could help her is to be exposed to successful examples of career change, such as to assuage her fears of making a change that would ultimately make her worse off. Ellen has a strong need for security, and any career change that does not offer this will (in our estimation) be an unlikely move for her—although she does acknowledge that, as she gets older, there are in fact fewer and fewer factors objectively hindering her in making a change, and that her family is in fact already quite financially secure.

We can also look at the role of *employers* in reducing career inaction in Belgium (Verbruggen, 2019). In a country characterized by such high uncertainty avoidance, it is important to set in place policies that reduce the costs and risks associated with career change. One example is the government-subsidized "career cheques" implemented in Belgium in 2013, granting employees access to seven hours of career counseling every six years at a drastically reduced rate. Although the initiative has been quite successful in terms of participation rate, a common outcome has been for the counseling to lead to a reframing and renewed appreciation for the job one was already in, rather than counselees making a career change (Verbruggen, 2008). Another idea is to increase inter-organizational mobility by setting in place internship-type exchanges between companies, allowing employees to experience what it would be like to make a career change without having to face the insecurity and anxiety associated with making an actual career change. We are also aware of consultancy firms setting up and enabling "talent sharing" between companies, based on a similar idea—to allow for temporary exchanges of workers between organizations, both for their own benefit and for the benefit of their employees. Finally, one interesting point about the Belgian labor market is that it is not just the *employees* who are inflexible in their careers, but also the employers. Research has shown that job seekers who demonstrate flexibility—in terms of job content or region—are "punished" by recruiters in that they are less likely to get an offer than job seekers who only apply for jobs that are similar to their current job (Vansteenkiste, Verbruggen, and Sels, 2016). This goes directly against the idea that job seekers—especially unemployed ones—need to demonstrate more flexibility if they are serious about finding a job. Initiatives such as reducing the (typically very high) labor costs for hiring atypical profiles (e.g., people reorienting their careers), and setting up a framework for intersectoral cooperation around transferable skills, may help Belgium reduce its career inaction at the more institutional level (Verbruggen, 2019).

BOX 8.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Think about your personal environment: Do you know any people who are stuck in their careers? To what extent do they fit the theoretical causes and consequences of career inaction?
2. Can you come up with a list of personal characteristics (e.g., personality traits) that would be typical of people highly prone to career inaction, versus people who are highly unlikely to ever get stuck in career inaction?

3. Same question, but for the context: Can you come up with a list of job/career characteristics (could be related to the content of the job, the type of contract, the perks of the job, the employing organization, or the labor market context) that would increase versus decrease the risk of career inaction?

REFERENCES

Arthur, M. B., and Rousseau, D. M. 2001. *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bourdeaud'hui, R., Janssens, F., and Vanderhaeghe, S. 2019. *Vlaamse werkbaarheids-monitor 2019-werknemers*. Brussels: SERV.

Dries, N., and Verbruggen, M. 2012. Fresh perspectives on the "new" career. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 81(2): 269–270.

Elchardus, M., and Te Braak, P. 2014. *Toekomstverwachtingen van jongvolwassenen*. no. Rapport 3, Carrière en beroep, Brussels: Vakgroep Sociologie/Onderzoeksgroep TOR/Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Hofstede, G. 2001. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Rogiers, P., Verbruggen, M., D'Huyvetter, P., and Abraham, E. 2021. *Stuck between Me: A Psychodynamic View into Career Inaction*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management (AOM), Vancouver.

Vansteenkiste, S., Verbruggen, M., and Sels, L. 2016. Flexible job search behaviour among unemployed jobseekers: Antecedents and outcomes. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 25(6): 862–882.

Verbruggen, M. 2008. *The role of career counseling in the new career era*. Doctoral dissertation 2008/no. 294, KU Leuven, Belgium.

Verbruggen, M. 2019. Duurzaam, duurzamer, duurzaamst? Naar meer houdbare loopbanen in Vlaanderen. *Over. Werk-Tijdschrift van Het Steunpunt Werk*, 2019(1): 48–53.

Verbruggen, M., and De Vos, A. 2020. When people don't realize their career desires: Toward a theory of career inaction. *Academy of Management Review*, 45(2): 376–394.

9. Career resilience in times of financial crisis in Greece

Leda Panayotopoulou

SETTING THE SCENE

This chapter portrays the story of a young couple in Greece who made a significant life and career change as a result of the financial crisis which started in 2008. The couple moved from the capital city of Athens to the small agricultural town of Karditsa and set up a family livestock unit from scratch. Their story is one of career resilience and adaptability, and provides a glimpse into how many other Greeks chose similar paths during the crisis. Furthermore, this story underlines the remarkable resilience that characterized the agricultural sector during the recession.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Much has been written about the global recession – which began in 2008 as a result of a financial crisis in the USA – and its multiple implications at an economic, political and societal level. It is well documented that the international credit crisis negatively affected the Greek economy that had already been very vulnerable due to accruing large debt, inherited economic weaknesses and a record of a low capacity for reform (Featherstone, 2011; Pagoulatos and Triantopoulos, 2009). By 2010, the financial crisis had become a major debt crisis for Greece. Its economy was salvaged from total bankruptcy by large and continuing loans from the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and the European Commission (Stavrou and Papalexandris, 2016). Because of the bail-out loan, the country was placed under an unprecedented degree of external monitoring and policing of its economy, while harsh austerity measures, including significant budget cuts and tax rises, as well as reforms were introduced in order to control the deficit (Featherstone, 2011).

Pagoulatos (2017, p. 66) provides the following data concerning the Greek economy between 2009 and 2016: it declined every year (except 2014), losing over a quarter of its 2008 gross domestic product (GDP); real wages fell by a yearly average of 3.1 percent and 11 pension cuts took place; unemployment reached 24 percent with youth unemployment peaking at 49 percent; 36 percent of the population was at risk of poverty or social exclusion; 450,000 Greeks migrated abroad; and the prevalent emotions in Greek society were anger and despair.

Despite the financial crisis hitting every sector of the Greek economy, agriculture exhibited remarkable resilience, with its contribution to the country's GDP increasing from 3.8 percent in 2008 to 5.5 percent in 2015 (Karantininis, 2017). From 2008 to 2010 there was a 7 percent increase in the number of people employed in the farming sector, in contrast to the shrinkage of the country's overall workforce. In the succeeding two years, amid the peak of the crisis, job losses were recorded in the rural sector, although at a smaller percentage than for other economic sectors (Anthopoulou et al., 2017).

This trend was picked up by the Greek and international media, which started projecting the notion of rural resilience, being "the capacity of rural regions, as dynamic socio-ecological systems, to adapt to changing external circumstances in such a way that a satisfactory standard of living is maintained" (Anthopoulou et al., 2017, p. 1). Attracted by the narrative of rural resilience, in-migrants, particularly among the lower and middle classes who were worst hit by the crisis, rediscovered the farming sector as a vocational option combining an income source with a reasonable quality of life and the ideals of rural values (Anthopoulou et al., 2017).

A STORY OF RESILIENCE

Kyriaki was born and raised in the southern suburbs of Athens. She remembers her childhood as a carefree period which included a lot of outdoor play by the sea with her older brother and other kids from the neighborhood. Her father was a carpenter, and her mother did not work outside the home, but both parents instilled in their kids, from a young age, that working hard is the path to being autonomous and fulfilling one's needs.

When Kyriaki finished school, she did not go to college, but her need to be financially independent led her to employment in the tourist sector. There, she mainly got waitress jobs. Although it is well known that waitressing is demanding, both physically and in terms of working hours, she had never thought of changing. Over the years, her experience allowed her to change employers when needed, in search of better financial and working conditions. After all, it was the beginning of the 2000s, a flourishing period for Athens, which was marked by the anticipation of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games and the positive impact this would have on the city's tourism.

During the same period, Vaios, Kyriaki's husband-to-be, moved to Athens from his hometown in Karditsa, situated 300 km north of Athens. Vaios's parents worked in agriculture and were sheep owners, but attracted by the rising potential of living in the capital, they sold the sheep and moved to Athens. Vaios took vocational training that permitted him to work as a butcher.

When the financial crisis struck, Vaios had already been living and working in Athens for 10 years. He had married Kyriaki, who was still employed as a waitress and had just given birth to their first baby. Neither of them had lost their jobs because of the crisis, but the recession made it more and more difficult to make ends meet for the family of three, who now had additional expenses along with paying rent. This is when they made the decision to leave for Karditsa. There, in Vaios's hometown, they owned a plot where they dreamt of building their own house at significantly less cost than the cost of housing in Athens. They wanted a life closer to nature, both for them and their children, the kind of lifestyle that resembled what they had experienced while growing up. Vaios was confident that they could establish a livestock unit – after all, he knew all about sheep from his parents and grandparents – and Kyriaki trusted him:

> For me it would be just another job. Despite being born and raised in Athens, I was never deterred from the hard work with the animals, the smell, the fact that you work around the clock; there is no vacation in this job. I knew that it would not be easy, but the more I'd give, the more I'd take back, as this would be our own business. I knew what it means to work for one employer after the other, people with different kinds of characters. My only concern was that I would leave my family and friends behind. They thought that I wouldn't make it, that I would come back in three months. My biggest strength was my confidence in my husband.

Immediately after moving to Karditsa they applied for a bank loan and started setting up the farm unit and buying the animals. As she describes it, "we deep dived very quickly. We had decided that we had to do whatever it takes and we did not look back."

In order to survive the crisis, they worked on the unit together, safeguarding its family character. This allowed them to take advantage of Vaios's inherent knowledge and Kyriaki's labor, both significant assets for many livestock farms in Greece during the crisis (Ragkos et al., 2018). They started out by buying ten sheep, gradually working up to more than 120 in 12 years. Their family also grew as they had a second child. In 2018 they became members of the local Agricultural Cooperative of Cow Breeders and Sheep Breeders, which served as a supportive network for them. Here they could sell their products for a better price and rely on the Cooperative for know-how, when needed.

CLOSING THE SCENE

In September 2020, a Mediterranean cyclone, named “Ianos,” hit Greece for the first time, causing heavy winds, rain and flooding. Karditsa was one of the most heavily affected areas. More than 13,000 farm animals perished (SNF, 2021). Kyriaki and Vaios could not access their farm for more than 24 hours. When they finally succeeded, the sight was devastating. Only a couple of sheep had survived. As she describes it,

> When we arrived at the scene and I saw the sight of the dead animals, I froze. Something inside me broke; “that’s it”, I said to myself. I felt deep sorrow; all these animals had souls. When the sorrow settled and we went through the realization phase, my husband and I both said, “we’ll build it again, let’s go! Once you’ve done it once, you can do it again”. And it was right then that the Cooperative informed us that there was help coming.

The help she refers to was a collaborative initiative by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation (SNF) and the nonprofit organization New Agriculture New Generation, which helped the affected stock farmers in the area by purchasing and replacing 700 animals and providing 63 tons of feed to support the animals for the first months (SNF, 2021). Kyriaki felt back on her feet again and proud for having decided to become a member of the Cooperative.

Here is her answer to my question about what her journey has taught her and if she regrets it:

> I can now say that the state support structures did not live up to our expectations. For example, in terms of financing unit extensions, training and education for young people, etc., there are deficiencies. We were lucky to belong to a Cooperative that operates in a collaborative way – most of the cooperatives are not like that. Moving from Athens to Karditsa has given our family a better quality of life. It was quite easy to integrate into the local community. Of course, the fact that my husband was from here helped. Working with animals has made me appreciate the cycle of life and realize that we are all threads in the same textile. To me, this is the foundation of sustainability. What would I like to teach my children? Not to remain stagnant. To advance in life you need to take steps, this is what gives meaning to our lives. The difficulties we face make us grow.

REFLECTIONS

The worldwide economic and financial crisis provided an external shock that has threatened individuals’ security regarding employment and employability (Higgins et al., 2010). During our work life, we come across significant events that trigger deliberation about potential career transitions. These are called career shocks and can be positive or negative. Being resilient and adaptable can help individuals turn a *negative career shock* into a positive event (Seibert et al., 2016). So far, Kyriaki has faced two negative career shocks: the financial crisis that led her and her husband to change occupation and place of residence, and the total destruction of their livestock by the cyclone.

Resilience is the capacity of an individual to sustain and bounce back and even beyond, to attain success when beset by problems and adversity (Luthans et al., 2006). While earlier studies adopted a purely trait-based view of resilience, subsequent research has moved toward a "state-based view" that describes resilience as a process of adaptation to trauma or adversity and suggests that it is situationally variable (Lyons et al., 2015). More recently, studies in the positive psychology movement highlight resiliency's element of adaptive response (Lyons et al., 2015) or positive adaptation (Luthans et al., 2008), and focus on developmental interventions aiming at maximizing *assets* and minimizing *risk factors* (Luthans et al., 2007). The assets refer to factors that increase levels of resiliency, while the opposite is true for risk factors. Typically, both are acquired at a young age and are predominantly stable over the course of life (Luthans et al., 2006). Other potential assets identified in the literature as contributing to higher resiliency are summarized by Luthans et al. (2007) as follows: cognitive abilities, temperament, positive self-perceptions, faith, a positive outlook on life, emotional stability, self-regulation, a sense of humor, general appeal, effective parenting, prosocial peers, insight, independence, relationships, initiative, creativity and morality. In our story, the couple's strongest asset was their childhood experience of living, playing and working outdoors and the feeling of freedom and independence related to that, paired with many of assets referred to above, like initiative, faith, positive outlook and self-regulation. Capitalizing on their assets, they were able to leverage and develop them.

Career resilience is a person's resistance to career disruption in a less than optimal environment and it comprises *self-efficacy*, *risk-taking* and *dependency* (Lyons et al., 2015). Kyriaki's self-efficacy is portrayed by her self-esteem, as she never thought that she would fail, believing in her willingness to work hard, following her need for autonomy and exercising internal control. She certainly took a risk (tolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity) when she decided to relocate and change occupation. She relied on dependency when she decided to unquestionably follow her husband and when they became members of the local Cooperative.

Seibert et al. (2016) propose some psychological strategies to support resilience during negative career shocks. The first is to *manage distracting emotions*. Kyriaki managed to get over the cycle of dwelling on uncomfortable emotions when she got through her sadness (sadness of leaving her family in Athens and sadness about the dead animals) and took action guided by her priorities. The second is to *nurture a growth mindset*. People with a growth mindset "tend to assume that if an ability is presently inadequate, it means it has not yet been sufficiently developed" (Seibert et al., 2016, p. 249). Kyriaki believed in her husband's childhood experience with livestock and her capacity to work hard under all circumstances. The third strategy proposed is to *balance and rebalance your career goals.* The authors support that resilience to shocks "is likely to stem from discerning and attending to multiple career outcomes at any given point of time" (Seibert et al., 2016, p. 251). More specifically, Kyriaki measured her career success by material well-being, for example the need of the family to increase their income during the financial crisis; status and influence, for example having her own business was more important to her than being an employee; learning and growth, in her own words "to advance in life you need to take steps"; life balance, for example a better quality of life for her and her family; and career impact and legacy. Specifically for the latter, Kyriaki is very clear on the benefits that she has gained from working with animals: appreciating the cycle of life as well as her position in it and contributing to sustainability and ecological balance.

Another important concept in career transitions is *career adaptability* along with its subtle distinctions adaptivity, adaptation and adapting (Hirschi et al., 2015). According to Savickas and Porfeli (2012, p. 663), "higher levels of adaptation (outcome) are expected for those who are willing (adaptive) and able (adaptability) to perform behaviors that address changing conditions (adapting)". If we look at this process in relation to Kyriaki's story, we will see that she successfully went through an occupational transition and mastered new vocational tasks when she started working at the livestock unit, thus *adapting* to a new situation. Her *adaptation* was motivated by the goal of bringing inner needs and outer opportunities into harmony (Savickas and Porfeli, 2012). Her response to the occupational transition she faced demonstrated *adaptivity*. Hirschi et al. (2015, p. 2) define adaptivity or adaptive readiness as "the psychological trait of willingness to meet the unfamiliar, complex, and ill-defined problems presented by vocational development tasks, occupational transitions and work traumas with fitting responses".

Adaptability is a psychosocial resource that represents the individual's readiness to cope with tasks, transitions or traumas, and it consists of concern, control, curiosity and confidence (Haenggli and Hirschi, 2020; Hirschi et al., 2015; Savickas and Porfeli, 2012). Her *concern* about the future of her family helped Kyriaki look ahead and prepare for her next steps; she demonstrated *control* when she took responsibility for her career actions by using self-discipline, making decisions on her own and depending on herself and her partner; her *curiosity* permitted her to have an inquisitive attitude toward possible future selves, by looking for opportunities to grow as a person and being open to new alternatives; and of course she was confident enough to overcome obstacles and work up to her ability, thus actualizing choices to implement her life design (Haenggli and Hirschi, 2020; Savickas and Porfeli, 2012). Finally, the young couple's story shows that the spousal relationship, when supportive, can be both a psychosocial and career-related resource that enhances career adaptability (Ocampo et al., 2018).

BOX 9.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Think about your own career journey: What elements of resilience and adaptability can you identify?
2. Increasing resiliency assets and reducing risk factors is key in developing resilience. First, reflect on your own assets and risk factors. Then consider ways of helping other people in your team (as a leader) or your family (as a parent or spouse) to maximize assets and minimize risk factors.
3. The COVID-19 pandemic has been another shock that our careers have faced. What have you done to maintain your resilience in this difficult period? What are some of the lessons that you have learned from this experience?
4. What other career shocks are you most likely to face in the short to medium term? How well prepared are you to respond to them? What could you do to be even better prepared?
5. Try to remember a time or times when you voluntarily went out of your way and left your comfort zone for something new and unexpected. What was the takeaway from that experience?
6. Have you ever considered making a radical change of occupation or sector of employment? Which personal characteristics and professional experiences would help you adapt?

REFERENCES

Anthopoulou, T., Kaberis, N., and Petrou, M. 2017. Aspects and experiences of crisis in rural Greece. Narratives of rural resilience. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 52: 1–11.

Featherstone, K. 2011. The Greek sovereign debt crisis and EMU: A failing state in a skewed regime. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(2): 193–217.

Haenggli, M., and Hirschi, A. 2020. Career adaptability and career success in the context of a broader career resources framework. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 119: 103414.

Higgins, M., Dobrow, S. R., and Roloff, K. S. 2010. Optimism and the boundaryless career: The role of developmental relationships. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 31(5): 749–769.

Hirschi, A., Herrmann, A., and Keller, A. C. 2015. Career adaptivity, adaptability, and adapting: A conceptual and empirical investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 87: 1–10.

Karantininis, K. 2017. Overview of Greek agriculture. *A New Paradigm for Greek Agriculture*: 5–11. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
Luthans, F., Avey, J. B., Avolio, B. J., Norman, S. M., and Combs, G. M. 2006. Psychological capital development: Toward a micro-intervention. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27(3): 387–393.
Luthans, F., Avey, J. B., and Patera, J. L. 2008. Experimental analysis of a web-based training intervention to develop positive psychological capital. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 7(2): 209–221.
Luthans, F., Youssef, C. M., and Avolio, B. J. 2007. *Psychological Capital: Developing the Human Competitive Edge*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
Lyons, S. T., Schweitzer, L., and Ng, E. S. W. 2015. Resilience in the modern career. *Career Development International*, 20(4): 363–383.
Ocampo, A. C. G., Restubog, S. L. D., Liwag, M. E., Wang, L., and Petelczyc, C. 2018. My spouse is my strength: Interactive effects of perceived organizational and spousal support in predicting career adaptability and career outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 108: 165–177.
Pagoulatos, G. 2017. Greece: Searching for light at the end of the tunnel. *Intereconomics*, 52(2): 66–67.
Pagoulatos, G., and Triantopoulos, C. 2009. The return of the Greek patient: Greece and the 2008 global financial crisis. *South European Society and Politics*, 14(1): 35–54.
Ragkos, A., Koutsou, S., Theodoridis, A., Manousidis, T., and Lagka, V. 2018. Labor management strategies in facing the economic crisis. Evidence from Greek livestock farms. *New Medit*, 17(1): 59–71.
Savickas, M. L., and Porfeli, E. J. 2012. Career adapt-abilities scale: Construction, reliability, and measurement equivalence across 13 countries. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(3): 661–673.
Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., and Heslin, P. A. 2016. Developing career resilience and adaptability. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 245–257.
SNF. 2021. *Cyclone Ianos Brings Setbacks and New Beginnings for Farmers in Central Greece*. Available: https://www.snf.org/en/newsroom/news/2021/05/cyclone-ianos-brings-setbacks-and-new-beginnings-for-farmers-in-central-greece/ [accessed 22 October 2021].
Stavrou, E. T., and Papalexandris, N. 2016. Mediterranean HRM: Key trends and challenges. In M. Dickmann, C. Brewster, and P. Sparrow (Eds), *International Human Resource Management: Contemporary HR Issues in Europe*: 83–106. London: Routledge.

10. Change and continuity of career ecosystems for a parent company and foreign subsidiary in Japan

Chikae Naito and Mami Taniguchi

SETTING THE SCENE

> Leadership becomes apparent in crisis. Every leader can be kind to subordinates when we rise in performance. The true leader is the person who can help others under crisis.

This is a quote by a Japanese man who worked for a health care company and was promoted to an executive position. However, he exited the company while he was seen as one of its most promising talents. What happened to him? Why did he leave the job?

CONTEXT

This section focuses on an overview of the circumstances surrounding foreign affiliates in Japan, where the vast majority of working people are employees. In 2020, 86 percent of workers—about 59,810,000, in a working population of 69,000,000 as of December 2020 (Ministry of Internal Affairs Japan (METI), 2020)—were "employees." In March 2019, 4,950,000 regular employees worked for foreign affiliates (METI, 2019).

Foreign-affiliated companies have a long history in Japan. In the 1950s, Japan protected its financial market and strongly restricted foreign investment in Japan. However, rapid economic growth forced Japan to liberalize its market. As Prime Minister Ikeda initiated policies to promote economic growth and liberalization of imports in 1960, several foreign affiliates gradually entered the Japanese market. Japan joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1964, then loosened restrictions on foreign investment in several stages. Direct inward investment was automatically approved for 17 industries with up to 100 percent foreign equity and, since 1967, for companies in 33 industries with a foreign-equity ratio of up to

50 percent (Daiwa Institute of Research, 2015). Japan then further expanded the coverage of industries: in 1971, cases could be automatically approved for 228 industry categories while seven un-liberalized industries such as agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and electronic computer manufacturing remained excluded (Tanaka, 1983). Foreign-exchange law changed, and in 1986 six foreign security companies achieved membership on the Tokyo Stock Exchange (Daiwa Institute of Research, 2015).

The case of Coca-Cola helps explain the transition of foreign-affiliate business in Japan. In 1956, the company established a Japan branch (Tokyo Inryo Limited, which later became Tokyo Coca-Cola Bottling, Ltd). It started selling "Coca-Cola" under several Japanese government restrictions, such as limiting the number of bottles for sale, setting the bottom price, limiting places allowed to sell the product, and managing methods of advertising. Coca-Cola could not import the liquid concentrate except within the previously determined foreign-currency budget framework. In 1960, the loosening of restrictions enabled Coca-Cola Japan to produce and sell its products freely and reduce the cost. In 1962, the import liberalization ratio reached 88 percent (Okazaki, 2011). In 1972, Coca-Cola Japan joined the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations as the first foreign affiliate (Coca-Cola [Japan] Company, Limited, n.d.).

Foreign affiliates and Japanese companies differ in their employment practices. Aside from Coca-Cola, many foreign affiliates, including IBM and McDonald's, came to market in the context of liberalization. Scholars have contrasted foreign affiliates with Japanese companies in terms of employment practice. Foreign affiliates generally follow different customs, such as merit-based pay systems or corporate restructuring. On the other hand, traditional Japanese employment practices include mass recruiting of new graduates, regular pay raises, unified management of blue-collar and white-collar employees, and seniority-based pay and promotion systems (Ono, 2016; Abegglen, 2004). Japanese companies develop human resources from a long-term perspective, whether performance is good or bad. In this regard, employees form a psychological contract with the company (Rousseau, 1989).

THE STORY[1]

This is a career story about one employee who experienced a transition from Japanese to Western corporate culture. Describing the influence of career ecosystems on one's career, such as the influence of organizational climate or culture, is helpful. Kosuke (name changed) started his career in a Japanese health care company, "Kenko-one Health Care Company Limited" (hereinafter Kenko-one), in 1984. Though originally a Japanese domestic company, in Kosuke's first year, Kenko-one became a joint company with the

American health care company “BSGT Healthcare Ltd” (hereinafter BSGT), when BSGT acquired a 50.02 percent majority stake in Kenko-one. Kosuke qualified as a high-potential employee and received a foreign assignment at the parent-company headquarters in the U.S. In about three years, he learned how to evaluate an overview of the company’s entire U.S. business. Then, after experiencing the IT division and being the section chief of the production-planning division in 2002, he was assigned to the manufacturing division. There, he experienced the Japanese management style and employees working cooperatively, as if in a family. Even when managers changed, the workplace climate never changed.

However, the situation of Kenko-one drastically changed, affecting Kosuke’s career. In 2004, the American health care company, BSGT, obtained the rest of the company’s shares, so Kenko-one became its wholly owned subsidiary. Thereafter, the corporate culture gradually changed. In 2007, Kosuke became the Corporate Officer of the Kenko-one manufacturing division. In the same year, an executive from the parent company BSGT assumed the office of president of Kenko-one in Japan, its first foreign president. Kosuke felt that the influence of BSGT on Kenko-one became stronger around this time under the new foreign top management. Then, a change in the head of the compliance division of parent BSGT affected the compliance policy of Kenko-one in Japan. The new head issued a global instruction to decrease the number of employees in the compliance division. This posed a problem because the compliance division in Japan was incredibly busy changing the guidelines of Kenko-one in response to growing demands for reinforcing its compliance system because of ethics violations by its competitors. By then, Kosuke had been assigned Kenko-one’s Corporate Officer, Head of Compliance. As the head of the compliance division, Kosuke struggled with responding to the order from the parent BSGT while handling this problem in Japan. He finally managed to complete Kenko’s organizational change in response to the global order, but under severe conditions.

CLOSING THE SCENE

Despite having achieved the difficult mission, Kosuke felt guilty because obeying the parent-company order had required laying off colleagues. Since starting his career at Kenko-one, he had adapted himself to its parent company’s Western culture on every occasion. However, he felt the sting of conscience when he had to fire many local employees, regardless of their contribution or performance, under the direction of the new president from the U.S. “Harmony” and “trust” are critical workplace factors in Japanese culture, and he felt it was unfair that he should remain after having executed so many layoffs. Upon deep reflection, he quit his job.

> Corporate downsizing itself was reasonable from the managerial perspective, but how to downsize was the problem. The way it was done did not fit my values. The new president of the Japanese subsidiary laid off managers who had contributed to the company, selected by only their age. We could have done it more carefully by targeting low performers, but we chose the easier way …. They fully contributed to making the company today. I gradually felt it was wrong. I personally thought the executive's resignation would convince other employees. However, I did not consider my resignation negatively. I was tired of the new foreign head's initiatives, which seemed to be useless. I felt like I was just playing a role in that. I could predict that this new initiative would be changed by the next head. I got bored with it; I did it for 35 years. That is why it was a good time to resign.

REFLECTIONS

How can the concept of career ecosystems (Baruch, 2015), which refers to the interactions between individuals, organizations, and institutions, explain change and continuities in career phenomena in Japan? Foreign companies cannot easily adopt the same systems as their parent companies and context strongly influences employee career decisions. For example, Japanese subsidiaries hire talents in the Japanese labor market and must follow local practices to be competitive in Japan. Such situational changes influence individual careers. Turning to Kosuke's career story, how can we interpret the case? The company for which Kosuke worked was originally a 100 percent Japanese company. It became a joint enterprise just before he joined and, finally, a fully foreign-owned subsidiary. Consequently, he experienced radical shifts in corporate values, norms, and workplace cultures over many years.

Career Ecosystem

The concept of a "career ecosystem" can be helpful for interpreting this career story. A career ecosystem comprises the entire system in which human beings and a complex system of labor markets interact (Baruch, 2015). According to Baruch (2015), "career ecosystem" is a metaphor based on the natural science ecosystem, "in which the organisms are replaced by human beings, and the physical environment is replaced by a complex system of labor markets—organizations from small to large, from private to public, from national to global" (pp. 365–366). He also defines the chief actors in a career ecosystem as 1) "individuals (competence, needs, values and attitudes)," 2) "organizations (traditional or dynamic, stage of globalization, sector and product type, knowledge management)," and 3) "nations/societies (economy, culture, politics, legal)" (Baruch, 2015, p. 366).

According to Baruch (2015), career actors exist within each level—individuals, organizations, and at the broader level of nations or societies. These actors mutually interact and shape the nature of a desirable career for each individual. Career actors at the individual level have impacts and motivations that involve needs, values, and attitudes. Examples of organizational-level career actors include the traditional/contemporary organizational culture, the level of globalization, the type of sector the organization belongs to, and the type of product the organization deals with. National- or societal-level career actors are economy, national culture, politics, and legal systems and legislations. Each actor interacts within the whole system.

In Kosuke's case, Kosuke himself, with his Japanese norms and values based on Japanese employment practices, is one individual-level career actor, and his superior, with his norms based on U.S. employment practices, another. Organization-level career actors such as Kenko-one have a collectivistic culture while the parent company BSGT possesses an individualistic culture. However, the national/societal-level career actor is in economic crisis. Kosuke and his superior work in different ecosystems whose career actors differ from each other. For Kosuke's superior, "organization" means the parent company, BSGT, and "society" means American society. From Kosuke's perspective, "organization" means the Japanese subsidiary, Kenko-one, and "society" means Japanese society. He has grown up in Japan and acquired Japanese norms that Japanese employers and employees share, including public support for long-term employment and seniority-based hierarchies (Takahashi, 2018). In particular, he learned about cooperative industrial relations in his career as a manager in the manufacturing division. Kosuke's career story implies how the interaction of career actors at different levels mutually influence each other as a career ecosystem. From the organizational-behavior perspective, the parent company's attitudinal change was an effect of institutional change—in this case, an economic crisis. The acquired company's attitude toward employees was gradually changing. Although it was Japanese just after acquisition, the top management of the company later consisted of foreigners. Moreover, organizations frequently change their management styles and values under severe external conditions, such as during the 2008 global financial crisis or the COVID-19 pandemic. This case gives readers a view of the career ecosystem from an individual perspective because it illustrates how much the individual career is influenced by organizational and institutional career actors. In an individual career, an actor engages in a phenomenon occurring in the world. This individual career story therefore also explains what happened at the institutional level and not just what happened at the individual level.

This narrative also demonstrates how career actors influence each other in this case. Institutional changes, such as the economic situation, influence the parent company. The true company stakeholders are shareholders in the U.S. Although foreign affiliates in Japan had to consider the culture of Japan in the course of conducting business, the parent company directly influenced the subsidiary. People tend to blame their immediate bosses; however, organizational changes influence the bosses' behavior, as do institutional changes. Loosening restrictions on foreign investment in Japan changed stakeholders, whose power affects organizations.

P–O Fit (Person–Organization Fit) and Social Norms in a Career Ecosystem

Analysis of this story can also be done in terms of Person–Organization fit (P–O fit) (O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell, 1991; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson, 2005). P–O fit means compatibility between the person and the organization (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson, 2005). Organizational values, norms, and cultures (Kristof, 1996; Vandenberghe, 1999) are important dimensions of P–O fit. If such organizational characteristics are incongruent with individual traits, they tend to negatively influence individual outcomes, such as organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and turnover (O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell, 1991; Vandenberghe, 1999).

Explaining P–O fit in the context of a career ecosystem starts by assuming that changes in company values, norms, and cultures generate a P–O misalignment. Both employees and employers in Japan strongly support securing long-term employment as a part of their social norms (Takahashi, 2019). Takahashi (2019) showed that Japanese people still support lifetime employment, based on a survey conducted between 1999 and 2015 to find out trends in Japanese public attitudes toward the Japanese-style employment system and the underlying values. This survey was repeated at intervals of a few years, that is, in 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2011, and 2015 (Takahashi, 2019). The fact that Japanese media report company layoffs as being quite negative organizational behavior reflects those Japanese social norms (e.g., see Nikkei Inc., 2004).

In this story, although Kosuke fitted both Kenko-one and BSGT until his mid-career point, institutional changes prompted by an economic crisis and affecting their values, norms, and cultures created difficulty in coping with too many changes, causing him to feel that his fit with his organization was out of alignment.

Changes in institutions greatly affect organizations and the individuals within them. As international business studies indicate, multinational companies involve a variety of actors (e.g., industries, countries, contexts, cultures, institutions). They are intricately intertwined, which is all the more reason to consider their relationships, interdependencies, and processes (dynamics) (Aguinis and Gabriel, 2022).

Dilemma of Individualism and Collectivism

Employees working for a foreign subsidiary sometimes feel the cultural difference between a parent company and its foreign subsidiary. Cultural theories can explain and predict social behavior in different cultural settings. Western cultures, including the U.S. and other English-speaking countries, are characterized as individualistic; East Asian cultures, including Japan, are categorized as collectivistic (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Singelis et al., 1995). Cultural workplace differences influence individual goal selection. In individualist cultures, people focus more on individual gain, while in collectivist cultures they pursue group goals (Bhawuk, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010). Individualist cultures reward employees and managers following an equity rule, while selection and promotion are merit-based. However, employees in collectivist cultures see group responsibility as more important than individual gain (Bhawuk, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010).

The cultural differences also influence the ethical standards concerning how to deal with employees' job security. As people in collectivistic cultures see the organization as the "entity that binds the group together" (Nyaw and Ng, 1994, p. 546), they offer their loyalty and commitment to the organization, and they expect long-term employment security in return (Morishima, 2000). Layoffs are seen as decisions which break harmonious relationships between employers and employees in collectivistic cultures while they are just business decisions in individualistic cultures (Nyaw and Ng, 1994).

However, severe economic situations force companies to change their corporate values, social norms, and cultures because a parent company comes to care more about stakeholders' reactions than those of foreign subsidiaries. In relation to corporate social responsibility (CSR), multinational enterprises (MNEs) in particular have diverse stakeholders in their business and try to respond to pressure to conform to their expectations (Surroca, Tribó, and Zahra, 2013). The way in which the headquarters of MNEs conform to stakeholders' expectations impacts the practices of overseas subsidiaries. Surroca, Tribó, and Zahra (2013) showed that MNEs transferred socially irresponsible practices from their headquarters to their overseas subsidiaries to respond to the rising expectations of stakeholders in host countries.

Individuals working for foreign subsidiaries face difficult dilemmas when they experience unwanted change in the corporate culture accompanying parent-company change. After the global financial crisis in 2008, the equity share of institutional investors increased worldwide (OECD, 2010). Parent companies of MNEs had to meet the expectations of institutional investors who have influence on corporate governance and are more focused on companies' financial performance than before the crisis (Helwege, Intintoli, and Zhang, 2012). Consequently, corporate cultures that used to respect the status quo in the merged company changed. Presidents who could not make a profit were fired. Businesses that failed to match investments were convinced they should immediately exit, which meant layoffs in local companies.

Considering these changes in the external environment for companies and their effects and then applying them to this story, the merging of Kenko-one led to its departments becoming a part of the global integration, just after Kosuke started working. At the point he had completed 20 years with the company, Japanese Kenko-one became a wholly owned subsidiary and no longer the Japanese company he had known. He adjusted himself to the change, acknowledging that the parent company valued cultural diversity because it used the acquired company's office as its global headquarters. At first, he appreciated the "humble" attitude of the parent company toward the Japanese subsidiary, and he was proud of the fact that the acquiring BSGT never forced its culture on the acquired Kenko-one. Even after the merger, the parent company in the U.S. assigned a Japanese president to the subsidiary in Japan, although it was supposed to dispatch an American president. Kosuke felt that the parent company differed from other foreign affiliates, seeming to highly value employee diversity.

As Kosuke had experienced a foreign assignment at the U.S. headquarters, he had taken onboard the foreign-affiliate values and social norms related to the business environment of the headquarters. Nevertheless, he could not fully accept the new president's assertive ways, including what Kosuke believed were unfair layoffs of his colleagues regardless of their contribution; such ways run counter to collectivism. He felt the dilemma arising from the different cultures of the headquarters and the subsidiary strongly, and reflected deeply on dismissing colleagues without adequate reason. Finally, he chose to quit his executive job. This story illustrates how difficult it is to solve such dilemmas that changes in corporate culture, generated by institutional changes, can cause.

Difference in Definition of Career Success

This story also shows the differences between the career ecosystem of the headquarters and that of the subsidiaries. Relative to individuals in many other countries, Japanese individuals place more emphasis on subjective aspects of their career success than on objective aspects such as earning more money (Briscoe, Hall, and Mayrhofer, 2011). This is particularly the case when it comes to “recognition,” such as receiving positive feedback from one’s colleagues, boss, or customers (Shen et al., 2015).

Furthermore, there are multiple dimensions of individual career success. The ability of careers to positively impact others, other than in relation to financial success, is one dimension of career success which emerges from international comparative studies. Individuals can feel career success when they receive appropriate and positive feedback. Achieving positive impacts makes individuals less willing to leave organizations (Smale et al., 2019; Briscoe et al., 2021).

In this story, Kosuke regards both recognition by others and his career positively impacting other colleagues as important, having acquired when employed in the manufacturing division of Kenko-one the Japanese social norms of working as if in a family. However, it became difficult to achieve positive impacts because of the institutional changes that influenced organizational ones. Kosuke received orders from the new American president, who came to Japan to replace the former boss he had respected, to lay off many colleagues. He tried to understand and accept such changes, and he laid off many employees. However, he could not resolve the conflict between the social norms of the company and betraying his colleagues. Kosuke’s concept of career success was distant from that of his superior and strongly affected by changes in organizational social norms and values in a difficult management environment.

BOX 10.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What would you do if you were Kosuke? What paths do you think he could have chosen apart from quitting his job?
2. In this career story, as Kosuke struggled with the values conflict between Japan and the U.S., he felt morally obligated to resign. Was resignation his best course of action?
3. How could Kosuke have overcome his career dilemma? What kinds of experiences in his career and perspectives do you think were necessary for him to consider?

NOTE

1. The company names have been fictionalized to preserve anonymity.

REFERENCES

Abegglen, J. C. (2004). *Shin Nihon no Keiei* [21st Century Japanese Management]. Nihon Keizai Shinbun-sha.

Aguinis, H., and Gabriel, K. P. (2022). International business studies: Are we really so uniquely complex? *Journal of International Business Studies*, *53*(9), 2023–2036.

Baruch, Y. (2015). Organizational and labor markets as career ecosystem. In A. De Vos and B. Van der Heijden (Eds), *Handbook of Research on Sustainable Careers* (pp. 364–380). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bhawuk, D. P. (2001). Evolution of culture assimilators: Toward theory-based assimilators. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *25*(2), 141–163.

Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., and Mayrhofer, W. (2011). *Careers around the World: Individual and Contextual Perspectives*. Routledge.

Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. (2021). Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, (130)103612.

Coca-Cola (Japan) Company, Limited (n.d.). *Nihon ni okeru Coca-Cola business no rekisi* [The history of Coca-Cola business in Japan]. (In Japanese, translated by the authors of this article.) Retrieved from https://www.ccbj-holdings.com/corporate/history (2021/03/24).

Daiwa Institute of Research (2015). *Nihon-no shihon shijo ni okeru taigai kaiho no keiken* [The experience of opening up its market to foreigner]. (In Japanese, translated by the authors of this article.) 1–69. Retrieved from https://www.dir.co.jp/report/research/capital-mkt/securities/20150810_010004.pdf (2021/03/31).

Helwege, J., Intintoli, V. J., and Zhang, A. (2012). Voting with their feet or activism? Institutional investors' impact on CEO turnover. *Journal of Corporate Finance*, *18*(1), 22–37.

Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., and Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (3rd ed.). McGraw Hill.

Kristof, A. L. (1996). Person-organization fit: An integrative review of its conceptualizations, measurement, and implications. *Personnel Psychology*, *49*(1), 1–49.

Kristof-Brown, A. L., Zimmerman, R. D., and Johnson, E. C. (2005). Consequences of individuals' fit at work: A meta-analysis of person–job, person–organization, person–group, and person–supervisor fit. *Personnel Psychology*, *58*(2), 281–342.

Markus, H. R., and Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*(2), 224–253.

METI (2019). *Labour force survey of trends in business activities of foreign affiliates*. Retrieved from https://www.meti.go.jp/statistics/tyo/gaisikei/result/result_53/pdf/2019tyousanogaiyou-k.pdf (2021/09/10).

METI (2020). *Labour force survey (basic tabulation)*. Retrieved from https://www.stat.go.jp/data/roudou/longtime/03roudou.html#hyo_1 (2021/03/31).

Morishima, M. (2000). Psychological contracts in Japan. In D. M. Rousseau and R. Schalk (Eds), *Psychological Contracts in Employment: Cross-National Perspectives* (pp. 141–157). Sage.

Nikkei Inc. (2004). Seiyu, Kibou taishoku 1500–1600 nin, Walmart ryu zenmen ni, Nihon no kankou to masatsu mo [Seiyu offers voluntary retirement, 1500–1600 employees—Walmart's management style conflicts with Japanese employment practice]. *Nikkei sangyo shinbun* [*The Nikkei Business Daily*]. (In Japanese, translated by the authors of this article.) 2004/01/19, p. 22.

Nyaw, M. K., and Ng, I. (1994). A comparative analysis of ethical beliefs: A four country study. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *13*(7), 543–555.
OECD (2010). *Corporate governance and the financial crisis*. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/corporate/ca/corporategovernanceprinciples/44679170.pdf (2022/12/27).
Okazaki, T. (2011). *Boueki jiyu ka no seiji keizai gaku: sengo nihon no kesu* [*Political economy of trade liberalization: The case of postwar Japan*]. PRIMCED Discussion Paper Series 5, Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University. Retrieved from https://ideas.repec.org/p/hit/primdp/5.html (2022/05/11).
Ono, H. (2016). Nihon no roudou jikan wa naze heranai no ka? Choujikan roudou no shakaigaku teki kousatsu [Why do the Japanese work long hours? Sociological perspectives on long working hours in Japan]. *Nihon Roudou Kenkyuu Zasshi* [*The Japanese Journal of Labour Studies*], *677*, 15–25. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/10086/28806 (2022/05/11).
O'Reilly III, C. A., Chatman, J., and Caldwell, D. F. (1991). People and organizational culture: A profile comparison approach to assessing person-organization fit. *Academy of Management Journal*, *34*(3), 487–516.
Rousseau, D. M. (1989). Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, *2*(2), 121–139.
Shen, Y., Demel, B., Unite, J. A., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., et al. (2015). Career success across 11 countries: Implications for international human resource management. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *26*(13), 1753–1778.
Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D. P., and Gelfand, M. J. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research*, *29*(3), 240–275.
Smale, A., Bagdadli, S., Cotton, R., Dello Russo, S., Dickmann, M., et al. (2019). Proactive career behaviors and subjective career success: The moderating role of national culture. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *40*(1), 105–122.
Surroca, J., Tribó, J. A., and Zahra, S. A. (2013). Stakeholder pressure on MNEs and the transfer of socially irresponsible practices to subsidiaries. *Academy of Management Journal*, *56*(2), 549–572.
Takahashi, K. (2018). The future of the Japanese-style employment system: Continued long-term employment and the challenges it faces. *Japan Labor Issues*, *2*(6), April–May, 6–15 (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training).
Takahashi, K. (2019). Long-term employment as a social norm: An analysis of the JILPT "Survey on Working Life" (1999–2015). *Japan Labor Issues*, *3*(19), November, 12–17 (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training).
Tanaka, S. (1983). Nihon ni okeru tainai chokusetsu toushi: sangyou soshiki ron teki kousatsu [Inward direct investment and industrial organization in Japanese industries]. *Kansai University Departmental Bulletin Paper*, *27*(6), 497–521. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10112/00020815 (2022/05/05).
Vandenberghe, C. (1999). Organizational culture, person–culture fit, and turnover: A replication in the health care industry. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *20*(2), 175–184.

11. Career conditions in Pakistan: "*apna banda*" and career growth

Noreen Saher

SETTING THE SCENE

Mr Nawaz Sharif, right after his victory in the elections of May 2013, had started consultation within his close circle about the selection of the next army chief despite the fact that he had not yet taken the oath of the office of prime minister of Pakistan and the change of command was six months away. Actually, he was extremely eager to appoint a trustworthy chief of army staff to avoid the bitter experiences of the past when Mr Sharif's democratically elected government was toppled in October 1999 in an army coup initiated by his preferred army chief General Pervez Musharraf, who was promoted to supersede two senior generals (General Ali Kuli Khan and General Khalid Nawaz). Mr Sharif had been advised to get rid of an "*apna banda*" (our man) mindset (an effort to control the institution of the army through bringing in your trusted chief) because on assuming the role of chief of army staff the general often became overwhelmed by the appointment and lost his individuality. It was therefore suggested to Mr Sharif to stick to the seniority rule in the selection of the chief of army staff. However, the prime minister ignored the most highly recommended senior generals, namely Lieutenant General (Lt. Gen.) Rashad and Lt. Gen. Tariq Khan, and appointed General Raheel Sharif as the new chief at the last minute, in a move that surprised even the then army chief General Kayani, who neither recommended the officer nor even imagined that appointment. In a similar vein, Sharif chose Lt. Gen. Qamar Javed Bajwa in 2016, believing that he had a similar perspective to himself and would be a safer appointment than Lt. Gen. Ishfaq Nadeem Ahmed or Lt. Gen. Javed Iqbal Ramday.

CONTEXTUALIZING

Country Level

The word "*apna banda*" (our man/woman) is highly significant in Pakistan in understanding the importance of connections and relationships in all sorts of situations, including public–private, formal–informal, socio-economic, and political situations. Klasra (2021a), in his column "*Apna Banda lany ka janoon*" ("A passion to bring in your own man/woman") in a local Urdu newspaper, *Roznama Dunya*, claims that despite the negative consequences of bringing in "*apna banda*" in the political and organizational contexts of recent history in Pakistan, the present head of the government of Pakistan fervently brought in his men ("*apny bandy*") to occupy all positions in the state. Besides this, Klasra (2021b) argues that the recent announcement to appoint a new ISI chief (the ISI being the Inter-Service Intelligence, the premier intelligence agency of Pakistan) has created disagreement between Prime Minister Imran Khan and Army Chief General Asif Bajwa, because both want to have apna banda in this position. The prime minister wants General Faiz Hameed (who has close ties to him) to continue his service in this position whereas the army chief wants to bring in Lt. Gen. Nadeem Ahmad Anjum (who maintains closer relationships with the chief of army) as the new chief of the ISI. "*Apna banda*" is a mindset, as is highlighted by Syed (2016) in his article "Who will be the next army chief?" He points out that the advisors of the then prime minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif advised him not to abide by the "mindset" of "*apna banda*" (our man) while selecting a successor for General Raheel Sharif. This clearly reflects that the phenomenon of "*apna banda*" (our man) is relevant even to the selection of the army chief, that is, the promotion of a Lt. Gen. or major general to the position of the general head of the top-profile institution in Pakistan.

In Pakistani society, out of loyalty, "*apna banda*" behaves as a surrogate of the person who appointed him/her. Lyon (2002) declares it a sign of honor and privilege if someone else takes action on one's behalf, though the person should be more loyal than competent, so that the goals of the powerful appointing patron can be achieved. As shared by one strategic manager,

> If I have to promote a person to a senior position, his/her loyalty counts 60 percent and the [remaining] 40 percent is for competency. A competent person with no loyalty and indebtedness is useless.

So, whenever there is a new opportunity, it is understood that it is best to place "*apna banda*" (our man) there, and where there is a problem, to find "*apna banda*" to solve it. This is because when "*apna banda*" is in place there is no longer a problem – all the solutions are created on the spot. Consistently, for new openings, management try to take "*apna banda*" into account, aligning mechanisms to get "*apna banda*" appointed. And for promotions, they elevate "*apna banda*", since elevation of "*apna banda*" means also elevation of the whole group.

In the Pakistani context, where "who you are" is more important than "what you know", connections and relationships play a significant role in career growth (Saher et al., 2014; Khilji, 2003). Consistently, more time and energy are invested in developing social relations for "getting ahead" in one's career than on job performance. This is in line with the findings of scholarship highlighting the significant impact of social relationships on career success (Wolff and Moser, 2009; Forret and Dougherty, 2004; Seibert et al., 2001; Langford, 2000; Michael and Yukl, 1993; Orpen, 1996; Luthans et al., 1988).

Pakistan, a South Asian country, is still in the process of strengthening its formal institutions, and the organizations that claim to be adhering to the formal system continue to be primarily working on local models, as highlighted by Saher and Mayrhofer (2014). In this regard, Qadeer (1999) reveals that "most urban organizations are hollow institutions, imbibing modern forms but functioning on the traditional norms. The underside of these organizations is structured like clans and patriarchal families" (p. 1206). This phenomenon of running the professional and occupational institutions on the basis of local moralities and personal ethos is a key theme in the context of Pakistan. Qadeer (1999) discusses this when stating:

> "Who knows whom" is the rule and even if in a situation one cannot mobilize some personal ties, one immediately proceeds to forge such relations by appealing to primordial bonds of ethnicity, language, religion, sect or region … [T]he political parties, professional and occupational organizations, even the ranks and cadres of the civil services and the military develop sub-stratum of brotherhood ties … The army, the trader associations and, even, trade unions operate as extended families and clans. (p. 1205)

Khilji (2003, 2004) also argued that family-like relationships are developed with nonkin to allow their social integration into the kin group in organizations (local as well as international) in Pakistan. This phenomenon of network extension is based in the embedded assumptions of local moralities (i.e., Vartan Bhanji; for details see Saher and Mayrhofer, 2014) and the family roles and reciprocal obligations are transposed to the nonkin. Lyon (2002) argues that "virtually in all activities one must not act on one's own behalf but rather on the behalf of another … it offers some degree of cultural coherence in the absence of national, linguistic, market and political coherence" (pp. 226–227). Khilji (2003) points out that familial relationships are considered more important than rules and regulations. Likewise, Lyon (2002) reminds us that

"Pakistanis employ very fundamental role relationships which are learnt in the security of kin groups to deal with situations in which there is no market, political or other structural security" (p. 228).

The point to take from here is that the mechanisms of the social system extend certainty to individuals and institutions in the larger politico-economic structure. In line with this, the familial (and ethnic) based social networks formulate a network of power relationships in Pakistani society and influence private as well as public spheres; the use of both personal and professional contacts in the workplace is a culturally widespread and socially sanctioned practice (Chaudhry, 2012). Aycan (2002) highlights not only the importance of such harmonious interpersonal relationships, but also the phenomenon of self-sacrifice for the betterment and success of the in-group that is pervasive in Pakistan. The networks of power relations are steered by some powerful elite figures (Lyon, 2002; Saher, 2010). This phenomenon is embedded in the colonial legacy of the civil-military and feudal elites' relationship with the masses and is perceptible in workplace settings and even in state-level affairs. In line with this general feature of Pakistani society, various groups of employees based on familial-ethnic networks (functioning on an in-group/out-group basis) can be identified in the country's organizations.

Organizational Level

Scholarship sheds light on the existence of this familial-ethnic networking among the workers and between workers and management and its substantial impact on the human resource management (HRM) practices of selection, promotion, better placement, and compensation in Pakistan (Saher and Mayrhofer, 2014; Mangi et al., 2012; Saher, 2010; Khilji, 2003). A similar kind of situation is highlighted by Mendonca and Kanungo (1994) in Indian organizations, where a self-reinforcing circle prevails through which political and familial contacts influence selection, promotion, and transfer practices. Sparrow and Budhwar (1997) point towards the value of networking in obtaining work, securing promotion, and advancing pay in Indian organizations. Global linkages and the deregulation of the Indian economy have brought about visible changes in the organizational structure and attitudes of management towards HRM policies and practices (Saini and Budhwar, 2004), though the impact of local sociocultural phenomena on managers is explicit when they are facing the complexities of global realities (Chatterjee, 2007). Saher (2010, 2011) and Saher and Mayrhofer (2014) confirmed the existence of this phenomenon in Pakistan. Khilji (2003) contends that social relationships with the top management and immediate manager are an essential tool for an employee to get a desirable job, attractive compensation, and good career advancement in Pakistan. "If there are two people who are at the same level, but one of them has good relationships with the manager or knows someone in the top management, then we know who will be promoted, don't we!" (Khilji, 2003, p. 136). Consistently, her research reveals the importance of the relations with the people in higher and more influential positions to open the doors of success for individuals. In a similar vein, Mangi and associates (2012) point out that, in Pakistan, individuals who have strong networks, that is, *sifarish*, with top management or the proprietor of the firm received, through sycophancy, more favors in HRM processes, like getting promoted and moving up the career ladder more swiftly. Actually, "the powerful figures within the organization consciously guard their own position by strengthening the position of their followers" (Saher and Mayrhofer, 2014, p. 1896). When promoted to the most senior position in the organization, a professional shared his views with his close friend by saying:

> It's true that finally I got the most powerful position in my organization but to make it fully functional I have to place and promote my own sincere and loyal people [*apny bandy*] in key positions. It's only then we can effectively perform and make a difference.

The seniors make the system work effectively by placing who they consider their most reliable people in key positions through new hiring and promotion. And the people who are placed in these positions are aware that they have been given preference over others by the seniors, so they remain indebted and loyal to the person rather than the system and organization. An employee revealed his priority when saying:

> My first priority is to serve my mentor who brought me to this position. He did not just help me but he supported my whole family to survive in hard times. It will be an honor for me to serve him, his family and his people in [a] personal and professional capacity. For me it is clear that everything is because of him. Even today, if he will not be in office, who knows what will happen to me.

The employees in general have stronger relationships with their mentor and social circle than the organization. It is witnessed in Pakistan that a senior employee takes his whole team/close group with him/her when getting a new posting at a higher level inside or outside the organization. In this way the career of a junior employee grows with that of his/her senior official/mentor, a clear case of coevolution (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2020).

THE STORY

Mr Shakil Ahmad, a 28-year-old assistant professor, works as a special assistant to the Dean of Humanities and Art in a public sector university in Pakistan.

He is the most reliable person ("*apna banda*") working for the dean. He joined the university as an MPhil student. He was from a small town in Punjab. During his MPhil studies he won the trust of one of his teachers and developed a close relationship with him. He helped the teacher in all areas of class management and in this way received acknowledgment from the department. After the completion of his degree, he secured the position of a teaching and research assistant in the department. Besides this, he got admission onto a PhD program. Now he went the extra mile to take care of the assignments of the chair of his department and developed a close relationship with him. The chair was working closely with the dean of faculty on various research projects and in this way Mr Ahmad indirectly became part of that high-profile social circle where he further provided his patrons with useful services by way of supplying information about all the events and people in the department, effectively acting as a proxy of the chair and the dean in the department.

Mr Ahmad secured the position of assistant director of the campus when his chair/boss became the director. This position was created for him as the director felt unable to operate without his help. There was no competition or interview, and he was promoted to this sensitive position despite the availability of seasoned professionals. Interestingly, Mr Ahmad was only a teaching research assistant but as an assistant director dealt with professors and other senior officials. Consistently, he was privy to the inside information regarding future openings and decisions. Furthermore, he was considered indispensable by his seniors. When the positions of assistant professor were announced by the university, he was chosen as the strongest candidate despite the fact that his PhD was still in progress, as his mentors assured the members of the selection board of his suitability and ensured the completion of all the official requirements during the probation period.

When promoted to professor and assigned the responsibility of the dean's position, Mr Ahmad's boss/mentor was supported by Mr Ahmad informally in his assignment, providing him with all the required help to run that office effectively. The new dean, meantime, had successfully created a position of assistant dean. Consequently, Mr Ahmad was transferred from the department to the dean's office, where he sat in the dean's office and performed all the activities of that office. In fact, he was the de facto dean, and his boss was more a symbolic one.

This story reveals how an employee with a modest background can go the extra mile to serve and exhibit loyalty to those senior to him/her in order to win the confidence of a powerful figure and develop patron–client relationships, and by this means earn the title of "*apna banda*." This in turn opens doors for a swift progression on the career ladder.

This phenomenon of "*apna banda*" is deeply embedded in the system and everybody is unconsciously aware of this notion. So, individuals try to get connected with resourceful people in society, as they have connections in all layers of society, in order to get entry into the organization as "*apna banda*," become part of the already existing social circles, and provide favors to everyone in this group as everyone is the proxy of the patron of this group. One of the respondents shared an interesting comment about an experience that he had in such a situation. His patron said to him:

> Whenever you look at him, think about me. Remember he is not *Ilyas* [a person], as he is here on my behalf so take him as *Ahsan* [the patron himself].

These groups are established vertically and horizontally in the organization. The person at the top of the organization is generally connected to those at the lowest level, and persons (affiliated with the same powerful figure) at the same level working in different departments are also well connected, extending support to and serving the interest of each other. All the support (information, guidelines, short cuts, etc.) is provided to "*apna banda*", since as already mentioned, his/her career growth is considered to translate to the group's career growth. In this group everyone wants to extend their reach and power by becoming a functional member of the group, as being more efficient and loyal means one can earn better placements and gain greater opportunities for promotion.

BOX 11.1 STOP AND THINK

1. How does the career progression of "*apna banda*" contribute to better performance and increase the influence of leading figures in the organization?
2. How does the phenomenon of a proxy role influence the career motivations and aspirations of individuals?

REFERENCES

Aycan, Z. 2002. Leadership and teamwork in developing countries: Challenges and opportunities. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 7(2). https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1066.

Chatterjee, S. R. 2007. Human resource management in India: "Where from" and "where to?" *Research and Practice in Human Resource Management*, 15(2): 92–103.

Chaudhry, S. 2012. *Managerial career development in foreign multinationals in Pakistan: Perceptions, policies and practices*. PhD Dissertation, The University of Manchester, Manchester, UK.

Forret, M. L., and Dougherty, T. W. 2004. Networking behaviors and career outcomes: Differences for men and women? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25(3): 419–437.

Gunz, H., and Mayrhofer, W. 2020. Organisational and managerial careers: A coevolutionary view. In P. J. Robertson, T. Hooley, and P. McCash (Eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Career Development*: 154–168. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Khilji, S. E. 2003. "To adapt or not to adapt": Exploring the role of national culture in HRM – A study of Pakistan. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 3(1): 121–144.

Khilji, S. E. 2004. Human resource management in Pakistan. In P. S. Budhwar and Y. A. Debrah (Eds), *Human Resource Management in Developing Countries*: 102–120. London: Routledge.

Klasra, R. 2021a, September 22. Apna banda lany ka janoon. *Roznama Dunya*. https://dunya.com.pk/index.php/author/rauf-klasra/2021-09-22/36790/58850118.

Klasra, R. 2021b, October 22. Bhutto ka fasila mehnga para (بھٹو کا فیصلہ مہنگا پڑا). *Roznama Dunya*. https://dunya.com.pk/index.php/author/rauf-klasra/2021-10-15/37065/54315410.

Langford, P. H. 2000. Importance of relationship management for the career success of Australian managers. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 52(3): 163–168.

Luthans, F., Hodgetts, R. M., and Rosenkrantz, S. A. 1988. *Real Managers*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co.

Lyon, S. M. 2002. *Power and patronage in Pakistan*. PhD Dissertation, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK. https://dro.dur.ac.uk/183/1/Lyon_thesis.pdf?DDD5+dan0sml+dul0jk.

Mangi, R. A. Shah, A. A. J. S. A. S., and Ghumro, I. A. 2012. Human resource management practices in private sector organisations in Pakistan: Study of cultural influences. *Global Journal of Management and Business Research*, 12(7): 20–30.

Mendonca, M., and Kanungo, R. N. 1994. Managing human resources: The issue of cultural fit. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 3(2): 189–205.

Michael, J., and Yukl, G. 1993. Managerial level and subunit function as determinants of networking behavior in organizations. *Group and Organization Management*, 18(3): 328–351.

Orpen, C. 1996. The effects of ingratiation and self-promotion tactics on employee career success. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, 24(3): 213–214.

Qadeer, M. A. 1999. "Urbanisation of everybody", institutional imperatives, and social transformation in Pakistan. *Pakistan Development Review*, 38(4): 1193–1210.

Saher, N. 2010. *Cultural diversity and human resource development in modern organization*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. http://173.208.131.244:9060/xmlui/handle/123456789/11835.

Saher, N. 2011. *Vartan Bhanji and human resource management in Pakistan: Balancing between traditions and modernity*. Presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting, August 12–16, San Antonio, Texas, USA.

Saher, N., Bibi, S., Farmanullah, S., Inayat, S., and Abbas, S. 2014. Career success in Pakistan: Human capital and social networking. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 19(2): 163–171.

Saher, N., and Mayrhofer, W. 2014. The role of Vartan Bhanji in implementing HRM practices in Pakistan. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 25(13): 1881–1903.

Saini, D. S., and Budhwar, P. S. 2004. HRM in India. In P. S. Budhwar (Ed.), *Managing Human Resources in Asia-Pacific*: 113–140. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203643167.
Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., and Liden, R. C. 2001. A social capital theory of career success. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44(2): 219–237.
Sparrow, P. R., and Budhwar, P. S. 1997. Competition and change: Mapping the Indian HRM recipe against world-wide patterns. *Journal of World Business*, 32(3): 224–242.
Syed, B. S. 2016, August 14. Who will be the next army chief? PM has four options before him for the office of army chief, chairman joint chiefs. *Dawn*.
Wolff, H.-G., and Moser, K. 2009. Effects of networking on career success: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(1): 196–206.

12. Family as an anchor during career transition: a case from India

Akhila Veldandi, Sushanta Kumar Mishra and Richa Saxena

> I went on a quest for reassurance when things went south … I passed every possible curve of my social circle only to find Nothing. And when I returned home, I found it right there! Let's hear it, how naïve was I? – The authors

On a quiet winter evening, at his home, while sipping tea, Keshav (a real person, disguised name) was pondering about switching his career. He was working as a senior consultant in a top corporate firm in India. Before his current job, Keshav had worked in the software industry for 15 years. He had worked with various clients and had received accolades for his impeccable service. The new offer lurking at his doorstep was that of an investment banker in a start-up company. With this job, he would be shifting from the software industry to the banking industry, an entirely different field. If he decided to make this career transition, he would move to another location to start his new job. This decision had significant implications for his career, his wife's career, his children's education, and his family's lifestyle. Opting for the new job, he and his wife, Rukmini, would have to make huge adjustments and sacrifices. Brought up in a society where individuals give equal consideration to their family and profession, Keshav was in a conundrum. He asked himself, 'is my move right from my family's perspective?'

CONTEXTUALIZING

Individuals often change their careers from one profession to another in the quest for meaning and purpose. One lens of career transition focuses on individuals who make a career transition while discussing the challenges faced by them. Another lens of career transition looks at the family, which has received scant attention in the literature. In a collectivist country like India, where the ties around family are nearly unbreakable, the family's role in the career transition process is as significant as that of the career changers (individuals who change their career) themselves.

The meaning of life is typically derived from five domains in Indian society: family, spiritual, social, recreational, and sexual (Singhal and Rastogi, 2015). Hence, ideally, all the major life decisions are taken in a way that prevents these domains from being adversely affected. Therefore, cultural aspects play a significant role in career decision-making (Arora and Rangnekar, 2015). The confluence of Indian culture and ongoing technological advancements results in unique patterns of career decision-making (Pereira and Malik, 2015). An individual's career decision is not predominantly an individually driven decision but instead is a collective decision. Furthermore, individuals in Asian and Latin American families feel strongly obligated to support and respect families and their views (Fuligni, 2001). Where individuals have a greater sense of family obligation, they are influenced more by family concerns in their career decision-making (Fouad et al., 2016). Especially in India, the cultural values are not just collectivist but also inclusive in terms of social relationships, thus making career decisions complex (Christopher and Hickinbottom, 2008). As the family is given more importance than individuals, the outcomes of intentions to change careers revolve around families' needs.

Keshav's dilemma about taking up a new career path stemmed from his cultural origin. During his career transition, there was a possibility that his interests may affect his family. Usually, in India, the parents continue to live with their son after his marriage. This joint family setup brings up more factors for consideration while making such decisions. Keshav's parents also stayed with him and had settled well in Chennai (one of the biggest cities in South India) and found it comfortable. He would have to think about how they would react to the change in location. Furthermore, their family's views about the practicality of this career transition would affect the way Keshav and Rukmini viewed the transition.

As already discussed, Indian culture places significant emphasis on the ties within the family and tries to reinforce the relationships between individuals. Hence, unlike in individualistic societies, career transition in Indian society is essentially a family phenomenon. This chapter explores the phenomenon of career transition in India and elucidates the significance of family in this context. The content unwinds with the story of the career transition of an individual in an Indian family. We intend to discuss the changes that the family experienced during the transition process. We further discuss the challenges faced, the compromises made, and the emotions felt. This chapter presents a story around the phenomenon and reflects on families and their responses to unconventional decisions.

THE STORY

In one of the firm's quarterly meetings earlier in the year, Keshav found himself in a state where he was entirely off track and disinterested in the discussion. He realized that it was not the first time he had been disconnected from office work; he had taken leave quite often during the past year. After the quarterly meeting, he met his manager, Ravi, for a one-to-one discussion. Ravi pointed out Keshav's lack of focus when at the office and his declining productivity. Keshav returned to his desk, wondering where he had lost his charming, efficient, enthusiastic self in the past few years. Possibly the monotony of the job impacted his effectiveness. Since then, he has brooded over the changes in his professional life.

Keshav had been in his current job for the past 15 years. This organization was one of the top firms in the country, where every graduate aspired to work. After graduation, Keshav had joined this firm as a trainee. His family and friends were proud of him for getting a job in this organization. He started building his career over the years and grew from a trainee to a senior consultant. This journey had given him many growth opportunities. He had received his fair share of accolades. Given his extensive expertise, continuing to work in the same industry, he could climb up the ladder faster than many of his counterparts. However, in recent times he had started feeling a lack of challenge in his daily work. Despite role changes in the organization, his work had remained largely the same for the past few years. Keshav felt as if he had reached a career plateau, and there seemed to be no possibility of future personal growth. With these perpetual thoughts in mind, he was looking for options to switch his career, though predominantly passively. The quest turned active when a particular incident happened at his organization.

On one rainy morning, he had a meeting with Ravi regarding a new prestigious project that he had been assigned to. However, the process of starting the work took a long time due to existing, cumbersome protocols in the organization. That morning, Ravi held Keshav responsible for the lag in work and asked him to step up and solve the challenges. He also pointed out that Keshav had been adding little value in recent times. That meeting was the last straw. An epiphany struck Keshav, and he realized that not only had he been disengaged with work but he had also been losing his capabilities to utilize his skills in his role as a consultant. He then decided to switch his career to one where he would have the opportunity to be enthusiastic about the change in the nature of his work. A new industry would likely provide excellent exposure to things unknown and would keep him on his toes to learn and grow. It was an opportunity to start afresh, which was both scary and exciting at the same time. Nevertheless, the decision to leave his career as a consultant, one that he had considered over many years, was not easy to make from either a professional perspective or a personal one.

Keshav needed to consider many factors, such as choosing a second career, financial aspects, job location, and his family's perspective on this decision. He had to look out for options that he would not only be interested in but could also reasonably pursue. He decided to look for a job in the banking industry, which was his long-lost interest since school. At first, he was apprehensive about communicating his career transition decision to his wife, Rukmini, who has just settled into her new firm in Chennai. Their two children, Sitara, who had turned 15 last month, and Shiva, who would turn 11 in two weeks, were comfortable in their current school. Also, Sitara would be completing her 10th grade and entering senior school next year. She was learning to swim and dance at an institute near their home. Shiva, in turn, had a good set of friends with whom he played football and spent most of his holidays. At this juncture, this move would change their school and affect their extracurricular activities and possibly their mental health because of losing out in terms of their friends and social life. When Keshav shared the idea of a career switch with his friends, they were sure that this would be quite a radical shift in his life regarding the nature of the job, the location, and the financial and extra benefits that he received in his current job. The repercussions of this decision could go either way. Before communicating his idea to his family, he made a detailed plan of his transition to address the family's needs. He had enough savings to have no financial issues even if the salary did not match his current one.

Finally, Keshav gathered the courage to speak to Rukmini about his career considerations. However, her reaction was to try to discourage him from switching jobs because she thought that the current work arrangement provided the security and comfort that was needed for the family. She argued that he was one of the most valuable resources in his company and was very unlikely to ever experience the threat of job loss. In addition, the financial benefits from the company were more than enough for Keshav's family to lead a comfortable life. Moreover, they lived in a place near his office, thereby reducing his commuting time. In case of any emergency, Keshav was always available. The children and Rukmini were so acquainted with the locality that they were free to attend to minor local activities such as getting groceries. Furthermore, the work was flexible as Keshav had been associated with the firm for so long. Given all these tangible and intangible benefits, Rukmini had to think twice about such a radical change. However, when Keshav stood his ground, though doubtful and nervous about what was in store, she reluctantly agreed to the job change.

Keshav then went ahead and looked for opportunities outside his domain and obtained a job as an investment banker in one of the start-ups in Gurgaon (a city in North India). He would have to undergo training for about six months to garner the new skills needed for him to gear up for a job in the banking industry. He needed to upskill in a few of the software applications that were used, learn banking terminology, and get familiar with how things work in the banking sector. As this job demanded a relocation, Rukmini would have to either leave her job to move with Keshav or manage the family alone, supported by domestic help, without moving to the new location. Rukmini was working as a senior manager in one of the manufacturing firms in Chennai. Before this job, she worked with two other companies in the same industry. She was earning well and expected another promotion at the end of that year. If Keshav were to make the job transition and the move to Gurgaon, he would have to stay in the new firm for a long time to learn and grow. Rukmini was sceptical about raising their children away from Keshav for a substantial time. While there was no easy way to solve the problem, she took what could be called one of the most complex decisions of her life. She decided to quit her career and move with Keshav to a new place. Unfortunately, Keshav's career was not as economically lucrative as the earlier one. His salary package was lower than what he was earning earlier. Hence, Rukmini was anticipating challenges in terms of both financial and emotional aspects. She was also sceptical about finding a suitable job for herself in Gurgaon.

Keshav was also in a dilemma about whether to forgo a secure job and seek a new career. He was not just experimenting with his own career, but Rukmini's career was also at stake. Moreover, he would be placing his children in a new environment that would be challenging for them. Financially, they were reasonably stable with their savings as a family. Emotionally, both faced hurdles in stepping out of their comfort zone and pursuing a fulfilling career.

REFLECTIONS

The influence of family on the careers of individuals is more prominent in collectivist societies (Fouad et al., 2016). Individuals at an early age, especially in a country like India, are given less opportunity to opt for a career of their choosing and are socially conditioned to achieve their parents' dreams rather than to pursue their own (Wuyts et al., 2015). Parents associate their prestige in society with their children's success. Hence, parents choose a path for their children that is likely to entail a good career. As the decision of the family holds significance, young adults usually take the career paths already chosen by their parents (Baruch and Budhwar, 2006). Despite his interest in commerce, Keshav had gone with the flow and had chosen science subjects (i.e., mathematics, physics, and chemistry) in his high school days, based on his parents' approval. So technically, his career was not his choice. However, as individuals evolve and grow in their careers, they realize that their careers are not tailored to their skills or beliefs and tend to drift towards alternate career paths. Keshav had experienced a professional plateau in his career, and this led to the idea of a career transition.

With the new career change that Keshav finally decided upon, his family would be facing challenges in terms of location, the children's school, and would need to make a few compromises. In the Indian context, generally, women make compromises to facilitate their husbands' careers. In this story, Rukmini had decided to opt out of her career and to move with Keshav and her family to a new environment. It is not uncommon to find such cases of women letting go of their careers to fulfil filial, spousal, or parental role expectations. The patriarchal traces in Indian culture are so deep-rooted that it is engrained in the minds of Indian women to prioritize marital and parental roles over professional ones. Men are considered the breadwinners of the family, and women the facilitators or enablers. Even though Rukmini would have loved to continue her career, she decided to accompany Keshav, considering the family factors. This raises the question of whether some years down the line Rukmini would regret leaving her career. Likewise, if Keshav could not receive that kind of family support, he would have to think twice about his career transition decision. According to attachment theory derived from family systems theory, individuals are better equipped to handle transitions when they perceive security in their family relationships (Blustein et al., 1995). Also, Keshav had invested his time and effort in his first career. It is likely that he would have received a greater return on his role in terms of salary if he had continued. Forgoing an existing career to take a plunge into a new one was a big step for Keshav.

The new career that Keshav decided upon demanded adjustments and compromises for him and his family members. The challenges concerning the new location, the children's school, and other things were prominent.

Keshav's career transition can be related to Ginsberg and colleagues' (1951) occupational choice theory. Ginsberg suggested that individuals make occupational choices over the years. He argued that this process of choosing an occupation is mainly irreversible because one would have invested time, money, and effort in their career. He suggested that this process ends in a compromise between opportunities, values, interests, and capacities. However, in the present time, choosing an occupation may be more reversible, given the many opportunities floating around in many markets. Unlike what Ginsberg suggested, the time frame of ten years to form occupational choices may not be relevant in today's context. Still, most individuals resort to career changes during this period of their lives. Keshav's choice of occupation formed after about 15 years, when he decided to make a shift.

Super (1953, 1980) and Ginsberg proposed the theory of vocational development based on their experience of occupational choice theory. In his theory, Super postulated that choice of and adjustment in occupation is a continuous process. In Keshav's case, there was a clear adjustment and compromise on all other fronts to make a career choice deemed fit for him.

Vaitenas and Wiener (1977) suggested two crucial viewpoints on career transition. First, the vocational choice theory proposes that a mismatch between the person (attitudes, interests, personality traits) and the job, and the lack of differentiation and consistency of interests, results in career changes. Second, the adult developmental theory proposes that new motives in midlife, like fear of failure and generativity, may affect career satisfaction and career transition intentions. In Keshav's case, there is a mismatch between person and job. Also, in line with Keshav's experiences, there is likely to be a phase in an individual's life when one starts feeling detached from the current work. This phase is termed a mid-career crisis. While some (Neapolitan, 1980) described career transition as a phenomenon happening in specific stages of life like midlife, others viewed it as a timeless process. This is due to either intrinsic factors such as less job satisfaction (Higgins, 2001), generativity (Clark and Arnold, 2008), or extrinsic factors such as rewards and stagnancy in learning (Brown et al., 2012).

In India, career transition is viewed as a radical and courageous decision. Given the conservative nature of the job market and the 'one career–one life' mindset, when an individual changes his/her career, it is perceived to be an unnatural choice by family and friends. Despite having had to give up her job for Keshav's career change, Rukmini managed not to lose her spirit and continued to support him in all the ways she could. Being a bright student during her college days and having worked all her life could raise considerations as to whether her support was justified, but overall she felt that she had to put her family first.

The broader debate on this story lies in whether career transitions are a product of uncompetitive job profiles, lack of person–job fit, or a personal life crisis. In this case, attention needs to be drawn to the scenario of professional plateauing (Yang et al., 2019) in the current era of globalization. The individual attributes that make these transitions prevalent are the *want* to have a fulfilling career and the *risk-taking ability* to transition during middle age. Furthermore, the idea of career transition as a family phenomenon needs to be studied more extensively to drive the discussion towards strategic decision-making in terms of family careers. To facilitate smooth transitions, counselling psychologists should better understand the family's influence on career decision-making to facilitate better decision-making. Also, if exposed to the reality of various career options, students should choose their first careers by themselves rather than (too) obediently following the interests of their parents. Finally, when aware of the professional plateaus that employees could experience, employers would want to alter jobs so that they offer challenges at every level and stage of an individual's career.

BOX 12.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Would the story be the same if, instead of Keshav, Rukmini had planned to make a career shift that required relocation?
2. What role does gender play in seeking/getting family support during such career shifts?
3. Does choosing a first career by oneself during one's graduate days diminish the chances of a career change at later stages? Do family counselling sessions help a smooth transition?
4. How can organizations change working patterns to facilitate a job where individuals can learn and be excited to work every day?
5. How can organizations address the career plateauing of employees?

REFERENCES

Arora, R., and Rangnekar, S. 2015. The joint effects of personality and supervisory career mentoring in predicting occupational commitment. *Career Development International*, 20(1): 63–80.

Baruch, Y., and Budhwar, P. S. 2006. A comparative study of career practices for management staff in Britain and India. *International Business Review*, 15(1): 84–101.

Blustein, D. L., Prezioso, M. S., and Schultheiss, D. P. 1995. Attachment theory and career development: Current status and future directions. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 23(3): 416–432.

Brown, A., Bimrose, J., Barnes, S.-A., and Hughes, D. 2012. The role of career adaptabilities for mid-career changers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(3): 754–761.

Christopher, J. C., and Hickinbottom, S. 2008. Positive psychology, ethnocentrism, and the disguised ideology of individualism. *Theory and Psychology*, 18(5): 563–589.

Clark, M., and Arnold, J. 2008. The nature, prevalence and correlates of generativity among men in middle career. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 73(3): 473–484.

Fouad, N. A., Kim, S., Ghosh, A., Chang, W., and Figueiredo, C. 2016. Family influence on career decision making: Validation in India and the United States. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 24(1): 197–212.

Fuligni, A. J. 2001. Family obligation and the academic motivation of adolescents from Asian, Latin American, and European backgrounds. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2001(94): 61–76.

Ginsberg, E., Ginsburg, S. W., Axelrad, S., and Herma, J. L. 1951. *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.7312/ginz92170.

Higgins, M. C. 2001. Changing careers: The effects of social context. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22(6): 595–618.

Neapolitan, J. 1980. Occupational change in mid-career: An exploratory investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 16(2): 212–225.

Pereira, V., and Malik, A. 2015. *Investigating Cultural Aspects in Indian Organizations: Empirical Evidence*. New York: Springer.
Singhal, H., and Rastogi, R. 2015. The changing conception of meaning of life among Indian working class: An examination of effect of marital status on meaning of life. *Indian Journal of Health and Wellbeing*, 6(6): 585–589.
Super, D. E. 1953. A theory of vocational development. *American Psychologist*, 8(5): 185–190.
Super, D. E. 1980. A life-span, life-space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 16(3): 282–298.
Vaitenas, R., and Wiener, Y. 1977. Developmental, emotional, and interest factors in voluntary mid-career change. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 11(3): 291–304.
Wuyts, D., Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., and Soenens, B. 2015. Social pressure and unfulfilled dreams among Chinese and Belgian parents: Two roads to controlling parenting via child-invested contingent self-esteem. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 46(9): 1150–1168.
Yang, W.-N., Niven, K., and Johnson, S. 2019. Career plateau: A review of 40 years of research. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 110(B): 286–302.

PART IV

Boundaries and borders

13. The Canadian Mosaic lives on: supporting immigrants in transitioning to the local labour market

Rick Cotton and Mila Lazarova

Attracting and integrating immigrants is central to many countries' futures (Boucher and Gest, 2018), but creating an environment allowing newcomers to maintain key aspects of their cultural identities *and* integrate into their new societies is not easy (Bernardo, Rosenthal, and Levy, 2013; Morris, Chiu, and Liu, 2015). One issue many immigrants face is how to craft a career in their new country that fits their qualifications, skills, and aspirations. In this chapter we offer insights on how newcomers can experience the kind of multidimensional career success that the 5C Project has shown we all seek (Briscoe et al., 2021). We do so using the case of Canada and based on conversations with leaders of the Inter-Cultural Association (ICA) of Greater Victoria (https://www.icavictoria.org/), an organization that offers a network of services to aid newcomer lives and careers.

THE CANADIAN MOSAIC AND THE INTER-CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF GREATER VICTORIA

Since the early 20th century, Canada has been one of the world's major immigrant-receiving societies, and until the 1960s, immigrants were expected to assimilate into mainstream society. Then, in 1965, John Porter published his influential study entitled, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, where he described how certain "elite" ethnic groups fared better in terms of income, education, and health. These elite groups were over-represented in Canada's government as well as in its economic and political spheres, and Porter sparked debate that prompted Canada's shift in social policy to becoming a "mosaic" of cultures. The Canadian Mosaic ultimately became the basis for Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's multiculturalism policies of the early 1970s. In Trudeau's words, the Canadian Mosaic was an attempt to "support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expressions and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all of us" (quoted by Anderson, 1991: 218). However, many challenges still exist, and the Canadian Mosaic is negotiated day by day in interactions, lives, and careers that are shaped by organizations like the ICA of Greater Victoria.

Founded over 50 years ago as a welcoming agency, ICA's purpose is to support the integration of newcomers into social, economic, and civic life in Canada. Today, the ICA continues that work and offers a wide range of services including anti-racism programming, youth engagement activities, mentorship programmes, and language instruction classes. The organization has helped more than 100,000 individuals transition to new lives in Canada. As a central connector to more than 500 community partners, the ICA and its partnership network have grown into a kind of a "one-stop shop" offering employment, education, health care, housing, and transportation assistance. They also nurture cross-cultural understanding, foster immigrant entrepreneur businesses, and help vulnerable newcomers gain skills and confidence in becoming integral members of the community.

Below we offer insights from conversations with ICA of Greater Victoria's Jean McRae, Chief Executive Officer (CEO); Ai Sakamoto, Employment Services Manager (ESM); and Steven Lorenzo Baileys, Community Development Coordinator (CDC) as they reflected on how ICA enables the Canadian Mosaic and helps advance newcomer careers. They also share reactions to the 5C Career Success Model and discuss the importance of mentoring and developmental networks. *Please note that the interview transcript has been edited for brevity and clarity.*

THE MOSAIC TODAY

Question: *So, how real is the "Canadian Mosaic" to immigrant newcomers*?

CDC: I think it's in our job description before we sign on! [laughs]

CEO: [laughs] I think for some people it's quite real, whereas for some people going into bigger cities, that might not be the case. It might be that for a particular center course they're taking, for example, they might be in with all people from the same cultural background as themselves … In some cases, they can live a good part of their lives without having to be outside of their ethnic language group. In fact, one of the interesting research findings is that newcomers who were in smaller communities felt more connected … because they were forced to go outside their comfort zones more often.

ESM: [In terms of] readiness to engage in diversity and inclusion, I think it's still from person to person, community to community, employer to employer.

CDC: My first response was to say yes, the Canadian Mosaic is alive and well here in Victoria. I've seen the growth of different ethno-cultural groups over the

[past] 16 years … I've seen them be able to organize and to create structures … It could be around their faith with temples [or other] places of worship, with associations, with schools. And all of these are parts of the mosaic that help to preserve and perpetuate language, culture, customs, and a sense of pride in cultural identity. So that's what I see as being meaningful or important to creating and preserving the mosaic, that people, generation after generation, still can come back to their place of belonging and their roots. That's not to say that there aren't a lot of challenges and that when we're working with mainstream stakeholders, like employers, that there aren't pressures they put upon newcomers to assimilate and integrate, as opposed to maintain, their cultural identities.

Question: *So how do you navigate that boundary in terms of diversity and inclusiveness*?

CDC: It starts off with the understandable imperative that here in British Columbia, you have to speak English, for the most part, to be able to work … [So] there's a pressure point, if you will, on one's cultural practices that you can no longer speak your own language and … [it's] understandable that when it comes to running a [BC] business, you need that common language … But then you see [that dynamic] extend to other areas too, whether it's how many times a day you can pray if you're part of the Muslim community [or] what you can wear in the workplace [or] food and different expressions of cultural identity.

ESM: It's generally a traditional kind of process for [al]most everyone new to the country … "We are so excited and we are really positive. And I'm going to do this, I'm going to do that. I have this plan, that plan" and then after [the] honeymoon phase is over … there's the housing struggle … definitely language barriers, and then lack of network. And … credentials, education may not be readily acknowledged … So [newcomers] will have these negative experiences that lower self-esteem. And then, we need to find a way to cope with this struggle … People who are good at doing their research, take a proactive approach. They probably find some organization like the ICA … to receive some services … to get them ready to be integrated … And that is the stage that [they] start establishing their own new identity in this new environment. As long as the person takes ownership of their life, [their] life then is often really enjoyable, meaningful. Although, it must also be said that some still struggle with finding a way to become a leader of their own lives … So, I see adaptability and … flexibility as key competencies that newcomers need to have or develop.

BECOMING PART OF THE MOSAIC

Question: *What else distinguishes successful Canadian newcomers from less successful ones*?

ESM: I have a lot of people who have a PhD or higher education [from] their [home] country; however, they're not able to fulfill their career goal and they'll be struggling and are not really happy to be here. And then [they'll say], "Well, my mistake was to choose Victoria, Canada, because they're not really open to accepting immigrants." I agree, but at the same time, you need to do your part as well.

CEO: People arrive for different reasons – a lot of people because they have family [and] and they're joining them [here]. Others – because they want a better life. They think this is going to be a good choice. [Many expect that] they're going to come here and be able to establish themselves in their profession … relatively quickly … I've been in this field for a long time and we're still discussing credential recognition … [In] many countries, if you have a good education and you're working as a professional, you also have somebody who comes into your house and cleans and does your dishes and cooks for you … [but] here, you sweat. Even doctors cook their own meals. So there's those expectations as well … In fact, the people who seem like they might be the best prepared are the ones who have the hardest time whereas for many refugees coming out of a super bad situation, they're happy to be living in a peaceful place.

THE EMPLOYMENT JOURNEY

Question: *How do newcomers describe their employment journey*?

ESM: Labor market attachment is a final stage of integration into the community … Housing, access to the public services including the school system, security, securing food – these things create the basic foundation to start a new life. I often also hear that the people here in Victoria, "They are so nice, gentle [with] newcomers." They're pretty happy about that. On the other hand, although people seem to be really nice … newcomers, including myself, sometimes, feel a subtle form of discrimination. They don't say it out loud though … For example, we receive some rejections in a kind of indirect form … [and] despite the client's thorough experience, narrative, and education, they'll hear, "Sorry, you know, this [university degree] is not recognized. You have to go back to school and study for two years." Four years, five years easily can be spent in just [the] credentialing process. So, if the client came into Canada when they're still in the prime of their career, they probably will go ahead with it. However, if somebody is close to the end of their career, they compare their stage of life, their family responsibility, the cost. [But] … when our clients have retained employment aligned with their objectives, that is a huge accomplishment because … achieving career goals is a kind of self-actualization … It directly relates to their own self-esteem. And then those clients tend to reconnect with us and offer to be a mentor or a volunteer and provide support for other newcomers. That excitement and … sense of belonging to the community is also the moment that clients including myself feel excited.

MENTORS AND ROLE MODELS

Question: *How important are mentors in helping newcomers in navigating and gaining sustainable employment?*

CDC: It's hugely helpful for newcomers to have mentors … who know the lay of the land and [are] knowledgeable in understanding what it takes … for somebody to be able to get employment or start up a business … [If] that [mentor] is somebody who's Canadian-born, it just helps to deepen the personal sense of connection that a newcomer feels …

ESM: My experience is that one of the biggest challenges is [the] lack of [a] network in the community, the lack [of] resources [and] how [newcomers] can develop a clear [career] path especially if that person is interested in regulated occupations. So having a mentor can help our clients through a complicated career path [and] labor market … Community connections are important so clients can learn, receive help and network as well as establish some sense of belonging. Successful clients often offer to be a mentor. Some mentors are faith group connections like when a newcomer comes in [and] they try to find somebody in their community culture group and eventually [beyond] their culture connection, [they] try to really expand their network. So, I think mentorship is a key service and a key component of all client success … It's also important to clarify what this mentorship is all about for both mentor and mentee. From time to time, [newcomers] don't quite understand what mentorship is and through the mentor, sometimes [they] expect that, "Oh, this person is giving me a job."

DEVELOPMENTAL NETWORKS

Question: *Research shows developmental networks*[1] *aid career success. So as you think about the networks of newcomers, who are key people or advisors to have beyond mentors and role models?*

ESM: A developmental network is exactly what they need, because when they hear "network," [they think], "Okay. I don't think I have a network. I don't think I know really anybody in the community." [We say], "No, no, no, no. How about your friends? How about your neighbors? How about even the store clerk [or] anybody you have some connection with in your daily life?" They could be [a] potential networking opportunity … Because of self-esteem issues and center isolation issues, it is intimidating to even start initiating the conversation, even [to] say, "Hi," because I might feel like my English is not quite good enough … Some will say, "I'm not sure if I'm ready. I don't deserve a mentor." So that's why starting with closer people is important and it doesn't really need to be fancy … Simply communicating who you are, what you've done in the past, your strengths, will develop their self-confidence and even help prepare them to start the job search, fill in [job] applications …

CDC: Newcomers may sometimes want to stay in their shells, right? So how can we encourage people to get out? One way is to pursue opportunities to volunteer based on an interest, passion, or curiosity … The other is recreational activities because this region is very active and if you enjoy biking, hiking, or swimming, etcetera, there are lots of opportunities to get involved with groups and they'll gladly embrace you.

5C CAREER SUCCESS DIMENSIONS MODEL

Question: *We've talked about career success and will now share the 5C Career Success Dimensions Model (referred to in the introductory chapter of this book). How well do you think this model reflects newcomers' experiences?*

ESM: I think this covers the core components and focus areas depend on the client's life stage, gender role, fiduciary responsibility, and financial circumstances, even their cultural background. For example, refugees or vulnerable clients focus on Financial Security. However, for those who've been in Canada many years, who have Canadian work experience and are ready to upgrade their skills … [they're] going to seek employment opportunities with Positive Impact, Positive Work Relationships, as well as Learning and Development …

CDC: Looking at this further, for, say, a Syrian refugee who, through no fault of their own, was forced to flee and was completely unprepared for having to start a new life in a new country … there's only one dimension that's going to be important and that's Financial Security. If they even get close to Work-Life Balance or Learning and Development that will be a remarkable progression … And that explains why we see newcomer taxi drivers, restaurant and hospitality workers who are educated but, in some cases, will, unfortunately, have to remain in those jobs for a significant period of time, and all of their time and resources then goes to ensuring their children have a better life … [It's] like Maslow's Hierarchy … [For example], international students, who [often] take the path to becoming Permanent Residents, have the education, skills, and experience within the Canadian context to get their foot in the door with a job and then start to pursue some of those other dimensions [even] … create a start-up as an example of Entrepreneurship … I'm also thinking of those who come here that are so well-educated, so well-resourced. It could be an immigrant from Hong Kong or China who's very well-established and has the opportunity to do business between countries. They're going to have a different priority in terms of which dimensions are important …

ICA'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND VISION FOR THE FUTURE

Question: *To wrap up, what ICA accomplishments are you most proud of and what do you see as critical goals for the ICA in coming years?*

ESM: I feel most proud when I see clients after a few years and I can see the big changes in their lives and [their] energy …

CDC: You can feel all that *wonderful* … I'm going call it *love* … Seeing those transformations, seeing the journey of success as individuals or as families … You don't get to see it on a daily basis necessarily but, over time, you do see the arc of that journey which provides validation for the work we do. The work I get to do now is more on the macro level in terms of bridge-building as an organization to connect all the different aspects of our community, to be able to constantly cultivate and nourish a better environment that's going to be more welcoming and more inclusive for newcomers … I can only hope that we preserve and grow the leadership role of the ICA, regionally, provincially, nationally, even globally. We've gone from a tiny little immigrant settlement agency that started 50 years ago with no paid employees only volunteers … to what has now become a very robust organization with more than 100 employees and over 200 volunteers. There's a lot more we can impact … Ultimately our vision needs to ensure that wherever the new voices and faces are coming from, that ICA and our partners will be that connection, that conduit for those voices and faces to be heard and seen in all sectors of society.

ESM: I agree our core mission will probably be the same. We're going to work on developing cultural connections and [will] continue to be a community hub for immigrants and it's a *whole community*, including indigenous populations. And what I'm excited about is that with technology, we [could offer] our service platform as part of a "virtual newcomer city" where services and opportunities are more evenly distributed, where people come together. It'll be more accessible for those with mobility issues or other limitations so we can make a real connection as well as a virtual connection to serve the community and develop our organization and Canada's culture of diversity and inclusion.

REFLECTIONS

The Canadian Mosaic is alive and well but integration takes time and effort (Peach, 2005). The dominant themes in our conversations were life and career transitions and the need to chart a unique path to achieve career success (Takeuchi, Takeuchi, and Jung, 2021). As has been found with social exchange theory (Cropanzano and Mitchell, 2005), relational ties matter and one must seek the right connections during socialization (Morrison, 2002). Organizations like the ICA can provide invaluable help as newcomers build developmental networks to support these cultural and identity transitions (Mao and Shen, 2015; Nardon, Zhang, Szkudlarek, and Gulanowski, 2021). Not all newcomers experience such transitions the same way and what successful transition means varies from person to person.

Some newcomers choose to stay with their ethnic group, while others proactively become part of the Mosaic. Expectations matter and few newcomers experience what they expect, with some struggling to get professional credentials recognized, driving a need to recalibrate (Thomas, 2021). Some newcomers are concerned they won't be accepted, but they should seek help with career goals and navigating transitions on their way to becoming cultural insiders (Tharenou and Kulik, 2020). Self-confidence can be in short supply, but career success is possible for those who build connections, persist, and embrace a provisional self that may have been previously unimaginable (Ibarra and Obodaru, 2016).

There's no one-size-fits-all as there are major differences on whether newcomers came to Canada by choice or were forced to emigrate because of war, revolution, or drought; whether they came early in life or in late career; whether they came to join a loved one, seek economic stability, or to re-establish a professional career or start a business (Matthews, Pendakur, and Young, 2009). Some consider their careers successful upon receiving a steady paycheck, while others seek to learn and develop or to better balance work/life commitments (Mayrhofer et al., 2016). And no matter the mix of career dimension goals, newcomers benefit from developmental networks during career transitions by utilizing a mix of mentors and advisors to help interpret unfamiliar environments and open doors.

Organizations like the ICA can meaningfully ease the challenges of immigrant transitions and, through partnering, they've become an integral part of the puzzle in helping the Canadian Mosaic maintain its vibrancy as they build it with their clients, piece by piece.

BOX 13.1 STOP AND THINK

1. How can governments and organizations like the ICA set better career expectations for newcomers without dissuading them from what may be an arduous journey?
2. How can countries work together to better provide consistent and credible credential recognition?
3. How can newcomers be made more cognizant of the concept and importance of networking?
4. How can developmental networks be better leveraged to help newcomers achieve their career goals?

5. How can the 5C Career Success Dimensions Model be utilized to help organizations like the ICA better enable multidimensional career success? What future newcomer research is needed to build on the 5C Model?
6. What do you make of the ESM's vision for a "virtual newcomer city" platform where services are more inclusive and evenly distributed? How can this vision become a reality and what challenges might it face?

NOTE

1. A developmental network is a "set of people a protégé names as taking an active interest in and action to advance the protégé's career by providing developmental assistance" (Higgins and Kram, 2001: 268) Developmental networks have also been found to positively influence many career outcomes including development, promotions, job and life satisfaction, well-being, socialization, identity development, reduced family strain, and so on (Ghosh, Murphy, Cotton, and Kram, 2022).

REFERENCES

Anderson, K. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980*. Montreal; Buffalo, CO: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Bernardo, A. B. I., Rosenthal, L., and Levy, S. R. 2013. Polyculturalism and attitudes towards people from other countries. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 37(3): 335–344.

Boucher, A., and Gest, J. 2018. *Crossroads: Comparative Immigration Regimes in a World of Demographic Change*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. 2021. Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 130: 103612.

Cropanzano, R., and Mitchell, M. S. 2005. Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of Management*, 31(6): 874–900.

Ghosh, R., Murphy, W., Cotton, R., and Kram, K. E. 2022. Seeking support from multiple developers: Assessing optimal structure, content, antecedents, and outcomes of developmental networks. In R. Ghosh and H. M. Hutchins (Eds), *HRD Perspectives on Developmental Relationships*: 467–499. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Higgins, M. C., and Kram, K. E. 2001. Reconceptualizing mentoring at work: A developmental network perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 26(2): 264–288.

Ibarra, H., and Obodaru, O. 2016. Betwixt and between identities: Liminal experience in contemporary careers. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 36: 47–64.

Mao, J., and Shen, Y. 2015. Cultural identity change in expatriates: A social network perspective. *Human Relations*, 68(10): 1533–1556.

Matthews, R., Pendakur, R., and Young, N. 2009. Social capital, labour markets, and job-finding in urban and rural regions: Comparing paths to employment in prosperous cities and stressed rural communities in Canada. *The Sociological Review*, 57(2): 306–330.

Mayrhofer, W., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T. (Tim), Dickmann, M., Dries, N., et al. 2016. Career success across the globe: Insights from the 5C project. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 197–205.

Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., and Liu, Z. 2015. Polycultural psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66(1): 631–659.

Morrison, E. W. 2002. Newcomers' relationships: The role of social network ties during socialization. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45(6): 1149–1160.

Nardon, L., Zhang, H., Szkudlarek, B., and Gulanowski, D. 2021. Identity work in refugee workforce integration: The role of newcomer support organizations. *Human Relations*, 74(12): 1994–2020.

Peach, C. 2005. The mosaic versus the melting pot: Canada and the USA. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 121(1): 3–27.

Takeuchi, N., Takeuchi, T., and Jung, Y. 2021. Making a successful transition to work: A fresh look at organizational support for young newcomers from an individual-driven career adjustment perspective. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 128: 103587.

Tharenou, P., and Kulik, C. T. 2020. Skilled migrants employed in developed, mature economies: From newcomers to organizational insiders. *Journal of Management*, 46(6): 1156–1181.

Thomas, J. 2021. Should I stay or should I go home? Newcomer employment experiences in mid-sized Canadian cities. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 46(3): 191–216.

14. A carpenter yesterday, an electronics technician today: a Syrian refugee's career transition and subjective career success upon entering the German labour market

Maike Andresen and Svenja Rosseburg

SETTING THE SCENE

Malek (name changed) had clear career plans and pursued them successfully by setting up his own company. By the age of 29, Malek already had 15 years of work experience as a carpenter. He had learned the craft from his father, following in the family tradition of his grandfather. However, the Syrian civil war made these career plans secondary by forcing Malek to flee from Syria via Turkey, Greece, Hungary and Austria to his final destination of Germany in 2015.

A career shock followed when he realised that German authorities would not recognise his professional experience as a carpenter. Although he had firmly planned to work in this trade in Germany, too, he was now left with two choices: to pursue full apprenticeship training as a carpenter for three years, in accordance with German norms, or to master a different occupation. In his eyes, the first option meant losing three years on retraining in an occupation in which he already had 15 years of experience. The second option implied a major career change. Both options, he felt, involved falling to a lower level of career development than the level he had previously achieved.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Malek decided to flee to Germany in 2015 at a time when the country was dealing with high numbers of first-time asylum seekers. A total of 476,676 applications for asylum were made in 2015, an additional 745,545 coming in 2016 (BMI, 2017). The term 'refugee crisis' has been used to describe this period in which Germany received the highest number of asylum applications since the foundation of the German migration ministry in 1953 (BAMF, 2016).

For Syrian refugees, especially, Germany was the most popular destination country in Europe, receiving more than one-third of the applicants for asylum in 2015 and 2016 (BAMF, 2016; BMI, 2017). They fled from human rights violations and bombings of civilian areas in the civil war that started in 2011 (Amnesty International, 2015). In 2016, approximately 98 per cent of 268,866 Syrian applicants (BMI, 2017) received protection in Germany by being granted political asylum (BAMF, 2016).

One of the main challenges for the integration of refugees into the German labour market is that career norms differ between Germany and the refugees' respective home countries with regard to how occupations and professions are defined (types of work that demand special training or particular skills and often involve a high level of education, Eberhard et al., 2017). German authorities therefore do not always recognise refugees' occupational skills and qualifications from their home countries (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2020), as they base their decisions mainly on the extent to which structured formal or vocational training was completed and corresponding certificates are available (BAMF, 2016). Access to the German labour market is thus largely determined by the availability of educational certificates (Protsch and Solga, 2016).

Around 330 nationally recognised vocational occupations in Germany require formal training. The main characteristic of this vocational education and training system is the provision of two-to-three-year apprenticeships provided by companies together with publicly funded vocational schools – a form of cooperation enshrined in and regulated by legislation. The qualifications attained in this way are documented by means of certificates issued by the competent bodies, the chambers of industry and commerce or chambers of crafts and trades (BMBF, 2020). Apprentices must at least hold a secondary school leaving certificate (nine years). Occupations and career structures are clearly defined, and each apprentice nominally receives the same standard of training.

German authorities and the country's business community have felt and still feel largely positive about the influx of refugees and the opportunities it has created to address labour needs (Kühn, 2017). Rising numbers of older people and workers in combination with a decline in the population due to declining birth rates have caused an unprecedented shift in the supply of labour (BMAS, 2016). Due to improved sanitation and health care in Germany, people born today can expect to live between 78 and 83 years (Statista, 2020). With an average number of children per woman of 1.54 in 2019 (Destatis, 2020), the numbers are below the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman needed to maintain population levels without immigration (Destatis, 2015). Consequently, the above-mentioned trends have led to a shortage of skilled workers in Germany, a *war for talent* that extends across many areas of the workforce – including the skilled crafts and trades sector (BMWI, 2020). Reducing the intensity of the war for talent by integrating refugees into the labour market is of great relevance for individuals, organisations and the economy in Germany (BMAS, 2020). Despite entering the country for noneconomic reasons, many refugees intend to resume working quickly (Battisti et al., 2019). Finding relevant work has been shown to be of particular importance for the integration of refugees in their host countries.

However, accessing work with a good fit between refugees' competencies and job requirements (Krahn et al., 2000) appears to be difficult. In consequence, various factors lead to people with a migration background being unemployed about twice as frequently as people without a migration background (BMAS, 2020). The reasons for this are often refugees' difficulties with the German language, lower educational and vocational qualifications, and foreign vocational qualifications not (yet) recognised, but deficits in the advice and information provided on labour market issues also have an impact (Battisti et al., 2019; BMAS, 2020). Due to the strong orientation towards norms in education prevailing in Germany, refugees from countries with different norms cannot fill the labour supply gap immediately. Experienced workers like Malek can be an asset to companies and benefit the economy, but it is important to find ways of overcoming barriers related to the recognition of previous careers.

MALEK'S STORY

Malek was born in 1986 in Aleppo, Syria and worked as a third-generation carpenter. He learned the occupation from his father, starting from age 16 when he finished school after completing the 9th grade. During his career, Malek has worked both in his family's business and as an employee of a large company. After two years in the military, he first worked in a large company in Syria and then went to Libya for five years and was able to start his own company as a kitchen carpenter there. Malek was happy with how his career was developing and wanted to extend his stay in Libya to expand his own company and support his family in Syria.

> I wanted to make my company bigger. But then the war [in Libya] came and I couldn't do anything more.

The civil war in Libya forced Malek to return to Syria in 2011. At the same time, however, a civil war also broke out in Syria and forced him and some of his family to flee to Turkey.

> The ISIS saw us and they said 'What are you doing here? Go fight in Syria' and then we just left. We were three cousins and we all went to Turkey.

Although Malek was able to work as a carpenter in Turkey for two months, he was not earning enough money to support his family. Therefore, he decided to move on to Germany, first by making the perilous journey across the Mediterranean. In Greece, he was able to work as a carpenter for one month. He moved on to Hungary, where local police told him to move on to Austria or face jail, and finally from Austria to Germany.

> Actually, no matter where I was, I tried to work.

However, after he reached Germany, regulations prevented Malek from pursuing any employment there. He remained unemployed and in receipt of state benefits for more than 2.5 years between 2015 and 2017. He lived in reception centres in two different German cities for 11 months and tried, with the help of a lawyer whom he contacted, to ensure that he was not sent back to another European state. As Malek was not allowed to take official German language classes during this time, he tried to pick up a few words of German by talking to volunteer workers in a church that supported refugees. Since he could not do much at present, Malek also decided to overcome his fear of water (from which he suffered greatly when fleeing across the Mediterranean) by taking swimming classes.

> I went over sea, although I couldn't swim. Therefore, I was very afraid of the water. But I wanted to overcome this fear, so I learned to swim.

Eventually, Malek received official refugee status and a residence permit in 2016. Although the good news of his recognition as a refugee was overshadowed by sad news about the death of his brother who had remained in Syria, Malek immediately looked for an apartment and found and moved into a shared flat. He took German classes and received considerable support from his German flatmates. When Malek realised that his application to have his occupation officially recognised had been rejected and as a consequence was advised to learn his profession from scratch by taking a three-year apprenticeship, he talked to his local friends and searched online for alternative occupations, as he was not willing to undergo training in something he already had mastery of. His online research led Malek to form the impression that working in the electronics sector would be conducive to a promising career in Germany. As he had already gained initial experience in this field in Libya and enjoyed the work, he decided to take an apprenticeship as an electronics technician despite the low apprentice wage, which was far below what he was used to earning in Syria and Libya. The father of one of his flatmates worked in a company which was looking for apprentices. By coincidence, Malek happened to see an information stand this company was running in town and decided to approach the person at the stand. This contact person immediately offered Malek a place on a one-year integration programme for refugees that would allow him to transfer into a formal apprenticeship if he performed well.

> I saw my future employer in the city, it was an information stand from the company and then I just said I was looking for an internship or apprenticeship for next year. I was told they have one for this year. I was a bit surprised, what do I do now? And then I said yes with pleasure.

Despite having issues with the German language, with support from his colleagues and classmates, Malek managed to perform well in the integration programme and was able to finish his vocational training in another 2.5 years. He was subsequently hired by the same company on a permanent basis as an electronics technician and still works there today. He is not entirely satisfied with the work because (1) he would prefer to be his own boss, (2) he is still not allowed to install electronic devices without a superior being present, and (3) his wages are not sufficient to support his family members who fled to Turkey.

He has registered a business so he can work independently as a part-time kitchen builder. He is also thinking about other career options.

> I thought for a moment that I was making my 'Meister'.[1] Then I realised that I did not like it. I stopped the ongoing training and maybe I will take the instructor qualification exam.[2] Maybe I will, maybe I won't, I don't know what the future will bring exactly. So now with my self-employment, that is something new for me. This is more than my apprenticeship and this is what I want to continue at the moment. […] I would like to stay in Germany, […] I want to stand on my own feet and work properly here.

Registering his business enables him to carry out both occupations he is trained in, the carpentry from his home country and the electronics technician role from his new home country, and hopefully soon as a self-employed tradesman. Overall, Malek has gained control over his career path despite the career shock that he experienced, and he has developed further plans to shape his career.

REFLECTIONS

Malek's experience is an example of a *negative career shock*, that is, 'a disruptive and extraordinary event that is, at least to some degree, caused by factors outside the focal individual's control and that triggers a deliberate thought process concerning one's career' (Akkermans et al., 2018, p. 4). The flight to Germany triggered by the Syrian civil war had a disruptive impact on Malek's career plans to work as a self-employed carpenter when German authorities did not recognise his prior occupation as equivalent to a qualification awarded according to German norms. He perceived a loss of control over his advanced career as a carpenter when German authorities required him, at the age of 29, to start from scratch and embark on an apprenticeship together with much younger apprentices who were fresh out of school. The shock was intense, as he had pursued his occupation passionately and competently in Syria and Libya. This nonrecognition led to a thought process and finally to contemplation of the prospect of a change in his career-related behaviour.

The situation triggered a *sense-making process* that led Malek to analyse his career situation, to explore promising alternative career options in Germany and to reappraise the likelihood of attaining the career goals as a carpenter that he had pursued in Germany. His reanalysis suggested a poor fit with his image of career goal attainment, because thinking himself overqualified for an apprenticeship as a carpenter, he considered that this option offered not only a loss of time and face but also downward career mobility (i.e. downward moves in terms of pay, status or responsibilities) (Krahn et al., 2000). An *image violation* thus occurred (Seibert et al., 2013). To restore his image, he decided to learn a new profession as an electronics technician instead – a profession that he saw as having a promising future in Germany with its strong automobile industry. While getting there also meant going through the kind of apprenticeship that is usually offered to younger learners, this alternative allowed him to regain control over his career and had a higher and positive *valence* for him. Malek's career shock thus led to a career transition of the kind sometimes prompted by a shock (Seibert et al., 2013).

Career transitions are defined as 'the period during which an individual is either changing roles (taking on a different objective role [inter-role transition]) or changing their orientation towards a role already held (altering a subjective state [intra-role transition])' (Louis, 1980, p. 330). In the refugee context, three inter-role transitions have an important function: (1) *career entry*: refugees who have just reached working age during their flight are in an early career stage in which they enter the labour market often for the first time; (2) *intercompany transition*: for refugees with work experience, the change of residence results in a change of employers; and (3) *interprofessional* *transition*: whenever qualifications acquired in the home country are not recognised in the host country, learning a new occupation is required. Malek was confronted with an interprofessional transition that forced him to adjust his profession – from carpenter to electronics technician.

Whether a person can overcome a career shock and even turn it around for the better, for example through a career transition, depends in particular on individual characteristics and career capital. Malek's high level of *resilience*, that is, his adaptability in the face of adversity (Sutcliffe and Vogus, 2003), that he has repeatedly demonstrated, for example by searching for new work in each country, completing a swimming course despite his fear of water, identifying a new occupation to avoid restarting from scratch, proactively approaching his future employer despite the language barrier, helped him to achieve his goal of being independent in Germany – professionally and personally. Moreover, Malek demonstrated *change-related attitudes* that have been shown to be based on resilience (Hartmann et al., 2020). Every country has certain career norms that 'guide' career development. To successfully pursue a career abroad, individuals must be familiar with the career norms of the home and the new country and able to adjust to the new norms. This requires willingness to critically interrogate one's own *career capital* and then the personal flexibility to further develop existing career capital as necessary (Andresen, 2021; Andresen and Domsch, 2020). Arthur and colleagues (1995) distinguish essential career capitals as forms of *knowing how* (skills and knowledge), *knowing why* (personal motivation, values and attitudes) and *knowing who* (interpersonal relationships or social networks). Malek showed ambition to adapt all three career capitals by acquiring new skills and knowledge through an apprenticeship, by investing in both personal networks (e.g. shared flat with Germans) and professional networks (e.g. close contact with supervisors outside the workplace), and by creating a new fit between his identity and his new career as an electronics technician and developing a new sense of purpose, identification and direction in work.

Eby and colleagues (2003) found that career capitals were major predictors of perceived *career success*. Malek anticipated that professional reorientation and adaptation to local norms would allow him – at least in the medium term – to reach his highest ranked subjective career success goals of *financial security* (achieving an increasing income over time and being able to afford goods beyond basic necessities) and *entrepreneurship* (founding and running one's own enterprise or pursuing one's own projects) (Briscoe et al., 2021). Achieving the goal of financial security has increased in importance since Malek's flight as he strives to support family members in Turkey and to become able to establish his own family in Germany. Compared to his financial situation in Syria, he now earns less while needing to spend more (e.g. on rent, groceries, remittances to family members in Turkey). Although he is able to get by with what he earns, he is not yet satisfied with the level of subjective career success he has achieved. As a consequence, his second subjective career success goal of entrepreneurship has become even more important. To achieve this goal in Germany, Malek has registered his own business as a carpenter with the plan to pursue this as a sideline alongside his work as an electronics technician. This takes him one step closer to being his own boss and increasing his subjective career success in this area. The future will show whether this plan is successful.

BOX 14.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Is a career shock a positive or negative event? What mechanisms can individuals use to change a career shock into a positive career development?
2. Which characteristics of individuals help to accelerate career transitions?
3. Think about your personal environment: What could you personally do to make refugees' integration easier and more effective?

NOTES

1. The 'Meister' ('Master craftsman') is the highest professional qualification in crafts and trades and a state-approved award.
2. A qualification that entitles holders to train future apprentices.

REFERENCES

Akkermans, J., Seibert, S. E., and Mol, S. T. 2018. Tales of the unexpected: Integrating career shocks in the contemporary careers literature. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 44(1): a1503.

Amnesty International. 2015. *Amnesty international report 14/15: The state of the world's human rights*. Retrieved 29.09.2020 from https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL1000012015ENGLISH.PDF.

Andresen, M. 2021. When at home, do as they do at home? Valuation of self-initiated repatriates' competences in French and German management career structures. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 32(4): 789–821.

Andresen, M., and Domsch, M. E. 2020. Der internationale Personaleinsatz. In L. von Rosenstiel, E. Regnet, and M. E. Domsch (Eds), *Führung von Mitarbeitern: Handbuch für erfolgreiches Personalmanagement* (8., aktualisierte und überarbeitete Auflage): 555–570. Stuttgart: Schäffer-Poeschel Verlag.

Arthur, M. B., Claman, P. H., and DeFillippi, R. J. 1995. Intelligent enterprise, intelligent careers. *Academy of Management Executive*, 9(4): 7–20.

BAMF. 2016. *Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2015. Asyl, Migration und Integration*. Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. Retrieved 29.09.2020 from https://

www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Statistik/BundesamtinZahlen/bundesamt-in-zahlen-2015.html?nn=284738.

Battisti, M., Giesing, Y., and Laurentsyeva, N. 2019. Can job search assistance improve the labour market integration of refugees? Evidence from a field experiment. *Labour Economics*, 61: 101745.

BMAS. 2016. *Arbeitsmarkt 2030: Wirtschaft und Arbeitsmarkt im digitalen Zeitalter Prognose 2016*. Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Retrieved 20.11.2020 from https://www.bmas.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/PDF-Meldungen/2016/arbeitsmarktprognose-2030.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=1.

BMAS. 2020. *Arbeitsmarktintegration ist Kernaufgabe*. Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Retrieved 18.10.2020 from https://www.bmas.de/DE/Themen/Arbeitsmarkt/Arbeitsfoerderung/foerderung-migranten.html.

BMBF. 2020. *The German vocational training system*. Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Retrieved 30.09.2020 from https://www.bmbf.de/en/the-german-vocational-training-system-2129.html.

BMI. 2017. *280.000 Asylsuchende im Jahr 2016*. Federal Ministry for the Interior, Building and Community. Press release 11.01.2017. Retrieved 29.09.2020 from https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/pressemitteilungen/DE/2017/01/asylantraege-2016.html.

BMWI. 2020. *Fachkräfte für Deutschland*. Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy. Retrieved 16.10.2020 from https://www.bmwi.de/Redaktion/EN/Dossier/skilled-professionals.html.

Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. 2021. Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 130:103612.

Bundesagentur für Arbeit. 2020. *Geflüchtete Menschen beschäftigen*. Retrieved 16.09.2020 from https://www.arbeitsagentur.de/unternehmen/arbeitskraefte/gefluechtete-beschaeftigen.

Destatis. 2015. *Germany's population by 2060*. Retrieved 20.10.2020 from https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Population-Projection/Publications/Downloads-Population-Projection/germany-population-2060-5124206159004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

Destatis. 2020. *Bevölkerung: Geburten*. Retrieved 20.10.2020 from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Geburten/_inhalt.html.

Eberhard, B., Podio, M., Alonso, A. P., Radovica, E., Avotina, L., et al. 2017. Smart work: The transformation of the labour market due to the fourth industrial revolution (I4.0). *International Journal of Business and Economic Sciences Applied Research*, 10(3): 47–66.

Eby, L. T., Butts, M., and Lockwood, A. 2003. Predictors of success in the era of the boundaryless career. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 24(6): 689–708.

Hartmann, S., Weiss, M., Newman, A., and Hoegl, M. 2020. Resilience in the workplace: A multilevel review and synthesis. *Applied Psychology*, 69(3): 913–959.

Krahn, H., Derwing, T., Mulder, M., and Wilkinson, L. 2000. Educated and underemployed: Refugee integration into the Canadian labour market. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1(1): 59–84.

Kühn, F. 2017. *Die demografische Entwicklung in Deutschland. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*. Retrieved 18.12.2020 from https://www.bpb.de/politik/innenpolitik/demografischer-wandel/196911/fertilitaet-mortalitaet-migration.

Louis, M. R. 1980. Career transitions: Varieties and commonalities. *Academy of Management Review*, 5(3): 329–340.

Protsch, P., and Solga, H. 2016. The social stratification of the German VET system. *Journal of Education and Work*, 29(6): 637–661.

Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., Holtom, B. C., and Pierotti, A. J. 2013. Even the best laid plans sometimes go askew: Career self-management processes, career shocks, and the decision to pursue graduate education. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 98(1): 169–182.

Statista. 2020. *Entwicklung der Lebenserwartung bei Geburt in Deutschland nach Geschlecht*. Retrieved 20.09.2020 from https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/273406/umfrage/entwicklung-der-lebenserwartung-bei-geburt--in-deutschland-nach-geschlecht/.

Sutcliffe, K. M., and Vogus, T. 2003. Organizing for resilience. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, and R. E. Quinn (Eds), *Positive Organizational Scholarship: Foundations of a New Discipline*: 94–121. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.

15. Careers in turbulent environments: the impact of 'Brexit' on career motivations and behaviour in the United Kingdom

Michael Dickmann, Emma Parry and Katharina Chudzikowski

INTRODUCTION: LIVING AND WORKING AS A FOREIGNER IN THE UK BEFORE AND AFTER BREXIT

This chapter explores some of the effects that the 'hostile environment' policy of the British government, the referendum decision to leave the European Union (EU), the ensuing period of heightened uncertainty and the eventual exit of the United Kingdom (UK) from the EU have had on the careers of international workers. Using insights from the career and hostile environment literatures, it concentrates on institutional, psychological and interactional perceptions that impact individuals' career motivations and behaviours.

In 2012, the UK Home Office, under Home Secretary Theresa May, introduced a number of legislative and administrative measures to encourage immigrants who did not have the express legal right to live in the UK to leave the country. It also increased the difficulty for foreigners to obtain indefinite leave to remain or to acquire British citizenship. Some institutions and commentators, such as the United Nations Human Rights Council, have argued that this approach has had some negative consequences, such as fostering xenophobia (Bulman, 2019) or stoking fear, stress and anxiety among a large segment of the British society in relation to immigrants (Cole, 2020). These policies have been referred to as a 'hostile environment' approach (Cole, 2020).

The referendum in relation to leaving the EU in 2016 and its aftermath, leading to the eventual withdrawal of the UK from the EU on 31 January 2020, has led to a substantial reduction of the rights and entitlements of EU citizens in the UK. Gone are the days that EU citizens had freedom of movement into the UK and the automatic right to stay and work. In this climate, EU citizens living in the UK have felt a spotlight on their national identity. This has prompted them to reflect on the extent to which they feel they belong and are welcome in the UK. Politicians have reinforced these concerns, with Theresa May calling EU migrants ‘queue jumpers’ (Kuenssberg, 2018), criticizing the cosmopolitan ‘citizens of nowhere’ (May, 2016) and invoking the ‘hostile environment’ (Bowling and Westenra, 2018; Cole, 2020). Interestingly, the ‘hostile environment’ approach had already had some effects before the Brexit referendum in that EU citizens’ rights and entitlements were sometimes challenged in relation to welfare provision. For instance, Czech and Slovak nationals could find their welfare payments stopped and their ID documents retained by British authorities, which would curtail their freedom of movement (Guma, 2020). Guma and Dafydd Jones hold that Brexit has led to an ‘othering’ process of migrants and expatriates in the UK. They argue that the sense of belonging to a society – one that is created by an open-ended and permanent process of building connections and attachments – has been impacted, even disrupted, by Brexit (Guma and Dafydd Jones, 2019).

While much of the literature has concentrated on the political, legal and economic aspects of the Brexit process in relation to international workers, this chapter traces some of the perceptions, motivations and behaviours of EU citizens living and working in the UK. These careerists have experienced a turbulent environment shaped by manifold changes to their legal rights, but they have also seen intensive public discourse regarding living in their host country. This raises the issue of their perceptions of their host environment and in what ways it may be perceived as hostile. This chapter suggests that the UK may be seen as a ‘hostile environment’ by immigrants following Brexit and examines the impact of this change on people’s careers.

HOSTILE ENVIRONMENTS AND THE CASE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

There is no agreed definition of what a hostile environment actually consists of or how to define it. Some authors concentrate on natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes, flooding or health-related dangers (Gannon and Paraskevas, 2019). Many writers in human resource management (HRM) focus on man-made physical threats when exploring hostile environments (Bader, Schuster and Dickmann, 2019), maybe because of their potential high impact on employees and because organizations can take action to prepare their staff and/or to manage some of these dangers. While the UK does experience terrorist incidents from time to time, the threat levels are far lower than those of many countries (such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Pakistan) that the literature on working abroad concentrates on. This does not mean that foreigners living in the UK do not feel physically threatened (Guma and Dafydd Jones, 2019), but this is likely to be comparatively infrequent and often less severe.

Hostility, as perceived by foreign workers, can also stem from institutionally hostile environments. Historically, the literature has covered issues of corruption, economic and political uncertainty as well as legal threats. Corruption (Greppin, Carlsson, Wolfberg and Ufere, 2017) as well as information deficits (Suder, Reade, Riviere, Birnik and Nielsen, 2019) have an impact on how secure and fairly treated foreign careerists may feel. Legal threats may be perceived by expatriates if they feel that the judicial system or its implementation is unjust (Forstenlechner, 2010). It is important to investigate the career effects of legal regulations and their implementation in countries, especially where such legal provisions are substantially changing over time. The UK's 'hostile environment' approach and its decision to leave the EU is likely to create dynamic responses by foreign careerists.

Host environments can also be experienced as psychologically hostile by expatriates. The treatment of gender may be seen as discriminatory (Al-Waqfi and Al-Faki, 2015), predominantly to the detriment of women. Expatriates may also feel discriminated against because of their race and sexual orientation (Moeller and Maley, 2018). Religious affiliation and practice can result in a perception of being discriminated against (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010). In the UK some of these have led to increased anxiety and a feeling of non-belonging by expatriates from the EU (Guma and Dafydd Jones, 2019). The effects on their physical (do they stay in their host country?) and psychological (what drives them?) career journey needs to be explored in more depth.

No man (or women) is an island. The day-to-day experience of expatriates is shaped by interactions with locals and other co-workers. Interactions between locals and expatriates are shaped by a multitude of elements, including historical events, relations and attitudes of the host population and the ongoing discourse regarding immigration. At times, there are conflicts and harsh words are being used (Doucet and Jehn, 1997), but their impact on expatriates' career motivations and their decision to stay in their host countries or to leave is not well understood.

The physical, psychological, institutional and interactional threats outlined above are likely to impact foreign careerists and their motivations and behaviours. The UK Home Office's decision to create a 'hostile environment' has had a range of repercussions. These impact the space in which expatriates navigate their careers. We explore and illustrate this using two cases: first, Thomas, an EU citizen who first studied and then worked in the UK, and second, Sophie, an EU citizen who started to work in the UK after her studies and some work experience in Austria. We trace the development of their thinking and acting in the evolving career space over time.

THOMAS AT THE MERCY OF THE ELEMENTS: FROM BRITANNIA RULES THE WAVES TO BRITANNIA WAIVES THE RULES

Thomas grew up in Northern Germany and attended school in Germany and the UK. Upon finishing school Thomas applied to study medicine. He was accepted at Brasenose College (founded 1509), a part of the University of Oxford. Thomas successfully attended the six-year degree course and subsequently completed his foundation medical training. He then worked as a junior doctor for three years in the UK, which at the time had a severe shortage of such doctors. Thomas met his girlfriend in Oxford. She was also studying medicine and was a junior doctor during the same time as him.

Thomas loved studying in Oxford. People were generally setting personal and educational goals and were striving to achieve these. Even though his social environment would often talk about history, Hitler and the Nazi times, he did not perceive this as especially hostile or critical of him. However, this perception was severely challenged over time when he sensed that the 'hostile environment' policy was having a substantial impact on living in Britain. He described a number of different hostilities being played out.

Physical hostilities. While Guma and Dafydd Jones (2019) describe a number of incidents that threatened either foreigners physically or their property, Thomas has never experienced physical hostilities directed at him for being a foreigner in the UK. The most shocking, but not physically threatening, encounter was in a supermarket when an older person, according to Thomas probably a veteran from World War II (WWII) who had overheard a conversation, shouted at him:

> Bloody Germans – you are taking all our money.

Psychological hostilities. Thomas observed that when he moved to the countryside and into working in General Practice, medical practices and hospitals, the nature of the discourse around him changed. He remembers that history – and in particular the Nazi history of Germany and the Hitler period – was referred to by others at least once a day. This made him feel uncomfortable as it was loosely implying some debt to the UK even though he had been born several decades after WWII. In addition, he observed that because Theresa May had formulated the 'hostile environment' policy and had focussed on illegal immigrants, it had become more common to see expatriates more critically. In terms of careers and working life his conclusion was:

> As a foreigner you have to work harder.

Interactional hostilities. In general, Thomas did not experience many interactional hostilities when he was studying at school or in Oxford. However, this changed substantially when working further afield as a junior doctor. Thomas recalled that about every second patient would ask him:

> Your accent is not from here – so, where are you from?

He continued to say:

> These [patients] would never have asked 'you are black – so, where are you from?' but some of these patients came across as racist to me.

He argued that the hostile environment and, later on, the Brexit discussion emboldened people to think more about 'being British' and to distinguish other nationalities more distinctly. Thomas argued that a number of his patients wanted to make a compliment, but they actually insulted him. He recounted interactions such as a patient saying to him at the end of a hospital stay:

> At the beginning I did not know whether I wanted to accept you as a doctor. I had a bad feeling about it. But you are actually quite good and nice.

He interpreted this as a form of xenophobia and that several patients might have preferred a British doctor.

Institutional hostilities. Having fallen in love with a British national and working in the National Health Service (NHS), Thomas and his partner began to develop long-term plans for their future. They envisaged living in the UK and hoped to become General Practitioners (GPs) in due course. Even though Thomas was clear that he did not want to give up his German nationality, he began applying for British citizenship as he had lived sufficiently long in the UK. He regarded the application as expensive – its fee was in excess of £1,000 – and as highly complex, with detailed requirements to prove where he had been on each day in the last five years. He asked for help from Citizens Advice[1] and also from Oxford City Council, who admitted that they found working through the form highly demanding and, at times, confusing. So, an Oxford University educated doctor and some British professionals found it challenging to fill out the required paperwork – an interesting situation, he argued, given that many other applicants are bound to have a less sophisticated educational background.

Thomas believed that he would fulfil all the required demands to be able to be granted British citizenship but commented that unlike in other legal systems the actual decision is in the remit of the Home Office (Minister) rather than precisely depicted and defined by law. After his application was reviewed, he received a letter asking for further information – in his reading due to the official working on the application having space for interpretation. He thought that this official was using his/her power to put pressure on him, so as to ultimately bring about a situation that could lead to a rejection of his application. He argued that officials would have room for interpretation and would systematically use it against applicants.

> The *Sacharbeiter* [official working on the application] used their power to demand impossible things because they want to reject you … I had submitted everything and now they wanted it again, verified, in too short a time … This *Sacharbeiter* [official] could have found out that I was a student in Oxford – it is all on the website, even with my exam results …

The letter Thomas received was dated 25 October, arriving on 29 October. In it, Thomas was given until 4 November to provide all sort of documents which had to be verified by authorities. He regarded this as nearly impossible due to the short time frame. One example of this was that the Home Office official had refused to accept his degree even though an original certificate had been submitted. In addition, there was no possibility to talk to/contact the official working on his application (the name is withheld) to discuss his situation. Therefore, Thomas wrote a letter to the Home Office outlining his conundrum, which was responded to by a final rejection of this application. In the rejection letter the Home Office indicated that it may focus on the applicant's status again and that the government might take action to forcibly remove Thomas from the UK.

Ultimately, this put Thomas under enormous pressure and led to him moving to Germany with his British girlfriend. Thomas has since married his British partner, who has become a German citizen. Both now work as doctors in the German health system. Thomas explained that, in retrospect, a few years ago he fully assumed that he would spend the rest of his life working in the UK. He indicated that he still had a strong attachment to Britain and that he, overall, loved his time there. However, he mused that the minor and major xenophobic interactions, the public discourse that focussed on immigrants as cheating the state and the welfare system made him feel unwelcome. He started to doubt the UK government's intentions and found this confirmed with the actual Brexit vote and the country's journey to leave the EU. His motivation to stay had become strongly aligned to holding British citizenship as a precondition to continue to live in the UK, and the rejection of his application changed his (and his wife's) career plans substantially. In fact, given that the UK is short of doctors, he still believes that the UK has undergone an act of self-harm.

SOPHIE: LONDON A 'SAFE HARBOUR'

Sophie grew up in Tyrol, Austria and studied Communication Sciences and English at the University of Salzburg. After completing her studies and working for a few years she met her future husband (a British national) while she was travelling in Australia. In 1989 both decided to move to London. After arriving in the UK (over 30 years ago) Sophie and her partner soon got married and settled in London. Since then, Sophie has been a UK resident and after Brexit she registered under the EU Settlement Scheme.

Sophie describes her start in London as difficult, especially career-wise. The economic situation was poor and it was difficult for her to find a job. She was already in her early 30s and was refused employment based on the argument that either she was overqualified or she did not have enough work experience. Eventually, she found a job at a market analysis company that needed a German-speaking analyst. Her task was to interpret the economic market data of German-speaking countries and Scandinavia for policy support. Sophie has been on a steep learning curve, which has boosted her career substantially. After a while she changed her job three times. First she worked for a trade magazine, and then, after four years, for a USA asset management company, before finally working for a UK asset management company.

After living in London for more than ten years she said she noticed a shift in her identity as she had difficulties imagining living in a German-speaking country again. In 2010 she received a lucrative job offer to work in Zurich, but she refused it because she was not willing to leave London.

Sophie enjoys living in multicultural London. However, since 2016, when further Home Office policies were introduced that facilitated a 'hostile environment', she has perceived some changes, although most of those changes have not affected her personally. For example, Sophie has never experienced any physical hostilities directed at her for being 'non-British'. Reflecting on this, she identified that living in London has made the difference. One of her European friends shared with her quite different experiences from other parts of England.

> Living in the North [of England] or in the countryside would have made an enormous difference as I would be constantly reminded that I am 'non British'.

In terms of psychological hostility, Sophie felt deeply embedded in the multicultural environment of London, which she identified as a 'safe harbour'. Additionally, she reflected on the fact that she is married to a British man and that has given her access to a different world. However, she was also aware that perspectives can change depending on the situation.

> As soon as you are identified as a foreigner you need to justify why you are here.

In line with that, Sophie has experienced the Brexit vote as a traumatic event that affected her personally as it encumbered some of her friendships.

> I did not actually believe that they would go through with it [Brexit] quite a long time after because it seemed just so mad. … At that time, I was also shocked about some people I knew who voted in favour of leaving based on very, very little information. It was emotion that drove it and nothing else and quite a few of them subsequently changed their mind and said if I had to make the decision again, I would not have voted leave.

Overall, Sophie felt well integrated and valued, socially as well as work related, and has not experienced any interactional hostilities. In her view, working in a highly international environment has a strong influence on the extent to which you are exposed to potential hostilities. Most of her European friends who lived outside London had quite different experiences. Specifically, if they have been identified as a foreigner based on their accent. In that case, a common comment has been that they are 'just' tourists in this country.

Sophie, who is almost 60 years old, could not envision living elsewhere or moving with her husband to Austria. So far, she concluded, she has not experienced any institutional hostilities. On the one hand she does not want to give up her Austrian citizenship while on the other hand she feels well protected under the EU Settlement Scheme. She concluded:

> All the things have not changed my choice to live in London. Austria is nice but in the long run no, London feels like my 'safe harbour' where I can immerse myself in a multicultural environment.

As we can see from these cases, international career journeys are fascinating, multi-faceted and, ultimately, highly personal as individuals embark on their own voyages. As with sea travel, the elements that impact on one's vessel are very important. In Sophie's case she experienced a lot of headwind at the beginning of her career in the UK but felt less disrupted by Brexit. Thomas was faced with a number of strong counter-currents and was subjected to the elements with little control over the ultimate outcome with respect to his British citizenship and work/life in the UK. In its proud history Britannia has ruled the waves, but through the Brexit process it might be felt that Britannia has waived the rules. Not only was Britain the first country to leave the EU, shattering a decades-old unwritten rule to not leave the 'club', but crucially, administrative qualities such as fairness and transparency of bureaucratic processes were seen by Thomas to have been deliberately curtailed. In addition, the Brexit process and discourse has certainly challenged some of the social and political consensus predominant in the EU, which often focusses on the more positive effects of highly skilled immigration.

BRIEF REFLECTIONS

This chapter has explored how even countries that are often regarded as relatively safe in terms of physical hostilities can present psychological, interactional and institutional threats in the eyes of expatriates. The shaping of the career space in terms of the conscious creation of a hostile environment, followed by the Brexit decision, has meant for some careerists that living and working in the UK has become relatively less attractive. The literature often looks at institutional barriers of the requirement for accepted qualifications and work permits when it discusses how foreign workers can pursue their career journeys in a host country. Our chapter, in particular Thomas's case, puts the spotlight on more subtle areas such as the psychological impressions of not belonging, interactional reflections that are perceived as less comfortable and alien by the expatriate, and institutional factors that may not be as 'fair' and 'welcoming' as the foreign careerists would want them to be. It showed that the expatriate's embeddedness in their host country could be eroded through the combined effects of hostile and unfriendly experiences. These experiences were a shock to where Thomas was planning to exercise his career but not to the actual field of work. The result was that Thomas returned to his home country with the simultaneous expatriation of his wife, who experienced the reverse situation that becoming a German citizen was administratively easy and highly welcoming. However, it also showed in the case of Sophie how a multicultural (working) environment can buffer or even prevent perceptions of the discussed hostilities.

The boundaryless career approach has often assumed the diminishing of career boundaries over time. However, this process is not uniform, and an in-depth exploration of national, regional and industry variations is needed – one of the goals of the 5C career research consortium. While Brexit has systematically erected boundaries for non-UK nationals to move to the country, the 'hostile environment' approach has had some consequences even for settled expatriates who have the right to remain and work in the UK. The effects of 'hostile environments' (in particular if the threats are not physical but are psychological, interactional or institutional) on the well-being of global careerists, their identification with the host environment, and their identity, career plans, coping approaches and actions are not well understood and this needs context-sensitive research.

BOX 15.1 STOP AND THINK

1. In terms of migration patterns, what effects will Brexit and a hostile environment policy have on expatriates who already live in the UK?
2. How will the attractiveness of the UK be affected in terms of new immigration and highly skilled expatriation?
3. How will the career patterns of British nationals – domestically and internationally – be affected by a changing composition of the workforce in the UK?
4. How will social policy cope with an approach that fosters a perception of 'otherness' between British nationals and expatriates as well as immigrants?
5. What will happen to the four categories of hostilities and associated attitudes and behaviours in the areas of physical, psychological, institutional and interactional hostilities?
6. Given that some countries are perceived as more or less hostile on the four dimensions of hostility, what are the interaction and substitution effects with the rise of virtual work? Also, what career effects can be recorded and analysed?

NOTE

1. Citizens Advice is an independent UK charity assisting people with legal, financial and other problems.

REFERENCES

Al Ariss, A., and Özbilgin, M. 2010. Understanding self-initiated expatriates: Career experiences of Lebanese self-initiated expatriates in France. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 52(4): 275–285.

Al-Waqfi, M. A., and Al-Faki, I. A. 2015. Gender-based differences in employment conditions of local and expatriate workers in the GCC context: Empirical evidence from the United Arab Emirates. *International Journal of Manpower*, 36(3): 397–415.

Bader, B., Schuster, T., and Dickmann, M. (2019). Managing people in hostile environments: Lessons learned and new grounds in HR research. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(20): 2809–2830.

Bowling, B., and Westenra, S. 2018. 'A really hostile environment': Adiaphorization, global policing and the crimmigration control system. *Theoretical Criminology*, 24(2): 163–183.

Bulman, M. 2019. Austerity measures and hostile environment 'entrenching racism' in the UK, says UN report. *The Independent*, 15 June 2019. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/austerity-racism-hostile-environment-xenophobia-un-report-rapporteur-immigration-bame-a8959866.html.

Cole, M. 2020. *Theresa May, the Hostile Environment and Public Pedagogies of Hate and Threat: The Case for a Future without Borders*. London: Routledge.
Doucet, L., and Jehn, K. A. 1997. Analyzing harsh words in a sensitive setting: American expatriates in communist China. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 18(S1): 559–582.
Forstenlechner, I. 2010. Exploring expatriates' behavioural reaction to institutional injustice on host country level. *Personnel Review*, 39(2): 178–194.
Gannon, J., and Paraskevas, A. 2019. In the line of fire: Managing expatriates in hostile environments. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(11): 1737–1768.
Greppin, C., Carlsson, B., Wolfberg, A., and Ufere, N. 2017. How expatriates work in dangerous environments of pervasive corruption. *Journal of Global Mobility: The Home of Expatriate Management Research*, 5(4): 443–460.
Guma, T. 2020. Turning citizens into immigrants: State practices of welfare 'cancellations' and document retention among EU nationals living in Glasgow. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(13): 2647–2663.
Guma, T., and Dafydd Jones, R. 2019. 'Where are we going to go now?' European Union migrants' experiences of hostility, anxiety, and (non-) belonging during Brexit. *Population, Space and Place*, 25(1): e2198.
Kuenssberg, L. 2018. May seeks business backing for Brexit plan. BBC News, 19 November 2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-46257168.
May, T. 2016. Theresa May's conference speech in full. *The Telegraph*, 5 October 2016. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/theresa-mays-conference-speech-in-full/.
Moeller, M., and Maley, J. F. 2018. MNC considerations in identifying and managing LGB expatriate stigmatization. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 20(2): 325–342.
Suder, G., Reade, C., Riviere, M., Birnik, A., and Nielsen, N. 2019. Mind the gap: The role of HRM in creating, capturing and leveraging rare knowledge in hostile environments. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(11): 1794–1821.

16. Back to the motherland: careers of Nigeria's returning diasporas

Furo Bakare, Yetunde Anibaba and Ifedapo Adeleye

SETTING THE SCENE

Africa offers enormous opportunities for its global diaspora seeking trade and investment, career advancement and social connections. From Ghana's 'Year of Return' to Ethiopia's Diaspora Trust Fund, governments across the region are crafting programmes and initiatives to engage and harness the development potential of the diaspora. It is however individuals and private organizations that are at the forefront of recent efforts to mobilize the financial, human and social capital of the continent's diaspora communities. Nowhere is this trend more evident than in Nigeria, the continent's most populous nation, where the number of returnees over the last two decades or so has risen.

Our focus in this chapter is however not on the roles of returning diasporas in facilitating development and change, as this has received significant attention. Instead, we will focus squarely on the returnee: their personal lives, life experiences and careers. We present the story of a Nigerian diaspora returnee, Omolabake Da Silva, exploring the complexities of her career journey from the United Kingdom (UK) to Nigeria. Ms Da Silva's story is particularly interesting because this marked yet another diasporic return in her family history. Under very different circumstances, her ancestors, who were freed slaves from Brazil, returned to Nigeria to restart their lives and settled in the 'Brazilian Quarters' in Lagos in the nineteenth century. This return was clearly different from her ancestors' journey from slavery to freedom, but it was driven by the same need to seek a brighter future in the motherland.

In addition to discussing Omolabake's motivation to return to Nigeria, we will analyse her transition journey to gain some perspective on her career path and success. We highlight the ways in which her self-identity evolved, and how her construction and interpretation of career success has been determined by her achievements and growth in her chosen field. Our analysis offers a unique reflection of her career choices, and takes into account the influence of individual, cultural, organizational and institutional factors in shaping these choices.

CONTEXTUALIZING

From Europe to Asia, Latin America to Africa, there has been an increase in the number of diasporic peoples returning to their ethnic homelands in recent times. In many cases, these diasporic homecomings have been driven primarily by economic factors as returnees seek to improve their economic prospects (Tsuda, 2009).

In the Nigerian context, this is certainly true, as many returnees from the developed economies of the West (mainly the UK, Europe and North America) are attracted to career advancement and entrepreneurial opportunities that may be lacking in their 'host' countries. Several executive and talent search firms have emerged to match prospective returnees with attractive career opportunities in multinational enterprises and large local corporates back 'home' (e.g. careersinafrica.com; homecomingrevolution.com). The Nigerian government has also made efforts to engage private diaspora organizations like the Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (NIDO), and established the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) in 2019.

We see 'returning' as an action defined by an intention to (re)settle for a long period of time, in comparison to short-term or seasonal visits for tourism or other non-economic related purposes. Nigeria's diasporas can be grouped into two broad categories. The first category emigrated during periods of significant social and political unrest between the 1960s and 1990s when the military ruled, and are returning to settle or retire in a more stable democratic climate. Most are keen to return to advance their careers, contribute to economic development and/or reconnect with a land they have a strong sense of belonging to.

The second group is considerably younger and includes Nigeria-born emigrants and children born or raised by migrant Nigerian parents with few or no (strong) cultural ties to Nigeria. This group also comprises young Nigeria-born professionals who travelled abroad for secondary and higher education and remained in their host countries to launch their careers. They are returning after many years to leverage their cultural ties and Western education to advance their careers or establish businesses. Omolabake, who's career journey we discuss below, is in this latter group.

THE STORY

Omolabake Da Silva was born in Lagos, Nigeria. In 1996, at age 17, she relocated to the UK with her family to begin a new life. Gaining a post-secondary school degree abroad was becoming popular in Nigeria at that time, especially among children of the upper and upper middle class, so the move was not exceptional. After completing her A levels she enrolled in graduate studies where she earned her Master's and PhD degree in chemical engineering. Omolabake loved the sciences, especially maths and chemistry, and her initial career plan was to become a chemical goods manufacturer.

> My idea was to become a manufacturer of Nigerian cosmetics specifically, and that was my motivation for studying chemical engineering. I was going to be a top CEO with my own private manufacturing company, producing goods for the Nigerian market.

While studying for her Master's degree, Omolabake had a change of heart about her career plan. Her family was going to remain in the UK, so she had to re-strategize.

> After it became clear that my dream of returning to Nigeria to start up my own company wasn't going to materialize, I decided I was going to complete a PhD, and become a top professional in whatever industry I wanted.

After she completed her PhD at 26 years old, Omolabake was ready for the world to become her oyster. It was finally time to gain a bit of work experience in the UK and then think about her future, but the kind of job she wanted was not forthcoming. After 18 months searching for a suitable position, she accepted a job, but it wasn't a prime role. She had opened up her career preferences to include roles in management consulting, investment banking and possibly engineering, but she got a graduate-level job with Thames Water, making her PhD effectively redundant. While her qualifications were superb – a first class in engineering from the University of Leeds and a PhD from Imperial College – her CV wasn't getting to the top of the pile. Reflecting on it later, she thought her foreign name may have dissuaded recruiters who were purposefully seeking indigenous talent.

Omolabake's skills and experience made her job with Thames Water smooth sailing for about two years, before she moved on to an engineering consultancy where she worked for about five years. During her professional working life in the UK, Omolabake mentioned that she never felt like a foreigner. Her cultural awareness and strong background were enough to cushion any negative feelings when she met with occasional racist experiences:

> I always felt accepted and acknowledged for my performance, and I got along very well with my colleagues. I remember when I was made redundant at Atkins, they went out of their way to find another role for me within the company because they didn't want me to leave, and in the end, though they didn't have a budget for me

> within my initial team, I still consulted for them because of the quality of my work and the relationships I had formed.

Omolabake didn't have any intention to leave her family and return to Nigeria until 2011, when her husband was offered a job with a UK-based multinational with a plan that he would eventually relocate to Lagos to head up their Nigerian office.

> The job came with a package that was too good to refuse so our living conditions were going to improve significantly, and even though I was going to leave my support system behind, 'my extended family', I was okay to face the adventure. My husband had always wanted to move back to Nigeria, so while I faced a return with a lot of trepidation, having to leave my job, my immediate family was going to be with me. Plus, I had all the qualifications and experience I needed so I thought getting a job would be straightforward.

In 2012, Omolabake returned to Nigeria with her husband and a baby, and over the next two years, she had two more children. Her career took a pause while she settled in to raise her three young children. Over time she accepted occasional engineering consulting roles, but as an entrepreneur she found it difficult to convert the jobs to revenue since she lacked business acumen, especially local knowledge on how to pursue credit to sustain cash flow. She then attempted to get a full-time job, applying to oil companies and even seeking government roles, but nothing suitable fell into place, especially since she didn't have much of a social network in Nigeria, a key factor for gaining suitable employment.

With some prompting from her father, who had previously attended executive education programmes at Pan-Atlantic University (PAU), she began to think about academia. In 2014 Omolabake joined the PAU as a lecturer just as the university established an undergraduate campus.

> Even though I had never seriously considered joining academia, after I became a lecturer, I realized that teaching and imparting knowledge – not just technical knowledge but life knowledge – was my calling. It was initially a unique experience especially because I joined the pioneer set of lecturers and we had very close involvement in the students' lives. I realized that I had an opportunity to impact the lives of these young people positively through this role and that's something I'd always been passionate about.

As Omolabake sought a work environment that would be compatible with her previous profession and personality, she realised that she wasn't prepared for the difficulties she would encounter while job hunting in Nigeria. She lacked an element of career readiness, that is, being mature about prospects in her field, beyond the kind of jobs she'd been doing in the UK, and career preparedness – the motivation to adjust quickly and strive to be successful in a new career.

Despite a career in academia not being on Omolabake's radar prior to her return to Nigeria, she blended well into higher education. She conducted research, wrote a series of papers and was appointed to be an online counsellor, building on the good relationships she had established with her students. Even though her role as a university lecturer isn't one of the best paying jobs for a person with her credentials, a key motivator for her has been the opportunity to be gainfully employed in a fulfilling job that also gives her time to care for her family.

Omolabake considers herself to be somewhat successful career-wise, although she realizes that there's a long road ahead for her to reach her career plateau.

> Career success for me is quality of life, impact on my students and children, you know, what influence I am able to have on their lives, so even though I don't get paid very well, there are quite a bit of trade-offs for me.

Working in academia is engaging and intensive, not the typical '9 to 5' job; but with the little spare time she has, Omolabake has begun to imagine how her PhD could enhance her career prospects for the future and support her passion and desire to make a positive impact on her country of origin. As a step in that direction, she registered a start-up environmental consulting company whose mission is to establish a water treatment/sustainability project in Nigeria.

> My current research is still in that area and the idea and desire is still very much there to be able to provide solutions to the people that have those problems. I am looking at getting involved in a lot of collaborations, and I'm writing a lot of papers in that area. I'm still gunning for professorship as well.

For now, Omolabake remains open-minded about her career path, though she reiterates that she struggled in the early stages of her work as a lecturer; working with students and having to churn out book chapters and academic papers was a challenge.

> I kept saying to myself that I don't know how I'm going to do the research I needed to do and professorship seemed so out of reach for me. But in one of the years I was pregnant, I managed to get about three or four book chapters out – that was a very productive year for me. One of the other things that got me on track was being able to see the impact I was making with students who really struggled at the beginning of the semester but got through after some time working with them.

Her transition into academia was made easier by the founders of PAU, whose vision was to create and foster a world-class professional work environment, a strategy that guided the initial recruitment of the pioneer employees. Most of the teaching staff were professionals who had studied and/or worked abroad, and the standards were set high from the beginning. The cultural factor of being a 'Nigerian organization' hardly came into play and that made Omolabake's transition even smoother.

> We already had those standards of professionalism, punctuality, and delivering value and excellence all the time, and I had to do all of that abroad so it all just fell into place.

Having a network of like-minded professionals who had schooled abroad before returning to Nigeria was also helpful for Omolabake's transition. It was a new academic environment and she was prepared to navigate and adapt pretty quickly. It has also been valuable for her to retain the social and working relationships she had established in the UK, a benefit if there is ever a need to go back to live or work, even though that isn't in her immediate plans at the moment.

For the future, Omolabake is rooting for herself, feeling proud of her accomplishments so far and working towards making a mark in her home country, all the while raising a family. While she still has a way to go, she believes she has struck gold and is daily advancing her career calling.

CLOSING THE SCENE

Research has shown that more and more people are engaging in *career transitions* in a variety of ways and across functional, professional, organizational, industrial and geographical boundaries (Chudzikowski, 2012). Nigerian diasporas' career transitions are also defined by demographics including age, gender, occupation, work experience, and marital and parental status. In Omolabake's case, two distinct circumstances shaped her transition experience – career transitions in and out of the workforce and transitions from corporate employment to entrepreneurship to educator. These transitions occurred at varying points in her career, not only because of the common gendered-related imperative of taking on childcare, but also to adapt to other social and economic pressures (Elley-Brown et al., 2018; Zimmerman and Clark, 2016).

Analysis of Omolabake's career transitions can use different models, though for this chapter, the *Kaleidoscope Career Model (KCM)* proposed by Mainiero and Sullivan (in 2005) and the *Boundaryless Career approach* proposed by Arthur and Rousseau (in 1996) are the most applicable.

The KCM is built on three parameters, namely authenticity, challenge and balance, influences found throughout the course of a woman's career but whose distinct relevance shifts as life-changing events reassign priorities. In

Omolabake's early career she sought challenging and authentic work where she gained more responsibility but with less flexibility. When she started a family and returned to her home country, her zeal for authenticity was overtaken by her need to control her work-life balance. Fortunately, in the course of seeking balance, she found a new professional identity and connectedness in a new career where she was able to pick and prioritize her challenges.

Using the Boundaryless Career approach, we found blurred lines between work and life in Omolabake's career journey. She opted in and out of the workforce, leveraging on opportunities beyond a single employment setting, thus taking responsibility for her own career and development. Proponents of this model identify three distinct characteristics that Omolabake clearly exhibits in her career journey. First is that career actors are *physically and psychologically mobile*, as Omolabake shows when she relocates from the UK to Nigeria prepared to join academia when no suitable roles in industry emerged. Second is that she stayed true to the theme of *career self-management*, independent of any one employer. Her career changes were spurred by her independent decisions. Third is that she derived personal benefits from the characteristic of *fluidity* associated with having a boundaryless career.

REFLECTIONS

With talent shortages being experienced in developing countries, employers in Nigeria and other developing countries in Africa are quick to explore opportunities to lure well-educated and internationally experienced native talent back into the country. These organizations utilize jobseeker platforms and executive search firms, and some rely on informal channels such as referrals. Many employers offer attractive pay packages that include settlement support for returnees and their families as they transition back into the local culture. Because many of these costly benefits are offered by multinational organizations, retention of returnees by smaller organizations remains a challenge. While many returnees become successful in their careers and settle in with their families, some face similar economic, political or social challenges to those that caused them to migrate in the first place, and so make the decision to return to even lower paying jobs abroad.

Ultimately, to increase retention of diaspora talent, there is a need for government support and partnership with private sector players to drive initiatives aimed at minimizing the problems associated with returnee integration (Agunias and Newland, 2012). Return policies could be designed to provide post-recruitment assistance related to housing, welfare and education, as well as tailored counselling advice depending on individual needs and circumstances. Strategies are also needed to effectively reduce the discrimination felt by local employees who sometimes feel employees from the diaspora take their jobs and block promotion opportunities, creating a sense of diminished value to their employers (Åkesson and Baaz, 2015).

For returnee entrepreneurs, the case is somewhat different, especially for those who are able to leverage on the relationships and business ties they have back in their home country. These resources put them in a position to overcome the limitations foreign investors face, meaning they are better able to exploit the large markets in Africa (Åkesson and Baaz, 2015). For entrepreneurs who want to combine their careers with building businesses, a strategy for success would pair entrepreneurial organizations that provide incentives and support with government agencies that provide access to business loans and support through the bureaucratic processes of business registration. For example, Ireland's 'Back for Business' mentoring programmes support returnee entrepreneurs' efforts to re-build networks as they work to establish new businesses (Hahn-Schaur and Frelak, 2019).

BOX 16.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What are the contexts in which having a boundaryless career could be negative and how can the associated challenges be overcome?
2. What should HR professionals in Nigeria do to successfully attract and integrate diaspora returnees?
3. While African governments are developing policies to engage the diaspora and encourage diasporic homecoming, is it in fact necessary for the African diaspora to relocate to the continent to contribute to national/economic development? What are the alternatives?

REFERENCES

Agunias, D. R., and Newland, K. 2012. *Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development: A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries*. (International Organization for Migration (IOM), Ed.). Geneva; Washington, DC: International Organization for Migration; Migration Policy Institute.

Åkesson, L., and Baaz, M. E. 2015. *Africa's Return Migrants: The New Developers?* London: Zed Books.

Arthur, M. B., and Rousseau, D. M. 1996. Introduction: The boundaryless career as a new employment principle. In M. B. Arthur and D. M. Rousseau (Eds), *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*: 3–20. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chudzikowski, K. 2012. Career transitions and career success in the 'new' career era. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 81(2): 298–306.

Elley-Brown, M. J., Pringle, J. K., and Harris, C. 2018. Women opting in?: New perspectives on the Kaleidoscope Career Model. *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 27(3): 172–180.

Hahn-Schaur, K., and Frelak, J. S. 2019. *Attract, Facilitate and Retain: Return Migration Policies in the Context of Intra-EU Mobility*. International Center for Migration Policy Development. Accessed 6/11/2021 at https://www.icmpd.org/blog/2019/attract-facilitate-and-retain-return-migration-policies-in-the-context-of-intra-eu-mobility.

Mainiero, L. A., and Sullivan, S. E. 2005. Kaleidoscope careers: An alternate explanation for the 'opt-out' revolution. *Academy of Management Executive*, 19(1): 106–123.

Tsuda, T. 2009. Why does the diaspora return home? The causes of ethnic return migration. In T. Tsuda (Ed.), *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective*: 21–43. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Zimmerman, L. M., and Clark, M. A. 2016. Opting-out and opting-in: A review and agenda for future research. *Career Development International*, 21(6): 603–633.

PART V

Gender

17. Facing sexism in her way to the top: from “struggling alone” to “institutional support” in Argentina

Pamela A. Suzanne and Vanesa Vidal

SETTING THE SCENE

After developing a successful career in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), Julia became one of the few women in Argentina occupying a top management position in the commercial department of a bank in the country. Both *financial services* and *technology* are masculinized industries, and so are senior management positions, especially within commercial functions.

Overcoming hurdles and challenges, Julia made her way to the top, but the journey was not easy and, at that time, there was no institutional or societal support. Her family discouraged her from beginning a career in STEM (“a men’s career”), she was not allowed to enter a mine at which she worked (“women bring bad luck”), her boss asked her to reduce her visibility and reject requests to be interviewed, and she had to be constantly alert in order to stay true to herself as a woman.

These varied forms of sexism should be understood from a systemic gender perspective that considers that although work and careers in organizations are presented as “gender neutral” they are still designed around the masculine experience and perspective (Acker, 1992; Schein, 2001; Harding, 2003), producing the otherness of the non-male. In this context, sexism operates in an unconscious and naturalized way, affecting women’s everyday experience along their careers, just as Julia’s story illustrates.

However, things have begun to change. Although the norm continues to be male, women leaders are not necessarily alone in dealing with sexist workplaces. Organizations in the private and public sector have begun to take an active role in building more inclusive workplaces (Vidal and ONU Mujeres Argentina, 2020, 2021). Some of the initiatives taken by companies in Argentina include establishing gender quotas in recruitment and career development (e.g., IBM, Accenture, American Express, Manpower), monitoring retention after maternity leave (e.g., Banco Galicia, Randstad), blind processes in recruitment (e.g., Randstad, Ingredion), unconscious bias training (e.g., Avon, Medtronic, Danone), mentoring programs and networks for women (e.g., Cervecería Quilmes, Carrefour, Dow, Merck) and extended parental leave for both men and women (e.g., Sanofi).

Finally, it should be mentioned that having reached a leadership position, Julia used her power to empower other women. She led programs implemented in the bank to support and train low-income women entrepreneurs in the country. The story portrays that, besides being the right thing to do, empowering women is an effective way to empower even more women and increase opportunities for all.

CONTEXTUALIZING

Argentina at a Glance

Argentina is a country with a population of 45.8 million,[1] and is considered an upper middle-income economy by the World Bank.[2] In 2020, 42 percent of inhabitants were living below the poverty line, while 10.5 percent were indigent (INDEC, 2021). When analyzing data disaggregated by sex, it can be observed that poverty is feminized: women are overrepresented in the lowest income decile (66.1 percent women vs 33.10 percent men[3]). The reason is related to the unequal conditions in which women participate in the marketplace. According to INDEC (2020), women evidence higher unemployment rates (11 percent women vs 9 percent men) and lower activity rates (49 percent women vs 69 percent men).

Women's Everyday Experience in the Workplace

In Latin America, 33 percent of senior management positions are occupied by women (Grant Thornton, 2020). In Argentina, this percentage barely reaches 20 percent (Grant Thornton, 2019), and the situation is worse in the so-called male-dominated industries, such as technology, automotive, finance, energy and construction.

The persistent underrepresentation of women in power positions cannot be explained through meritocracy, but instead reveals the "myth of meritocracy" (Kaplan, 2015) and requires a gender perspective that addresses the androcentric characteristics of organizational life and their impact on women's career advancement. As Kanter has earlier suggested: "while organizations were being defined as sex-neutral machines, masculine principles were dominating their authority structures" (1977, p. 46). In this sense, a male way of being a manager has been constructed as legitimate, positioning as inferior other forms of thinking, speaking, working and leading in organizations (Harding, 2003), thus creating the conditions for inequality and paving the way for sexism to become naturalized. As regards career decisions, contempt for male corporate culture has been identified as one of the factors that influence women's decision to abandon their professional careers in companies (Cabrera, 2007; O'Neil et al., 2008).

In the United States, everyday sexism is a workplace reality for 64 percent of women (McKinsey, 2018). It can take either subtle or explicit forms, but in either case, it affects the experience of women along their careers. Moreover, the odds of experiencing discrimination are higher for women who find themselves alone in a group of men, a situation that consolidates the male norm and reinforces stereotypes. When there is greater representation of women relative to men, women are less likely to perceive sexism and feel the need to behave in a masculine manner in that setting (Biggs et al., 2018). Research also shows that, although many "women onlys" succeed, they are more likely to consider leaving their jobs than other women and employees[4] (McKinsey and Yee, 2019).

Conscious of the discrimination women face in their daily life at work, some organizations in Argentina have committed to addressing this situation, inspired and oriented by the Win-Win Program of UN Women. They have implemented different practices, such as unconscious bias training, communicational campaigns against sexual harassment, quotas for recruiting and promoting women, blind selection processes, mentoring programs and networks advocating for women (Vidal and ONU Mujeres Argentina, 2020, 2021).

Besides, various institutional initiatives have been implemented in Argentina in recent years to promote gender equality, both in government and in trade and industrial associations. For instance, Argentina has set up a "Ministry of Women, Gender and Diversity", and is one of the five member countries that has ratified the "Convenio 190" issued by the International Labour Organization (ILO), the first international norm oriented to eliminating violence and harassment in the world of work.

The proliferation of these actions in the public and private sectors should be analyzed in the context of the consolidation of the women's movement in Argentina, which has been particularly active since the first and massive #NiUnaMenos protest in 2015.[5] Also, this is occurring in a global context in which different movements appear to be raising the voice of gender equality, such as #MeToo in the United States in 2017 and the #EverydaySexism online social movement that has documented experiences of sexism, harassment and discrimination since 2014 (Vachhani and Pullen, 2019).

THE STORY

Julia is the oldest of three siblings and the first professional in her family. Daughter of an immigrant father, she recalls: "My father came at the age of 12 alone with his mother 'to do America' and they found that he had to start secondary school almost from scratch without knowing the language, working at night and studying during the day." She points out that the importance of effort was always stressed in her family, as well as the idea that studying was crucial. She emphasizes that the high demands and expectations coming from her parents influenced her for her professional life: "if I got an 8 in an exam they would ask me why I didn't get a 10. They would say: it is your obligation."

A number of situations illustrate the typical experiences that women in Argentina, and arguably elsewhere, go through during their careers.

Situation 1: Being Discouraged from Acting Outside the Stereotype

One of Julia's favorite hobbies is reading philosophy, and she was about to pursue a degree in philosophy and become a schoolteacher, "a good career for a woman" that leaves time enough to devote to the family. That was what her parents thought. But an unexpected event changed her mind meaning that she had to face her first big challenge: resisting the stereotyped vision of her family.

At 17, when she was in her last year of high school, she was called up to do an internship at one of the first data centers in Argentina. She was amazed when entering it and at that moment felt that technology would be an equalizer of opportunities in society. Developing a career with purpose was important for Julia, coming from a low- to middle-class background, and she found that technology could be a way to contribute to social equality. Thus, her experience in the data center led her to study technology, an idea that did not go down well with her family. Her father's first reaction upon hearing this was:

> No, this is a man's career, you are going to live on an airplane, you are going to work all the time, you are not going to be able to get married, you won't be able to have children, the world is going to be against you.

In spite of her family's opposition, Julia began her career in technology, and although it was true that most of the time she was on an airplane, she was able to get married and have three children.

Through considerable effort and self-crafted strategies, she made her own way in an industry in which there were few women and no institutional support for them. She chose to specialize in a niche sector dedicated to transforming business models through technology and worked for big consulting companies. This gave her the chance to participate in projects in different industries and countries and become a point of reference in the industry.

On her way to success she faced multiple hurdles and challenges related to being a woman in male-dominated spaces. Thirty years ago, companies were neither aware of this nor developing targeted actions to change the status quo. Therefore, Julia crafted the strategies to cope with those situations. Some of the discrimination experiences she went through in the workplace are described below.

Situation 2: Being "Left Out", Having to Fit In and Overlook One's Feeling

At one point in her career Julia was assigned to a six-month project in an open pit mine. Upon arrival, men were explicitly disappointed to find that the assigned consultant was a woman. According to a widely held belief in the industry, the entry of priests and women into a mine meant bad luck. Throughout the project, Julia was not allowed to enter the mine and had to get the data for her job while staying outside. She felt frustrated and still today refers to the pain that the situation caused her. However, she dealt with it and looked for strategies to make it work. She tried to concentrate on achieving the results required by her assignment and overlooked how she felt about being left out. At the same time, she developed strategies to integrate with her co-workers, whoever they were. She reflects on how she adapted to several other settings, while always trying not to lose her feminine essence.

> I learned to play "truco" [a traditional card game in Argentina] very well on oil rigs surrounded by men because you had to spend the night controlling the temperature and I was the only woman in a helmet and overalls and the only way to earn respect was by playing "truco" with them all night.

Historically constructed myths operate in an unquestioned way, requiring that, in order to achieve results and make progress in their career, women accept and normalize gender situations and put aside feelings of frustration.

Situation 3: Staying Invisible

In another job, Julia had to deal with a boss who was annoyed by her gaining public visibility. Julia had become a public expert in the industry and was frequently asked to give her opinion in different communicational media. Disturbed by this situation, her boss asked her to stop giving interviews. This made no sense from a business perspective because those interviews served to advertize the company.

It was really hard for her to understand her boss's attitude, even more so as she strongly believes in prioritizing "the general good above the individual one". She was also accustomed to observing this attitude among the women she knew, and thinks that women are generally much more generous than men. (In)Visibility is a great challenge that women must face in order to grow in their organizational career (IBM, 2014). Historically, there has been a social construction of women connecting them with domestic roles that are performed in the privacy of the home and receive little exposure and visibility (Amorós, 1990), building an image of women as being associated with "low visibility". Thus, when women become visible in organizational life, some people, such as Julia's boss, often feel uncomfortable.

Situation 4: Being Ignored or Not Heard

Julia also recalls another situation related to sexism that she had frequently observed during her career. In meetings or board of directors' gatherings made up almost entirely by men, with there being only one woman:

> … the woman says something but they do not listen to her. Then, a man who has heard her idea, suggests it and it is the best idea in the world. And that woman does not claim authorship because "the important thing is that the idea brings results".

Having their points of view ignored and resigning authorship of their ideas are costs women are used to bearing in order to prioritize getting the results required by their work and achieving the greater good.

Situation 5: Avoiding the Public Space in Order Not to Be Harassed

Julia remembers her days working abroad for different consultancy projects, where she was the only woman:

> At night, I ate alone in a hotel room because eating alone in a restaurant, a woman by herself never knows who is going to approach her. I like to speak a lot, and this may be mistakenly understood …

Although nowadays several initiatives worldwide are denouncing street harassment and building awareness[6] about it, at the time Julia was developing her career this was a "naturalized situation" for women. She simply knew it was a serious possibility and adapted her actions to avoid that situation.

Using Power to Empower Other Women

Having gone through many challenges, Julia had made her way to powerful positions, but she never forgot the aim she had always embraced: contributing to social transformation in her country. Leading the commercial department of a bank offered her the opportunity to use her power to empower other women, mainly vulnerable ones.

She designed and implemented a bank-financed program for the financial inclusion of women: 500,000 women entrepreneurs were trained in 2020 free of charge, both clients and non-clients. She also worked collaboratively with other enterprises to support women to become entrepreneurs. In partnership with an Argentine food producer (which is the third-largest producer of its specialty in the world, and the first in Latin America), she designed and led an initiative in which the bank funded and offered training to develop low-cost franchises in vulnerable neighborhoods, mainly oriented towards offering women the opportunity to become entrepreneurs and earn their own money. The initiative resulted in the establishment of 600 woman-led businesses in vulnerable neighborhoods, the businesses receiving microcredits and business education from the bank.

Research shows that enterprises led by women have a differential impact on the development of nations, since they show a greater propensity to save and invest in education, food and health, thus contributing to break the cycle of poverty (Klasen and Lamanna, 2009; IDB Invest, 2019; WEI, 2018). Empowering women also has the effect of increasing their self-esteem, reducing gender violence and fostering personal independence.[7]

REFLECTIONS

The story points to the broader debate about sexism in the workplace and during careers as an expression of systemic gender inequality.

Sexism has been identified as “a core feature of gendered organizational cultures” and “workplaces are central sites for many women’s experiences of sexism” (Vachhani and Pullen, 2019, p. 24). The study of sexism in the workplace requires understanding how the masculine norm is (re)produced and subtly operates to subordinate and exclude women, legitimating discriminatory discourses and actions that become naturalized.

That reality is evidenced by Julia’s story, which depicts the gendered treatment she faced in everyday interactions and her individual strategies to cope with it in isolation. At the time she started her career some 30 years ago, sexism was “unspeakable” (Calder-Dawe, 2015) and consequently difficult to “see and address”, and no specific institutional support was in place. Although she managed to overcome those obstacles and succeed, most women don’t, as research still shows. Julia's case continues to be exceptional, and more institutional support is needed to reduce gendered barriers to career advancement.

Therefore, this chapter points to the need to *become aware of* and *denaturalize* sexism in the workplace and in careers, as well as to actively *develop initiatives* to tackle it. It invites the reader to question everyday interactions and power relations from a gender perspective (Smith, 1987). It also calls for the avoidance of using "individual approaches" in understanding the problem and suggesting solutions. Instead, it proposes a perspective that recognizes the gendered and systemic nature of working practices (Powell and Sang, 2015) that should be questioned and redesigned.

If the problem of sexism is systemic, then the participation of different social actors is required to address it. In this context, organizations appear as a key player in the quest for change. In this sense, various companies across the world and in Argentina are taking different actions to get more women into leadership positions: ensuring equal access to development opportunities, creating an inclusive culture, enabling flexible working, providing mentoring and coaching, reviewing recruiting practices, linking reward to progress on gender, setting quotas and offering unconscious bias training (Grant Thornton, 2020; Vidal and ONU Mujeres Argentina, 2020, 2021). We call for more organizations to take an active role in building inclusive workplaces, developing specific initiatives to end both subtle and explicit sexism.

Julia's case also evidences the multiplying effect *of empowering women*. Women in powerful positions may have a positive effect on gender equality. Empowering women is not only a question of benefiting the individual women, but is a way of having a broader social impact on communities.

BOX 17.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Reflect on the different forms of sexism in your organization and/or community. What forms do you observe? What is the general attitude towards it? What are organizations doing to address it?
2. How can social movements and organizations work together to change the status quo?
3. What is your organization/community doing to address it?

NOTES

1. https://www.indec.gob.ar/indec/web/Nivel3-Tema-2-24 (retrieved November 5, 2021).
2. https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups (retrieved November 5, 2021).

3. See Ministerio de Economía, Argentina (2020). https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/las_brechas_de_genero_en_la_argentina_0.pdf (retrieved November 4, 2021).
4. 26 percent of "women onlys" (those who are the only woman in a group otherwise made up of men) contemplate leaving their jobs, compared to 17 percent of other women and 19 percent of employees overall according to McKinsey and Yee (2019).
5. http://niunamenos.org.ar/ (retrieved November 5, 2021).
6. http://bbpp.observatorioviolencia.org/proyecto/standup-contra-el-acoso-callejero/ (retrieved November 5, 2021).
7. See case study by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) (n.d.). https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/15aac7bd-de60-44fb-884a-02eb30d11743/Bank_of_Palestine_English_Case_Study_FINAL.pdf?MOD=AJPERESandCVID=m6mdkGE (retrieved December 28, 2022).

REFERENCES

Acker, J. 1992. From sex roles to gendered institutions. *Contemporary Sociology*, 21(5): 565–569.

Amorós, C. 1990. *Mujer, Participación, Cultura Política y Estado*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones de La Flor.

Biggs, J., Hawley, P. H., and Biernat, M. 2018. The academic conference as a chilly climate for women: Effects of gender representation on experiences of sexism, coping responses, and career intentions. *Sex Roles*, 78(5–6): 394–408.

Cabrera, E. F. 2007. Opting out and opting in: Understanding the complexities of women's career transitions. *Career Development International*, 12(3): 218–237.

Calder-Dawe, O. 2015. The choreography of everyday sexism: Reworking sexism in interaction. *New Formations*, 86: 89–105.

Grant Thornton. 2019. *Women in Argentinian business*. https://www.grantthornton.com.ar/en/insights/articles/pr-wib-2019/ (retrieved November 5, 2021).

Grant Thornton. 2020. *Women in business 2020: Putting the blueprint into action*.

Harding, N. 2003. *The Social Construction of Management*. London: Routledge.

IBM. 2014. *Your journey to executive: Insights from IBM women executives from the 2012–2013 advancing women at IBM executive research study*.

IDB Invest. 2019. *Gender lens investing: How finance can accelerate gender equality in Latin America and the Caribbean*.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INDEC). 2020. Mercado de trabajo. Tasas e indicadores socioeconómicos (EPH). *Trabajo e Ingresos*, 4(3). Primer trimestre de 2020, Buenos Aires.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INDEC). 2021. Incidencia de la pobreza y la indigencia en 31 aglomerados urbanos. *Condiciones de vida*, 5(4). Segundo semestre de 2020, Buenos Aires.

International Finance Corporation (IFC). n.d. *Case Study: Bank of Palestine strengthens women-owned businesses and the economy*. https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/15aac7bd-de60-44fb-884a-02eb30d11743/Bank_of_Palestine_English_Case_Study_FINAL.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CVID=m6mdkGE (retrieved December 28, 2022).

Kanter, R. M. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Kaplan, S. 2015. Meritocracy: From myth to reality. *Rotman Management*, Spring: 49–53.

Klasen, S., and Lamanna, F. 2009. The impact of gender inequality in education and employment on economic growth: New evidence for a panel of countries. *Feminist Economics*, 15(3): 91–132.
McKinsey. 2018. *Women in the workplace*.
McKinsey, and Yee, L. 2019. *One is the loneliest number*. https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/one-is-the-loneliest-number (retrieved November 6, 2021).
Ministerio de Economía, Argentina. 2020. *Las brechas de género en la Argentina: Estado de situación y desafíos*. https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/las_brechas_de_genero_en_la_argentina_0.pdf (retrieved November 4, 2021).
O'Neil, D. A., Hopkins, M. M., and Bilimoria, D. 2008. Women's careers at the start of the 21st century: Patterns and paradoxes. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 80(4): 727–743.
Powell, A., and Sang, K. J. 2015. Everyday experiences of sexism in male-dominated professions: A Bourdieusian perspective. *Sociology*, 49(5): 919–936.
Schein, V. E. 2001. A global look at psychological barriers to women's progress in management. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4): 675–688.
Smith, D. E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
Vachhani, S. J., and Pullen, A. 2019. Ethics, politics and feminist organizing: Writing feminist infrapolitics and affective solidarity into everyday sexism. *Human Relations*, 72(1): 23–47.
Vidal, V., and ONU Mujeres Argentina. 2020. *Buenas Prácticas de Empresas WEPs en Argentina*. https://lac.unwomen.org/es/digiteca/publicaciones/2020/04/argentina-buenas-practicas-empresas-weps-ganar-ganar (retrieved November 6, 2021).
Vidal, V., and ONU Mujeres Argentina. 2021. *Buenas Prácticas de Empresas WEPs en Argentina. Edición 2020. Contexto COVID*. https://lac.unwomen.org/es/digiteca/publicaciones/2021/03/buenas-practicas-de-empresas-weps-en-argentina-2020 (retrieved November 6, 2021).
Women's Economic Imperative (WEI). 2018. *Women and financial inclusion in Latin America: Are we making progress?* https://www.weiforward.org/women-financial-inclusion-latin-america/ (retrieved July 24, 2019).

18. Against all odds: a career success story of a woman of lower-class origin in Austria

Lea Katharina Reiss, Petra Eggenhofer-Rehart, Wolfgang Mayrhofer and Astrid Reichel

Life is like a lottery without the choice of gender or socio-economic conditions at birth. Throughout life, these circumstances entail inequality of education, social status and career opportunities (Narayan et al., 2018). Although women and people of lower-class origin experience unequal career options and outcomes (Triana, Jayasinghe, Pieper, Delgado, and Li, 2019; Toft and Friedman, 2021), individual-centered perspectives on careers (Gunz and Peiperl, 2007) often neglect contextual factors, including social inequalities (Mayrhofer, Meyer, and Steyrer, 2016), and lack critical analyses of power relations within career structures (Pringle, Myers, Elley-Brown, and Reid, 2020). Those studies that target inequality in careers often focus on diversity dimensions in isolation, researching career effects of class background (Meyer and Iellatchitch, 2005) and gender (Mayrhofer, Meyer, Schiffinger, and Schmidt, 2008) independently. The interplay of these factors is rarely taken into account.

Considering intersections of gender and class influences, this chapter presents and discusses the career story of a woman with a lower-class background. Rita[1] is part of ViCaPP (www.wu.ac.at/vicapp), a career panel project tracking the careers of Vienna University of Economics and Business alumni. The social class origin of the study participants was assessed through the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) for the occupations of respondents' fathers. Hence, the allocation of Rita's social class background to lower-class was based on the paternal ISEI for the ViCaPP sample with all three covered cohorts (graduation years 1990, 2000, 2010). Despite her background, Rita has experienced steep upward social mobility and is now the Chief Financial Officer (CFO) and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a well-established international company.

SOCIAL CLASS AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN AUSTRIA

In Austria, elaborate equality, diversity and inclusion legislation coexists with persisting inequalities (Kreimer, 2009). After the passing of the equal treatment law in 1979 under a social-democrat majority government, initiatives by a new women's movement followed (Hofmann and Bendl, 2014) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights entered into force in 2009, which introduced the idea of intersectionality into Austrian legislation, termed as "multiple discrimination" (Greif and Ulrich, 2019). Today, laws concerning equality, diversity and inclusion are found in a variety of areas, such as inheritance law and criminal law. For employment, the (Federal) Equal Treatment Law protects individuals from discrimination along the dimensions of gender, age, ethnicity, religion and worldview, and sexual orientation (Greif and Ulrich, 2019; Holzleithner, 2002).

Even though the dimension of social class is mentioned in the constitution, it is not covered in the Equal Treatment Law as a basis for discrimination. It has, however, been targeted by numerous political initiatives, with most of them originating from a period in the 1970s when social democrats held an absolute majority. Today, Austria has a vocational education system with comparatively low numbers of early school leavers (Haller and Hadler, 2019) and the system of vocational middle and secondary schools is supposed to open the door to higher education for young people from lower social classes. Furthermore, free access to universities and universities of applied sciences, coupled with a scholarship system, is supposed to make a significant contribution to social mobility (Fellner, 2016).

Despite the free access to higher education, Austria scores poorly on intergenerational social mobility compared to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (Förster and Königs, 2020). More than half of Austrian residents whose parents hold a university degree reach a tertiary educational level themselves. In contrast, of those with parents at the lowest educational level, only 6 percent achieve a university degree. There are also gender differences: among daughters of highly educated parents a higher proportion reaches the highest educational level than among sons, but also among daughters with parents of low education a higher proportion remains at the lowest educational level than among sons. Overall, this means that educational segregation in Austria is more pronounced for women than it is for men (Altzinger, Lamei, Rumplmaier, and Schneebaum, 2013).

Compared with other OECD countries, Austria also performs poorly on intergenerational income mobility. The European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) survey of 2011 shows that almost a third of people whose families experienced financial hardship during their adolescent years ended up in the lowest quintile of the income distribution as adults, whereas only 9 percent of them reached the highest quintile. By contrast, among people whose families could get by financially while they were still adolescents, only 14 percent were found in the lowest income quintile later on, but 27 percent achieved the highest quintile of the income distribution. This difference is larger for men than it is for women (Altzinger et al., 2013).

Despite sophisticated legal regulations, gender inequalities persist, especially in employment (Kreimer, 2009). Austria follows a male-breadwinner/female-secondary-earner model (Sainsbury, 1999) within a conservative welfare regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The part-time employment rate for women with children under 15 years in 2020 is almost 75 percent, while for fathers it is below 7 percent (Statistik Austria, 2021). Accordingly, on average women earn more than a third less than men. Full-time jobs still render a gender pay gap of almost 15 percent (Statistik Austria, 2019). With these numbers, Austria ranks among the top three countries in the European Union for its gender inequality (European Commission, 2019).

The persisting inequalities between social classes and genders (Kreimer, 2009) stand in stark contrast to Austria's political and legal efforts to establish more equality through, for example, an elaborate educational system, the establishment of gender quotas in supervisory boards, and equality, diversity and inclusion legislation (Gresch and Sauer, 2018). However, exceptions might shed light on leverage factors helping societies to achieve more equality. On that note, we will look at the life and career story of Rita, a woman of lower-class background who overcame the above-presented unfavorable circumstances still predominant in Austria and constructed a remarkable career.

AGAINST ALL ODDS: RITA'S CAREER STORY

Born in 1977, I was raised in a tiny village in the countryside of Lower Austria. Most of my family members, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins lived nearby. Coming from a lower-class background, my parents had low education levels and working-class jobs. My mother mostly worked as a housekeeper; my father was a carpenter. Thus, I was educationally at a disadvantage and it was not predetermined that I would go to college someday. As my parents worked long hours, my grandmother was my most important reference person. We shared a room and she read books to me every evening before going to bed. Later, I read day and night and sometimes my grandmother gave me money to buy more books. I think this education coming from everything I read made me a very good student later on. Moreover, even though my mother did not understand much of my school assignments, she supported me by listening and helped me to understand things by letting me explain them to her. I was very fortunate to have an aunt who understood the importance of education and persuaded my parents to let me go to high school. She has been a special person for me ever since as I felt she saw something special in me and I will always be thankful to her. In high school, I did not have many friends and I felt like an outsider. Yet, I was very ambitious, always had excellent grades, and during summer holidays I worked as a private tutor to earn some money. After graduation, I had to decide on a higher education program. It was challenging because I was interested in everything. During high school, I had won an internship at a news magazine, which I liked a lot. A friend that I got to know at the internship then decided to study business. As I expected this could give me lots of different opportunities, I decided to enroll in the same study program at the Vienna University of Economics and Business.

Moving from our little village to the big city of Vienna and attending the university was a major change for me. Having my friend from the internship with me made it easier. At that time, I had a relationship with a boy whom I had met at the age of 18. He was a baker, also from Lower Austria. Instead of living the "usual student's life" in Vienna, going out with fellow students, I spent a lot of time with my boyfriend where I felt I fitted in. I was a very ambitious and successful student, always feeling under pressure to prove to my parents that I could do it. As my parents could not support me financially, I had a student job at a bank. I was used to taking responsibility for myself because since I was little I always knew I had to get things done on my own. After graduation, I looked for a job close to the town where I lived with my boyfriend. At the university's center of excellence, we worked in cooperation with renowned management consulting companies. I found that very interesting and, while I decided against applying for jobs in big companies because they were all located in Vienna, I looked for a job in a smaller one. This was how I started my career at a small tax consultancy in Lower Austria.

The job was very interesting as I got insights into a broad range of organizations with different kinds of people. I was extremely committed, did a lot of extra work, and after one year, the profit margin I brought to the company was the second highest of the firm. Thus, when I was called into my boss's office after almost three years, I expected a pay raise and was in a joyful mood. The conversation that followed, however, took an unexpected course and resulted in a truly formative experience. Instead of praising me for my outstanding commitment, he told me I was too much to handle, too intense, too engaged. At the end of the conversation, he said "go find something else, one day you will thank me." Whereas I was devastated back then, I must admit he was right. If he had not pushed me out, I would have stayed and would never have achieved what I have now. Following his advice, I applied to other companies and finally accepted a job offer at an industry branch of a global technology firm.

In this new company, my work was highly valued, I was given more responsibility and when my boss got pregnant she asked me to lead the department during her parental leave. As interim head of department, I realized that this was what I strove for. The position was paid very well, and I remember how thrilled I was when I first bought a sweater in a boutique without – for the first time in my life – looking at the price tag. When the head of controlling of the industry branch that I worked for quit, I knew it was my time to apply for my first leadership position. The night after talking to the head of human resources, panic kicked in and I wondered how I could have thought I was suitable for the job. The next day I went to tell him I had changed my mind but he had already talked to the CFO who had agreed to give me the job. I was overwhelmed, thinking "now I guess I will have to do it" – and this is how I became head of controlling. I enjoyed the role, learned a lot, travelled internationally and enjoyed leading people. Over time, I took on more responsibility in various management positions and finally became head of controlling in one of the company subsidiaries in a broader and more promising industry branch.

Around my 40th birthday, two major changes occurred. After 22 years of being together, my partner, the baker from Lower Austria who I had been with since I was 18 years old, left me for another woman. Shortly afterwards, on Christmas morning, our CEO called because he wanted to meet me for breakfast. I was wondering what could be so important that he wanted to see me on Christmas morning. When we met, he gave me an envelope with a Christmas card that said "Merry Christmas Rita, you will be CFO from next year." I was overwhelmed by these unexpected turnarounds and the following Christmas holiday with my family was the most horrible in my life. My mother constantly expressed her worries that without a partner I would be lonesome and in the new job role I would travel to all those "dangerous" countries. My father wondered if I would be capable of doing the new job. And my sister was devastated because I was making a career while she did not have a job at that moment. My friends tried to be supportive, but none of them had a career in management or had a clue what a CFO position meant and what I was talking about. At the time I felt lonely and misunderstood. This was supposed to be my home, but I did not feel like I fitted in at all.

Feeling confused and overwhelmed, I fell into a serious depression and went on sick leave. With a coach's and psychologist's help, I was able to return to work and find joy in my new job after some weeks. I found a way of dealing with the responsibility of a CFO and the loneliness that comes with a position at the very top of a company. I became more active in my private life, travelled a lot and eventually met a new partner. Life was good again, and shortly afterwards I received an offer for the CEO and CFO position of one of our international subsidiaries. This is where I am right now. Back with new strength, at the peak of my career.

Looking back, my social class origin had a strong impact on my career. I guess that if I had come from an academic higher-class family, I would have studied literature rather than yielding to the pressure to choose a career that would provide for financial security. However, then I might have been financially dependent on my family or some man – I am very happy that I am not. With my lower-class background, I feel comfortable working in an industrial branch and in a social-democratically oriented company. How you fit in as a person with a lower-class background depends a lot on the sector. I think in a bank or insurance company, surrounded by higher-class people with their sophisticated manners and ways of speaking, I would have had a much harder time trying to fit in. With my working-class roots, it is easier to deal with mechanical engineers than with bankers, and I appreciate the feeling that I really fit in well here.

I also realized how much having a partner from the same lower-class background impacted my career as a woman. We never had much money until I started my career and became the big income earner. On the one hand, being the main breadwinner put me under pressure. On the other hand, it encouraged me even more to pursue my career. As my partner lacked promotion prospects, I prioritized my career and did not compromise as much as I possibly would have with an equally career-minded partner. This prevented me from getting trapped into traditional gender roles of male breadwinners and women's careers counting less. In addition, my life would have been completely different if I'd had kids. All these factors benefitted my career. I never expected that my life would evolve in this way. But today, as one of the very few women who has made it to the top, I feel anything is possible. However, the journey here was not easy. Having a finance background helped me, as I did not have to compete with the male technicians who, as a woman, would have never accepted me. I had the advantage of being an expert in a different area, able to stay out of the competition. As a woman in the position I hold now, I feel like they treat me like some special orchid they need to cultivate. I also have conversations with headhunters from time to time, who assure me that there are plenty of options for me.

CRITICAL REFLECTION ON RITA'S CASE

While the legal and political system in Austria does not fundamentally break gender and social class barriers (see Förster and Königs, 2020), it provides favorable conditions such as free access to higher education, from which Rita benefitted as an adolescent. Despite her disadvantaged background, she made her way to the top of a renowned international company and broke through social closure and glass ceilings. Rita forms part of the 6 percent of people in Austria who achieve a university degree despite their parents being at the lowest educational level (Altzinger et al., 2013). In addition, she holds one of the high-power positions in Austria that are very rarely occupied by women (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019). In this context, it is especially interesting to examine what factors shaped Rita's career.

In Rita's narration, her socialization as a lower-class woman is very salient. At least two observations stand out in this regard. First, Rita repeatedly indicates that she felt uncomfortable interacting with people she perceived as coming from a higher-class background and instead intentionally sought the company of people she perceived as similar to her. As such, she felt less attracted to the banking business than to an engineering environment, as the latter resembled the environment she knew from the working-class careers of family members and friends. This observation reinforces findings of increased social affiliation with same-class members (Côté et al., 2017) and lower-class graduates' search for belonging and fitting in (Ostrove, Stewart, and Curtin, 2011), which is based on similarity attraction and homophily in social networks (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, 2001). Second, Rita states that her career choice was based on her desire for financial security. This is in line with prior research which finds that people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, who often have a desire to compensate for early experiences of material deprivation, tend to appreciate extrinsic work values such as income more than people of higher socio-economic origin do (Johnson and Mortimer, 2011; Lechner, Sortheix, Göllner, and Salmela-Aro, 2017). Both observations show the strong role of social class in early socialization and provide an idea of how a lower-class origin may influence career choices and career transitions.

Rita's career story also reveals powerful career facilitators. Along her career journey, various family members, friends and colleagues served as supporters and gatekeepers. There is her grandmother who aroused her interest in education, her mother who supported her in her schooling ambitions and her aunt who advocated for high school education that would allow Rita access to college. Furthermore, a department head offered Rita the chance to serve as her maternity leave substitute, giving Rita the opportunity to grow and become confident in her potential and abilities, plus the CEO believed in Rita and trusted her enough to give her the CFO position. These supporters of her life and career path are as decisive as family support (Jenkins, Belanger, Connally, Boals, and Durón, 2013) and supervisor support (Baruch-Feldman, Brondolo, Ben-Dayan, and Schwartz, 2002). They are crucial for enhancing chances of educational and social mobility through promotion.

In Rita's narration, her lower-class socialization is more predominant than her gender socialization. For instance, Rita's core value of financial independence and her feeling of "fitting in" in the technical industry are in line with her lower-class roots while standing in contrast to stereotypical gender norms. Moreover, Rita strongly attributes her career success to her own efforts, which is consistent with the findings of a study on high-achieving women's legitimacy narratives (Clair, McGinn, Humberd, Arnett, and Chen, 2018) identifying higher levels of assertiveness for women of lower-class rather than higher-class backgrounds. As a consequence of the socio-economic environment experienced during childhood, women of lower-class origin, who do not inherently have the same social and financial support as those of the higher class, rather attribute their success to self-reliance and active efforts. Similarly, McGinn and Oh (2017) argue that constraints experienced by lower-class women often require self-oriented behavior to overcome them, resulting in the pursuit of class mobility. Hence, in cases like Rita's, women's class-based identification might push them away from prescribed gender roles and related career disadvantages, thereby resulting in upward social mobility against all the odds.

BOX 18.1 STOP AND THINK

1. How has your own socio-economic background influenced your life path?
2. How do you perceive the challenges that women of lower-class origin face in their careers?
3. What governmental policies and laws in your country of residence could help to facilitate educational and social mobility of women from the lower classes?
4. What practices should organizations establish to support the careers of women of lower-class origin?

NOTE

1. The name and some details of her story were changed for anonymity reasons.

REFERENCES

Altzinger, W., Lamei, N., Rumplmaier, B., and Schneebaum, A. 2013. Intergenerationelle soziale Mobilität in Österreich. *Statistische Nachrichten*, 68(1): 48–62.

Baruch-Feldman, C., Brondolo, E., Ben-Dayan, D., and Schwartz, J. 2002. Sources of social support and burnout, job satisfaction, and productivity. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 7(1): 84–93.

Clair, J. A., McGinn, K. L., Humberd, B. K., Arnett, R. D., and Chen, K. 2018. *Class matters: The role of social class and organizational sector in high-achieving women's legitimacy narratives*. Harvard Business School Working Paper: 18-014.

Côté, S., Kraus, M. W., Carpenter, N. C., Piff, P. K., Beermann, U., et al. 2017. Social affiliation in same-class and cross-class interactions. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 146(2): 269–285.
Esping-Andersen, G. 1990. The three political economies of the welfare state. *International Journal of Sociology*, 20(3): 92–123.
European Commission. 2019. *The gender pay gap situation in the EU*. https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/equal-pay/gender-pay-gap-situation-eu_en.
European Institute for Gender Equality. 2019. *Gender equality index 2019: Austria*. Vilnius: European Institute for Gender Equality. https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2019/domain/time/AT.
Fellner. 2016. *Austria, the land of "educational climbers" – educational mobility between the generations*. https://www.agenda-austria.at/en/publications/austria-educational-climbers/.
Förster, M., and Königs, S. 2020. *Promoting social mobility in Austria*, vol. 251. OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers no. 251, Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/1e0efdcc-en.
Greif, E., and Ulrich, S. 2019. *Legal Gender Studies und Antidiskriminierungsrecht*. Vienna: MANZ'sche Verlags- und Universitätsbuchhandlung.
Gresch, N., and Sauer, B. 2018. The Austrian paradox: The challenges of transforming a conservative gender regime. In É. Lépinard and R. Rubio-Marín (Eds), *Transforming Gender Citizenship: The Irresistible Rise of Gender Quotas in Europe*: 308–340. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Gunz, H., and Peiperl, M. 2007. *Handbook of Career Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. https://books.google.at/books?id=x-lyAwAAQBAJ.
Haller, M., and Hadler, M. 2019. Social stratification and its perception in Austria and its Central-East European neighbouring countries from 1960 to 2015: Historical legacies, socialist pasts and recent developments. *Czech Sociological Review*, 55(6): 697–733.
Hofmann, R., and Bendl, R. 2014. Equal treatment in Austria: Current practices and challenges. In A. Klarsfeld, L. A. E. Booysen, E. Ng, A. Tatli, and I. Roper (Eds), *International Handbook on Diversity Management at Work: Country Perspectives on Diversity and Equal Treatment*: 35–45. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Holzleithner, E. 2002. *Recht Macht Geschlecht: Legal Gender Studies. Eine Einführung*. Vienna: WUV Universitätsverlag.
Jenkins, S. R., Belanger, A., Connally, M. L., Boals, A., and Durón, K. M. 2013. First-generation undergraduate students' social support, depression, and life satisfaction. *Journal of College Counseling*, 16(2): 129–142.
Johnson, M. K., and Mortimer, J. T. 2011. Origins and outcomes of judgments about work. *Social Forces*, 89(4): 1239–1260.
Kreimer, M. 2009. *Ökonomie der Geschlechterdifferenz: Zur Persistenz von Gender Gaps*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
Lechner, C. M., Sortheix, F. M., Göllner, R., and Salmela-Aro, K. 2017. The development of work values during the transition to adulthood: A two-country study. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 99: 52–65.
Mayrhofer, W., Meyer, M., Schiffinger, M., and Schmidt, A. 2008. The influence of family responsibilities, career fields and gender on career success: An empirical study. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(3): 292–323.

Mayrhofer, W., Meyer, M., and Steyrer, J. 2016. *Macht? Erfolg? Reich? Glücklich?: Einflussfaktoren auf Karrieren*. Vienna: Linde Verlag GmbH. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1595664.

McGinn, K. L., and Oh, E. 2017. Gender, social class, and women's employment. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 18: 84–88.

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., and Cook, J. M. 2001. Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1): 415–444.

Meyer, M., and Iellatchitch, A. 2005. Über den Stallgeruch: Soziale Herkunft, Lebensstil und Karriereerfolg. In W. Mayrhofer, M. Meyer, and J. Steyrer (Eds), *Macht? Erfolg? Reich? Glücklich?: Einflussfaktoren auf Karrieren*: 100–131. Vienna: Linde Verlag GmbH.

Narayan, A., Van der Weide, R., Cojocaru, A., Lakner, C., Redaelli, S., et al. 2018. *Fair Progress? Economic Mobility across Generations Around the World*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications. https://books.google.at/books?id=RTFgDwAAQBAJ.

Ostrove, J. M., Stewart, A. J., and Curtin, N. L. 2011. Social class and belonging: Implications for graduate students' career aspirations. *Journal of Higher Education*, 82(6): 748–774.

Pringle, J. K., Myers, B., Elley-Brown, M., and Reid, L. 2020. Diversity as a perspective on career. In H. Gunz, M. Lazarova, and W. Mayrhofer (Eds), *The Routledge Companion to Career Studies*: 75–89. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Sainsbury, D. 1999. Gender, policy regimes, and politics. In D. Sainsbury (Ed.), *Gender and Welfare State Regimes*: 245–276. New York: Oxford University Press.

Statistik Austria. 2019. *Gender Statistik: Bruttojahreseinkommen von Frauen und Männern 2019*. http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/.

Statistik Austria. 2021. *Familie und Arbeitsmarkt: Entwicklung der aktiven Erwerbs- und Teilzeitquoten (ILO) der 25- bis 49-Jährigen nach Familientyp und Geschlecht, 1994–2020*. http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/arbeitsmarkt/familie_und_arbeitsmarkt/080124.html.

Toft, M., and Friedman, S. 2021. Family wealth and the class ceiling: The propulsive power of the bank of mum and dad. *Sociology*, 55(1): 90–109.

Triana, M. del C., Jayasinghe, M., Pieper, J. R., Delgado, D. M., and Li, M. 2019. Perceived workplace gender discrimination and employee consequences: A meta-analysis and complementary studies considering country context. *Journal of Management*, 45(6): 2419–2447.

19. Gender and academic careers in Ireland: towards greater gender equality

Janine Bosak and Pat O'Connor

SETTING THE SCENE

Dr Micheline Sheehy Skeffington, a botanist, filed a discrimination lawsuit against her employer, the National University of Ireland (NUI) Galway (in 2022 renamed to University of Galway) in 2009. Over time, the university had not promoted her from the position of Lecturer to Senior Lecturer.[1] In the 2008/09 competitive promotional round to senior lectureship, she was one of 47 applicants (32 men and 15 women). Of the 23 men and seven women shortlisted, 16 men and only one woman were recommended for promotion to Senior Lecturer. She was one of the seven shortlisted female applicants but was not recommended for promotion.

Dr Sheehy Skeffington initiated a lawsuit against her employer of 34 years and won the landmark case in 2014, with the Equality Tribunal finding NUI Galway guilty of direct and indirect discrimination against her in respect of promotion.

BACKGROUND TO GENDER (IN)EQUALITY IN IRISH HEIs (HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES)

Dr Micheline Sheehy Skeffington was motivated to take her case to the Equality Tribunal on her own behalf and to highlight the situation both of other female academics discriminated against in that Senior Lecturer competition and of women in academia more generally.

Ireland is a small country (population 5.1 million), dominated, up to the 1990s, by the institutional Roman Catholic Church, with a strong tradition of male dominance of positions of public power. This was reflected in the persistence of the marriage bar (a ban on married women continuing in paid employment in the public sector) until 1973. Although it did not apply to the universities, the social expectation was that women would retire on marriage, evident in separate and higher pay scales for married men up to 1973.

Ireland moved from an 'elite' system of higher education (HE) in the 1960s (with 5 per cent of the age cohort entering HE), via a 'mass' one in the 1980s (15 per cent), to one where over three-fifths of young adults now enter HE, with girls' participation increasing dramatically over the period.

The problem of gender inequality at staff level in Irish academia was recognised early on. In 1985, at the instigation of the then Minister for Education, Gemma Hussey, a report showed that in 1975/76 women made up less than 5 per cent of those at full professorial level. In 2000 women still made up only 7.5 per cent of those at that level, one of the lowest in the European Union (EU), and compared with 23.9 per cent in Portugal, 25.5 per cent in Turkey and 22.7 per cent in the United States.

Following the high-profile case of *Sheehy Skeffington v. National University of Ireland Galway*, a report undertaken for NUI Galway recommended that the flexible cascade model be used in promotions – that is, that the proportion of women promoted should reflect the proportion in the level below (i.e. a soft quota). The *Report of the Expert Group, HEA National Review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions* concluded that 'radical action' was needed (Higher Education Authority (HEA), 2016, p. 9), without which they could not guarantee that Higher Education Insitutions (HEIs) would 'ever be free of gender inequality' (p. 9). Given the under-representation of women in senior positions, and its implications for membership of promotion boards, it recommended a professorial quota of 40 per cent women by 2024. To facilitate this, the Senior Leadership Initiative was launched in 2017, involving the creation of 45 new and additional senior academic posts over a three-year period in areas where women were under-represented. Athena SWAN, a gender equality charter, was introduced in 2015.

The research funding agencies took action to tackle discrimination. The Irish Research Council's 'gender blinding' of funding applications and references in 2014 increased women's success rate substantially in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) postdoctoral awards (from 35 per cent in 2013 to 57 per cent in 2017). Science Foundation Ireland's Starting Investigator Research Grant (SIRG) Programme incentivized HEIs to nominate excellent female candidates by allowing them to increase the number of candidates that could be submitted per institution from the original six to 12, provided no more than six of these were men. This increased the proportion of women applicants from 23 per cent in 2013 to 47 per cent in 2015 and their success rates from 27 per cent in 2013 to 50 per cent in 2015. These initiatives show the importance of moving beyond an approach which focuses on 'fixing the women'.

At an international level, gender equality is seen as a human right; there is an overall global trend towards greater gender parity (World Economic Forum, 2019). Achieving gender equality is central to the fulfilment of the Council of Europe's mission in terms of safeguarding human rights, upholding democracy and preserving the rule of law and implies equal access to resources for women and men as well as the equal distribution of such resources between them (Council of Europe, 2018). In the EU, legal and policy frameworks and other initiatives have aimed to reduce gender inequalities in academia and research institutions (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016). Yet, the 'normal' structures, criteria and procedures and a wide range of practices value men and undervalue women, hence perpetuating gender inequality (O'Connor, 2020b).

For female academics, Irish academia has often been a difficult arena. This has varied across time and place. Thus, for example, in the University of Limerick, the first woman (the 2nd author of this chapter) was appointed in 1997 at full professorial level and the proportion of women at that level rose to 34 per cent by 2012 there (compared to 12 per cent in NUI Galway). Thus, in the same small country, with the same stereotypes and broadly similar career paths, experiences have varied. NUI Galway has been recognised as underperforming in this area since 2013 (O'Connor and Irvine, 2020).

Nationally, the proportion of women at full professorial level, while still low (30 per cent: HEA, 2021), is now slightly above the EU (26.2 per cent: European Commission and Directorate-General for Research and Innovation, 2021), broadly similar to Australia (30 per cent) and somewhat behind the United States (33 per cent).

DR SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON'S STORY AND THE VOICES OF OTHER IRISH FEMALE ACADEMICS

Dr Sheehy Skeffington started her role as college lecturer at NUI Galway in 1990. She worked in the School of Botany for 34 years, during which time she applied for promotion to Senior Lecturer four times – the 2008/09 promotional round being the one that led to the landmark discrimination case.

> I heard in May 2009 that I had been unsuccessful. I discovered that 16 men had been promoted and only one woman. It seemed to me that something was wrong. It seemed obvious to me then that I should question it. I appealed to the college first. During that process I was advised to lodge an appeal with the Equality Tribunal. (*The Irish Times*, 2014)

The Equality Tribunal established not only that the entire interview process was flawed (e.g. lack of interviewer training and agreed marking scheme, no questions agreed in advance of interview, no individual marks retained, external interviewer's suggestions ignored), but also that ineligible applicants made the shortlist, with one of these even promoted to Senior Lecturer (DEC-E2014-078, 2014). Applicants applying for promotion were assessed on three criteria (teaching, research and service), with minimum requirements for each criterion. These minimum requirements, however, were ignored for some of the successful candidates, all of whom were men, whereas the only successful woman more than met the minimum criteria (DEC-E2014-078, 2014). Worse, Dr Sheehy Skeffington, who met the minimum criteria for teaching, received lower scores than three male candidates who did not meet those minimum criteria. The highest-ranking male candidate also did not hold a PhD whereas all the female applicants did. The Equality Tribunal concluded that Dr Sheehy Skeffington was directly discriminated against regarding promotion to Senior Lecturer.

The Equality Tribunal also held that Dr Sheehy Skeffington was indirectly discriminated against on the basis of caring responsibilities. Applicants could list periods of protected leave (e.g. maternity leave). All male applicants and three out of the seven female shortlisted candidates left this section blank, one of these being the highest-ranked woman. In contrast, the other women, including Dr Sheehy Skeffington, referred to different types of leave including maternity leave, caring leave, adoptive leave and job-sharing. While this recognition of leave had a legitimate purpose, it appeared to have contributed to discrimination according to the Equality Officer:

> I cannot escape the conclusion that the majority of female applicants drawing attention to their caring responsibilities outside the workplace disadvantaged them against the male applicants.

Dr Sheehy Skeffington is the granddaughter of Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, who was one of Ireland's most well-known suffragettes and Irish nationalists, founding the Irish Women's Franchise League in 1908 to fight for women's voting rights, and a founding member of the Irish Women's Workers Union.

> The success of me winning this case was an immediate thing, but until equality is achieved nationally I still won't have done this on behalf of other women. I'm a feminist. I come from a family of feminists. I had to take this case to honour them all.

Dr Sheehy Skeffington won her case and was awarded EUR 70,000, which she gave to the other five women who were shortlisted but not promoted in the 2008/09 competition. Four of these took a case to the High Court (the fifth went to the Labour Court and won). A settlement was made by NUI Galway with the four in 2018.

The problems in NUI Galway are extreme but not unique. A national online survey (involving 4,835 respondents: HEA, 2016) found that men were less likely than women to think that gender inequality existed in Irish HE and less likely to think it was very important. Both men and women referred to a masculine organisational culture in open comments:

> The culture in HE tends to be macho and misogynistic. There are a small number of very capable, high achieving women who hold senior positions within the HE organisation. This acts to effectively mask the misogyny and sexism which pervades all layers of the organisation. (Man, academic in management position: HEA, 2016, p. 55)

A woman professor in senior management spelt out the homosocial culture in academia:

> Most of the men I work with, the bottom line is that they would be much more comfortable to be working with men. They vaguely put up with you, accept that you have a right to be there, but if it was up to themselves, they are more comfortable around men. This is not a generational thing. Those most uncomfortable are seriously younger. (Woman, academic in management position: O'Connor, 2020b, p. 150)

Criteria for progression are often vague with tautological references to excellence, without any indication as to what standards will be used to assess it. Standards can be defined by the board on the day. So, after reading the CVs, if the board wants to appoint A, who has only 20 publications, over B, who has 40, they can define excellence as 20-plus publications, thereby benefitting A and penalising B (O'Connor and Barnard, 2021). Some respondents referred to a lack of transparency in the decision-making processes and to the importance of the 'old boys club' (HEA, 2016, p. 51) and the way informal relationships between men affect outcomes:

> My experience is that the written rules, the formal policies etc. are fine – it is the underlying bias in the norms, values and the way decisions are made and preferment is exercised that is the problem. (Woman, academic: HEA, 2016, p. 66)

The disproportionate allocation of teaching, course administration and pastoral care to women was also referred to by respondents in an Irish senior management study (O'Connor, 2014; 2015): activities which are not valued for promotion, but which are seen as 'natural' for women. As one of these senior managers saw it, teaching had become a feminised, invisible and undervalued activity, with most undergraduate course directorships – 'the most onerous job in the university' (O'Connor, 2020b, p. 149) – done by women.

Although men were most likely either to deny the existence of gender inequality or to think in terms of stereotypical gender attributes, both men and women in senior management positions highlighted subtle indicators of gender inequality, but only a small minority of them were actually willing to take action. A senior academic manager appointed the first three women academics in his own area:

> against quite a bit of resistance from some of my male colleagues … I felt we needed a proper gender balance. 2/3rds of the undergraduates in that area were women. I felt it was rather odd that they were taught exclusively by male academics. My job was to make sure that people did not make decisions biased against them. (Man, academic in management position: O'Connor, 2020b, p. 151)

Male academics referred to 'paying forward' by doing 'favours' (i.e., unpaid work) for those in a predominantly male hierarchy in the expectation of sponsorship in promotional contexts:

> If you've nobody on the other side of the table fighting your case, you've no chance … You arrange [that] …, through [favours], you know …. And you do it not just once, you might do it fifty times. So, when your application [for promotion] goes in you'd expect them to support you. (Man, academic: O'Connor and Barnard, 2020b, p. 60)

Structures designed by men for men have difficulty dealing with female embodiment such as reflected in maternity leave. Insofar as such structures valorise a long-hours culture, they create difficulties as regards childcare (which is disproportionately assigned to women), evident in conflict for women between paid work and childcare. However, one woman wryly reflected that it had been successfully managed in her previous academic job outside Ireland. Men who had worked outside Irish academia were also more likely to see women's under-representation as a systemic problem, rather than seeing women themselves as the 'problem'.

Irish academia is changing. This is reflected in women's slow but steady progress in the professoriate and in the fact that whereas no woman had ever headed up an Irish public university, by 2022 six of the (now) 12 public universities have women in that position, that is, as President/Rector.

REFLECTIONS AND OUTLOOK

Although various factors (O'Connor, 2020b) contribute to the gender imbalance in professorial and senior leadership positions, including gender differences in goals, interests and gender role self-concept (Bosak and Sczesny, 2008), there is substantial evidence that *gender discrimination* contributes to such continued gender inequality (Heilman et al., 2015), as illustrated by the case of Dr Sheehy Skeffington. *Stereotypes* can make it seem that women do not have what it takes for leadership roles and thus act as a potent barrier to women's upward career advancement. Such stereotypes are particularly likely to be elicited in the presence of *ambiguit*y, when criteria lack clarity or procedures lack transparency. Gender stereotypes ascribe greater communion (e.g., kindness, compassion) to women and greater agency (e.g. assertiveness, competitiveness) to men (Eagly et al., 2020). Given that predominantly agentic qualities are associated with leadership success, women tend to be disadvantaged as they appear less qualified than men (Eagly and Karau, 2002).

The impact of gender stereotypes on selection decisions is increased when there is such *ambiguity* involving criteria and procedures for comparing applicants (Heilman et al., 2015). This was evident in Dr Sheehy Skeffington's case, with no agreed marking scheme or interview questions. Respondents from the national online survey also highlighted the vagueness of criteria for promotion, opening the decision-making process to manipulation and gender bias. The content of letters of recommendation are also problematic, describing women as more communal and less agentic than men, with communal attributes being negatively associated with hiring decisions in academia (Madera et al., 2009).

Gender stereotypes also encourage decision-makers to use different standards in judging female and male applicants. Based on stereotypical expectations that women might not be as competent and agentic as men, particularly in male-dominated areas, a *double standard* can exist regarding task competence, so that women must perform better then men to be seen as equally competent (Bosak and Sczesny, 2011; van den Brink and Benschop, 2012). Gender bias appears to have played a very strong role in the 2008/09 promotional round at NUI Galway where Dr Sheehy Skeffington was held to such high standards that, for service and teaching, she received lower scores than a male candidate with a lesser service record and male candidates who did not even meet the minimum teaching criteria. Research finds that men are often considered more competent and hireable than equally qualified and high-performing women (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). In the NUI Galway promotional round the highest-raking male applicant was the only person without a PhD.

Stereotypical beliefs about women's greater communion in combination with an organisational culture which is not friendly to women contribute to *gendered career pathways*, with female academics channelled into roles related to pastoral care, teaching and service roles, which are less advantageous to career progression than elite and masculinised research pathways (O'Connor, 2020a). Moreover, women's caring responsibilities outside of work violate academia's preference for ideal workers. This might lead women to conceal these responsibilities. The concept of the *ideal worker* stems from Acker (1990), who argued that organisations believe workers to be 'disembodied' and unencumbered by domestic responsibilities and other caring responsibilities. Such norms and expectations involving workers being fully committed to their job and working long hours are particularly consequential for women, who tend to have greater caring responsibilities, with mothers, for example, believed to be lower in job commitment, achievement striving, dependability and competence (e.g. Heilman and Okimoto, 2008). Similarly, Dr Sheehy Skeffington and the other three female academics who indicated caring leave in their applications were disadvantaged by providing this information in the promotional process.

To address gender discrimination and support women's careers, *gender quotas* might be introduced to increase the number of women in professorial roles; this increase might lead to a change in stereotypes about women, men and leaders over time (Eagly and Karau, 2002; Kulich and Bosak, 2019). Nevertheless, such measures are often met with opposition not only from non-beneficiaries but also from women themselves, for fear of promoting the belief that beneficiaries are not sufficiently qualified or able to succeed on their own (Heilman et al., 2015). Moreover, with many female academics like Dr Sheehy Skeffington likely to lack male sponsorship (O'Connor and Barnard, 2021; Parsons and O'Connor, 2023), there might be an expectation that those women promoted to senior positions would help improve career advancement opportunities for other women. This expectation might be false, as some senior women, labelled *Queen Bees*, adjust to the masculine organisational culture and distance themselves from more junior women, with this behaviour believed to be a response to gender discrimination and identity threat (Derks et al., 2016). There was no evidence of this among the women in the Irish senior management study (O'Connor, 2015).

In conclusion, the case of Dr Sheehy Skeffington shows that the culture of HE in Ireland is not gender neutral and that structural and cultural barriers and discrimination against women who aspire to professorial and senior management roles in universities exist. Yet, her landmark case has paved the way for change in Irish academia towards greater gender equality over the years (O'Connor and Irvine, 2020), as evident, for example, from the increase of women in professorial positions from 5 per cent in 1975/76 to 30 per cent in 2021, even surpassing the European average of 26 per cent. The HEA is experimenting with a range of different initiatives to create greater gender equality in HEIs, such as Athena SWAN, the setting of ambitious gender targets for professorial roles and women-only professorships. The jury is still out on the success of these organisational and cultural change initiatives and their long-term effects.

BOX 19.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What do you see as the key contributors to gender imbalance at professorial and senior management level? Which might be specific to Ireland? What data on other countries would you need to check that out?
2. What contribution to gender imbalance and lack of career progress by women is made by a masculine organisational culture? What can universities do to change this?
3. Think about the initiatives to achieve greater gender equality in Ireland: Which ones do you think will achieve the greatest change and why? Which ones will be controversial and why? Can you think of other initiatives?

NOTE

1. The Irish system, like the UK system, consists of four main positions, arranged hierarchically: Lecturer; Senior Lecturer; Associate Professor; Full Professor.

REFERENCES

Acker, J. 1990. Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender and Society*, 4(2): 139–158.

Bosak, J., and Sczesny, S. 2008. Am I the right candidate? Self-ascribed fit of women and men to a leadership position. *Sex Roles*, 58(9–10): 682–688.

Bosak, J., and Sczesny, S. 2011. Gender bias in leader selection? Evidence from a hiring simulation study. *Sex Roles*, 65(3–4): 234–242.

Council of Europe. 2018. *Gender equality strategy 2018–2023*. https://rm.coe.int/prems-093618-gbr-gender-equality-strategy-2023-web-a5/16808b47e1.

DEC-E2014-078. 2014. *Sheehy Skeffington v National University of Ireland Galway*. https://www.workplacerelations.ie/en/cases/2014/november/dec-e2014-078.html.

Derks, B., Van Laar, C., and Ellemers, N. 2016. The queen bee phenomenon: Why women leaders distance themselves from junior women. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 27(3): 456–469.

Eagly, A. H., and Karau, S. J. 2002. Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3): 573–598.

Eagly, A. H., Nater, C., Miller, D. I., Kaufmann, M., and Sczesny, S. 2020. Gender stereotypes have changed: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of U.S. public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018. *American Psychologist*, 75(3): 301–315.

European Commission and Directorate-General for Research and Innovation. 2021. *She Figures 2021: gender in research innovation: statistics and indicators*. Luxembourg: Publications Office, 2021. https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2777/06090.

European Institute for Gender Equality. 2016. *Integrating gender equality into academia and research organisations: Analytical paper*. https://eige.europa.eu/publications/integrating-gender-equality-academia-and-research-organisations-analytical-paper.

Heilman, M. E., Manzi, F., and Braun, S. 2015. Presumed incompetent: Perceived lack of fit and gender bias in recruitment and selection. In A. M. Broadbridge and S. L. Fielden (Eds), *Handbook of Gendered Careers in Management: Getting In, Getting On, Getting Out*: 90–104. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Heilman, M. E., and Okimoto, T. G. 2008. Motherhood: A potential source of bias in employment decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(1): 189–198.

Higher Education Authority (HEA). 2016. *Report of the Expert Group, HEA National Review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions*. https://hea.ie/assets/uploads/2017/06/HEA-National-Review-of-Gender-Equality-in-Irish-HigherEducation-Institutions.pdf.

Higher Education Authority (HEA). 2021. *Higher education institutional staff profiles by sex and gender*. 31 December 2021. https://hea.ie/policy/gender/statistics/higher-education-institutional-staff-profiles-by-sex-and-gender/

Kulich, C., and Bosak, J. 2019. The persistence of gender inequality in leadership: Still a long way to go? In K. Gangl and E. Kirchler (Eds), *A Research Agenda for Economic Psychology*: 139–153. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Madera, J. M., Hebl, M. R., and Martin, R. C. 2009. Gender and letters of recommendation for academia: Agentic and communal differences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(6): 1591–1599.

Moss-Racusin, C. A., Dovidio, J. F., Brescoll, V. L., Graham, M. J., and Handelsman, J. 2012. Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109(41): 16474–16479.

O'Connor, P. 2014. *Management and Gender in Higher Education*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

O'Connor, P. 2015. Good jobs – but places for women? *Gender and Education*, 27(3): 304–319.

O'Connor, P. 2020a. Why is it so difficult to reduce gender inequality in male-dominated higher educational organizations? A feminist institutional perspective. *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, 45(2): 207–228.

O'Connor, P. 2020b. Creating gendered change in Irish higher education: Is managerial leadership up to the task? *Irish Educational Studies*, 39(2): 139–155.

O'Connor, P., and Barnard, S. 2021. Problematising excellence as a legitimating discourse. In P. O'Connor and K. White (Eds), *Gender, Power and Higher Education in a Globalised World*: 47–69. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Connor, P., and Irvine, G. 2020. Multi-level state interventions and gender equality in higher education institutions: The Irish case. *Administrative Sciences*, 10(4): 98.

Parsons, C., and O'Connor, P. 2023. You've heard of mentorship in science, by what about sponsorship? *Nature*. 19 January. https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-023-00123-z.

The Irish Times. 2014. Micheline Sheehy Skeffington: I'm from a family of feminists. I took this case to honour them. 6 December. https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/micheline-sheehy-skeffington-i-m-from-a-family-of-feminists-i-took-this-case-to-honour-them-1.2027451.

van den Brink, M., and Benschop, Y. 2012. Gender practices in the construction of academic excellence: Sheep with five legs. *Organization*, 19(4): 507–524.

World Economic Forum. 2019. *Mind the 100 year gap*. https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality.

PART VI

Generations

20. To retire or not to retire? Teachers' motivation to work in post-retirement in Lithuania

Bernadeta Goštautaitė and Virginija Putnaitė

SETTING THE SCENE

It's 7 a.m. and Berta has just put her lunch in her handbag and is taking a quick look around the kitchen to make sure she has not forgotten anything. Her adult daughter, still in her pajamas, yawns as she watches Berta getting ready. She and her two toddler daughters have come from another city to visit Berta for a week. Berta is a 62-year-old culinary arts instructor and although she has formally retired, she still works full-time at a vocational school. Her family has been trying for some time to persuade her to leave her teaching job and retire, but Berta has no plans to do so. Berta hurriedly puts her students' tests in her handbag and kisses her daughter on the forehead. "Kiss the girls for me—I'll be back late tonight." Her daughter smiles gently, "Mom, why do you keep going there?" "Because they need me!" Berta says as she smiles and runs out the door.

CONTEXTUALIZING

Overall, societies in most industrialized countries are aging and this is largely due to falling birth rates, rising life expectancy, and the increase in, or even the abolishment of, the default retirement age (European Commission, 2021; OECD, 2019). As such, the employment rates of older workers are increasing worldwide and this trend will most likely continue (Eurostat, 2019; Göbel and Zwick, 2009). For example, for workers aged 55–64 in the European Union (EU), the labor market participation rates are projected to increase by around 12.9 percentage points for women and 5.8 percentage points for men between 2019 and 2070 (European Commission, 2021), and the proportion of this age group in employment will steadily increase at the expense of other groups. Along with the rest of the industrialized world, Lithuania is also facing significant challenges related to an aging workforce. In addition to the previously mentioned problems, the Lithuanian economy has been threatened by a high negative net migration rate (of mostly younger individuals) over the past few decades (European Migration Network, 2013) which has had a substantial impact on the age structure of the population and the remaining labor force: the proportion of persons aged 65+ in employment is now 17.5 percent, and this is one of the highest participation rates among the EU countries (European Commission, 2021).

This scenario that has been projected for many sectors and countries is already a reality in the education industry in Lithuania, as very few young professionals have opted to pursue a career in teaching in recent years. According to the data collected by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2018), teachers under 30 constitute 2.8 percent of the teaching workforce in Lithuania (OECD average: 11.1 percent), while 56.7 percent of the teachers in general education schools are already aged 50 and older (OECD average: 34.4 percent). The situation is even more worrying for vocational education institutions, as 61 percent of vocational instructors were aged 50 and older in the 2018–2019 academic year (ŠVIS, 2020). Therefore, as long as there is no clear policy on how to attract young professionals to teach in schools, and as the existing labor force continues to age, the focus must shift to encouraging older professionals to continue working beyond retirement age.

Working beyond retirement age is not only important for educational organizations, given that the total number of potential employees is increasingly dependent on the activity of the older generation as the number of people of working age in the country decreases, but is also important for the workers themselves. Previous research shows that retirees who work (at least part time) or volunteer are more satisfied with life and adapt better to life transitions than those who are not professionally active (Kim and Feldman, 2000). Thus, when encouraging older workers to continue working for as long as possible, it remains crucial to understand why and when older workers choose work over retirement.

THE STORY

Berta is 62 years old and—as she proudly says during our interview—has been retired for a year. She started working at a school as a teaching assistant when she was 20, while still studying at university. She opens up our conversation with a general remark about her career calling, which led to a relatively early career entry for her:

> Most of us spend our lives searching for ourselves in some kind of activity. This long search for one's purpose creates imbalances. I was probably very lucky.

> I found my place very quickly. And that place is in a school—teaching […] This is my garden, my place. There is a saying in folklore: to be a good teacher, a good doctor or a good priest, you have to be born one. It is a gift from God. Anyone can be a teacher by chance but only a few can be good teachers.

During her teaching career, she changed schools several times but remained in her occupation. She currently works as a culinary arts instructor at a vocational school and she trains apprentices—future chefs. One year ago, Berta reached the official retirement age in Lithuania (for her generation) and had to decide whether "to work or not to work". Her adult daughter keeps gently pushing her to retire and move to another city to help out with her grandchildren:

> I often think about it [retirement], my granddaughter will start school next year, maybe I could take her to school and bring her back home … and my daughter will be like, "Mom, are you going to work, or are you going to work again?"

She decided to continue working full-time, as employment fits well with her personal life but also because she enjoys her job and likes feeling needed:

> I'm alone—my husband passed away several years ago, my children moved away—so I have a lot of free time, I have time to prepare, I have time to stay longer if I need to, and I'm fine. I'm also lonely often and I have loads of time, especially in the winter and the autumn [when there is no work to do in the garden]. But when you do work, it's still enjoyable, and you know that your work is needed, and that's why you keep doing it.

When asked about her motivation to stay, Berta mentions several reasons for choosing employment over retirement. First, she really likes her job: she enjoys teaching and mentoring apprentices, and she tells us how happy she is when she experiences personal success in her job and feels that her work is meaningful:

> I'm happy when the young people listen to my subject with interest—you really go out and smile in the corridor after the lesson, after the activity […] When did I feel good? I had one apprentice group—what a miracle that 29 were accepted and 29 graduated! That was never the case in the history of the school here. And [they] were all very difficult students. I don't know what influence I might have had there.

Second, financial reasons are also important, as Berta's state pension is rather modest, while her teacher's salary allows her to carry on living her regular life:

> Why did I stay? The material [i.e., financial] thing was not the last condition [i.e., reason] either. And it's very difficult to live in the city … You need to improve [your life] in other areas, so you need to have money everywhere: to go somewhere, to see a [theater] play, to buy a book …

She is very active as a culinary arts instructor and often takes her students to cooking competitions. Seeing her students participate in various competitions and events, where they can show off what they have learned, makes her proud of her work:

> It always makes you feel good when your students win competitions. We have won international competitions in [a major city in Lithuania] four years in a row.

She further tells us how important various job resources are in her decision to stay, such as material resources (e.g., kitchen equipment), job autonomy at work, and social support from managers:

> The working conditions are excellent, the equipment is superb—you just have to work hard. Look at this auditorium: everything is fresh, new—new equipment, according to the last word in technology—all the conditions are there for me to do it. I can create, I can deliver, I can work, I can teach. So I do it. […] So if the director [school principal] enforced a plan on us, I wouldn't work! Yes, absolutely, we have creative freedom here. And this is why I truly work. As long as the managers are also kind to me, I will work. I feel their respect and support, and I hear good feedback quite often.

Most importantly, Berta highlights the work climate and work friendships as the most important factor in her decision to continue working in retirement:

> What factors encourage people to work as long as possible after retirement? The team! Relationships with colleagues. And that's probably the most important thing. At least for me, it was the most important [reason] why I stayed here for so long, the good team. […] You just get that support. Sometimes you go away very upset [because of work] and someone comes and says "what's the matter now, that's not the kind of person you are!" So there you go, and you are happy about it.

Finally, Berta participates in professional development activities every year. She tells us that "keeping pace" with the innovations in the kitchen is an important part of her current job and she is happy that her employer gives her opportunities to learn and develop herself professionally by taking courses or participating in teaching trips to gain a wide range of experiences and strengthen her social network (e.g., trips to schools in other countries):

> [I stayed after retirement] also because they [the management] gave me the opportunity to learn and improve. There was never a problem. Whether it was a seminar or a trip, in fact all the conditions were there. Every conference, seminar, I don't really remember being told "no" or that I didn't need to be there.

Nevertheless, when approaching retirement age, Berta reconsidered her career situation and decided to change several of the less satisfying aspects of her work. She noticed that some parts of her work created tension and took up a lot of her precious time. With the aim of reducing her workload and focusing on the most meaningful aspects of her job (interacting with apprentices), Berta asked her manager to allow her to do less administrative and organizational work:

> I would like to narrow it down a little bit and to have only one main activity, not a bit here, then a bit there. When I retired, I just slowed down the extra-curricular activities a bit: I used to be a chair and a member of all kinds of methodological groups and commissions. […] The most frustrating thing is the paperwork … because we know that we could probably do away with the paperwork and the work would probably go better. The paperwork, those endless reports are sometimes unnecessary because the [most important] result [of the job] is when you see what the student has achieved! I used to think that I would rather spend that time talking to a student, explaining something to them …

She is also toying with the idea of reducing her workload and working part-time only, although she has not yet made the switch:

> It's tiring, you know, and a bit of a burden. You get tired when you are working with people, of course—sometimes it's eight hours, sometimes it's seven hours. It's hard. Two or three years ago, I didn't feel as tired as I feel now. Well, anyway, it's been so many years … I sometimes take the students' tests home and mark them there, if I have time in the evening. I can work longer, but not full time anymore …

REFLECTIONS

Berta's case is a success story illustrating *bridge employment*—in other words, "employment that takes place after a person's retirement from a full-time position but before the person's permanent withdrawal from the workforce" (Kim and Feldman, 2000: 1195). According to Wang, Zhan, Liu, and Shultz (2008), bridge employment can occur in a different field (noncareer bridge employment) or in the same occupation (career bridge employment, like in Berta's case). When she reached retirement age, at which point she could theoretically decide to quit her job and leave the labor market, Berta reconsidered her motivation *to work*. Kanfer, Beier, and Ackerman (2013) distinguish between motivation *at* work and motivation *to* work, discussing multiple factors affecting individual decisions to put personal resources (e.g., time) to work instead of using them in pursuit of other nonwork activities (e.g., looking after grandchildren). Berta's internal dialogue, in which she weighs the arguments for and against post-retirement employment, aptly depicts the decision-making process that many retirees have to go through in deciding how to make use of their valuable personal resources, which become scarcer as people age (Kanfer and Ackerman, 2004).

There are three broad categories determining engagement in bridge employment: 1) macro-level factors; 2) organizational (meso-level) factors; and 3) individual factors (Beehr and Bennett, 2015). Financial incentives and the extreme competency gap in the education sector (especially in vocational schools) are two important *macro-level* economy factors that reinforce Berta's decision to continue working. On the one hand, Berta's state pension is not enough to support her regular lifestyle and so she decided to continue working to supplement her monthly income; on the other hand, Berta's qualification is very much needed in the labor market, which appears to be an important enabler of her bridge employment. Given the widespread and well-documented age-related discrimination in hiring processes and the difficulty in finding a job that many older professionals experience in the labor market (Neumark, Burn, and Button, 2019), engaging in post-retirement employment is easier for her than it is for many (especially as she actually stayed with the same employer after retiring).

During our conversation, Berta mentions several *organizational* factors that support her decision to stay in post-retirement employment. She is satisfied with her work and feels that she can have a positive impact on others. Previous research has shown that mature workers who experience *task significance*—in other words, "the degree to which a job influences the lives or work of others" (Morgeson and Humphrey, 2006: 1323)—perceive greater meaningfulness of work and are more engaged at work (Goštautaitė and Bučiūnienė, 2015). Furthermore, Berta's motivation to work is affected by various *job resources* (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, and Schaufeli, 2001), such as material equipment, job autonomy, social support from managers and colleagues, and professional development opportunities. The theoretical framework of *Job Demands-Resources* (JD-R model) proposed by Demerouti et al. (2001) classifies various work conditions into two broad groups of *job demands*, referring to the aspects of a job that require increased effort over time and that tax an individual's personal resources, and *job resources*, which cover the job aspects that enable individuals to meet the demands of their jobs. Berta's example demonstrates how job autonomy, social support from managers, and emotionally satisfying relationships with colleagues serve as important resources that allow for post-retirement employment.

When rethinking the meso-level factors affecting Berta's continuing employment, *career success* seems to play an important role. The 5C (Cross-Cultural Collaboration on Contemporary Careers) Framework of Career Success (Mayrhofer et al., 2016) offers a comprehensive view of how people define career success by identifying multiple facets of such success—financial security, financial achievement, learning and development, work–life balance, positive relationships, positive impact, and entrepreneurship—several of which seem particularly salient in Berta's case. For instance, Berta's willingness to continue working is driven by the *positive impact* that her work has on her students as well as the *positive relationships* with colleagues. In addition, continuing employment in retirement gives her *financial security*, and the opportunity to *learn and develop* gives her the self-confidence that she is keeping her skills up to date to match changes in her occupational field.

Finally, several *individual* factors seem to influence Berta's approach to bridge employment. Family status is an important personal determinant of bridge employment decisions. Berta is a widow living alone (her children are grown up and living far away), thus post-retirement employment helps her avoid loneliness and spend her time in a meaningful way. It is probably not a coincidence that Berta opened our conversation about her post-retirement employment by referring to her *career calling*, using the classic definition of career calling as "that place in the world of productive work that one was created, designed, or destined to fill by virtue of God-given gifts and talents and the opportunities presented by one's station in life" (Bunderson and Thompson, 2009: 33). Indeed, recent research shows that living a calling positively predicts bridge employment intentions (Anderson, 2018), and therefore individuals who perceive their career as a calling are more likely to work beyond retirement age.

In addition, Berta's experiences of her transition into post-retirement employment (which, in her case, is not a legal process, but a psychological one) illustrate the mechanism of *Selection, Optimization, and Compensation* (SOC) described by Baltes, Staudinger, and Lindenberger (1999). This set of behaviors includes the *selection* of goals and priorities (because only a limited number of goals may be attained due to limited resources, as in Berta's case when she aimed to reduce task variety and focus on a narrow set of tasks); the *optimization* of resources to obtain these goals (Berta pursues various professional development opportunities to maintain her qualification in teaching culinary arts); and *compensation* with alternative goal-relevant means for any losses experienced (Berta considers reducing her workload and working part-time) (Baltes et al., 1999). Studies confirm that the SOC behaviors may be beneficial across different life span periods; however, as aging is associated with decreasing personal resources (e.g., time, physical health), it is especially important at older ages (Freund, 2008). Career researchers acknowledge that the SOC mechanism is an inherent part of a sustainable career across a life span (De Vos, Van Der Heijden, and Akkermans, 2020). Furthermore, empirical studies show that adopting SOC behaviors is associated not only with successful aging in general, such as preserved well-being or the absence of loneliness (Freund and Baltes, 1998), but also with career success (Abele and Wiese, 2008) and the ability to work throughout a life span (Weigl, Müller, Hornung, Zacher, and Angerer, 2013).

BOX 20.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Is post-retirement employment positive or negative and for whom? Should countries facilitate post-retirement employment?
2. What can organizations do to motivate their retiring employees to continue working beyond the formal retirement age?
3. Thinking about your personal environment (e.g., family members), would you support post-retirement employment? Why or why not?

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This research was partially funded by a grant (No. S-MIP-20-9) from the Research Council of Lithuania.

REFERENCES

Abele, A. E., and Wiese, B. S. 2008. The nomological network of self-management strategies and career success. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 81(4): 733–749.
Anderson, K. 2018. *The influence of living a calling on work continuity intentions and the mediating effects of subjective age and occupational future time perspective*. Master's Thesis, Colorado State University, Ann Arbor.
Baltes, P. B., Staudinger, U. M., and Lindenberger, U. 1999. Lifespan psychology: Theory and application to intellectual functioning. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50: 471–507.
Beehr, T. A., and Bennett, M. M. 2015. Working after retirement: Features of bridge employment and research directions. *Work, Aging and Retirement*, 1(1): 112–128.
Bunderson, J. S., and Thompson, J. A. 2009. The call of the wild: Zookeepers, callings, and the double-edged sword of deeply meaningful work. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 54(1): 32–57.
De Vos, A., Van der Heijden, B. I., and Akkermans, J. 2020. Sustainable careers: Towards a conceptual model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 117: 103196.
Demerouti, E., Bakker, A. B., Nachreiner, F., and Schaufeli, W. B. 2001. The job demands-resources model of burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(3): 499–512.
European Commission. 2021. *The 2021 ageing report: Economic and budgetary projections for the EU member states (2019–2070)*. *European Economy*. Institutional Paper 148, May.
European Migration Network. 2013. *Lithuania in the EU context*. http://123.emn.lt/en/general-trends/lithuania-in-the-eu-context.
Eurostat. 2019. *Employment rate of older workers, age group 55–64*. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/product?code=tesem050.
Freund, A. M. 2008. Successful aging as management of resources: The role of selection, optimization, and compensation. *Research in Human Development*, 5(2): 94–106.

Freund, A. M., and Baltes, P. B. 1998. Selection, optimization, and compensation as strategies of life management: Correlations with subjective indicators of successful aging. *Psychology and Aging*, 13(4): 531–543.
Göbel, C., and Zwick, T. 2009. *Age and productivity—Evidence from linked employer employee data*. ZEW Discussion Paper No. 09-020, Mannheim. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1431878.
Goštautaitė, B., and Bučiūnienė, I. 2015. Work engagement during life-span: The role of interaction outside the organization and task significance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 89: 109–119.
Kanfer, R., and Ackerman, P. L. 2004. Aging, adult development, and work motivation. *Academy of Management Review*, 29(3): 440–458.
Kanfer, R., Beier, M. E., and Ackerman, P. L. 2013. Goals and motivation related to work in later adulthood: An organizing framework. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 22(3): 253–264.
Kim, S., and Feldman, D. C. 2000. Working in retirement: The antecedents of bridge employment and its consequences for quality of life in retirement. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43(6): 1195–1210.
Mayrhofer, W., Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D., Dickmann, M., Dries, N., et al. 2016. Career success across the globe: Insights from the 5C project. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(3): 197–205.
Morgeson, F. P., and Humphrey, S. E. 2006. The Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ): Developing and validating a comprehensive measure for assessing job design and the nature of work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(6): 1321–1339.
Neumark, D., Burn, I., and Button, P. 2019. Is it harder for older workers to find jobs? New and improved evidence from a field experiment. *Journal of Political Economy*, 127(2): 922–970.
OECD. 2018. *Talis 2018 results: Teachers and school leaders as lifelong learners. Volume I*. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/fa24224d-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/fa24224d-en.
OECD. 2019. *Fiscal challenges and inclusive growth in ageing societies*. OECD economic policy paper, Paris.
ŠVIS. 2020. *Profesinis mokymas. PM pedagogai (pedagoginiai darbuotojai). Profesijos mokytojų amžius*. http://svis.emokykla.lt/statistines-lenteles-pagal-temas/.
Wang, M., Zhan, Y., Liu, S., and Shultz, K. S. 2008. Antecedents of bridge employment: A longitudinal investigation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(4): 818–830.
Weigl, M., Müller, A., Hornung, S., Zacher, H., and Angerer, P. 2013. The moderating effects of job control and selection, optimization, and compensation strategies on the age–work ability relationship. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34(5): 607–628.

21. 'Old' and 'new', now and then – reflections on four careers in Switzerland

Martin Gubler

SETTING THE SCENE

This chapter describes the career stories of four men in Switzerland. Two of them – my two grandfathers – were born in the early 20th century, two of them – my best friend and myself – several decades later. The four stories illustrate how individual careers are substantially shaped both by external (e.g. economic) circumstances and by individual decisions.

The comparison of the four stories cautions against such simplifications as 'typical' careers. Instead, it shows how important it is to look not only at someone's objectively observable career trajectory but also at an individual's wider personal, economic and social situation to understand an individual career more holistically.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Switzerland is one of the richest countries in the world. Measured in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, it ranks second globally (OECD, 2021). Although there are substantial economic differences between thriving urban areas and remote rural areas, domestic inter-regional transfer payments smoothen these economic differences and allow for a high standard of living across the country.

However, Switzerland has not always been rich. For centuries, it was a poor country where people struggled to survive. Particularly in the 19th century, many Swiss were forced to emigrate and pursue their careers abroad (e.g. in America) because of economic hardship. In the early 20th century, Switzerland was in a similar economic situation to its European neighbours and its state of development roughly corresponded to the one in South Africa in 2007, in other words, a medium level of economic and social development. It was only over a few decades in the 20th century that Switzerland rapidly developed in terms of GDP and various other economic and social indices (Crafts, 2000; Stohr, 2016).

FOUR SHORT CAREER STORIES

Werner

My paternal grandfather was born in 1910. He grew up in an urban, middle-class household on the outskirts of Zurich. After school, he first completed an apprenticeship as an accountant. Soon thereafter he applied for a position in the Zurich police force and was admitted (completion of an apprenticeship is a mandatory requirement for joining the police force in Switzerland). The compulsory entry position at the time was patrol duty, so Werner spent the first few years serving as a patrol officer in the streets. As soon as possible, though, he moved to the police headquarters. For the rest of his career, my grandfather worked in full-time back-office functions, mainly as a quartermaster sergeant. In that function he was, for example, responsible for the supplies of the police headquarters. His job did not make him a rich man, but it provided a stable, decent income. This allowed him to rent a small, semi-detached house on the outskirts of Zurich and to provide his family with a typical urban, middle-class lifestyle of the mid-20th century. After 35 years in the police force, my grandfather retired at the age of 61.

Werner literally worked in the same room for almost his entire career, thus his physical career mobility was extremely low (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Job security, though, was high for him. As long as my grandfather stayed loyal to the police force, he could reasonably expect to reach the age of retirement there (which he eventually did). Career success in the police force was mainly measured by objective criteria, that is, in terms of promotions (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). Werner’s career accordingly followed a few hierarchically increasing steps until it plateaued with his role as quartermaster sergeant. Over his entire career, he never experienced a demotion. After joining the police force, Werner’s career steps were predominantly planned and initiated by the organization, not by himself.

Overall, Werner’s career includes many of the typical features of a so-called ‘old’, ‘traditional’, ‘organizational’ career. Furthermore, between him and the police force, there seems to have been a typical ‘old’ psychological contract in which loyalty to the organization was rewarded with job security (Gubler, 2019).

Adolf

My maternal grandfather was also born in 1910 and he grew up in a poor family with seven children in a small rural village in the Swiss countryside. Although Adolf was good at school, he was not allowed to attend secondary school in a larger village nearby because his parents could only afford one bicycle. His elder brother already needed the bicycle to go to secondary school, so my grandfather was forced to leave the educational system early. Lacking any alternatives, Adolf started helping his father at work, without any vocational training. Over time, my grandfather took over (i.e. 'inherited') three different professional activities from his father. In his main role, Adolf became responsible for running the small rural post office and for delivering mail to all the farms in the countryside. In addition, he was in charge of all administrative duties when people married in the village and, lastly, he worked as a farmer on his own inherited patches of land and forest. My grandfather pursued all three activities in parallel until he reached retirement age.

Overall, Adolf's career environment was unstable, hardly predictable and did not provide much economic security. He worked in several roles and organizations, including his own business as a farmer, in parallel. Only continuous high performance and constant flexibility ensured his employment and a sufficient income to support his family. Thus, despite his low physical career mobility (he lived and worked in the same village throughout his entire life), my grandfather showed a high degree of psychological mobility (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006), for example by being open to any of the (few) professional options that were then available to him. He was fully responsible for his own career management – no organization would do that for him. Also, career success did not come in terms of hierarchical promotions or a high income. Instead, for Adolf, career success was of a mainly subjective nature (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). My grandfather was a man who loved nature and who was most happy when he was outside, taking care of his plants and animals and seeing them grow and prosper. This was his passion, and he was excellent at it. In a time before professional weather forecasting, he was the trusted adviser for local farmers when it came to predicting the weather, based on his observations of various natural phenomena. For example, to Adolf's great pride, farmers asked for, and relied on, his judgement as to the best time to cultivate their fields.

Thus, my maternal grandfather's career matches many of the typical features of a 'new', 'contemporary' career (Gubler, 2019), even though he lived in rural Switzerland many decades ago. However, what might be considered a modern 'portfolio career' had a serious underlying reason. My grandfather did not freely choose his career path; rather, his career was driven by sheer economic necessity. His parents' poverty made it impossible for him to gain access to higher education. Then, because of his subsequent relatively poor education, he was only able to work in low-paying jobs. It was only by pursuing three part-time jobs in parallel, including the production of food on his own small farm, that he was able to provide sufficiently for his family.

Christian

My best friend decided as a teenager to become a primary school teacher, like his own father. Today, after almost thirty years in the profession, he still likes what he does and draws much satisfaction from teaching. Over these three decades, Christian has never changed his employer or even his schoolroom. However, although his formal role (i.e. primary school teacher) has not changed, his activities *within* his role have done so greatly. Some of these changes were driven externally, such as updated curricula, new instructional formats or, lately, a radical move to online teaching due to the Coronavirus pandemic. In addition, Christian actively and repeatedly sought change and more challenges in his role. For example, he volunteered to participate in several school reform projects. For many years, he has been a mentor for young graduate teachers, partly to pass on his own experience, partly to learn from his younger colleagues. Furthermore, he once completed a degree course to qualify as a school principal but decided soon thereafter that he preferred teaching kids to administering teachers. Today, he teaches a class consisting of children of three different age groups, including a few pupils with special needs. This setting challenges him and requires all his combined experience and professional expertise. Over his entire career, Christian has worked part-time. This allowed him to look after his own children while his wife went to work. Nowadays, since the children have grown up, he uses his additional spare time to pursue his hobbies.

Although he would have had a wide range of professional opportunities after high school, Christian decided to become a teacher and thus 'inherited' his profession from his father. This phenomenon is fairly common in teachers' families (Gubler et al., 2017). Christian works in a relatively stable career environment compared to other professions. The core task of a teacher – namely educating children – has largely remained the same over time, and a typical psychological contract in a Swiss school is arguably of a relational, long-term nature (Gubler et al., 2020). Nevertheless, *within* the occupation, various reforms have led to substantial changes over the last few decades. Schools have traditionally managed the career development of their teachers – and they continue to do so these days. Yet, to ensure school quality while constantly adapting to changing teaching requirements, schools increasingly rely on self-directed, highly motivated and experienced teachers (Gubler et al., 2020). Christian is such a teacher, drawing motivation and satisfaction from becoming increasingly experienced by continuously learning and adopting new teaching methods. The skills he acquired are partly school-related (e.g. instructional methods) and partly transferrable (e.g. managing highly diverse groups of people). Christian has never been interested in the traditional status symbols of career success. Instead, subjective career success criteria (Gunz and Heslin, 2005), such as continuous learning, pursuing a meaningful job and having sufficient time for his family and hobbies, are much more important to him.

Overall, Christian's career includes various elements of a 'traditional' career, such as a stable environment, long-term employment in one organization, a relational psychological contract and very low physical career mobility. Yet, his career also features typical elements of a 'new' career, namely repeated self-initiated learning cycles (Hall, 2002) or his pursuit of subjective career success, such as his decision to work (and earn) less for a more satisfactory work-life balance (Gubler, 2019).

Martin

Raised in a middle-class family, my own career started almost in parallel with Christian's. We went to high school and spent the first year of teacher training together. I then went to university to become a secondary (rather than primary) school teacher. After five years as a teacher, I felt that the time had come for me to move on professionally. I then studied business systems engineering while working as an IT project manager at a bank. However, I soon realized that I was more interested in people than in bits and bytes, and I moved to a role as an IT training and development specialist in the bank's HR department. Upon completion of my second degree, I was offered an expat position as a team leader for IT training and development in London. After two years in London and a total of seven years at the bank, I realized it was time for me to move again. Although my career objectively was progressing well (I had been promoted to a managerial role), I subjectively had lost any passion for and dedication to what I was doing. By then, I had started working on my PhD in organizational psychology and, just before my next promotion at the bank, left for a part-time job in a small career counselling company back in Switzerland. This career move led to a substantial loss of income, but it provided an immense boost in happiness and satisfaction at work. Although I was thankful for the international experience, I never once regretted leaving the bank. I spent the next three years counselling and writing my doctoral thesis. In addition, I took up various positions as a part-time lecturer at Swiss universities. When my thesis was almost finished, I was offered a position as a postdoctoral researcher at a prestigious university in Switzerland. Yet, over the four years as a full-time researcher, it had dawned on me that I did not want to pursue a typical academic career for the rest of my professional life. I then accepted a part-time research professorship at a small university for teacher education. This allowed me to combine my academic background with my teaching one and to keep lecturing in other institutions. Besides doing research, I became increasingly involved in training school principals, and I found their roles meaningful and challenging. So, after five years, I applied for such a role, my current position as a vice dean at a business school.

My career environment has constantly switched between stable (e.g. as a teacher, at the bank, at the business school) and relatively turbulent phases (e.g. both research positions were non-permanent, with one of them only providing renewable one-year contracts) – a pattern that has been described in the literature (e.g. Arnold and Cohen, 2008). Although all my employers offered some career development options, I never relied on them. I have always tried to initiate my career moves myself, whenever I felt the need to do so. Most of my positions were part-time positions. Before I took up my current full-time position, I had five different active employment contracts. This was a deliberate choice as it allowed me to pursue various activities in parallel (e.g. lecturing or writing a doctoral thesis), thereby enriching my main job. In each professional role I acquired a range of different skills. Although they often seemed unrelated at the time, I can now meaningfully combine and use them in my current position. Working as a vice dean requires all my previous professional expertise, whether related to academia, education and teaching, business, coaching or psychology. In terms of career success, I have never been strongly driven by objective criteria. For example, I changed jobs three times in a row for a new position with less salary (school to bank, bank to consulting, consulting to research), just because I felt the new role was more interesting and challenging. However, objective success criteria are not entirely irrelevant. In my current context, for example, my academic titles provide substantial 'signalling value', particularly in external communication.

My career to date has, thus, predominantly been of a 'new' nature. Various changes of profession, lateral and 'downward' career moves, job insecurity and values-driven career decisions – these are all typical elements of such careers (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 2002). This has led to several distinct learning cycles in my career (school to bank, bank to consulting, consulting to research, etc.), all of which required so-called metacompetencies (i.e. adaptability, identity), as postulated in the protean career model (Hall, 2002). Also, my reason for leaving the bank shows that substantial discrepancies between the objectively observable career path and the subjective assessment thereof can occur. Repeatedly crossing organizational, occupational and national boundaries implies a high level of physical mobility. I have declined promotions, and I am in touch with researchers from all over the world, both of which are indications of high psychological mobility (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006).

CLOSING THE SCENE

Table 22.1 provides an overview of the key characteristics of so-called 'old' and 'new' career (Gubler, 2019) and how elements of them can be linked to various aspects of the four careers presented above. The overview is used to reflect on these four careers from a more general point of view in the next section.

REFLECTIONS

The four career stories illustrate how external influences, as well as individual decisions, directly affect individual careers. My grandfathers were born at a time when Switzerland was still relatively poor and there were substantial economic differences between different regions, as no domestic transfer payments between regions existed. Werner was born in (relatively) well-off Zurich, whereas Adolf was born in a poor rural village. Dire economic circumstances forced Adolf out of school and thereby heavily affected his subsequent career options and career trajectory. Poor education led to an (involuntary) portfolio career because Adolf lacked professional alternatives. Neither his multiple part-time jobs nor the 'inheritance' of his professional activities from his father were freely chosen; they were both the direct result of economic hardship. This shows that 'new' careers are not necessarily shaped by self-directed, values-driven decisions (e.g. Guest and Sturges, 2007). On a wider scale, Adolf's career also illustrates that when Switzerland was still a poor country, this resulted in economically driven individual career patterns similar to those reported from many poorer countries today (e.g. Valcour et al., 2007).

Sixty years later, Christian and I were both born in an economically thriving country and we have not experienced any economic hardship to date. We were both able to choose our part-time jobs freely – high wages in Switzerland and excellent education made this possible. I did so to pursue a combination of different professional activities in parallel, whereas Christian did so to spend more time with his children and to share domestic duties with his wife. Also, 'inheriting' his father's career as a teacher was a free and autonomous choice, rather than a consequence of lacking job opportunities. This supports claims in the literature that those with higher levels of education potentially benefit more from pursuing contemporary career tracks than those forced to do so by economic necessity (e.g. Guest and Sturges, 2007; Valcour et al., 2007).

Table 21.1 Key characteristics of 'old' and 'new' careers and how they relate to the four career stories

	Characteristics of 'traditional' career concepts	Characteristics of 'contemporary' career concepts	Werner	Adolf	Christian	Martin
Career environment	Stable, predictable, high levels of security	Unstable, unpredictable, low levels of security	Stable, predictable, high levels of security	Unstable, unpredictable, low levels of security	Stable, predictable, high levels of security	Stable as well as unstable stages
Employment deal	Job security for loyalty (relational psychological contract; 'old deal')	Employability for performance and flexibility (transactional psychological contract; 'new deal')	Job security for loyalty	Employability for performance and flexibility	Job security for loyalty	Both elements, depending on employer
Career trajectory	Vertical, mainly in one or two firms	Multidirectional, mostly in multiple firms	Vertical, mainly in one organization	Employed by several employers in parallel, partly self-employed	Hardly any vertical opportunities available in schools	Multidirectional, in multiple organizations, countries and occupational fields
Skills required	Firm-specific	Transferable	Firm-specific	Transferable as well as firm-specific (e.g. post office)	Firm-specific – but increasingly transferable skills	Mainly transferable

	Characteristics of 'traditional' career concepts	Characteristics of 'contemporary' career concepts	Werner	Adolf	Christian	Martin
Responsible for career management	Organization	Individual	Organization	Individual	Organization, but much individual initiative to change professional settings	Individual
Success criteria	Objective career success	Subjective career success	Objective (promotions)	Subjective (finding meaning in nature, etc.)	Subjective (personal values, meaningful job, etc.)	Both Personal values (satisfaction, etc), but also 'objective' elements (academic titles, etc.)
Driver of flexibility				Poverty, economic need to provide sufficient income to support his family	Voluntary choice	Voluntary choice
Reason for part-time work				Due to poverty and lack of full-time employment	Voluntary choice (time for family and for pursuing hobbies)	Voluntary choice (opportunity to have several different jobs in parallel)

My two grandfathers' careers illustrate that even though almost prototypical 'old' careers existed in the first half of the 20th century, some prototypical 'new' careers could also already be found decades before these terms became fashionable. Likewise, as Christian's career story shows, careers with typical 'old' elements can still be found today, as can careers with predominantly 'new' elements, such as mine. This indicates that the terms 'old' and 'new career' are not really appropriate (e.g. Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Guest and Sturges, 2007; Hall, 2002).

Particularly Christian's career shows that the dichotomization between 'old' and 'new' careers cannot fully reflect the complexity of real career trajectories. Instead, it is perfectly possible to find individually meaningful careers that combine 'old' and 'new' elements, although such combinations have rarely been conceptually investigated (for some exceptions, see e.g. Briscoe and Hall, 2006; Gubler, 2011). These four career stories may, therefore, also serve as a reminder that it is important to look not only at someone's objectively observable career path, but also at an individual's wider personal, economic and social situation to understand why he/she has followed a particular career path. This may be even more relevant when studying careers across various countries, where cultural differences make it even more complex to understand an individual's career decisions (e.g. Guest and Sturges, 2007; Valcour et al., 2007).

BOX 21.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Try to identify parallels and differences between the four career stories presented here and your own career, or the career of a person you know well.
2. Think about your own career or the career of a person you know well. Which elements of 'old' and 'new' careers can you identify?
3. Think about your own career or the career of a person you know well. To what degree do you think that external factors (e.g. economic pressure) have affected your/their career path?

REFERENCES

Arnold, J., and Cohen, L. 2008. The psychology of careers in industrial and organizational settings: A critical but appreciative analysis. In G. P. Hodgkinson and J. K. Ford (Eds), *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology 2008*, vol. 23: 1–44. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Arthur, M. B., and Rousseau, D. M. (Eds). 1996. *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Briscoe, J. P., and Hall, D. T. 2006. The interplay of boundaryless and protean careers: Combinations and implications. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(1): 4–18.
Crafts, N. 2000. *Globalization and growth in the twentieth century*. IMF Working Paper no. 00/44. Retrieved from www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2000/wp0044.pdf.
Gubler, M. 2011. *Protean and boundaryless career orientations – An empirical study of IT professionals in Europe*. PhD thesis, Loughborough University, Loughborough, UK.
Gubler, M. 2019. Neue Laufbahnmodelle in Theorie und Praxis: Eine kritische Würdigung. In S. Kauffeld and D. Spurk (Eds), *Handbuch Karriere und Laufbahnmanagement*: 937–962. Berlin: Springer.
Gubler, M., Biemann, T., and Herzog, S. 2017. An apple doesn't fall far from the tree – Or does it? Occupational inheritance and teachers' career patterns. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 100: 1–14.
Gubler, M., Eggenhofer-Rehart, P., Andresen, M., Mandel, D., Mayrhofer, W., et al. 2020. Are teachers 'same same but different'? – The meaning of career success across occupations. *Teacher Development*, 24(1): 1–20.
Guest, D., and Sturges, J. 2007. Living to work, working to live: Conceptualisations of careers among contemporary workers. In H. Gunz and M. Peiperl (Eds), *Handbook of Career Studies*: 310–326. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
Gunz, H. P., and Heslin, P. A. 2005. Reconceptualizing career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 105–111.
Hall, D. T. 2002. *Careers In and Out of Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
OECD. 2021. *OECD data*. Retrieved from https://data.oecd.org/switzerland.htm.
Stohr, C. 2016. *Trading gains: New estimates of Swiss GDP, 1851 to 2008*. Retrieved from http://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:86942.
Sullivan, S. E., and Arthur, M. B. 2006. The evolution of the boundaryless career concept: Examining physical and psychological mobility. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(1): 19–29.
Valcour, M., Bailyn, L., and Quijada, M. A. 2007. Customized careers. In H. P. Gunz and M. Peiperl (Eds), *Handbook of Career Studies*: 188–210. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

22. A hundred years of solitude and fight: careers in Slovakia across three generations in Central and Eastern Europe

Sonia Ferencikova

INTRODUCTION

This is the story of one family's career choices and professional development in the midst of tremendous economic and political turmoil. It is a story about tough individuals with strong will who were forced to negotiate complex combinations of opportunity and risk. As a result, they continuously adjusted their career goals. The central theme of the story is how their strong will and determination helped them to stay afloat and never give up on a successful career path.[1]

CONTEXT

Our story begins before World War I, when Slovakia was still a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and it continues through the aftermath of that war, including the creation of the new country of Czechoslovakia as part of the Treaty of Versailles. Czechoslovakia existed from 1918 until 1939, when Hitler seized Sudeten, the German-minority part of Czechoslovakia, and created the Protectorate of Czechia and Moravia. In response, a separate Slovak state was created under the pressure and surveillance of Germany. Slovaks saw some advantages to the arrangement, since they had been trying to gain more independence from the Czechs since 1918. After World War II ended in 1945, Czechoslovakia was reunified as a democratic country. However, by agreement between the Soviet Union and the Western allies, Czechoslovakia was allowed to fall under the Soviet zone of influence, and in 1948 communists took control. From 1948 until the Velvet Revolution in 1989, Czechoslovakia was officially a communist country. In 1989 Czechoslovakia returned to democratic government, but in 1993 the two main parts of the country – Czechia and Slovakia – separated in the "Velvet Divorce" into two nation states: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. This was the beginning of a difficult journey of transformation to democracy and a market economy (Nunberg et al., 1999; Kornai, 1980, 1992, 2006; Svejnar, 2002).

THE STORY

Our story starts 100 years ago, in 1921, when Florian was born in the remote village of Libichava in western Slovakia (at that time, still part of Czechoslovakia). Florian was one of nine siblings, with some born under the Austro-Hungarian Empire before 1914 and others born as citizens of the new country of Czechoslovakia after 1918. Florian's father, Jan, served in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I.

The family lived in a fertile area and made a success of farming. Nevertheless, life was very tough at that time: all the family members worked long hours in the fields and tending cattle. They were relatively prosperous, owning large fields, livestock, and agricultural machinery. They even hired servants and seasonal workers. When they saved any money, they bought more land. At a certain point, Jan needed to decide which sons would stay with him on the family farm and which ones would go to town to become apprentices. Traditionally, the oldest sons stayed and worked on the farm, and the younger sons embarked upon apprenticeships; the girls married and joined the families of their husbands.

At the age of 12, Florian was sent to the nearby town of Banovce to become a butcher. His master was Jan Fojtik, who was the mayor and a very respected businessman. One of their customers was a local priest named Jozef Tiso, who later became the president of Slovakia. Banovce was an important center for the growing effort to gain Slovak independence during this period. Florian eventually moved to Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, to get even more skills and served in the company of the famous butcher Rudolf Manderla. Manderla was one of the richest people in the Slovak capital, owning the first "sky-scraper" in the country, with his shop and fast-food facility on the first floor.

When World War II started, Florian was drafted into the Slovak army. As a semi-independent state under the surveillance of Germany, the Slovak army was expected to fight as a German ally. This was never a success, and in 1944 a large part of the Slovak army mutinied, including Florian. He was taken prisoner in September 1944 and sent to a detention camp in Germany. Florian was ordered to serve as a butcher in the kitchen of the prisoner-of-war camp. In this terrible time, with a lot of hard work and hunger for detainees, Florian witnessed a lot of tragedies. There is no doubt that his survival was at least partially the result of his job in the kitchen and his skills as a butcher.

When the war ended, Florian returned to his home village and planned to open his own business. But when the communists came to power in 1948, they persecuted all businessmen, owners of land, and intellectuals. The family property was nationalized, including the fields, cattle, and machinery. Florian himself was persecuted and even imprisoned as the son of a "class enemy" – a relatively rich farmer. In 1953 he married. He had two children, Lubomir (born 1955) and Sonia (born 1960). In the 1950s he worked in a factory and in a warehouse. Eventually, in 1960, he was allowed to work again as a butcher in one of the socialist cooperatives, serving as driver, butcher, shop assistant, and administrator at the same time.

His wife Emilia was born in 1930 in the same village and had a similar class background – in the 1930s and 40s her parents owned land and a small wood-processing company. As a result, they were officially classified as enemies of the working class. Her father was also imprisoned for a while. Her Uncle Vojtech, a priest and the youngest professor in Czechoslovakia, with a double doctorate in philosophy and theology, left the country illegally. This probably saved his life: leading priests were continuously persecuted and imprisoned by the communist regime. He emigrated to Germany, becoming the leading figure of anti-communist exile, with the titles of Papal Prelate and Monseigneur. He received the highest German order – a Cross (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) – for his activity (Buckova, 2003). Meanwhile, Emilia enrolled in a special high school for girls, graduating in 1948. This was just in time: after the communist takeover, the children of "enemies" of the working class were not allowed to study at high schools or universities.

Florian and Emilia both came from faithful Catholic families and never gave up their faith – a further black mark on top of their economic backgrounds. (Official communist ideology was hostile against any religion, declaring that religion is the opium of mankind.) Emilia stayed at home for years as a housewife, but she still earned income by providing different services for the local community, such as making clothing for women and baking sweets for weddings. In the 1970s, she started to work as a shop assistant in the cooperative butchery where Florian had become the chief.

The 1950s were full of struggles, persecution, and animosity between communists and the rest of the society, but the 1960s were much quieter. Both children were excellent students, especially Sonia, who had all As during all her years in elementary, middle, and high school. Seeing that his children had the potential to be very successful, Florian advised Lubomir to become a medical doctor. This was based on his experience in the last war: doctors are always needed and respected, in wartime as well as in peacetime. However, entry into medical school would be extremely difficult, even in the 1970s, because of the family's class background. Each applicant had to be approved by his/her school and by the local organization of the communist party, in addition to having excellent academic qualifications, including good high school grades and a high score from a difficult entrance exam. If the parents were communist party members, it was a plus. Florian and Emilia were not.

Lubomir's father used personal connections to help his case. Florian's boss was friends with another regional boss who worked in central Slovakia, where one of the three medical schools was located. This contact was friends with a local communist party chief, who could put in a good word with the dean of the medical school. The family decided to focus on this school because the chances of getting into either of the other two schools were close to zero. Lubomir was finally admitted, with an excellent score on the entrance exam and one of the best applications overall. Nevertheless, the family believes that the personal connections made the difference.

After five years, Lubomir graduated from medical school and became a respected doctor in Topolcany, a district town about 15 kilometers from his home village. He passed two specialization exams – in internal medicine and gastroenterology – and in his 66 years he has been loved and valued by his patients for his expertise, deliberation, good temper, and excellent attitude.

His sister Sonia excelled academically in many subjects, including math, languages, geography, and creative writing. As a high school student, she won several all-state competitions for poetry. She dreamed about traveling to other countries, but it was very difficult under socialism. Her interests varied so much that she could not find the right field to study in. As always, politics were a factor. Professional positions in the arts were very limited and realistically only for the children of high-positioned communist party members. A similar situation existed for journalism, where 100 percent obedience to party ideology was essential, a condition she found unacceptable. Her mother originally thought that she should be a secretary, which would be comfortable and safe without requiring physical labor – an ideal job for a typical girl in her home village. Others, including her father, teachers, and godmother Anna (who was a teacher as well), recognized her potential and insisted on sending her to a university in the capital of Bratislava.

Sonia finally decided to study foreign trade. There were jobs available in government-owned foreign trade companies, and there was the possibility of travel to Western Europe and other countries of the world. (Private international travel from Czechoslovakia to capitalist countries was "locked".) Acceptance into foreign trade study was even more difficult than getting into medicine. It was the domain of the children of influential party officials, since it guaranteed trips to the West, access to hard currency, and a comfortable living. So, how could a talented girl from a small village without a party background get into this special club? Sometimes you just need to be ready to take your chance when the opportunity arises …

When Sonia was about to graduate from high school, an anti-communist movement began in Czechoslovakia. Led by Václav Havel, it began with the drafting of Charter 77, which was widely distributed and discussed at the all-European Helsinki conference on human rights. The Charter described the violation of human rights under the communist regime, including the selection of university students based on ideology rather than academic talent. The government wanted to show to the world that the Chartists were wrong and adopted a policy – for one year only – that high school students with straight As would be accepted into university without entrance exams or other ideological screening. Sonia was accepted. She found herself among the privileged children of the communist high society and quickly became one of the three best students in her class of one hundred.

However, after graduation, she was not able to find a job in any foreign trade company. Priority was given to men or to graduates with influential parents. She worked as a research assistant at her university in Bratislava, but without party membership she only had temporary jobs and was prohibited from doctoral study. The number of positions for doctoral studies was limited, and each position was created for an individual – either a communist party member or the child of an influential communist party official.

Sonia wrote a letter of complaint to the president of Czechoslovakia, Gustáv Husák, arguing that these policies violated the principles of human rights. She cited the national constitution, which stated that all people are equal. The president agreed and gave the order to the university to create a PhD position for her. As the old professors said at that time, they did not remember any PhD student without party membership. She was hated and persecuted in various ways by the communist party organization at the school, who felt humiliated by someone who had the courage to send a complaint to the president. Sonia survived this Pyrrhic victory, partially because she was among the best doctoral students at the university, but also because she worked twice as hard as anyone else. Finally, with the arrival of the Velvet Revolution in 1989, the entire social and political order collapsed.

In 1990 she defended her thesis (fortunately focused on export efficiency, with no ideological content) and got her first real permanent work contract in her life. She started as assistant professor and climbed the academic career ladder very fast, becoming the youngest associate professor (dozent) and among the youngest full professors in the country. (An especially tough process in Slovakia, where professors must be appointed by the president of the country.) She was only the second professor from her home village – the first one was her great-uncle, Vojtech, who fled to West Germany.

The story goes on …

Lubomir married Dagmar, a psychologist, in 1982. They still live in Topolcany. They have two sons, Martin (born 1983) and Peter (born 1988).

They both were excellent students, always among the best in their high school and in their universities. Martin followed in the steps of his Aunt Sonia and studied foreign trade management in Bratislava, including study abroad in Germany (Mannheim and Koblenz, on two separate trips). After graduation he started to work in London at one of the largest private banks in the world. Later he moved to Zurich, where he is a very successful manager at a private equity firm that invests in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Unlike his parents, the entire world was open to him; he has not worked a single day in his homeland. He left the country because he was very talented, ambitious, and could not find a satisfying position in a reputable company in Slovakia. On top of that, when he graduated, the salaries in Slovakia were very low compared to those in Western Europe. He does not think about returning to Slovakia at all.

Peter followed in the steps of his father and became a doctor. We should add that admission to university, even though very competitive, was not a problem for either son: admission is no longer based on politics, only on the academic merit of each applicant. Peter was an excellent student and was eventually accepted into a PhD program at his medical school in Bratislava. But he gave up after one year because of the poor conditions in Slovak health care, including unmotivated doctors, underfinanced facilities, poor management, and poor conditions for PhD students, including low stipends. Currently he is working in Germany for a private hospital, having passed two specialization exams in internal medicine and gastroenterology in both Slovakia and Germany. He had partially considered returning to Slovakia, but now he is committed to a long-term relationship with his German girlfriend.

Sonia and her husband Stefan were classmates at high school in their home town of Topolcany. They married in 1983, just after graduation from their universities. He studied electrical engineering, a field where hundreds of students were admitted yearly – entry not being as tough as for foreign trade study or medicine. They have two daughters: Zita (born 1985) and Sonia (born 1991). Like their cousins, both were outstanding students. Because their parents work in the capital of Bratislava, both went to one of the best high schools in the country.

After high school graduation, Zita was accepted into Yale, where she completed her undergraduate degree in biology and economics, and then continued on to Dartmouth Medical School. She was extremely talented, accomplishing the nearly impossible: generous scholarships to two Ivy League institutions as an international student. She married a Canadian PhD student in bioengineering and electrical engineering while at Dartmouth. After her residency at Dartmouth University Hospital, she now has a urology practice at a nearby hospital in Vermont. The couple have twins, a girl and a boy, Ziva and Kelvin, born in 2014. The children have three passports: Slovak, American, and Canadian.

Zita believes she will never return to her home country because of the unsatisfactory state of the Slovak health-care system, poor compensation for young doctors, and the lack of respect for female doctors. According to her, she experienced the last of these firsthand while interning at a Slovak hospital.

Sonia (usually called Sonicka, to distinguish from her mother) completed her bachelor's degree in international economics in Bratislava. She promised her parents not to leave the country – or at least to stay as close as possible. Afterwards, she was accepted into a highly competitive and selective master's program at the Vienna University of Economics and Business. Taught entirely in English, the program focused on strategy, innovation, and management control. After graduation, she worked as an intern at the European Central Bank and had several other jobs in the Frankfurt area in Germany. She is now a highly skilled and successful IT HR consultant working for the German subsidiary of a US company near Frankfurt. Similar to her cousin Peter, she has a German boyfriend and a very good job, and is unlikely to ever return to Slovakia.

SUMMARY

During the 20th and 21st century, CEE, including Slovakia, was a boiling pot full of incredible and dramatic events, with rapid political, economic, and social changes. The first generation in our story started their lives in a rural area, with no electricity, widespread illiteracy, hunger, many risks to life, no access to higher education, and poor transportation. They saw the end of feudalism and the building of a fragile, newly born capitalist democratic state suddenly interrupted by World War II and then communism. When communism collapsed, the country experienced a deep recession and only recovered around the turn of the new century. The family we follow started their lives in a closed society, both geographically and socially, with clearly stated gender roles and basically no professional role for women in society at all (Fodor and Glass, 2018). The last generation in our story is fully digital, studied at the best schools, and lives all over the globe. The women have taken control of the steering wheel in their lives, putting an emphasis on both career and family.

As Sonia says:

> My brother Lubomir and I are the most successful exporters of talented children to the West. We raised talents that contributed to the brain drain. That is a terrible pity and loss for our country – and also for us as parents – but we are powerless. The younger generation is not tied to the land, culture, and national values, but rather they are focused on the best place to live and work. Our generation fought for freedom against communism in 1989, and we opened a long-locked door for them, and they have now passed through. We must stop wondering and start to learn to live with that.

REFLECTIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

Arthur et al. (1999) distinguish traditional and nontraditional career theories. Traditional theories focus on the connection between career and personal fulfillment by considering a career as a series of jobs worked by a person in his/her life (Arthur et al., 1999). They represent a time when the ideal was to obtain a job and keep it for life (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Arthur, 2014). In contrast, nontraditional theories emphasize the stronger presence of "self" and self-organization into career pathways that continuously adapt to the environment. Hall (1996) states that until the 1980s nontraditional career movements (lateral transfers, temporary contracts, etc.) were rare. According to him, people were seldom concerned with pursuing their own career paths and were instead frequently focused on survival. This was particularly the case in socialist countries (Pieper, 1992). In the 2000s people started to work more independently and the boundaries between careers disappeared (Hall, 2002).

A surprise in this story is that the difference between "older generation – traditional" and "newer generation – contemporary" careers is not as clear-cut as we sometimes assume. Belonging to the older generation, Florian and Emilia needed to heavily adjust to a turbulent environment, acquire different skills, and make different things for a living; they represent the substance of "new" careers. In contrast, members of the younger generation, even though they are professionally very well developed and constantly improving, have been doing in essence the same job during their working lives so far: Lubomir and Sonia (the middle generation) have spent their entire careers as a medical doctor and a professor respectively. The youngest generation, Martin, Peter, Zita, and Sonicka, apparently do just "one" job (doctors, managers). This means that their approach to a great extent resembles the "old – traditional" career. However, the youngest generation also experiences physical "boundarylessness": given their excellent education, they can work in many countries of the world (Kovacheva, 2001).

Our story, full of personal career transitions, shocks, and resilience, ends in 2021 when Sonia writes it down with the hope of passing on the following messages to readers:

- Parents are the most important career advisors. (Florian, Lubomir, Sonicka)
- Follow your dreams, the conditions will adjust. (Sonia, Zita, Martin, Peter)
- Work hard, do whatever is necessary, and never give up; sometimes the fruit comes later. (Florian, Emilia, Sonia, Zita)
- When life is not at stake, it means nothing (Slovak proverb). In other words, even if you are losing, it is never so bad that you cannot lift your head and continue in your own direction. (Florian, Sonia)

- When there is the opportunity for mobility across national borders, people choose the best country for their career and brain drain starts. (Zita, Sonicka, Martin, Peter)
- The younger generation does not care about gender stereotypes, and fights against them. (Sonia, Zita, Sonicka)

And Sonia adds:

> Paradoxically, we lived in a locked country under communism, and now even the world is being locked and travel prohibited due to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, we all believe that it is only temporary, but maybe another 100 years of solitude and fight in our family has just started …

BOX 22.1 STOP AND THINK

1. Identify the most important milestones that have influenced careers in CEE in the last hundred years.
2. Identify and classify the major career changes and challenges in Slovakia after the fall of communism.
3. Link the story to the major Western career concepts and theories. Based on CEE experience, which are supported and which are to be questioned?
4. Identify the most important milestones that are likely to influence careers in CEE in the next hundred years.

NOTE

1. This chapter is a part of the research project of the Ministry of Education, Family and Sports of the Slovak Republic VEGA N.1/0270/22: Growth of Slovakia's innovative capabilities and competitiveness for foreign investors in post-covid deglobalization era from the aspect of knowledge creation and its transfer.

REFERENCES

Arthur, M. 2014. The boundaryless career at 20: Where do we stand, and where can we go? *Career Development International*, 19(6): 627–640.

Arthur, M., Inkson, K., and Pringle, J. 1999. *The New Careers: Individual Action and Economic Change*. London: SAGE Publications. https://books.google.at/books?id=yIgl9CPaCUgC.

Arthur, M., and Rousseau, D. 1996. *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Buckova, A. 2003. *Rodokmen Buckovcov z Libichavy 1706–2002*. Tlaciarne: Tlaciarne Partizanske.

Fodor, É., and Glass, C. 2018. Labor market context, economic development, and family policy arrangements: Explaining the gender gap in employment in Central and Eastern Europe. *Social Forces*, 96(3): 1275–1302.
Hall, D. T. 1996. Protean careers of the 21st century. *Academy of Management Executive*, 10(4): 8–16.
Hall, D. T. 2002. *Careers In and Out of Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
Kornai, J. 1980. *Economics of Shortage*. Amsterdam; New York: North-Holland.
Kornai, J. 1992. *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Kornai, J. 2006. The great transformation of Central Eastern Europe: Success and disappointment. *Economics of Transition*, 14(2): 207–244.
Kovacheva, S. 2001. Flexibilisation of youth transitions in Central and Eastern Europe. *YOUNG*, 9(1): 41–60.
Nunberg, B., Barbone, L., and Derlien, H. U. 1999. *The State after Communism: Administrative Transitions in Central and Eastern Europe*. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://books.google.at/books?id=qxnBUzSYG1IC.
Pieper, R. 1992. Socialist HRM: An analysis of HRM theory and practice in the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe. *The International Executive*, 34(6): 499–516.
Svejnar, J. 2002. Transition economies: Performance and challenges. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16(1): 3–28.

PART VII

Organizations

23. Career coaching athletes: a career intervention for a specialized career in Australia

Narelle Hess and Denise Jepsen

AUSTRALIAN SPORTING CONTEXT

Australians love their sports, punching above their weight in the Olympics, cricket and other sports. This fascination with sports starts young, with around 60 per cent of Australian children aged five to 14 participating in organized sport outside school hours. After the age of 14, interest in sport remains important, with around 27 per cent of Australians aged 15 years and over participating in organized sport and around 43 per cent of the adult population watching at least one sporting event as a spectator per year (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Beyond entertainment, competitive sport has a substantial economic impact, with estimates that the industry contributes around 0.8 per cent to Australia's gross domestic product and accounts for 1.5 per cent of total employment (KPMG Sports Advisory, 2020). The financial drivers of elite sport have demanded increasing professionalism in their people and programmes. As a result, there has been a significant increase in the number of career development and personal development programmes offered to assist athletes manage their unpredictable career (Chambers et al., 2013).

Most elite sports careers tend to be short (Jones et al., 2014). What happens when the athlete has sustained an injury that means their promising career has come to a screeching halt? Or for those in their early or mid-20s who are yet to earn a professional-level contract, do they keep trying to win another elusive contract or quietly exit the sport with little fanfare? And what happens when the rare 'old man of the game' who at age 30 finally hangs up his boots after a stellar career discovers he doesn't enjoy giving speeches about his retirement and is unsure what to do next? How many times in those 'where are they now' TV programmes do we hear stories about former elites living lives no one ever imagined they would, perhaps being homeless, an alcoholic or penniless? While individuals, their families, sports audiences and the general community all play a role in supporting athletes, the focus here is on how the sports organizations support the post-playing welfare of their athletes.

The answer from one Australian professional sporting league was to encourage early and proactive preparation for post-football careers. In 2014, all 16 professional clubs in the Australian Rugby League engaged a qualified Career Coach to support athletes in identifying the most relevant career pathways for their skills, interests and abilities. This support was coupled with mandatory work or study for all athletes aged 21 and under.

INDIVIDUAL ATHLETE CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Athletes usually start sport when they are very young, and the many years devoted to training often distracts them from their studies. An athlete in the Australian Rugby League is eligible to be signed on a development contract from age 15 but would have been participating in rugby league from the age of five or six. Young athletes are often celebrated only for their athletic prowess, with those around them reinforcing the importance of their athletic pursuits. An exclusive athletic identity results in identity foreclosure, meaning athletes may be unable to cope with the developmental tasks required at different stages of their lives (Debois et al., 2015). Constant intense athletic training can also interfere with the basic skill development and career exploration that is needed for later careers. While peers are engaging in casual work or extracurricular pursuits to build their employability skills and explore their career interests, athletes often sacrifice their free time to meet training commitments. This can result in poor language, literacy and numeracy skill development, while those who do maintain their educational commitments and develop foundational skills may lack understanding of their personal interests and identity other than as an athlete.

Athletes in the Australian Rugby League are eligible for a professional playing contract at age 18. Once at the professional level, there are even higher demands on their time. Professional athletes are engaged in full-time training and are required to attend relevant media, community and corporate commitments. The year for this professional-level athlete starts with an intense four-month training preseason. This is followed by a seven-month playing season, with a one-month off season containing no sporting commitments ending the year. An athlete at this level often needs to further focus their time on training and conditioning in pursuit of their athletic dream.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORY

A professional athlete career in Australian Rugby League ranges from playing only one game to playing for 15 years, with an average career length being only four years. The unpredictable nature of this career highlights the importance of early career engagement by these athletes to assist them in preparing for their post-sporting life. Career engagement refers to study or work experience carried out alongside the athletic career. Academic literature refers to off-field career engagement alongside an athletic career as a 'dual career', but that term is not as commonly used among coaches and athletes in professional sport (Cartigny et al., 2021). The athlete is always first and foremost an athlete, but the sporting body and coaching staff understand the importance of supporting the whole person.

Understandably, athletes move in and out of off-field career planning engagement due to a complex set of individual and environmental factors. For the individual athlete, these factors include their personal identity, their level of career management and technical vocational skills, and the systematic influences of both the sporting context and broader family, community and societal expectations. Career engagement is also impacted across the year in Australian Rugby League, reflecting preseason's physically demanding training requirements; playing season's intense performance scrutiny, changing schedules and travel in a high-collision sport with injuries and suspensions; and the off-season's annual leave for relaxation and rejuvenation.

It is the Career Coach's role to understand and respect this context, while also supporting and motivating the individual athlete to engage in career planning and build their career management and technical vocational skills. The Career Coach needs to be flexible, skilled and qualified to understand the athlete's level of preparedness for career engagement. To assist Career Coaches, the transtheoretical model of change (Prochaska et al., 1992) was used to help track career planning engagement preparedness, as shown in Table 23.1. According to this model, an athlete in the *pre-contemplation* stage is not at all engaged in preparation for their post-sporting career. But as their awareness of the need to plan increases they move to *contemplation* stage, before actively planning for their post-sporting career at the *preparation* stage. They enact their career preparatory activities in the *action* stage, and they are successfully prepared for their post-sporting career in the *maintenance* stage.

CASE STUDY

This case study explores the role of a Career Coach on one day during preseason. The Career Coach and athletes are based on real people, but the narrative is fictional.

Table 23.1 Client behaviours at career planning engagement stages

Career planning engagement stage	Client behaviour
Pre-contemplation	Unaware of need for career planning; not thinking about it
Contemplation	Avoiding career meetings, despite admitting they ‘should’ attend
Preparation	Meeting with Career Coach to explore interests and research career options and education pathways; developing a plan with actions
Action	Acting on their career plan – may include study, work experience, being mentored, volunteering or starting a business
Maintenance	Drawing an income from identified future career

SETTING THE SCENE

I am Josephine, the Career Coach at a top rugby league club in Sydney, Australia. This afternoon I will meet four of the game’s most promising players, who are in their first few years as members of the professional squad. (Table 23.2 summarizes their career planning engagement.) I was fortunate to be able to spend the morning watching them hone their skills in their field training session.

Despite being of a similar age, all four athletes are at different stages of their off-field career planning engagement. It is often assumed that all athletes have the same capacity to engage in post-football career planning and the same career interests, but, like individuals outside sport, athletes are interested in different career areas. Some are more aware of these interests, and some have taken more time to better understand themselves outside their athletic identity. These differing levels of understanding of their non-sporting identity and their preparedness for engagement in post-sporting career planning influence how I approach each athlete.

So, I am in a cramped office at the back of the club waiting to meet with them to discuss their career engagement plans for the year. I hope they all turn up today. Quite often they cancel at the last minute, or just forget our appointment as they have so much else going on in their lives. It is a summer afternoon close to some of Australia’s most famous beaches, so I know where I would rather be if I were them.

First up is John. He is at the *contemplation* stage of career planning engagement. He knows he should engage in career planning but has neither the motivation to do so nor a clear idea of himself outside his identity as an athlete. He is more likely to walk the other way than to engage in career conversations. He is at the top of his game and is likely to enjoy a high-flying professional athlete career for at least another decade if all goes to plan. He completed the mandatory requirements of educational engagement, but without the extra support of

Table 23.2 Career engagement summary of case study clients

Client	Age	Career planning engagement stage	Career engagement	Career intervention
John	24	Contemplation		Initial career exploration
Benjamin	22	Contemplation	Post-trade qualification	Motivational interviewing
Matt	23	Action	University degree	Career coaching
Frankie	23	Preparation	Trade qualification	Career management skills

a Career Coach at the time, he had limited opportunities for career exploration. In today's session I will attempt to engage him in an initial career exploratory activity to support him in moving from the *contemplation* to the *preparation* stage in career planning engagement.

Next up is Benjamin. He has decided on his post-football career pathway (construction career) but is in and out of engagement in formal education to support that career plan. He regularly cycles between *contemplation, preparation* and *action*. He is currently at the *contemplation* stage. He has completed his carpentry trade qualification and does carpentry projects in his spare time. But given he already has his trade qualification, a strong network in the construction industry and likely many years left as a professional athlete, he prefers to chip away at his builder's licence rather than completing that qualification in a hurry. Today's session will focus on reviewing his career goals post-football with an aim of increasing his motivation towards career engagement this year. Regardless of where our career conversation goes, I know there will be profanities and a lot of laughs.

Next is Matt. Matt is in the *action* stage and actively engaged in a commerce undergraduate degree. He has always been serious and conscientious, although it took him a couple of years to commit to university study. In today's meeting, we will review his study schedule for the year and build career management skills in networking to assist with exploring opportunities with corporate sponsors for work shadowing and business mentoring. I know he will come well prepared having already thought through a detailed plan for the year.

Finally, I will meet Frankie. Although Frankie has always understood the need for career planning and has been actively engaged, he relapsed from *action* to *preparation* last season. He started a trade qualification but struggled to commit to the course requirements at the end of the season. So today's meeting will involve reviewing a study schedule plan that meets both his interests and the required level of educational engagement. I will review the career management skills he will need to manage his study, including time management and goal setting, and use motivational interviewing to identify any potential roadblocks to his study this year.

CLOSING THE SCENE

Naturally, the day never goes as planned. The training session prior to John's meeting went over time, so he was late, and he also had to leave early to pick up his brother from work. John confirmed again that he was keen to re-engage in career exploration. We used a career interest card sort-customized for footballers to help explore his career interests. He identified his top career interests as community, outdoor and practical. Our next task together will be to consider job roles that may be most relevant to these career interests.

Benjamin saw me in passing and promised to come in tomorrow. We will see – it's not surprising for an athlete who is relapsing to the *contemplation* stage of career engagement to put off the meeting. This floundering requires the Career Coach to work on long-term relationship building with the athlete, along with patience, perseverance and ongoing motivational interviewing to help build re-engagement.

As expected, Matt was well prepared for his meeting. He confirmed he got a distinction grade point average last semester and was finalizing the timetable for next semester. Most of our session was facilitated discussion to confirm he had the time management, networking and communication skills needed to manage his planned off-field engagements this year. We discussed the subjects he completed last year and reconsidered his choice of major. We also discussed the corporate golf day he attended last week and reflected on his conversations with some sponsors to further consider his interests outside of being an athlete. He set some study goals and will review his schedule to see if he has time for work-shadowing experience this year.

Frankie also attended his meeting. He was honest and open and confirmed the struggles he experienced with study last year. Our meeting focused on confirming his commitment to his future career pathway, and then on him setting realistic small goals for us to review in future sessions. The first goal was to contact the course provider to ask for an extension for his current study unit. We spent time on his study plan for the month, working around his commitments.

The afternoon ended up being a mix of coaching and facilitation. A Career Coach in this environment needs to adapt their approach to the level of engagement, career competencies and professional skills of the athlete in front of them. For some sessions, the focus is on basic skill development like time management, while others can be more advanced career coaching sessions. The Career Coach must be prepared for whatever comes through the door, often without an appointment, or for a passing conversation after a training session that is a catalyst for a deeper coaching conversation weeks or even months later.

REFLECTIONS

Professional sport is a highly competitive and specialized career area. Any career programme implemented in this context needs to respect the demands required by professional athletes. In addition to fitting the sporting context, the programme also needs to be adapted to the individual skills and background of each individual athlete.

This case study reinforces the importance of the combination of both the system support and individualized career support. The mandated education or work policy provides an important framework to support off-field engagement. But this policy alone is not sufficient to ensure the athlete's commitment and motivation to career planning engagement. The athlete also needs the support of a Career Coach to facilitate opportunities to build their confidence and motivation through exploration of professional identity and vocational interests beyond only their athletic identity. All the athletes in the case study are of a similar age, but different skills and focus are needed by the Career Coach based on each athlete's current level of career planning engagement.

The development of this targeted careers programme for professional athletes could reflect both the importance that Australians place on sports, and the lower financial gains for Australian professional athletes compared with their counterparts in, for example, the NBA (USA), NFL (USA) and Premier League (UK). Importantly, an athlete's career also offers a condensed glimpse of the career dynamics of career planning engagement and transitions of non-athletes. While all careers eventually come to an end, the key difference is that for most athletes that end is premature, unplanned and often sudden. The hope is that early career preparation during the athlete's playing days will support them to be better prepared for when this inevitable end occurs.

BOX 23.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What other specialized occupations may need targeted organizational career interventions?
2. What skills are needed by Career Coaches and practitioners in these highly specialized settings?
3. How should organizations track the career planning engagement of employees to support career interventions?

REFERENCES

Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2011. *Sport and recreation: A statistical overview, Australia*. Catalogue Number 4156.0, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Cartigny, E., Fletcher, D., Coupland, C., and Bandelow, S. 2021. Typologies of dual career in sport: A cluster analysis of identity and self-efficacy. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 39(5): 583–590.

Chambers, T., Gordon, S., and Morris, T. 2013. Athletes' careers in Australia: From retirement to education and beyond. In N. B. Stambulova and T. V. Ryba (Eds), *Athletes' Careers across Cultures*: 17–30. London: Routledge.

Debois, N., Ledon, A., and Wylleman, P. 2015. A lifespan perspective on the dual career of elite male athletes. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 21: 15–26.

Jones, R. A., Mahoney, J. W., and Gucciardi, D. F. 2014. On the transition into elite rugby league: Perceptions of players and coaching staff. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, 3(1): 28–45.

KPMG Sports Advisory. 2020. *Sports industry economic analysis: Exploring the size and growth of the sport industry in Australia*. Retrieved from https://www.health.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/2020/05/sports-industry-economic-analysis.pdf.

Prochaska, J. O., DiClemente, C. C., and Norcross, J. C. 1992. In search of how people change: Applications to addictive behaviors. *American Psychologist*, 47(9): 1102–1114.

24. What attracts young people today? Insights from Mexico

Sergio Madero Gómez and José Luis Montes Martínez

SETTING THE SCENE

Why have four candidates turned down a high-paying Vice President of Operations position at one of the best companies in Latin America? This was the question that had been asked by Joaquín Marín, CEO of the company Nutrimentum (fictitious name[1]), to Rodrigo Martínez, the Chief HR Officer. Rodrigo carefully analyzed each of the words that he would say next. The answer was not easy to elaborate, because in all his years of working in human resources he had never faced this situation. He wondered whether the new generations now entering professional life have the same ambitions as the generations of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s.

For several years, his human resources team had found it increasingly difficult to attract young talent. Professionals born in the 1990s have more focused benefits "wish lists" than previous generations. Barely ten years ago, the benefits that were considered "normal" and had attracted talented young individuals in the past, began to be undervalued by the new candidates interested in starting their career within the company. Was this a generational issue, or was it because of the food industry in which Nutrimentum competed?

Nutrimentum is a Mexican company that began operations in Mexico in the late 1940s, shortly after the end of World War II. The world was discovering new possibilities for sales between countries and Nutrimentum took advantage of that space to market its products (fruits and vegetables) in other Central American countries. In the 1980s, the commercialization of its products in the southern United States began with great success, particularly among the Latin communities in the border states. In the 1990s, its operations were extended to various other regions in the United States as well as to some Canadian provinces. In 2010, the company implemented an aggressive growth strategy in the Asian market. Introducing their products into Japan, Singapore, China, and the Philippines was a challenge, but one that they were willing to face. This growth in operations resulted in the number of employees increasing from 258 in 1999 to more than 1,353 in recent years (Figure 24.1). The average age of lower and middle management is now 40 years, while that of the management team is higher, being 56 years.

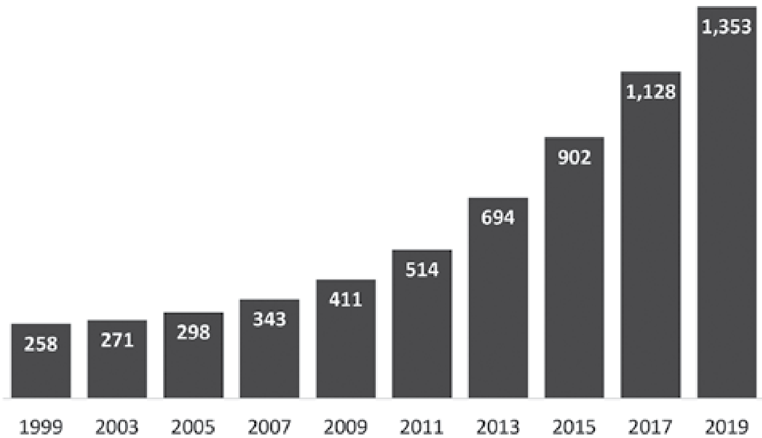


Figure 24.1 Increase in the head count at Nutrimentum

This increase in international operations generated the urgent need to have executives who understood and felt excited about the business. Beyond having managerial skills and a passion for the agricultural field, the task would require new talent to meet the suppliers, visit farms, develop relationships with producers, and identify the changing needs of consumers in the market. In addition, the task would include learning about the governmental regulations of multiple countries, the pests and diseases of dozens of fruits and vegetables, and fluctuations generated in the stock market. There were myriad interest groups that had to be managed.

In previous years, the task of looking for talented professionals was a relatively easy one since the salary and benefits attracted skilled individuals with goals to climb the corporate ladder. Over the last ten years, however, preferences have changed, and the recruitment of high-level young talent has become complicated even though it should not be a problem given that 25 percent of Mexico's working population is under 40.

CONTEXT

Mexico is the second largest economy in Latin America and the fifteenth largest in the world,[2] with great dynamism in its exports as a country that has 14 trade agreements covering more than 50 countries.[3] Mexico has just over 120 million inhabitants,[4] with 25 percent of its citizens being between the ages of 20 and 40 (the median age of the population is 29 years). It can therefore be considered a country with a young population.

Although in recent years a decrease in the birth rate has been observed (following the 1994 birth registry where an important peak was reached with more than 2 million births), population numbers continue to be high. Those born between 1985 and 1999 have now entered the labor force and this should represent an opportunity for talent recruiters to find suitable candidates given the large number of young job-seekers.

This population cohort has been labeled in different ways including, among others, the "Einstein generation" (Boschma and Groen, 2006), the "Digital Natives" (Jonsen et al., 2012), the "Millennials" (Ferri-Reed, 2014; Ng et al., 2010), and "Gen Y" (Jerome et al., 2014).

Some studies (Jonsen et al., 2012; Parry and Urwin, 2011) have described this generation's members as "multitaskers" and "curious and connected" given that they have had access to the internet practically since they were born. For them, searching for information and obtaining results occurs instantly, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The members of this generation contribute to this information flow through various social media apps, having an enormous influence on the success or failure of companies due to the opinions they express in regard to products, people, institutions, and practices.

The information that is now more widely available as a result, can impact not only the prestige of a company or institution, but also health, economic, and work benefits, since it can reflect unconscious biases or manipulations of half-truths, meaning some of the information may be false or distorted (Boschma and Groen, 2006).

THE STORY

Rodrigo Martínez began his professional career in a small rug-producing company that exported to South American countries. His ability to efficiently spot and attract talent prompted an office furniture manufacturer to approach him with his first management position. He accepted and in three years he had managed to increase the performance of the different management teams by attracting talent with great potential and strong learning capabilities. This achievement attracted the attention of a company in the food industry, which invited him to take up his first senior management position. The benefits package was very attractive, so he accepted, even though accepting entailed moving to another city. In his first three years with the new company, he reconfigured the attraction, onboarding, and benefits package to attract the talent required by the company, once again drawing the attention of several other companies because of his excellent work.

Joaquín Marín, the CEO of Nutrimentum, met Rodrigo at an informal meeting and invited him to join his company, offering him a very attractive package of benefits. Although it involved another relocation, Rodrigo accepted because of the high salary and higher level of benefits. Following his previous path, in less than two years he redesigned the way of attracting talent. Together with his team, he created a new benefits scheme and developed an organizational culture model that attracted the best talent available in Mexico and Latin America. But that was several years ago. Now it has become increasingly difficult to attract the new generations based on the benefits package that the company offers them.

Rodrigo called a meeting with his human resources management team to carefully analyze whether the package of compensation and benefits they were offering was outdated compared to other industries, or whether the company's inability to attract talent was more of a generational issue.

During the meeting, Jaime López, Deputy Director of Compensations, presented a comparative study of Nutrimentum's salaries and benefits which compared these to salaries and benefits in other companies in the same line of business. The results showed that Nutrimentum's value proposition was superior to other competitors.

Adriana González, Deputy Director of Labor Relations, commented on the results of the exit interviews from employees who voluntarily left the company: 50 percent decided to leave due to scheduling issues and not due to compensation, and 30 percent did so for personal reasons without further specification. The remaining 20 percent reported multiple reasons for leaving the company. Rodrigo asked about the age range of the people who resigned and this revealed there was an age dispersion ranging from 24 to 42 years old, but with those under 35 having a greater inclination to resign and one-third of those voluntarily resigning being between 23 and 35 years old. Mónica García, a specialist in performance appraisal, pointed out that the turnover rate had increased by 7 percent in the last two years.

Next, Raquel Torres, Deputy Director of Talent Attraction, asked to speak and shared the information that her team had compiled via interviews. Most candidates appreciated the salary offered, but they also expected and asked about opportunities for growth. Young candidates (unlike those in previous generations) asked concrete and specific questions about the treatment employees received in the company. Some of the candidates even asked the interviewer directly how *they* feel about the company. They asked if the company recognizes them and if there is respect for work–family balance. Raquel commented that in the interviews she conducted, some of the candidates asked her if there was a way to measure the value contribution they would make if they agreed to join Nutrimentum; that is, they wanted to feel that their work was useful and having a favorable impact.

Each of the Talent Attraction team members presented data and reports and provided opinions on why they had lost the ability to attract and retain talent.

At the end of the meeting, Rodrigo presented the case of the vacancy of the post of Vice President of Operations. The available position reported directly to the CEO, with responsibilities for ensuring the quality of vegetable and fruit products, generating efficient distribution processes, and reducing cost gaps. The position was based in Dallas, Texas, but the holder would be required to travel frequently to the countries where Nutrimentum has operations, as well as to the company's headquarters in Monterrey, Mexico.

Three internal candidates and one external candidate had rejected an offer for this position:

- Arturo Garza, 42 years old, married with three children, with a degree in Engineering and a master's degree in Operations Research. He was the Director of Perishable Goods Distribution, with six people reporting to him directly and 97 people indirectly. He had been with the company for 18 years.
- Benito Rosas, 43 years old, married with two children, with a degree in Industrial Engineering and a master's degree in Administration. He was the Director of International Logistics and had been with the company for 17 years. His team was made up of eight people and 43 people reported to him indirectly.
- Carla Valenzuela, 41 years old, married with three children, with a degree in Systems Engineering and a master's degree in Quality and Productivity. She held the position of Supply Director and had been with the company for 16 years. Eleven people reported directly to her and more than 126 indirectly.
- Daniel Salas, 45 years old, married with two children. He had a degree in Mechanical Engineering and a master's degree in Operations Research. He was external to the company, with experience in senior management positions in more than three companies. He withdrew from the hiring process at the last minute.

The financial benefits offered as a package for this position represented an increase of approximately three times their current compensation. In addition, nonfinancial benefits such as additional vacation days, membership to a prestigious golf club, scholarships for children, and a car for personal use were included.

After Rodrigo had presented the candidates who had rejected the position, Adriana González asked if anyone had compiled the reasons for the rejection of the offers made by the company. Rodrigo mentioned that he did not know of any specific reasons, only a general one: the difficulty of moving to another city and making multiple trips. This was surprising given that in their current positions the candidates had traveled regularly. The question arose again: is it a generational issue or is it the job profile that is the problem?

REFLECTIONS

The challenge faced by Rodrigo Martínez and his team is common to human resources teams in all business lines across the world. These talent management professionals must consider the target generation when designing the benefits package offered by their companies, so they can be adjusted to the generation of the population they want to attract, retain, and promote. Previous generations, identified in the literature as Baby Boomers and Generation X, had a different work ethic. If the boss asked them to finish a report outside of office hours, people stayed; employees always felt they had to meet the goal set and abide by their work orders (Johnson, 2015).

In fact, for Generation X, the time spent at work became an indicator of success. The more time you were in the office working, the more success you would have in a shorter time. Family time or rest would be sacrificed to meet the company's demands. Work–family balance did not really exist (Johnson, 2015). For Generation Y, various studies suggest that a very important influencing factor when deciding about careers is the balance between work life and personal life (Golik, 2013; Parry and Urwin, 2011; Smith, 2010).

The challenges for the human resources teams of organizations are obviously diverse depending on the business line, the culture of the company, and the country where it is located, but it is possible to identify some common characteristics in the preferences of people of Generation Y in Mexico.

The family is very important in decision-making. Those who belong to Generation Y remain in their parents' home longer than previous generations. The parents of this generation have always been there to support their children in any situation; they have built their future together with them. Having this "extended stay" has allowed this generation to have better study opportunities, in addition to allowing them to do extracurricular activities that have helped them develop the ability to multitask, improve their problem-solving speed, and increase their ability to focus on results (Herbison and Boseman, 2009).

The decision to take a job depends on the overall benefits, not just the financial compensation. Some perform research (González, 2011). They analyze the company's organizational culture and growth opportunities compared with other similar companies before accepting a new position. Although salary is still a differentiating element in accepting a new job, according to research the members of this generation have shifted their preferences over the last few years. Madero (2009; 2020) proposes different attraction and retention factors divided into two categories, one related to business aspects and the second related to personal aspects. These factors are listed in Table 24.1.

Table 24.1 Attraction and retention factors

Business	Personal
• Prestige of the organization • Mission and vision • Location of the company • Growth and company plan • Technology • Products and services offered by the company • Telecommuting or work at home • A great workplace atmosphere	• Good treatment of employees • Attractive benefits (insurance, Christmas bonus, vacations, etc.) • Career management and opportunities for growth • Challenging projects • Flexible time, personal days • Solidarity and cooperation among colleagues • Salary and compensation plans • Recognition schemes • Feeling useful

Surveying the sample population over a period of five years, Madero (2018) found stability in the preferences of Generation Y, with those being surveyed maintaining their preferences for opportunities for growth, feeling useful, and good treatment. This consistency indicates that Generation Y looks for growth opportunities in organizations, but also wants to feel that their work is useful and valuable for the organization and for themselves. In addition, by adding good treatment of employees, we can conclude that career growth in the organization not only refers to obtaining a position, but it also refers to receiving respect for dealing with the challenges associated with the position.

The findings of this study are in line with other work which shows that for this generation job satisfaction is based on both monetary and nonmonetary compensation (Milkovich et al., 2016; Watson, 2003; Zingheim and Schuster, 2002; Mulvey et al., 2000).

Financial and nonfinancial benefits will be important decision elements even if there are other factors in the job proposal as well (Madero, 2020): recognition, the opportunity to grow within the organization, and the work environment represent elements to be considered within the total compensation scheme, making nonmonetary compensation comparable to monetary compensation. In other words, the process of attracting and retaining Generation Y must consider both financial and nonfinancial benefits in an integral way (Porter et al., 2019; Bohlander et al., 2018; Watson, 2003; Mulvey et al., 2000).

BOX 24.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What answer should Rodrigo Martínez provide to the CEO of Nutrimentum to explain the rejection of the vacant position by the candidates?
2. What characteristics should a job or promotion offer have for it to be considered attractive by Generation Y?
3. Can you list the changes in perceptions of rewards between Generation X and Generation Y?
4. From the human resources team's perspective, what are the main aspects that affect the decision of members of the desired target group to accept or refuse a job offer? Do these aspects vary according to the different age groups or generations targeted?
5. In the country where you live and in the current market conditions are there differences in benefit preferences between the different generations (X and Y)?

NOTES

1. All names mentioned in this chapter, including people and organizations, have been modified by the authors to preserve anonymity.
2. https://www.bancomundial.org/es/country/mexico/overview#1/.
3. https://www.gob.mx/se/acciones-y-programas/comercio-exterior-paises-con-tratados-y-acuerdos-firmados-con-mexico.
4. https://www.inegi.org.mx/temas/estructura/.

REFERENCES

Bohlander, G. W., Snell, S., and Morris, S. 2018. *Administración de Recursos Humanos* (17th ed.). Mexico: Cengage Learning.

Boschma, J., and Groen, I. 2006. Generación Einstein: Más listos, más rápidos y más sociables. *Comunicarse Con Los Jóvenes Del Siglo*, XXI: 89–112. Spain: Gestión 2000.

Ferri-Reed, J. 2014. Are millennial employees changing how managers manage? *Journal for Quality and Participation*, 37(2): 15–35.

Golik, M. 2013. Las expectativas de equilíbrio entre vida laboral e vida privada e as escolhas laborais da nova geração. *Cuadernos de Administración*, 26(46): 107–133.

González, R. S. 2011. La incorporación de la Generación Y al mercado laboral: El caso de una Entidad Financiera de la ciudad de Resistencia. *Palermo Business Review*, (5): 67–93.

Herbison, G., and Boseman, G. 2009. Here they come—Generation Y. Are you ready? *Journal of Financial Service Professionals*, 6(3): 33–34.

Jerome, A., Scales, M., Whithem, C., and Quain, B. 2014. Millennials in the workforce: Gen Y workplace strategies for the next century. *E-Journal of Social and Behavioural Research in Business*, 5(1): 1–12.

Johnson, M. 2015. Stop talking about work/life balance! TEQ and the Millennial Generation. *Workforce Solutions Review*, 6(2): 4–7.
Jonsen, K., Weg, S., and Martin, R. 2012. Cómo gestionar el talento de los nativos digitales. *Capital Humano: Revista Para La Integración y Desarrollo de Los Recursos Humanos*, 25(266): 60–65.
Madero, S. 2009. Factores de atracción y retención del mercado laboral, para empleados potenciales. *Economia, Gestión y Desarrollo*, 7(1): 131–147.
Madero, S. 2018. La administración de compensaciones: Factores claves para el éxito de la empresa. In H. F. Littlewood Zimmermann and J. F. Uribe Prado (Eds), *Psicología Organizacional en Latinoamérica*: 77–101. Mexico: UNAM, Manual Moderno.
Madero, S. 2020. Modelo de retención laboral de millennials, desde la perspectiva mexicana. *Investigación Administrativa*, 48(124).
Milkovich, G. T., Newman, J., and Gerhart, B. 2016. *Compensation*. New York: McGraw Hill.
Mulvey, P., Ledford Jr, G., and LeBlanc, P. 2000. Rewards of work. *WorldatWork Journal*, 9(3): 6–18.
Ng, E. S. W., Schweitzer, L., and Lyons, S. T. 2010. New generation, great expectations: A field study of the Millennial Generation. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2): 281–292.
Parry, E., and Urwin, P. 2011. Generational differences in work values: A review of theory and evidence. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 13(1): 79–96.
Porter, T. H., Gerhardt, M. W., Fields, D., and Bugenhagen, M. 2019. An exploratory study of gender and motivation to lead in millennials. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 159(2): 138–152.
Smith, K. T. 2010. Work-life balance perspectives of marketing professionals in Generation Y. *Services Marketing Quarterly*, 31(4): 434–447.
Watson, S. 2003. Building a better employment deal. *Workspan*, 46(12): 48–51.
Zingheim, P. K., and Schuster, J. R. 2002. Pay changes going forward. *Compensation and Benefits Review*, 34(4): 48–53.

25. Career success through horizontal career transitions: an example from a Norwegian organization

Bryndís Steindórsdóttir and Anders Dysvik

SETTING THE SCENE

Career success has traditionally been conceptualized and measured in an objective way as so-called objective career success, operationalized as the number of promotions and salary level (Ng et al., 2005). However, changes in the career context have led employees to evaluate their success not only in terms of extrinsic factors but also in terms of their own criteria for success (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Although the importance of employees' subjective sense of career success has gained increasingly more attention among career scholars (Briscoe et al., 2021; Dries, 2013; Shockley et al., 2016), career management focused on vertical advancement is still widely applied in organizations. In the contemporary career context, however, it is important for organizations to consider how to satisfy their need to promote employees and at the same time remain aware of employees' criteria for career success, which could include pursuing a more horizontal approach to career success.

In 2010, a large Norwegian organization with international representation implemented a career management intervention aimed at achieving this balance. Like many organizations, their previous career management system was based on vertical advancement up the hierarchical ladder. The organization realized that its career management system was not sufficiently tailored to employees' career goals and needs. Furthermore, the organization was highly competence-based and valued experience from diverse fields. Accordingly, the intervention's main goal was to create a new career management system that would facilitate employees' subjective career success by providing employees the opportunity to move not only vertically but also horizontally within the organization and simultaneously promoting internal mobility and learning throughout the organization.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Over the past few decades, significant changes have occurred in the context of careers, in which it has been argued that careers have shifted beyond boundaries and become self-directed (Arthur and Rousseau, 2001; Sullivan, 1999). In Norway, globalization, technological advancement and economic growth have led to changes in the career context (Aagestad et al., 2011). In 1969, the Norwegian oil adventure began. In December that year, Ekofisk was discovered, which was one of the largest offshore fields ever revealed (Hanisch and Nerheim, 1992). Petroleum activities have been vital to the Norwegian economy and to the development of the welfare state in Norway (Eika and Olsen, 2008). Since 1970, petroleum activities have contributed more than 15 700 billion NOK to Norway's gross domestic product (GDP), and Norway is currently one of the wealthiest nations in the world (Grytten, 2004). With the growing oil industry in Norway, income and employment rates have rapidly increased (Eika and Olsen, 2008). Furthermore, the strong economic growth in Norway has influenced its citizens' educational level, as nearly every third person has a higher education degree. In Norway, lifelong learning and opportunities for education and competence development is an important principle of the Ministry of Education and Research (www.regjeringen.no). Norwegian society is highly characterized by equal opportunities for education and participation in the labour market, where individuals' backgrounds have little influence on their occupational choices (Modalsli, 2017). Therefore, employees in Norway have great opportunities to pursue the career they desire.

Globally and in Norway, the psychological contract between employees and organizations has significantly changed during the past few decades (Aagestad et al., 2011; Sullivan, 1999). The traditional career context was characterized by investment in employees with vertical career transitions up the hierarchical ladder in exchange for loyalty and a long-term employment relationship (Rousseau and Parks, 1993). However, in the contemporary career context, employees exchange their performance for competence development (Hall, 1996). Moreover, as a result of flatter organizational hierarchies, opportunities for vertical advancement have decreased and employees are increasingly building their careers horizontally (Baruch, 2004; Greenhaus and Kossek, 2014).

Concurrently, individuals' attitudes towards their careers have changed (Shockley et al., 2016). Although extrinsic rewards are important factors individuals consider when evaluating their career, subjective – or internal – factors have gained more importance (Briscoe et al., 2021; Spurk et al., 2019). Employees may, for example, seek to acquire a new type of skill, pursue jobs that allow them a greater balance between work and personal life, and work settings where they can achieve more well-being. In Norway, work-life balance is highly valued, as the number of work hours per week is one of the lowest among the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (OECD, 2022).

CAREER MANAGEMENT INTERVENTION – AN EXAMPLE FROM A NORWEGIAN ORGANIZATION

Norwegian Infrastructure Design (name changed) was founded in Norway in the 19th century and operates mainly in the engineering business. The organization was very proud of its employees' competence levels. The general educational level was very high: most employees had a master's degree, and many had a PhD degree.

The company's original career model was quite traditional: employees were promoted based on a certain rank/grade, and with the promotion, a new set of expectations would follow. As such, the career management system was characterized by rewarding high-performing employees with promotions vertically up the hierarchical ladder. Furthermore, employees had the opportunity to discuss their career progress and aspirations twice a year with their manager.

In 2010, the company's human resources (HR) professionals realized that they needed to make some changes in their career system because they did not believe the traditional hierarchical model would support their employees' or the organization's needs moving forward. The discussion around the career management intervention started with the results from the annual employee survey. One of the surprises from this annual survey was that employees scored very low on the question 'To what extent do you perceive that there are career opportunities within the organization?' The employees based at the headquarters scored particularly low, which was a surprise to the HR professionals, as employees based at the headquarters should have had the most career opportunities. The company realized that they needed to find a way to communicate the career opportunities existing in the organization and place expectations of the employees into a system.

Olav (name changed), a senior HR consultant, was heavily involved in implementing the career management intervention. He has a master's degree in organizational psychology and joined the company in 2008. He stated,

> The problem was that we had the internal opportunities, but we were not really good at communicating them. Strategically, this is very important to retain employees in the company as well as to attract a diverse group of employees.

Furthermore, given the company's focus on competencies, they also wanted to improve the career management system with respect to promoting internal mobility within the organization and facilitating learning and development. Diverse experience was highly valued in the organization, and they wanted their employees to have competencies in several fields.

> We needed to celebrate the people moving back and forth within the company and showing what is a career within the company and what is your responsibilities in terms of building a career. The role of the organization is to paint the picture of the opportunities and highlight them, but it's the employee's responsibility to build their career.

Accordingly, the intervention's main goal was to move away from the traditional career model and demonstrate the various career choices employees could make within the company as well as to encourage employees to pursue opportunities that would match their career goals.

> You don't have to move upwards in the pyramid. You can also build a career by moving horizontally.

The intervention's implementation involved creating more career tracks in the organization based on functional roles and making these tracks more visible for employees. Movement between the career tracks could occur horizontally and vertically. Functional roles such as engineering, support and consultancy were at the same level and within several services lines. Further up in the hierarchy was a management track, and because the company was highly knowledge-based, it had a specialist track, which was above the management track in the hierarchy. Employees were mapped into this structure; a certain set of expectations was associated with each rank and each track. Employees were encouraged to move between functional tracks, and they had examples of several employees who had moved between functional roles. For example, employees would often start in a technical role, then move into consultancy, then move into management for a bit and then move back to a technical role. One employee had made a total of 15 steps, moving back and forth within the company.

> What was special about this intervention was that salaries were based on experience rather than on job function, which makes it easier to move.

Therefore, employees would keep their salary level and status when moving between functional roles. For example, employees that moved from the management track to an engineering track would keep their salary and status. Compared to many other organizations, it was very much accepted that employees would step down from a management position and move into another functional role.

One challenge with the intervention was that although internal mobility was embraced within the organization, situations arose when there was a mismatch between the employee's and the organization's needs.

> The organization has a clear responsibility in terms of doing both what is best for the organization and the individual. One employee came to me and said, 'I want to develop, and I want to do this, but my manager says no, I should stay where I am at'. Those are difficult conversations.

Although the long-term effects are yet to be seen, the intervention was very successful in terms of clarifying existing opportunities and communicating to employees various career choices they could make within the organization. A year after the intervention, the results from the annual survey in terms of perceived career opportunities had significantly improved. The organization is still applying this career model, and it has been very easy to communicate.

REFLECTIONS

Organizational career management (OCM) refers to the activities that organizations implement to facilitate their employees' career development (Baruch and Peiperl, 2000). Some aims of such practices are to assist employees with career planning and to provide them with internal career opportunities and career developmental programmes (Orpen, 1994). Accordingly, OCM involves investment in human capital (De Vos and Cambré, 2017), with the aim of promoting organizational business goals and simultaneously helping employees reach their personal career goals (Bagdadli and Gianecchini, 2019). The intervention was aimed at achieving both goals. First, by promoting internal mobility within the organization, the organization aimed to enhance the learning and development of their employees throughout the organization, which was an important business goal. Furthermore, the intervention was a response to employees' needs. The low score on perceived career opportunities made clear that the organization had not provided employees sufficient career opportunities that matched their needs. Therefore, the organization emphasized that employees could not only move vertically to build their career, but they could also build their career horizontally.

Career transitions are defined as moves from one job to another across various types of boundaries (Gunz and Peiperl, 2007; Sullivan and Al Ariss, 2021). First, career transitions across the *hierarchical boundary* refer to changes in status and pay (Schein, 1971). As such, upward moves correspond to a promotion, downward moves indicate a demotion and lateral moves involve no change. Second, career transitions across the *horizontal boundary* refer to changes in function, department or division (Nicholson and West, 1988; Schein, 1971). While the organization provided employees with hierarchical and horizontal mobility, the intervention focused on career transitions across the horizontal boundary. Horizontal career transitions have been argued to be important to facilitate learning and development, because employees are exposed to new experiences and have the possibility to acquire new skills (McCauley et al., 1989). Growth and development is, in turn, one of the most important subjective criteria of career success (Briscoe et al., 2021; Shockley et al., 2016; Smale et al., 2019). *Subjective career success* refers to the individuals' own evaluation of achieving personally meaningful career outcomes, such as work-life balance, meaningfulness, well-being and development (Briscoe et al., 2021; Shockley et al., 2016; Spurk et al., 2019). Therefore, moving horizontally within the organization can be important to achieve subjective career success through enhanced growth.

Additionally, hierarchical transitions are not applicable for all employees, because some individuals may experience a successful career without being motivated to become a leader and may feel more successful in other roles (Heslin, 2005). As such, career transitions can be important to facilitate *person–environment fit*, which refers to the need for a fit between individuals' interests, goals and abilities and their job (Wang and Wanberg, 2017). Career studies have been strongly grounded in person–environment theories. According to Holland (1997), individuals will be the most satisfied with their career when their working environment matches their interests. By keeping their salary level and status when changing functional roles, it was easy for employees to move into positions that matched their personal career goals and needs.

The intervention's success in terms of improved perceptions of career opportunities and clearer understanding of the expectations of employees can be explained through an enhanced *HRM (human resource management) system strength*. In their seminal article, Bowen and Ostroff (2004) suggested that the extent to which HRM leads to desirable outcomes depends on a collective understanding among employees of the HR practices and their intentions. They defined *HRM system strength* as the effectiveness of the HRM system (including career system) in signalling to employees the behaviour that is expected, valued and rewarded in the organization. Building on Kelley's covariation model of attribution, which he published in 1967, a strong HRM system is characterized by *distinctiveness*, *consistency* and *consensus.* A strong organizational climate is created when these features are in place, which foster a shared understanding of appropriate responses (Ostroff and Bowen, 2016). *Distinctiveness* refers to features that allow HR practices to stand out in the environment. It can be enhanced through visibility of HR practices (Bowen and Ostroff, 2004). By communicating the new system to employees and making it more accessible, the organization facilitated the career system's visibility in the organization. Moreover, distinctiveness can be enhanced through understandability. The new career system was simple and easy to communicate to employees, which facilitated its understandability. *Consistency* refers to the extent to which the career system's purpose is presented in the same way across modalities and time (Bednall et al., 2014). For the career system to be perceived as consistent, there must be a consistency between what the system is intended to do and what it actually does (validity) (Bowen and Ostroff, 2004). By providing examples of employees who had moved horizontally between career tracks, the organization showed that a horizontal career was indeed possible within the organization. Consistency can also be strengthened through *instrumentality* by ensuring that desirable behaviour is associated with adequate incentives. Employees perceived movement between functional roles positively because salary level was kept stable. Consequently, employees could move more easily in the direction that matched their career goals and interests. *Consensus* refers to the agreement among employees regarding the behaviour that is valued and expected. To enhance consensus, it is important that HRM decision makers agree on the career system (Bowen and Ostroff, 2004). When implementing a new career system, it is therefore important to involve the line managers and those who have the authority to make decisions about internal mobility within the organization.

In conclusion, the intervention's success aligns well with Bowen and Ostroff's (2004) claim that it is not sufficient to just have a career system in place; rather, it needs to be communicated in a way that creates a shared understanding of the available career opportunities and the expectations associated with them.

BOX 25.1 STOP AND THINK

1. What challenges could occur for employees and the organization when implementing such an intervention?
2. What practices should organizations have in place to facilitate adjustment to new roles?

REFERENCES

Aagestad, C., Tynes, T., Sterud, T., Løvseth, E. K., Gravseth, H. M. U., et al. 2011. *Faktabok om arbeidsmiljø og helse 2011. Status og utviklingstrekk*. STAMI-rapport.

Arthur, M. B., and Rousseau, D. M. (Eds). 2001. *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press on Demand.

Bagdadli, S., and Gianecchini, M. 2019. Organizational career management practices and objective career success: A systematic review and framework. *Human Resource Management Review*, 29(3): 353–370.
Baruch, Y. 2004. Transforming careers: From linear to multidirectional career paths. *Career Development International*, 9(1): 58–73.
Baruch, Y., and Peiperl, M. 2000. Career management practices: An empirical survey and implications. *Human Resource Management*, 39(4): 347–366.
Bednall, T. C., Sanders, K., and Runhaar, P. 2014. Stimulating informal learning activities through perceptions of performance appraisal quality and human resource management system strength: A two-wave study. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 13(1): 45–61.
Bowen, D. E., and Ostroff, C. 2004. Understanding HRM–firm performance linkages: The role of the 'strength' of the HRM system. *Academy of Management Review*, 29(2): 203–221.
Briscoe, J. P., Kaše, R., Dries, N., Dysvik, A., Unite, J. A., et al. 2021. Here, there, and everywhere: Development and validation of a cross-culturally representative measure of subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 130: 103612.
De Vos, A., and Cambré, B. 2017. Career management in high-performing organizations: A set-theoretic approach. *Human Resource Management*, 56(3): 501–518.
Dries, N. 2013. The psychology of talent management: A review and research agenda. *Human Resource Management Review*, 23(4): 272–285.
Eika, T., and Olsen, Ø. 2008. Norsk økonomi og olje gjennom 100 år. SAMFUNNSØKONOMEN, (62)8: 32–43.
Greenhaus, J. H., and Kossek, E. E. 2014. The contemporary career: A work–home perspective. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 1(1): 361–388.
Grytten, O. H. 2004. The gross domestic product for Norway, 1830–2003. *Norges Bank: Occasional Papers*, (35): 241–288.
Gunz, H., and Peiperl, M. 2007. Boundaries in the study of career. In H. Gunz and M. Peiperl (Eds), *Handbook of Career Studies*: 471–494. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
Hall, D. T. 1996. *The Career Is Dead – Long Live the Career: A Relational Approach to Careers*. The Jossey-Bass Business and Management Series. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Hanisch, T., and Nerheim, G. 1992. *Norwegian Oil History. Vol. 1. Norsk oljehistorie. Bind 1; Fra vantro til overmot*. Oslo, Norway: Leseselskapet.
Heslin, P. A. 2005. Conceptualizing and evaluating career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(2): 113–136.
Holland, J. L. 1997. *Making Vocational Choices: A Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environments*. Odessa: Psychological Assessment Resources.
McCauley, C. D., Ohlott, P. J., and Ruderman, M. N. 1989. On-the-job development: A conceptual model and preliminary investigation. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 1(2): 142–158.
Modalsli, J. H. 2017. *Stor økning i yrkesmobiliteten fra 1800-tallet til i dag*. Statistics Norway. https://www.ssb.no/arbeid-og-lonn/artikler-og-publikasjoner/stor-okning-i-yrkesmobiliteten-fra-1800-tallet-til-i-dag.
Modalsli, J. H. 2017. Stor økning i yrkesmobiliteten fra 1800-tallet til i dag. *Samfunnsspeilet*, 1(9).

Ng, T. W. H., Eby, L. T., Sorensen, K. L., and Feldman, D. C. 2005. Predictors of objective and subjective career success: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, 58(2): 367–408.

Nicholson, N., and West, M. 1988. *Managerial Job Change: Men and Women in Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://books.google.at/books?id=_icnEE4N90EC.

OECD. 2022. *Hours worked: Average annual hours actually worked*. OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics.

Orpen, C. 1994. The effects of organizational and individual career management on career success. *International Journal of Manpower*, 15(1): 27–37.

Ostroff, C., and Bowen, D. E. 2016. Reflections on the 2014 decade award: Is there strength in the construct of HR system strength? *Academy of Management Review*, 41(2): 196–214.

Rousseau, D. M., and Parks, J. M. 1993. The contracts of individuals and organizations. *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, 15: 1–43.

Schein, E. H. 1971. The individual, the organization, and the career: A conceptual scheme. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 7(4): 401–426.

Shockley, K. M., Ureksoy, H., Rodopman, O. B., Poteat, L. F., and Dullaghan, T. R. 2016. Development of a new scale to measure subjective career success: A mixed-methods study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 37(1): 128–153.

Smale, A., Bagdadli, S., Cotton, R., Dello Russo, S., Dickmann, M., et al. 2019. Proactive career behaviors and subjective career success: The moderating role of national culture. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 40(1): 105–122.

Spurk, D., Hirschi, A., and Dries, N. 2019. Antecedents and outcomes of objective versus subjective career success: Competing perspectives and future directions. *Journal of Management*, 45(1): 35–69.

Sullivan, S. E. 1999. The changing nature of careers: A review and research agenda. *Journal of Management*, 25(3): 457–484.

Sullivan, S. E., and Al Ariss, A. 2021. Making sense of different perspectives on career transitions: A review and agenda for future research. *Human Resource Management Review*, 31(1): 100727.

Sullivan, S. E., and Baruch, Y. 2009. Advances in career theory and research: A critical review and agenda for future exploration. *Journal of Management*, 35(6): 1542–1571.

Wang, M., and Wanberg, C. R. 2017. 100 years of applied psychology research on individual careers: From career management to retirement. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102(3): 546–563.

26. Talent management: exclusive career management in inclusive Finland

Adam Smale

SETTING THE SCENE: THE CHOSEN ONE (PART 1)

Hanna is getting anxious. As a Finnish IT professional who has worked hard since joining FinnTech[1] three years ago, she has been invited for a 'discussion' with the Head of Human Resources (HR) at her Finnish subsidiary of the big, USA-based corporation. Hanna is not stupid. On her way to the meeting, she strongly suspects that she has been identified as a 'high potential' (corporate lingo for 'talent') as part of the organisation's annual talent review process. She wants this badly but is nervously thinking through what others might think of her if they find out, and whether this might change the organisation's expectations of her. Being part of the talent pool as a woman is not so special in Finland, but is she going to feel comfortable being part of this exclusive club, and with this label?

On the other side of the meeting room door, Virpi (Head of HR) is also anxious. She knows that Hanna has been identified as talent but as usual is struggling with what exactly to tell her and how. Virpi still struggles with how to tell fellow Finns that they are now part of the top 7 per cent of the organisation, but cannot go into detail about the review process or what Hanna can expect in terms of future career moves. Plus, Hanna must not tell anyone else. Virpi thinks back to the last few employees that received this news and sighs – how is Hanna going to react to this news and is she ready for all of Hanna's questions?

CONTEXTUALISATION: THE FINNISH CONTEXT FOR TALENT MANAGEMENT

Exclusive talent management (TM) concerns 'the differential management of employees according to their relative potential to contribute to an organisation's competitive advantage' (Gelens et al., 2013, p. 342). From an organisational career management perspective, exclusive TM builds on the concept of workforce differentiation and involves focusing on a subgroup of 'talents' (quite often between 5 and 15 per cent of the workforce) who are most likely to contribute significantly to organisational performance and who demonstrate the greatest potential to develop into future leaders (Gallardo-Gallardo et al., 2013).

However, this exclusive approach to TM complicates career management practices, and communication about careers more generally, since most companies adopting this approach try to simultaneously manage both exclusive and inclusive career models: those in the talent pool need to feel valued and benefit from disproportionate investments in their career development (e.g. invitation-only leadership programmes, career mobility or salary increases), whilst the larger group of 'B' players (employees not in a talent pool) need encouragement to maintain or improve their performance (Malik and Singh, 2014), often accompanied with promises of open and equal opportunities to a certain level of career development. Broadly speaking, exclusive TM corresponds very closely with an organisational (top-down) career management model, whereas the inclusive component most closely corresponds to principles of career self-management (bottom-up).

The emphasis on merit-based workforce differentiation and the subsequent unequal investments in employee career development can make good business sense, especially when one has to decide how to use limited resources for personnel development. However, there are several aspects of Finnish culture and institutions that make exclusive TM a challenging proposition.

Finland, with its population of 5.5 million, celebrated its 100 years of independence in 2017. Having been a predominantly agrarian economy in the 1950s, it has rapidly developed into a prosperous knowledge economy. Finland is currently ranked seventh on the Global Talent Competitiveness Index (GTCI 2020) out of 132 countries, indicating the country's high ability to attract, develop and retain the human capital that contributes to its productivity (Lanvin and Monteiro, 2020).

One of the hallmarks of modern-day Finnish society is its strong egalitarian values. This is reflected in many ways, not least in the focus on achieving social mobility and equal opportunity. Finland again performs well here, ranked number three in the Global Social Mobility Index (2020) and number two in the Global Gender Gap Index (2021) according to the World Economic Forum.

Institutionally, based on a 'no child left behind' principle, equity has been a cornerstone of Finnish education policy since the early 1970s and is reflected in the high degree of personalised teaching support for all students (particularly those who find it hard to keep up) and the fact that performance differences between schools in Finland are among the smallest in the world (Sahlberg, 2015). Culturally, the emphasis on egalitarian values and respect for others, instilled from a young age, is evident in Finland's very low power distance scores and relatively high institutional collectivism scores, which are both good explanations for why modesty is a particularly strong virtue in Finnish culture (Lindell and Sigfrids, 2007).

Whilst individual performance-based compensation is fairly commonplace in Finland, the above features of Finnish society have meant that exclusive TM practices do not sit very comfortably in Finnish organisations. As indicated in empirical work on TM in Finland (e.g. Björkman et al., 2013), many Finnish organisations that have TM systems in place typically do not communicate openly about status and workforce differentiation practices. This is partly due to cultural misfit, but it is also due to fears of how to deal with raising employee expectations.

THE STORY: EXCLUSIVE TALENT MANAGEMENT AT FINNTECH FINLAND

Like many large Finnish multinationals, or Finnish subsidiaries of foreign multinationals, FinnTech Finland adopts a communication strategy that can be characterised as strategic ambiguity. This means that only employees identified as talents are formally notified about their status. Apart from this, FinnTech does not formally communicate to employees (talent or 'B' players) about the existence of talent pools, or about the implications of being labelled talent. Talents therefore know about their own status as talent but little more. The news of their status is communicated to them face to face by their supervisor in the annual development discussion. Following this, they meet with the Head of HR, who informs them of their acceptance into a talent pool and presents a list of talent development activities (e.g. workshops, training events) they will be expected to attend. Talent activities and benefits include joint workshops with leadership, increased networking opportunities with senior managers, eligibility for special training sessions and being prioritised in cases of new internal positions.

For the 'B' players, there is no formal corporate communication about their status. Their knowledge of corporate talent activities and their own and others' talent status, if any, is based on unofficial information from informal channels such as the organisational grapevine or talking to colleagues.

King (2016) describes talent identification in terms of employee responses to the 'talent deal', which is argued to be a significant 'career event' capable of altering the psychological contract. In short, how does this new information change the obligations an employee feels he/she has towards the employer, and the employer's obligations to an employee.

Research points towards a mix of psychological and behavioural reactions. On the one hand, studies identify positive outcomes among those identified as talent, including a greater willingness to take on demanding assignments, building valuable competencies, supporting strategic priorities, organisational identification and lower turnover intentions (Björkman et al., 2013), as well as increased work motivation and commitment (Collings and Mellahi, 2009) and greater efforts to fulfil the psychological contract (Sonnenberg et al., 2014).

On the other hand, an exclusive approach to TM is associated with certain problems. Talent status awareness has been empirically shown to make talent more complacent as well as arrogant, increasing their expectations towards the organisation (Dries and De Gieter, 2014; Ehrnrooth et al., 2018) and their feeling of pressure and stress (Tansley and Tietze, 2013). Concerns have also been voiced regarding the potential negative reactions of those not identified as talent, including outcomes such as disengagement (Silzer and Church, 2009), decreasing motivation and performance (Gelens et al., 2013), and increasing jealousy and frustration (Malik and Singh, 2014).

From a career perspective, FinnTech's introduction of an exclusive TM system in its Finnish subsidiary places a specific organisational career management model into a specific country context. Whilst there are likely to be some universal psychological reactions to exclusive TM, as well as to the talent identification and communication process, these reactions are also going to be shaped by local societal values and institutions.

CLOSING THE SCENE: THE CHOSEN ONE (PART 2)

The door to the conference room opens and both Hanna and Virpi are full of smiles. As Hanna walks away having been informed that she is a 'high potential' (as she had rightly guessed) her head tries to process a million different thoughts and emotions all at once.

> Yes! I knew it! Can't wait to tell my partner and my parents. But, why was *I* chosen? What were the *real* criteria? Will work colleagues just think that I am smart at office politics? I would hate it if they thought of me that way! But who else knows about my new status? What should I say if someone asks? Does this mean fast-track promotion and a pay rise? I've been working here for three years, which feels like ages, so hopefully things will start moving very soon.

Virpi watches on as Hanna strides down the corridor towards the elevator, convinced that she saw her punch the air when she thought no one was watching. Giving them the good news is the easy part, she thinks. But how long is that feeling of hers going to last, and then what happens? She knows her value, and others will work it out soon enough, maybe even our competitors. The clock is ticking and FinnTech needs to speed up her career development very soon. Virpi suddenly feels bad for the 93 per cent of FinnTech's personnel that don't get to hear this and don't receive this kind of attention, and remembers with discomfort the CEO's recent video call to the Finnish unit last week where he proudly said that everyone at FinnTech is a unique talent and important to its future. Is this culture of secrecy around TM supportive of their company goals, in line with their corporate values or even sustainable? Virpi laughs sarcastically to herself – this would probably all be a lot easier if everyone was a little less Finnish about it.

REFLECTIONS

One meaningful way to reflect upon the above is to consider the career management issues that are raised from the perspective of the organisation/employer and the individual.

The Organisation

Put yourself in the shoes of the FinnTech CEO, or the Head of HR, Virpi:

1. Should the Finnish organisation adopt an exclusive approach to TM and career development like they do in the US, that is, identify 'high potentials' and focus disproportionately on their career development, in a country that is built upon societal institutions, norms and policies that advocate egalitarianism and inclusion?
2. If it does adopt an exclusive approach, should the organisation inform its Finnish employees of their exclusive status? What might be their reactions and the implications for them career-wise? What would be the main messages you would want to get across?
3. Would you go the extra mile and communicate even more openly, for example making 'talent' status public information, and/or inform those who did not get into the talent pool? What would be the career messages you would wish to communicate to that group?
4. Assuming any organisation needs both 'A' players and 'B' players, how do you strike the right balance in organisational communication between a high-performance, exclusive career model on the one hand, and an inclusive 'opportunities for all' career model on the other?
5. Do you see any potential ethical or legal issues, or issues concerning the 'social contract', in FinnTech's approach to exclusive TM in Finland? Would there be any in your country?

The Individual

Put yourself in the shoes of Finnish professional Hanna, who is speculating about what being nominated as a 'talent' means for her, her relationships with her colleagues and her career:

1. What is your personal 'talent philosophy'? Would you wish to be singled out as 'talent' and have your career development managed distinctively from others?
2. Do you think professionals in your country would share many, or any, of the same questions and concerns that Hanna does?
3. How would you and professionals in your country react to finding out that they have been identified (or not identified) as talent? How would this affect your career planning, motivation, identity and overall career proactivity?

USEFUL READING CONNECTED TO THESE QUESTIONS

- Dries, N. 2013. The psychology of talent management: A review and research agenda. *Human Resource Management Review*, 23(4): 272–285.
- King, K. A. 2016. The talent deal and journey: Understanding how employees respond to talent identification over time. *Employee Relations*, 38(1): 94–111.
- Lindell, M., and Sigfrids, C. 2007. Culture and leadership in Finland. In J. S. Chhokar, F. C. Brodbeck, and R. J. House (Eds), *Culture and Leadership across the World: The GLOBE Book of In-Depth Studies of 25 Societies*: 109–140. New York: Psychology Press.
- Malik, A. R., and Singh, P. 2014. 'High potential' programs: Let's hear it for 'B' players. *Human Resource Management Review*, 24(4): 330–346.
- Petriglieri, J., and Petriglieri, G. 2017. The talent curse. *Harvard Business Review*, May–June: 88–94.
- Sumelius, J., Smale, A., and Yamao, S. 2020. Mixed signals: Employee reactions to talent status communication amidst strategic ambiguity. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 31(4): 511–538.
- Thunnissen, M., Boselie, P., and Fruytier, B. 2013. Talent management and the relevance of context: Towards a pluralistic approach. *Human Resource Management Review*, 23(4): 326–336.

BOX 26.1 STOP AND THINK

1. When does it make sense for multinationals to transfer their home-country career management practices, such as exclusive TM, to different parts of their global organisation?
2. Under what kinds of circumstances is it advisable to adapt home-country career management practices to align with local cultures and institutions?
3. To what extent is exclusive TM as a career management model culturally or institutionally specific? Is there a time and a place for exclusive TM in every country?

SOURCE

Source of interview and background data for this chapter/case, adapted to suit teaching purposes:

Sumelius, J., Smale, A., and Yamao, S. 2020. Mixed signals: Employee reactions to talent status communication amidst strategic ambiguity. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 31(4): 511–538.

NOTE

1. This is a hypothetical case, based on empirical research by the author in several different Finnish organisational settings.

REFERENCES

Björkman, I., Ehrnrooth, M., Mäkelä, K., Smale, A., and Sumelius, J. 2013. Talent or not? Employee reactions to talent identification. *Human Resource Management*, 52(2): 195–214.
Collings, D. G., and Mellahi, K. 2009. Strategic talent management: A review and research agenda. *Human Resource Management Review*, 19(4): 304–313.
Dries, N., and De Gieter, S. 2014. Information asymmetry in high potential programs: A potential risk for psychological contract breach. *Personnel Review*, 43(1): 136–162.
Ehrnrooth, M., Björkman, I., Mäkelä, K., Smale, A., Sumelius, J., et al. 2018. Talent responses to talent status awareness – Not a question of simple reciprocation. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 28(3): 443–461.
Gallardo-Gallardo, E., Dries, N., and González-Cruz, T. F. 2013. What is the meaning of 'talent' in the world of work? *Human Resource Management Review*, 23(4): 290–300.
Gelens, J., Dries, N., Hofmans, J., and Pepermans, R. 2013. The role of perceived organizational justice in shaping the outcomes of talent management: A research agenda. *Human Resource Management Review*, 23(4): 341–353.

King, K. A. 2016. The talent deal and journey: Understanding how employees respond to talent identification over time. *Employee Relations*, 38(1): 94–111.
Lanvin, B., and Monteiro, F. 2020. *The Global Talent Competitive Index: Global talent in the Age of Artificial intelligence*. Fontainebleau, France: INSEAD.
Lindell, M., and Sigfrids, C. 2007. Culture and leadership in Finland. In J. S. Chhokar, F. C. Brodbeck, and R. J. House (Eds), *Culture and Leadership across the World: The GLOBE Book of In-Depth Studies of 25 Societies*: 109–140. New York: Psychology Press.
Malik, A. R., and Singh, P. 2014. 'High potential' programs: Let's hear it for 'B' players. *Human Resource Management Review*, 24(4): 330–346.
Sahlberg, P. 2015. *Finnish Lessons 2.0: What Can the World Learn from Educational Change in Finland?* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
Silzer, R., and Church, A. H. 2009. The pearls and perils of identifying potential. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 2(4): 377–412.
Sonnenberg, M., van Zijderveld, V., and Brinks, M. 2014. The role of talent-perception incongruence in effective talent management. *Journal of World Business*, 49(2): 272–280.
Tansley, C., and Tietze, S. 2013. Rites of passage through talent management progression stages: An identity work perspective. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24(9): 1799–1815.

Index