Chapter 4
LANDSCAPE WITH TRAVELLERS: THE CONTEXT OF CAREERS IN DEVELOPED NATIONS

Kerr Inkson and Graham Elkin

When individuals think about their careers, they often use the metaphor of a journey to make sense of their experiences (Inkson, 2004, 2007). They think of their careers as having movement, as getting them from place to place. Nelson Mandela, for example, described his career as a *Long Walk to Freedom*:

> I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk has not yet ended. (Mandela, 1994, p. 751)

Mandela's journey has a clear destination – freedom – and is all uphill. He has not faltered, nor has he looked for easier routes. His journey is constrained by the topography through which he walks, yet he conquers the constraints and heads resolutely on. As he walks, he sees new landscapes ahead and realises that they too must be travelled. His journey is a struggle between his human spirit and the rigors of the landscape he travels through.

The metaphor of career context as a landscape through which people travel their careers helps them understand their nature. As they observe, and travel through, the landscape, their career journeys are determined by it and their response to it.

The earth and its landscape varies enormously. In some areas mountains make travel difficult and it is only possible along prescribed routes. Some parts of the landscape are featureless deserts that only allow the best prepared travellers to pass. Some areas are dangerous. Some are impenetrable jungles, where sense of direction is easily lost. And some are pleasant rolling plains, or downhill stretches with clear signs and helpful paths along which travellers can move quickly and with purpose.

The landscape through which they travel changes more than they usually notice. Mountains grow and shrink, plains are suddenly flooded, earthquakes re-shape the terrain ahead. Although travellers know the landscape is not completely stable, they

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University of Otago, New Zealand

tend to behave as if it is. Landscape shapes travellers' behaviour, yet travellers' behaviour can also alter the landscape, as well as moving them into new landscapes.

This chapter will cover the nature of the landscapes in which careers are enacted and their effects on the career traveller. It will describe some significant features of recent and current landscapes and the ways in which they are changing. It will speculate briefly about the future careers landscape. It will look only at the industrialised countries.

Structure Versus Agency

In the large and wide-ranging literature that relates to careers, two major competing frameworks present themselves, which may be labelled *social structure* and *individual agency*; or, abbreviated, *structure* and *agency*.

Structure represents the explanatory framework of the sociologists (Johnson & Mortimer, 2002). In this view careers are structured by forces such as economic development, legislation, institutional requirements, educational and professional bodies and credentials, labour markets, social class, gender, and ethnicity (Johnson & Mortimer, 2002). Such forces constitute the landscape of the metaphor.

In this view it appears that careers are best seen as minor, individual-level by-products of macro-level forces – the context. The context is implicitly considered beyond individual control, and against its powerful societal forces, career actors can influence their careers in only minor ways. If this is truly the case, then career guidance is a hopeless practice of seeking to empower the chronically powerless, and offering direction toward goals that individuals can reach only fortuitously. Individual improvement in career opportunities and outcomes is possible only through higher-level change in societal and structural conditions, for example by political action.

Agency is "active operation" (Allen, 1990). In this chapter, it represents the contrasting position of the career development movement, in which responsibility for career events and outcomes is believed to be in the hands of the "agent" – the individual career actor. It is recognised that careers are constrained by structural barriers that limit free choice in careers, but giving primacy to agency emphasises that individual people are the key determiners of their careers. Indeed, some theorists maintain that individuals enact their careers on to wider social structures and thereby influence and change the context within which they work (Giddens, 1984; Weick, 1996).

From the agency perspective, careers are best seen as expressions of personal identity and purpose, individually driven lifelong projects through which individuals control their destinies. If this is truly the case, then career guidance is a valuable practice of education and empowerment of career actors largely free to impose their careers, as they choose, on the contexts in which they live.

Like other authors in this book, the authors of this chapter take a position that might be termed "agency informed by structure." That is, they accept the assumption of agentic human action and self-responsibility on which modern career guidance

is based, but seek to take proper account of the limiting structural forces of the contexts (landscapes) in which people enact (travel) their careers.

What sort of structures are meant? Political, economic, social and technological forces can be identified as very important shapers of society and individuals in society. Political, economic, social and technological power have also been concentrated in the hands of elites in different societies, so that the interaction of these forces is part of the picture.

Underestimating Structure

The authors believe that career actors and to a lesser extent career counsellors often underestimate both the constraining and the opportunity-creating effects of contextual structures.

In an extreme example, in a television "soap" – Coronation Street – presented a storyline in which a teenage trainee hairdresser wanted to hold on to her boyfriend, an apprentice footballer who she was confident would one day be a star. But her friends pointed out that "football stars only want to go out with someone famous." Pondering the problem, she hit on the obvious solution: "That's it – I'll become famous." She decided that TV weather-girls were famous, and that "it's easy – anyone can do it." She gave up her hairdressing job and began to practise. The notion of structural constraints such as required qualifications, experience and accent, lack of labour market demand and massive labour oversupply, simply did not occur to her. It did not take much contextual experience of the labour market for weather-girls to drive her back to hairdressing.

There is a tendency for career actors to ignore or underestimate contextual realities. Consider, for instance, the operation of the labour market and the need to navigate a career through its opportunity structures. An example of this is the case of an immigrant to the West from the collapsing Soviet Union (where, in a regulated labour market she had had routine but secure employment as directed by the State) worked diligently to acquire a doctoral qualification in a very specialised area of research. When it became clear that there were no jobs available in the field she had set her heart on, she was amazed and angry that the State would not create an opportunity for her. Her experience in Soviet Russia had been a classic example of the imposition of structural constraints, in the form of a crushing authoritarian State bureaucracy, over her career self-expression. Yet she also found in the supposedly "free" West, that career choices were structurally constrained there as well, this time by the operations of the labour market.

Many career actors are similarly cavalier about their career contexts. A modern dancer complained about the lack of government subsidies for dance: she evidently believed it was a function of society to support her career in her chosen art-form. An accountant failed to notice the transformation wrought on his profession by IT, multi-skilling and customer service, and found, at age 45, that his career had come to an end because his specialist skills were no longer relevant. In such cases the

opportunity structures through which careers are progressed are predictable from known external conditions and trends, yet career actors choose to focus only on their own skills and wishes.

An opinion on their predicament might have been given nearly 100 years ago by the father of vocational guidance Frank Parsons, who in 1909 published *Choosing a Vocation*. Parsons advocated that people should (a) understand themselves, (b) understand the requirements and other conditions of different "lines of work", and (c) use "true reasoning" to find a match between the two. Even if people master (a), where the emphasis in career guidance is most frequently put, they often neglect (b), or limit their attention to superficial features of particular jobs and occupations, limiting the opportunity of (c). In travelling one's career journey and in advising others how to travel theirs, it pays to attend to the landscape and to predict and prepare for changes.

Classic theories of career also appear to neglect context. The "big five" career theories (see Chapter 5), all focus on the internal psychology of the individual. Super's (1990) career development theory is a theory of individual development and choice processes which pays relatively little attention to the wider context. Person-environment fit theory (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984) and vocational personality theory (Holland, 1992) encapsulate context as job and occupation respectively, seeking to understand better the psychodynamics of the individual's congruence to that context, but failing to consider wider aspects. Gottfredson's (1981, 2002) theory of circumscription, compromise and self-creation again focuses internal processes including the individual's *perception* of context (mainly in terms of occupations) rather than the reality of such phenomena. Social cognitive career theory acknowledges "many environmental influences" (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002, p. 277) but again focuses mainly on internal psychological mechanisms and individual choices.

In contrast, Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986) provide a theory of career development based on "developmental contextualism" in which "there is a stress on the active organism in an active world and on the relationship between the developing organism and its changing context" (p. 30). Context is also conceptualised as a set of key arenas for career in Patton and McMahon's (1999) systems theory of careers and in Young, Valach, and Collin's (2002) contextualist theory of careers. Business-school based theories of career also show appreciation of contextual forces such as global competition, technological development and organisational restructuring (e.g., Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Peiperl, Arthur, Goffee, & Morris, 2000).

The career development movement perhaps needs to pay more attention to such outwardly focused approaches. Careers counsellors are busy people with here-and-now concerns to help their clients, and may lack an appreciation of the myriad economic, political, demographic, technological and other factors which affect the "lines of work" of which Parsons talked. The problem is compounded by the inherent longevity of careers, which may last for 50 years: the context that must be considered is complex enough in the present, but becomes even more so when extended far into the future.

Stability and Change

Parsons (1909) was writing in an ostensibly stable environment. The landscape on which to enact a career changed relatively slowly. Yet within 5 years of *Choosing a Vocation* a World War had broken out which radically changed technology, methods of manufacturing, occupations for women and the demographic make-up and structure of most industrialised societies. Then a world-wide influenza epidemic killed millions of people, creating labour shortages and new opportunities for many. The effects of these changes were the equivalent of a rapid and traumatic geological upheaval in the landscape.

Over the next 80 years the application of technology to industry led to an acceleration of large scale manufacturing operations, yet automation and other technological developments simultaneously stripped jobs out of them. For example, in the UK a million coal miners' jobs disappeared in a 40-year period from 1945. From the time of the Great Depression a fashion for economic protectionism and Welfare States protected many careers from unemployment and uncertainty. Bureaucratic institutions provided more and more longitudinal organisational careers (Whyte, 1956), but since the 1980s the security of organisational careers has been damaged by the forces of globalisation, free-market competition and organisational restructuring. Modern times have seen an acceleration of change and an exponential expansion of life-changing and society-changing technology. The belief in stability has diminished. Change has become the new status quo.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the concept of career – confined to an elite, because ordinary people merely had "jobs" – was as a linear progression anchored in an occupation or an organisation through which the individual moved steadily onwards and upwards. Careers were enacted not in the rural and pastoral landscapes of yore but in the urban landscapes of office and factory. During the past 100 years these landscapes have changed both incrementally, and – as with the advent of the micro-computer – abruptly. The new social and technological sophistication – for example the creation of new occupations, the opening-up of the world through mass transport and mass education – has dramatically extended the landscapes available for travel. Mobility – between jobs, occupations, organisations, industries, geographical locations, and even countries – has become an established feature of career behaviour.

Field and Habitus

The different types of structural constraint that apply to careers can be demonstrated by Pierre Bourdieu's concepts (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu talked about two critical concepts: *field*, and *habitus*, which have been effectively applied to career phenomena by Mayrhofer, Meyer, Steyrer, Maier, and Hermann (2004):

1. Fields are the social spaces (or landscapes) in which people live their lives. They are complex and hierarchical, and are apparent in education, religion, working life, etc., where a person faces many constraints such as rules, procedures, boundaries, and institutional requirements. Fields can be used by dominant individuals and institutions to control others. Fields limit individuals' action but challenge dominant persons to preserve field characteristics and less dominant ones to subvert or overcome them.

2. Habitus is the system of internal, personal, enduring dispositions through which people perceive the world. Each person acquires habitus through individual or shared experiences in predominant social groups, including family. Thus people internalise the external constraints and opportunities that they encounter, and over time develop their habitus from new experiences. Habitus is the vehicle in which internal characteristics such as values, interests, ideas, and motivations are incorporated.

Field and habitus are intimately related to each other. According to Wacquant (1998)

> As the mediation between past influences and present stimuli, habitus is at once *structured*, by the patterned social forces that produced it, and *structuring*: it gives form and coherence to the various activities of an individual across the separate spheres (fields) of life. (p. 221)

Consider, for example, how the recent liberalisation of the economy in the Russian States has dramatically changed the fields in which careers are enacted. Career moves which were once allocated by central authorities and organisations (field) now allow new freedoms of choice (Khapova & Korotov, 2007; Skokirov & Vondracek, 1993). But choice now is limited by habitus. In the communist system, systems of advancement were corrupt, and those advancing in their careers were considered contemptible. So the recent attempts to liberalise management practices and encourage proactive individual career behaviour, are hampered by individuals' inability or unwillingness to change their entrenched negative attitudes (habitus). Skorikov and Vondracek (1993, p. 315) criticised the error of "a personological focus that neglects social and cultural factors in career development".

The idea of field and habitus has been specifically applied to careers. Thus:

> A field is a patterned set of practices which suggests competent action in conformity with rules and roles as well as a playground or battlefield in which actors, endowed with a certain field-relevant capital, try to advance their position … habitus is an ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting that preformates all the expressive, verbal and practical manifestations of an actor … Although the primary socialisation is of great importance, the development of habitus cannot be restricted to that period. Habitus is constantly reinforced or modified by further experience … In order to understand and explain the action of players in the field, one needs information about their dispositions and competence – their habitus – and about the state of the game as well as the players' individual location in the field. (Mayrhofer, Iallatchich, et al., 2004, pp. 872–873)

Of interest here is the metaphor of *players* in a *game* that takes place in a *battlefield*. The notion of battlefield transforms the "landscape" metaphor, and contrasts with the popular democratic concept of *level playing field*, a notional open space on which different individuals have equal chances to impose their careers. The playing

field and battleground metaphor on the other hand emphasises that careers are competitive.

Social Structure Constraints on Career

The world of work in which careers are enacted is overlaid with other key societal structures, and career outcomes of individuals are affected by, for example, social class, gender, educational and ethnic structures – key features in the field – and related attitudes of employers, decision makers and career actors themselves, embodied in their habitus. Can, say, the publicly educated daughter of a West Indian immigrant labourer living in a housing development in Birmingham, England, expect as good career outcomes as a white stockbroker's son living in a rich suburb of London and attending Eton College, even if she matches him in talent and potential? Here field is clearly structured in the stockbroker's son's favour, and habitus will most likely follow it, extending structural segregation into a new generation.

Social class differences in wealth, power, prestige, and opportunity, systematically favour some individuals and marginalise others, thus affecting career opportunities. Class is career-related: sociologists have long used occupation as a proxy for social class (e.g., Goldthorpe, Lewellyn, & Payne, 1980).

The social class or status of an individual at the start of his or her career is likely to play a major part in the occupation that he or she gravitates into and the final level reached. Middle-class parents' money, lifestyle and contacts can buy their children a superior education, a good starting job or even a business. Such backgrounds also provide valuable knowledge, insight, communication skills and aspirations for personal achievement, which can be passed on to children. Gottfredson (2002) described how children develop individual concepts of a "zone of acceptable alternative" occupations defined in terms of prestige.

Another class-based factor affecting careers is education (Johnson & Mortimer, 2002). From the first grade, children from higher socioeconomic groups perform better (Entwisle & Alexander, 1993), and these early differences may increase over time due to continuing differences in quality of education (Kerckhoff, 1995).

Social Class and Mobility

Of special importance for career studies is the notion of *inter-generational mobility* – the change of social class from one generation to the next. In the past, most people died in roughly the same social position that they were born into. Geography, social status, economic resources and political power continued from generation to generation. In contrast, a popular view is that as society has become more egalitarian and/or more meritocratic, social class has become less important and intergenerational mobility has increased.

The position is complicated by changing occupational patterns and class structures. Many manual jobs have been automated and restructured out of existence. New skilled occupations, particularly those connected with telecommunications, information technology, and professional and personal services have grown rapidly; ever-higher proportions of the population have undertaken tertiary education; and the average income and level of affluence have increased. This *structural mobility* changes the class structure over time: upward intergenerational mobility becomes more likely, and downward mobility less likely (Featherman & Hauser, 1978).

Social Class and Identity

Careers are individual expressions of identity (Hall & Associates, 1996). Social comparison processes (Buunk & Musswieler, 2001; Festinger, 1954) are critical, and in this respect the career of each individual is part of the context of the careers of other individuals. Personal identity (a sense of who one is) is substantially determined by birth, station in life and occupation. These things only mean something if people compare themselves with others, who thereby become part of the landscape they perceive and are in any case part of the real landscape that they travel through.

Travellers look at features of the landscape, work out where they are with respect to them, and so navigate more successfully. In thinking about their careers people take bearings on other people and work out who they are and where they are in society. They look at lawyers and doctors, and at labourers and checkout operators, and compare themselves to them. Probably they know they are somewhere between the two. Educated might mean more educated than their parents and less than their children. They gradually build a set of social coordinates – an internalised map of the social context comprised by occupations and their associated lifestyles, providing context to the identity with which they live. For example, Gottfredson (1981) provided maps of occupations located according to occupational prestige and sextype. Many careers are motivated by "status anxiety" (De Botton, 2004) – the desire to be perceived as socially equal or superior to others, and to be in a better place in the landscape.

Ethnicity

Another structural factor affecting career opportunities, is ethnicity. For example, in the USA over double the proportion of African Americans are unemployed as whites. Internationally, there is good evidence that immigrants, even those with good qualifications and career backgrounds, are often employed to fill relatively unskilled and casual positions in the secondary labour market. Employment discrimination against particular racial groups clearly exists, however there is debate as to whether the failure of certain racial groups to advance is due mainly to their

race, or mainly to the commonly associated feature of their typically lower class status, which might apply whatever their race (Wilson, 1981).

Gender

In industrial societies, paid work has historically been done by mainly by men, while women supported them and their families through unpaid domestic labour. Women could be employed as paid workers in certain occupations, for example, low-skilled factory work, retail and domestic service; and for the small numbers of better educated women, nursing and teaching. Married women and women with children have traditionally been expected to devote their working hours to the unpaid work of caring for their husband and family. Therefore, a typical female career might consist of a few years' work in a relatively junior capacity, followed by a lifetime as a "housewife." Women who never married might pursue careers in paid work, but could expect promotion only in exceptional cases. If social class set major limits on the careers of many men, the combined effects of social class and gender were a veritable straitjacket to independent-minded women (Jackson, 2003).

In the latter stages of the twentieth century, what has been termed a "gender-quake" took place (Wolf, 1993). There was too much work to be done for men alone to do it. Manufacturing – traditionally largely staffed by men – declined, and service work – where women have greater interest and skills – increased. Women increasingly entered the workforce. From being perhaps 20% of the total U.S. workforce in 1900 and 30% in 1950, by 2000 they had reached an estimated 48%, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). Dual-career couples and families, working solo mothers, and multiple-career reconstituted families have become common. In that sense, women are no longer constrained to the extent they once were from pursuing a full career.

What has changed less, however, is the segregation of jobs, occupations, and therefore careers, into "men's work" and "women's work. This gender segregation has two dimensions – horizontal and vertical:

1. Horizontal segregation divides work occupationally. Thus, in developed societies over two-thirds of engineers, computer programmers, warehouse staff, police officers, medical doctors, lawyers, managers, skilled trade workers, and truck drivers are men. But most primary schoolteachers, nurses, midwives, sewing machine operators, checkout operators, secretarial and clerical workers, and retail shop assistants are women. In some of these occupations, the dominating gender may have over 90% of the jobs.
2. Vertical segregation divides work hierarchically, into the more senior, responsible and better-paid jobs, and the more junior, less responsible and worse-paid jobs. Typically, men occupy the former types of job and women the latter. Some maintain that there is a "glass ceiling", such that women can see what goes on at the top of the organisations that employ them, they are unable to reach such positions

(Morrison, 1992). Men also enjoy much higher earnings than women, according to one estimate a third higher on average (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

The combination of horizontal and vertical segregation gives rise to stereotypical authority relationships: the male manager dictating to the female secretary; the male doctor being assisted by the female nurse; the male lawyer giving instructions to the female legal assistant (Kanter, 1977). Barriers to occupation can lead to women consistently underestimating their career potential, and men failing to consider "female" occupations. Gender segregation and stereotyping does however appear to be declining. There has, for example, been a huge growth of the numbers of women who have become entrepreneurs (Weiler & Bernasek, 2001).

The Wider Careers Landscape

Much of the careers landscape is created by the political and economic forces shaping the institutions in which work is conducted. These contextual factors creating structures of career opportunity includes political, economic, technological, demographic, labour market, institutional, organisational, and international. It is important to consider not just the factors impacting on careers but the way in which these factors are trending over time. A table from a recent publication summarising such changes is shown below (Table 4.1).

Economic Development

Careers are massively affected by economic developments and the cultural and institutional forms that such development takes. As an example, consider the recent economic history of Japan.

In the years following World War II this ancient agriculture-based civilisation industrialised rapidly, allying national virtues of hard work, stoicism, collective loyalty, and service to the local community with imported notions of efficient organisation and quality. On this base Japan built industries in shipbuilding, car manufacture, electronics and other sectors that were superior to their counterparts in Western countries which had held an apparently unassailable lead. From 1950 to 1990, Japan's per capita GDP grew at a much greater rate than its competitors (Guisán Seijas, Cancelo Márquez, & Aguayo Lorenzo, 2001), unemployment was relatively low (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2004) and the career opportunities available to ordinary Japanese reached unanticipated heights.

At the apex of the Japanese industrial system, the great manufacturing companies such as Toyota and Matsushita were able to offer employees "lifetime employment" such that a prosperous and advancing career in a successful paternalistic corporation could be anticipated with apparently absolute security (Ouchi, 1981).

Table 4.1 Late twentieth-century trends and their effects on career (Reprinted with permission from Inkson, 2007)

Nature of change	Effect on careers
"Welfare state", protectionist and full employment policies of many countries, 1940–1980	Considerable career security for many people
Organisations becoming larger and more complex (up to 1980)	Availability of loyalty-based "organisational careers" providing steady advancement in large organisations
Market-oriented economic policies of many countries from 1980	Higher unemployment, exposure of careers to economic cycles
Organisations restructuring for lower costs and greater efficiencies	Layoffs, unanticipated transfers and career destabilisation, "McJobs"
Mechanisation – less manual work, more service and managerial work	Changed occupational structures – move from "physical" jobs to "knowledge" jobs
"Aging" society – greater longevity	People stretching their careers beyond age 65
Emancipation of women, trends to two-income households	Enlarged labour pool; changes in traditional "male" occupations; dual-career couples
Greater affluence, more discretionary spending	Growth of industries such as luxury goods and hospitality, with new career opportunities
Professionalisation of specialist occupations	Structuring and protection of professional career paths through required qualifications
Growth of information technology	New occupations, organisations and careers in I.T.; major changes in the work in other jobs
Globalisation – multinational organisations relocating business for lowest cost	Displacement of manufacturing and some service jobs to third-world countries; beginning of global careers

But the effects of context can spread far: in Glasgow shipyards and West Midlands manufacturing plants, laid-off local workers, managers and professional support staff trooped to the unemployment offices to collect dole payments, their careers fractured.

"Lifetime employment" in Japan was always no more than a minority indulgence (Hirakubo, 1999). "Lifetime" meant only until compulsory retirement at age 55 or 60, and the security of the "salarymen" in the large corporations was made possible only through the insecurities of the millions of temporary workers in smaller organisations, many of them suppliers. By the early 1990s other countries had learned enough from the Japanese to mount major competitive counter-offensives. Employment growth in the USA, other OECD countries and Asian developing economies overtook Japan's in the 1990s as the inefficiencies and rigidities of many Japanese organisations became apparent. Lifetime employment declined. Japanese unemployment rose to 3% for the first time in 1995, and to 5% for the first time in 2001 (OECD, 2004). So-called lifetime employment has lost its gloss (Hirakubo, 1999). Nowadays, the country struggles to make the structural reforms

necessary for it to recapture its former glories. The landscape faced by its career travellers is uncertain.

Globalisation

Globalisation is an increase in the permeability of traditional boundaries, including physical borders such as nation-states and economies, industries and organisations, and less tangible borders such as cultural norms or assumptions (Parker, 1998). This increase in permeability is the result of shifts in technological, political, and economic spheres. Free trade areas have reduced traditional economic boundaries between countries.

Non-global careers are also affected by globalisation. In modern multinational corporations seeking to capitalise on location-specific advantages, functions such as research, finance, production, sales and marketing, and administration, might all be located in different countries, thereby altering the structure of career opportunities available to local workers. The globalisation of product and service markets is accompanied by a globalisation of the internal company labour market and the external labour market, so that career contexts change dramatically, and global careers have become more prevalent (Inkson, Lazarova, & Thomas, 2005).

Politics

Political policies also affect careers. For example there is little doubt that without the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s the career prospects of African Americans – still much lower that those of their white counterparts – would be even worse. On a broader scale the "free market" political policies popular in many countries in the 1980s dramatically altered career opportunities and outcomes of many of their citizens. Subsidies and protections were abolished, competition increased, and customers gained power to influence the careers of workers merely by the product choices they made. Reductions in tariffs and trade controls combined with globalisation and low-cost Third World factory sites to move jobs away from the developed economies.

Another political factor influencing the career contexts of some countries is privatisation. Governments in many developed countries have sold or are selling state owned business to private investors at an increasing rate. Because these enterprises have often been non-competitive, privatisation had a dramatic effect on the work life and career prospects of employees. National and local policies on regional development, unemployment benefits, medical and accident insurance, pension provisions, accreditation of qualifications, industry incentives and a host of other issues impact daily on people's careers. Counsellors need to be well-read and aware, not just about immediate local provisions but about long-term trends and possibilities.

Industry and Occupation Structures

In developed countries, mechanisation and affluence have inexorably changed employment structures. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of workers were employed in primary industries, mainly agriculture, and in manufacturing. By 2004, only 6% of OECD civilian employment was in primary industries (down from 9% in 1994), only 25% in manufacturing (down from 28%), and 69% in services (up from 63%) (OECD, 2004). Recent years have seen a growth in areas such as education, health, community services, and property and business services. Leisure and entertainment industries have also grown faster than other areas.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes statistics and predictions charting numerical changes in the labour force in different occupations and industries. The projections are reasonably accurate in terms of predicting trends (Alpert & Auyer, 2003). Summaries of recent data provided by Reardon, Lenz, Sampson, and Peterson (2006) based on these data showed a number of clear trends. High growth industries are health (including nurses, nursing and home health aides, medical assistants, health information technicians, physical therapists, dental hygienists and assistants); information technology (including software engineers, systems analysts, and database and information systems managers); consulting (including management, scientific and technical) and a host of other services including community care and employment services.

A study of the numbers employed in various occupations 1960–1990 according to their primary Holland RIASEC codes showed rapid growth in S (social), E (enterprising) and I (investigative) occupations. R (realistic) occupations declined dramatically while still remaining the single largest type (Reardon, Vernick, & Reed, 2004). Career travellers who care to consult such oracles can target occupations with high employment numbers and growth projections, high salaries, and strong projected growth (Reardon et al., 2006). Similar data are available in other countries and provides interesting occupation and industry maps, though of course such maps cannot take account of factors such as the skills and qualifications required or the labour market competition for such opportunities.

The Knowledge Economy and Education Requirements

Drucker (1969) used the now common term *knowledge economy* as early as 1969, implying that in advanced industrial nations knowledge has become the central factor of production. Consciousness of the rise of the knowledge economy has triggered major growth in education in many countries. Yet Felsted, Gallie, and Green (2002) claimed that in the UK in 2001, 37% of workers were overqualified academically for their jobs, up from only 30% in 1986. There is evidence (Cully, 2002) that changes in jobs are leading to an "hour glass" or "hollowed out" shape to the labour market. A growth in information technology has brought about an increase

in the number of skilled and more senior roles, yet at the same time simple unskilled service jobs (for example, data entry, fast-food service) have also increased, while intermediate occupations have declined.

One reason may be that IT leads to major changes in the way work is organised. In the past the role of middle managers was to collect, sort, sift and sanitise information. Now information gathering is easy, immediate and cheap, and the vertical structures of the past can be replaced by decentralised decision making and flatter structures that enhance flexibility and process innovation, and replace vertical controls with horizontal communication. As an example, Cully (2002) cited the example of the loss of the jobs of middle ranked bank managers. In the past the manager would make assessments of whether an individual is a suitable risk for a housing mortgage loan. Nowadays the decision parameters have been codified and the decisions are made by a computer. There is more need for the higher order skill of codifying decision criteria, and for lower level data entry operators, but less need for a manager. The middle level that provided a step in a career hierarchy has disappeared. The leap from bank clerk to senior manager is almost impossible to cross.

The Organisational Landscape

Career opportunity structures are also affected by the context of policies, strategies and structures in employing organisations.

Since the 1980s the globalisation of business, the threat of increased competition, and the desire of many organisations to reduce costs and increase flexibility has led to major changes in the strategies and structures of most employing organisations, thereby putting pressures on the careers of employees and the opportunities available to outsiders. Restructuring usually involves a net loss of jobs within the organisation. Different but often overlapping strategies may be used, the main ones being downsizing, de-layering, core-and-periphery models, and outsourcing.

Downsizing, involving a direct reduction in the corporate head-count, has been a strategy favoured by many companies (Littler & Innes, 2004; Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998). However, downsizing, while dramatic, takes place mainly in the manufacturing sector and often masks ongoing gradual long-term employment increases in downsizing organisations (Baumel, Blinder, & Wolff, 2003). Continual downsizing reduces the locations in the landscape for organisational careers. On the other hand employment growth is created in growing smaller organisations in expanding industries.

Delayering is a process of removing entire hierarchical levels of organisations, making them "flat" rather than "tall", and has continued to be popular (Littler, Wiesner, & Dunford, 2003). The fewer people there are to supervise, the fewer levels will be needed in organisations. This change is aided by technology that makes intermediate level positions unnecessary, as in the bank manager example above (Cully, 2002). Career progression is much more difficult in a delayered organisation.

Outsourcing is the delegation, to a specialist supplier, of services that are not central to an organisation's functioning (Espino-Roderiguez & Padron-Robaina, 2006). Service departments and production facilities can be outsourced. Outsourcing increases within-the-organisation specialisation and frequently has dramatic effects on the careers of workers whose work is outsourced, often to a distant geographical location.

The core and periphery model of flexible organisation was first suggested by Atkinson (1984). In recent years there has been a change from organisations based on permanent full-time jobs to those with a core of key employees – guardians of the organisation's strategic direction, core competencies and institutional memory, surrounded by a periphery of people with short term contracts, job sharers and part time workers. Further out from the core are agencies providing temporary contractors, consultants and other (outsourced) services, benefiting the organisation through their greater flexibility. In seasonal and business downturns or changes of organisational strategy, peripheral workers can be easily disposed of. The career landscape of the core is relatively secure and certain, but that of the periphery is insecure and ambiguous.

The organisational control of careers is an idea central to the "resource based view of the firm" (Boxall & Purcell, 2003). This view stressed the significance of human resources as sources of competitive advantage and the consequent need to attract, retain, develop and motivate these resources. Large organisations often develop sophisticated system to process and direct the combined resources that are embodied in employees' careers, thereby providing staff with internal career development opportunities (Baruch, 2004). Organisations need to encourage loyalty, particularly among their core staff, and reinforce it with attractive arrangements for remuneration, development, security, promotion and a strong appealing culture. As a counterpoint to the downsizing-disloyalty syndrome, some organisations are developing High-Commitment Human Resource Management practices to encourage long-term organisational careers by offering superior security, conditions and development to high-value employees (Pfeffer, 1998).

New Forms of Employment

Career studies often makes the implicit assumption that a career consists of a succession of permanent, full-time, 5-day-a-week, nine-to-five jobs. But continuity of full-time job has always been unavailable to some workers, and alternatives such as casual, temporary, and contract employment, shift-work, part-time employment, self-employment and multiple job-holding – voluntary or involuntary – have been their lot. The changes signalled in the previous section have increased the proportions of such workers (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996). This is called "non-standard work" or "contingent work" (meaning that continuing employment is contingent on there being continuing work available for the worker to do).

Many industries (for example fresh food processing) tend to be seasonal in nature, while others are inherently based on projects of finite duration (for example the construction and film industries). These interrupted industries create their own career patterns and problems. In New Zealand, the authors' country, the huge scale and fabulous success, in the early 2000s, of the *Lord of the Rings* movie trilogy, created myriad opportunities for local people to commence new careers or re-energise old ones. But unless the industry can continue indefinitely in the same country, in the same manner, on the same scale (an impossibility), the project work generated leads to start-stop careers and the plugging of career gaps with inferior casual work.

There is evidence that temporary, part-time and casual forms of work may be "crowding out more stable forms of employment" and "increasing labour market dualism between workers finding stable full-time careers and those who fail to do so" (OECD, 2002a, p. 127). According to Watts (2001), over 70% of the employment growth of the 1990s was in casual work. In the OECD, part-time employment increased by a third between 1990 and 2003, was focused more on female than on male workers, and ranged from 2% of all employment in the Slovak Republic to 34% in the Netherlands (OECD, 2004). The trend in self-employment was less clear, but this form of employment averaged about 15% across the OECD in 2003. If we add perhaps 15% of the workforce in the developed world who are part-time to 15% who are self-employed to perhaps 7% who are unemployed and an unknown number who are of working age but not in the workforce, and recognise that these four conditions will strike different individuals at different times, it becomes apparent that the notion of full-time permanent careers may be less common than we might think.

Commentaries on the trend to temporary work stress its precariousness, marginalising effect, and lack of career progression (Hardy & Walker, 2003; Rogers, 1995). These contrast with assumptions of continuity and incremental development that underlie many models of career. On the other hand, some studies show that it is possible for skilled temporary workers to utilise their marginal status in the organisation to develop a better work-life balance, educational development, a *portfolio* career involving additional opportunities, or enhanced career versatility (Alach & Inkson, 2004; Inkson, Heising, & Rousseau, 2001). The task of understanding the complexities of career development through such uncertain employment opportunities is a major task for more and more careerists and their advisors.

Flexible Working refers to special patterns of working location and hours that are required or made possible by new technology and structural arrangements. For example, telecommuting began in California in response to traffic problems and the cost of using office buildings. Estimates of how widespread this phenomenon may become vary from 15 million up to 57 million in the USA (Kurland & Bailey, 1999). The UK Labour Force Survey (U.K. Office for National Statistics, 2002) identified 7.5% of the workforce as teleworkers, and 48% of organisations already allowed remote working. The United Kingdom Chartered Institute of Personnel Development (CIPD) listed current (2006) flexible working arrangements and added to those we have mentioned; job sharing and flexitime.

The Labour Force

A key part of the landscape is the nature of the other travellers – for example their diversity, gender, age, and education. Career travelling in the industrialised world is competitive: jobs go to those who it is thought will provide the highest performance, the optimum organisational efficiency, the greatest profitability.

Labour Force Aging

In the industrialised countries, social forces are leading to major demographic changes in the workforce. On the one hand, late twentieth-century trends to women's participation in the workforce and advances in birth control have led to childrearing being undertaken at a later age and families becoming smaller. In many industrialised countries, reproduction does not even reach replacement level and these countries' populations and workforces can grow only through net immigration. At the other end of the age spectrum, advances in healthcare lead to better health and fitness among the over-50s, and the possibility of workers extending their active careers beyond normal retiring ages.

The ratio of elderly inactive members of society compared to active members of the workforce is steadily increasing in all developed countries, and the proportion of young people in the workforce is shrinking. The proportion of the workforce in industrialised countries who were aged 15–24 shrunk from 21.4% in 1980 to 16.8% in 2000 and is predicted to shrink again to 14% by 2015. (International Labour Office, 2004). These workers also have an unemployment rate much higher than that of their older counterparts, 13.4% versus 5.7% in 2003. The aging of the population and of the workforce is however a trend which has only just begun, and which is likely to have more dramatic effects on careers in the years ahead. In the section on "The Future of Work" below, we provide some statistics and further thoughts.

Labour Turnover

Another relevant variable is labour turnover and the patterns of opportunity thereby created. These changes may be more frequent than many may think. One longitudinal study in the USA looked at men between the ages of 18 and 38 between 1978 and 2002 and concluded that in their 20-year period, men made an average of 10.4 new job starts and women 9.9 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2006). Frequency of change tended however to decline with age, from approximately .8 starts per person in the late teens, to .2 in the late 30s. It is suggested that such figures are at odds with the long-term, person-to-job congruence perspective adopted by many careers professionals.

Migration

Many career travellers migrate, mostly in search of better economic opportunities. As they do so, they not only respond to contextual cues, they also alter not only their own contexts but those of career travellers in the places to which they move. Some of this migration is within countries, for example the massive flows from rural to urban areas which characterised the industrialisation phase of the developed countries and created the great cities. More noticeable nowadays however is *international* migration. For example, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) nearly 10% of Germany's 82 million population consists of foreign people, while the USA now has 35 million people who were born outside its borders, up from 10 million in 1970 (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005). In the OECD, net migration accounted for a net population growth of 3.7 per 1,000 in 2003, compared with only net .4 per 1,000 through births and deaths (IOM, 2005).

Migrants are increasingly concentrated in developed countries. They typically experience major problems of discrimination and acculturation in their new countries (Berry, 2001), as well as disruption to their careers (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999), while others – typically educated professionals – are "highly skilled globetrotters" (Mahroum, 2000) selling scarce and valuable expertise on a receptive international market. Migrants thus alter the context, and role model new forms of career, for local workers.

Migration is particularly important when it affects – and captures – the careers of the more educated, skilled, and economically valuable members of the population. Globally, countries and organisations have become involved in a "war for international talent" (OECD, 2002b). The so-called Brain Drain, whereby valuable or potentially valuable members of economically deprived countries migrate permanently to more prosperous countries, is an increasing concern for many countries (e.g., Crush, 2004; Gamlen, 2005). For example, according to the European Commission, three-quarters of European graduates who go to the USA for doctoral study subsequently stay on and join the American workforce (Cohen, 2003). The U.S. information technology industry, too, is substantially sustained by large numbers of smart, highly trained professionals recruited from the Indian sub-continent.

Culture and Values

The milieu of culture, values and ideas in which individuals first grow up and then develop their careers is itself part of the landscape and exerts influence on other parts. For example, Hofstede's (1980) classic description of variation in cultural values across 52 countries intersects with conventional career theory and research. The dimensions of culture he described – individualism/collectivism, power distance, tolerance of ambiguity and masculinity – have major potential effects on

both the culturally based, institutions that are part of the career context (field), and individual orientations to careers (habitus) (Thomas & Inkson, 2007). In the individualistic West, career is typically seen as a long-term individual project, an exercise of personal agency in pursuit of personal goals, whereas notions of collective experience of careers, or collective criteria for career success, appear little in the literature. The low power distance of many advanced nations creates an ethos of egalitarianism and compared with high power distance societies discourages the maintenance of traditional hierarchies and status barriers to career advancement. The low uncertainty avoidance of the West enhances possibilities of career resilience (London & Stumpf, 1982) and career adaptability (Savickas, 2005) in a rapidly changing career landscape. And masculinity–femininity frames possible career goals in terms of, say, achievement versus relationships or balance.

Individualism and the Pursuit of Success

Modern industrial societies are the home of individualistic values and high levels of achievement motivation (Yang, 1988). These encourage career ambition, with hierarchical organisations supporting status advancement. But the central place of work in confirming identity and giving meaning to life has been changing. The decline of Christian faith in the western world and the rise of global media have tended to change expectations concerning what really matters in life. There is an increasing emphasis on immediate consumption. Role models are young, sexy and well endowed with personal technology and label products. They are pictured by the media as being hedonistic and individualistic (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002; Ryckman & Houston, 2003). Contextual cues such as these trigger ambitious, individualistic career behaviour: money and status but also leisure time become key attributes of the supposedly satisfying career.

In contrast, there are demands to balance work and the whole of life. Singh (2001) wrote of individuals and couples carefully choosing employers who can offer them balanced careers. Those who cannot find balance, especially women, are opting to walk away from their commitment to career success, and are instead "downshifting" (Ghazi & Jones, 2004). In the west, the working week has been reducing, the number of holidays and holiday periods is increasing, and the number of annual hours worked in industrialised countries has decreased by about 100 over last 15 years (International Labour Office, 2004). It seems that both individuals and societies are willing to reduce their commitment to work.

Family Life

For centuries the extended family was a basic unit of Western civilisation. The industrial revolution separated home and production, and increased the role of

individuals at the expense of families. Many came to believe that the separation of work and home is essential. There was a "golden age" of marriage and nuclear family across many Western nations from the 1950s to 1970s. In these years the dominant pattern and model of domesticity was a heterosexual couple with perhaps two children living together. Commonly the male was the breadwinner and the female the home nurturer, who abandoned a career, or at least put it off, to fulfil the role.

That era is apparently over (Kiernan, 2004). In recent decades, moves to later and serial marriages, and the rise in cohabitation and divorce have made partnerships between men and women more diverse and fragile. Children are increasingly born and reared outside marriage. The number of single parent families continues to grow (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2005) with only 68% of American children living in two-parent families in 2004 as compared to 77% in 1980.

Within a partnership it had been possible for one individual (sometimes two) to pursue a career while their partner carried most of the child caring burden. Carrying sole responsibility for a child or children makes a career difficult for most single parents, because family rearing has become their central preoccupation. On the other hand, government policies on childcare and leave provision and taxation may combine with labour shortages to encourage individual carers to take up part-time or even full-time work and develop their careers as best they can according to changing family circumstances.

The Future of Work and Careers

When people try to predict the future they often look at the recent past and present, and then project what they see into the future. Some commentators have the uncanny knack of bring able to see into the future. Re-reading Alvin Toffler's (1980) ideas in 2006 is very informative. His "Third Wave" speaks of a new wave of change for industry and society. He wrote prophetically of disseminated workplaces, electronic cottages, telecommuting replacing cars, and new organisational structures. He suggested the new society would bring with it a genuine new way of life.

For the future, the authors see a number of current and emergent trends. Demographic trends will continue to determine the workers available to enact career journeys. The people in the landscape will be older, which will allow and perhaps require an increasingly aged participation in the workforce. Karoly and Panis (2004) predicted an almost nil growth (.04%) in the U.S. workforce in the period to 2010 and .03% in the decade to 2010. Decline will be prevented only by new immigrants in the workplace cohort. The same picture is true of the majority of the developed countries in the OECD. The OECD projects that over the next 25 years around 70 million people will retire in OECD countries. The over-65 population is anticipated to rise from 15.4% of the EU population in 1995 to 22.4% by 2025 (Geddes, 2002).

Such changes alter career opportunities for many, for example when workers' earnings are more heavily taxed to pay for the care of the older generation, when the qualifying age for a pension is increased to encourage older workers to extend their careers, and when a burgeoning aged-care industry provides both new career opportunities and ghettoes of routine low-paid jobs.

One likely outcome of this reduction in the supply of workers in the OECD is that the search for employees will become more international. The effective labour market will be global, and migration policies will become more open and more competitive. Those who are active in the careers landscape will be increasingly mobile geographically and globally with a wider view of where they can journey across the landscape. It is likely that as a result workforce diversity will increase in terms of ethnicity, culture, and language.

It is also likely the workforce will be increasingly feminised as a result of labour shortages in the developed countries. Karoly and Panis (2004) showed a declining male participation rate in work and a rising female participation rate bringing the workforce to a gender balance. This will lead employers in the competitive environment help employees (particularly women) to balance the role of work in their lives. It is likely that women will increasingly colonise former occupational bastions of male privilege (e.g., law, accounting, engineering, finance, higher management, corporate governance).

Another feature of the landscape will be increased technological change. Karoly and Panis (2004) suggested the pace of change – whether through advances in IT, biotechnology or other emerging technologies such as nanotechnology will almost certainly accelerate in the next 10–15 years, with synergies across technologies and disciplines generating advances in research and development, production and the nature of products and services. IT developments may include the development of real time speech recognition systems and intelligent robotics. Already nanotechnology and genetic profiling are presenting interesting synergies that are bringing challenges to ethicists and politicians, challenges that again may determine career opportunities far into the future.

A preoccupation with continuous learning of skills will continue to develop. In the UK a National Skills Task Force (NSTF) (2000) identified a wide range of general skills that can be transferred between occupations, including problem solving, communication, literacy and numeracy. These skills are becoming the key to flexibility for individuals and employability, and more important than occupation-specific skills. In general NSTF believes the level of skills of jobs are increasing. The landscape will require increasingly skills and moves and experiences that enhance employability will be a priority.

As early as 1989 Charles Handy described a future in which traditional employees, who have worked for a single employer, in the employer's premises for a given wage or salary are replaced by freelancers and portfolio workers. He argued that tomorrow's highly skilled technicians and professionals will be enabled through technology to engage in work through fluid networks, rather than the rigid hierarchies that defined the conventional job. Jeremy Rifkin (1995) was more pessimistic

and foresaw mass unemployment, the increasing casualisation of work, or the division of the workforce into a core of skilled, well compensated employees, and a low-skilled part-time or temporary periphery – a further development of the "hollowing out" effect already noted.

Conclusion

Each person is an individual traveller who navigates his or her career in a personal context. To complete the journey satisfyingly and successfully, they need to know their own capabilities and have the capability to build their resources. But equally they need to be able to perceive, understand and anticipate the landscape, to know the opportunities it presents, the dangers it displays or conceals, and the changes it is likely to undergo within the space of their careers. They need, as it were, to be able to "see round corners."

The good news is that even though everyone's landscape is personal, they have much in common, and that much about them is known, and can be predicted for the future with reasonable accuracy. The demographic shape of the workforce and the shifts to new industries, occupations, and forms of employment can be anticipated and planned for. The areas of opportunity and threat for tomorrow's careerists can be delineated, at least in general terms. Against that are the short-term uncertainties that many of these apparent certainties bring, for example the fact that in these landscapes the new careers journeys will most likely require a new flexibility, improvisational skills and tolerance of ambiguity from tomorrow's workers (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999). Furthermore, no analysis can adequately prepare them for the possibilities of war, terrorism, tsunami, and pandemic global disaster which can convulse careers in the future as they have in the past.

The authors hope, however, that they have shown how vital it is that career counsellors as consultant navigators to the careers of others, accompany their sophisticated methods of mapping the psyches of their client travellers, with up-to-date atlases of current and coming career landscapes. Within the limitations of this chapter the authors have been able to do no more than sketch preliminary outline drawings: today's and tomorrow's travellers will need much more informative maps, and a willingness and capability to research and prepare their own maps, if they are to survive and thrive in the wider but more challenging vistas that they traverse in their life journeys.

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