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Careers and Career Development

Sue Mulhall

Dublin Institute of Technology, sue.mulhall@dit.ie

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Section 4

Challenges

CHAPTER 11

Careers and Career Development

Sue Mulhall

Introduction

This chapter examines the domain of careers and career development, an area that is particularly important in an Irish context given changing demographics and a government-level emphasis on developing human capital and a knowledge-based economy agenda that emphasises new career opportunities and career types. In examining these issues, this chapter first of all explores government policies that have brought the notion of career into sharper focus. Following on from this, the chapter reviews the varying, and sometimes contradictory, definitions and conceptualisations of careers. The chapter then examines organisational support and practice, outlining the empirical evidence, and concludes with key implications of the analysis for future research and practice.

Policies and Positions

Numerous reports emphasise that Ireland needs to build an innovative knowledge-based economy that provides sustainable employment opportunities (see, for example, Department of Education and Skills, 2011; Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, 2009). This agenda is set against the backdrop of the European Union's (EU) growth strategy, 'Europe 2020', which

anticipates smart, sustainable and inclusive economies delivering high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion (European Commission, 2010). The intention of the EU's employment objective is to create conditions for modernising labour markets with a view to raising employment and productivity levels, whilst safeguarding exiting social models. This entails, *inter alia*, empowering people through the acquisition of additional proficiencies, thereby enabling the current and future workforce to adapt to changing conditions and potential career shifts. Initiatives have, therefore, been developed to ensure that European citizens are equipped to manage labour market changes more effectively, by affording opportunities to develop skills and gain access to information, advice and guidance, thus assisting people to make well-informed career choices (Cedefop, 2008). As a result, national and international employment policy reinforces the long-held contention of career scholars that those seeking employment opportunities require lifelong learning and development to acquire a portfolio of competence and competencies to manage their careers in fluid, fast-paced settings (Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Arthur et al., 1999; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Briscoe and Hall, 2006; Hall, 1976, 1996; King, 2004).

The Nature of Career Management

Individuals do not, however, undertake their careers in a vacuum, as decisions about future trajectories need to be considered within the context of the broader world (Herr, 2008; King, 2004). Facilitating this decision-making is the process of career management that has been defined as an 'ongoing problem-solving process in which information is gathered, awareness of oneself and the environment is increased, career goals are set, strategies are developed to attain those goals, and feedback is obtained' (Greenhaus et al., 2009: 18). Career management, therefore, involves 'the analysis, planning and action that can be taken by an individual at any stage of their career - and ideally throughout it - to actively increase the chance of doing well' (Forsyth, 2002: 3). In essence, success has to be proactively sought and job seekers need to have a clear idea of what they mean by success and how to achieve it. Whilst striving for this career success people face a number of developmental tasks and challenges. If individuals understand these activities, they

can formulate strategies that are most appropriate to a particular period in their careers. To support this, organisations attuned to the unfolding pattern of a career over an employee's employment lifespan can design developmental programmes suitable for the different stages of an individual's career (Greenhaus et al., 2009). This emphasises the interplay between career management and career development, a theme discussed later in the chapter. It also highlights that understanding and conceptualising careers is a critical task bridging the levels of national policy, organisation practice and individual expectations.

Preparation for and engagement in career management and the career development process necessitates an understanding of the contemporary career and its diverse depictions over time. Examining the historical meanings ascribed to the definition of 'career' unearths the shifting sands of emphasis over the past century. Table 11.1 outlines the evolutionary journey of the career concept characterised as four distinct stages:

- Stage 1 - The roots of career development derived from Parsons' (1909) three-step formula for choosing a career that involved the matching of personal requirements with the external environment.
- Stage 2 - The Chicago School of Sociologists, epitomised by Hughes (1937, 1958), took an expansive life perspective approach, underscoring the relationship between professional and personal biographies.
- Stage 3 - At this stage, the concept of career returned to a more restricted occupational and organisational orientation, situating career within the context of stable, employment structures (e.g. Super, 1957, 1980; Wilensky, 1961), typified by linear, upward progression across a limited number of firms with a focus on extrinsic rewards and organisational career management.
- Stage 4 - This reflects a movement to a more contemporary understanding of career, exemplified by broader, experienced-focused, post-organisational descriptions, attempting to replicate how individuals enact their career in a changing world (e.g. Arthur et al., 1989; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

Table 11.1: Key Contributors to the Career Concept, in Chronological Order

Stage	Author(s)	Definition of Career
1	Parsons (1909)	'In the wise choice of a vocation, there are three broad factors: (1) a clear understanding of yourself, your aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations, and their causes; (2) a knowledge of the requirements, conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities and prospects in different lines of work; (3) true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts.' (p. 5)
2	Hughes (1937)	'In a highly and rigidly structured society, a career consists, objectively, of a series of status and clearly defined offices. In a freer one, the individual has more latitude for creating his own position or choosing from a number of existing ones.' (p. 409) ... 'Subjectively, a career is the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him. ... The career is by no means exhausted in a series of business and professional achievements. There are other points at which one's life touches the social order, other lines of social accomplishment.' (p. 410) ... 'It is possible to have a career in an avocation as well as in a vocation.' (p. 411)
	Hughes (1958)	'Subjectively, a career is the moving perspective in which persons orient themselves with reference to the social order, and of the typical sequences and concatenations of office.' (p. 67)
3	Wilensky (1961)	'A career is a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more-or-less predictable) sequence.' (p. 523)
	Super (1980)	'A career is a sequence of positions held during the course of a lifetime, some of them simultaneously (Super, 1957); an occupational career is the sequence or combination of occupational positions held during the course of a lifetime.' (p. 286)

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Stage	Author(s)	Definition of Career
4	Arthur et al. (1989)	‘Our adopted definition of career is the <i>evolving sequence of a person’s work experiences over time</i> . A central theme in this definition is that of work and all that work can mean for the ways in which we see and experience other people, organizations, and society. However, equally central to this definition is the theme of time, along which the career provides a “moving perspective” (Hughes, 1958: 67) on the unfolding interaction between a person and society. ... The notion of a career also links matters internal to the individual with matters external, such as those concerning official position. ... The study of careers is the study of both individual and organizational change ... as well as of societal change.’ (p. 8) [emphasis in original]
	Arthur and Rousseau (1996)	‘CAREER Old meaning: a course of professional advancement; usage is restricted to occupational groups with formal hierarchical progression, such as managers and professionals. New meaning: the unfolding sequence of any person’s work experiences over time.’ (p. 372) [emphasis in original]
	Sullivan and Baruch (2009)	‘We define a <i>career</i> as an individual’s work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organizations that form a unique pattern over the individual’s lifespan. This definition recognizes both physical movement ... as well as the interpretation of the individual, including his/her perceptions of career events ... career alternatives ... and outcomes. Moreover, careers do not occur in a vacuum. An individual’s career is influenced by many contextual factors ... as well as by personal factors.’ (p. 43) [emphasis in original]

A consensus seems to have emerged, emanating from work by authors such as Arthur et al. (1989) and Arthur and Rousseau (1996), that a career constitutes the unfolding sequence of a person’s work experiences over time (Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Arthur et al., 2005; Dries et al., 2008). The definitions offered in Table 11.1 illustrate that a career can be described in two different ways – objectively and subjectively (Arthur et al., 2005). There are objective

careers, emulating the more or less publicly observable positions, situations and statuses that serve as benchmarks for gauging an individual's movement through society, comprising predictable stages and an ordered sequence of development (Dries et al., 2008). Associated criteria for assessing careers on this basis might include level of remuneration and promotion history coupled with position in the organisational hierarchy. Yet careers can also be understood on a more subjective basis, reflecting the individual's own sense of his/her career, defined by the personal interpretations and values that identity bestows on a person (Dries et al., 2008). Relevant here are dimensions such as job satisfaction, contentment with career opportunities and feeling self-confident at work. This exposes the inherent two-sidedness of the career concept (Arthur et al., 2005). Notably, the objective and the subjective aspects of careers are persistently dependent, and this interdependence occurs over time (Hughes, 1937, 1958). Such an appreciation provides a basis to better comprehend and evaluate contemporary conceptualisations of careers.

Contemporary Conceptualisations

In tandem with the changing definitions of career, new concepts have emerged, devised to reflect an altered environment, with increased globalisation, rapid technological advancements, growing workforce diversity and the expanding use of outsourcing and part-time and temporary employees (Arthur et al., 1999; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). These changes have transformed traditional organisational structures, employer-employee relationships and the work context, creating divergence in how individuals enact their careers (Briscoe and Hall, 2006; Forsyth, 2002; Herr, 2008; Humphreys, 2013; Mulhall, 2011; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). The demise of the traditional bureaucratic career, which entails employees progressing in an upward hierarchical manner within a small number of organisational structures, has been regularly noted (see, for example, Arthur et al., 1999; Hall, 2002; Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). This perspective is being replaced by more embracing notions of career, based on the accumulation of skills and knowledge and the integration of one's professional and personal life, with employees holding diverse roles in an array of settings.

Various career concepts and metaphors have been formulated to capture this metamorphosis, including such notions as the protean career (Briscoe and Hall, 2006; Hall, 1976, 1996), the boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994; Sullivan and Arthur, 2006), career profiles (Briscoe and Hall, 2006), hybrid careers (Granrose and Baccili, 2006), the post-corporate career (Peiperl and Baruch, 1997) and the kaleidoscope career model (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005, 2006; Sullivan et al., 2009).

The protean and boundaryless concepts were developed to explain the variety of career patterns exhibited in today's dynamic work situations (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Based on the metaphor of the Greek god Proteus, who could adapt his shape at will, the protean careerist can rearrange and repack his/her knowledge, skills and abilities to meet both the demands of a changing workplace and his/her need for self-fulfilment (Hall, 1976, 1996). The individual, not the organisation, is in control of his/her career management and development, requiring a high level of self-awareness and personal responsibility to succeed. Briscoe and Hall (2006) revised the concept by defining two dimensions (values-driven and self-directed career management attitudes) of the protean orientation. The boundaryless career describes a sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the scope of a single employer, so individuals are independent of, rather than dependent on, traditional organisational career arrangements (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994). In 2006, Sullivan and Arthur modified the concept by detailing varying levels of physical and psychological career mobility between successive employment situations. The reconceptualised boundaryless career is seen to be constituted of physical movements across employment types and employers, coupled with psychological progression in terms of enhanced self-awareness and fulfilment. This offers a richer conceptualisation captured by the degree of boundarylessness displayed by the career actor (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006).

More recent conceptualisations, including career profiles and hybrid careers, have been referred to as 'integrative frameworks' (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009), as they represent attempts to merge various ideas from the protean and boundaryless metaphors. Career profiles combine the two components of the boundaryless career (physical and psychological mobility), plus the two factors of the protean career (values-driven and self-directed career

management attitudes), yielding sixteen potential career categories (Briscoe and Hall, 2006). The hybrid career emerged from the interpretations of research findings containing aspects of the traditional career, in addition to the protean and boundaryless career concepts (e.g. Granrose and Baccili, 2006).

The post-corporate career comprises careers occurring outside of large organisations whereby individuals enact a multitude of alternative options, including employment with smaller, more agile firms, self-employment, and/or working in compact project teams (Peiperl and Baruch, 1997). According to this perspective, people voluntarily or involuntarily leave large companies because they are unable or unwilling to pursue corporate careers due to the uncertainty that is inherent in them. Post-corporate careerists have, therefore, a permanent career, rather than a permanent job. Using the metaphor of a kaleidoscope, the kaleidoscope career model explains how individuals focus on three career parameters when making decisions, thereby reflecting the continually changing pattern of their careers (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005, 2006; Sullivan et al., 2009). These parameters are authenticity, defined as being true to oneself; balance, described as the equilibrium between work and non-work demands; and challenge, characterised as stimulating work and career advancement. This representation purports to offer conceptualisations that are not an extension of either the protean or boundaryless concepts, but instead provide an alternative lens through which careers can be examined (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

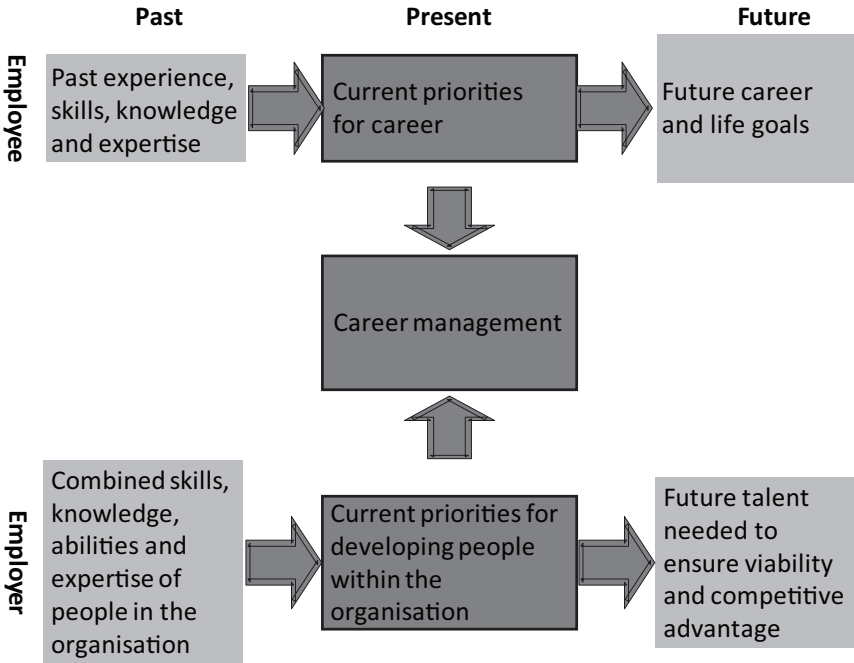
In summary, an examination of the theoretical underpinnings of the discipline indicates that career experiences are more diverse than previously conceived, requiring individuals and organisations to respond proactively, rather than reactively, to this evolving environment. This theme is further explored in the next two sections of the chapter.

Organisational Support and Practice

While responsibility for career management and career development is perceived as resting largely with the individual, organisational support programmes are also considered to assist in satisfying personal career aspirations, whilst simultaneously meeting an employer's future skills and capability requirements

(Cedefop, 2008). Managing change and meeting strategic objectives are viewed as the critical goals of organisational career management (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2011; King, 2004). Many organisations are therefore involved in examining how to design jobs that enable individuals to enhance their capacity to access career opportunities while simultaneously allowing the organisation to upskill the talent required to meet potential priorities and challenges. This entails finding solutions that are satisfactory for both parties so that an organisation’s career management structure offers initiatives that reconcile organisational and individual perspectives, as illustrated in Figure 11.1.

Figure 11.1: Reconciling Organisational and Individual Career Perspectives



Source: Adapted from King, Z. (2004), *Career Management: A Guide*, London: CIPD with the permission of the publisher, the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, London (www.cipd.co.uk).

The building of individual capacity in parallel with organisational capacity is embodied in the Southside Partnership Training

Network (SPTN) (see Box 11.1). This inter-organisational learning network supports knowledge acquisition and career development in the not-for-profit sector.

Box 11.1: A Useful Way of Developing Learning Networks

The SPTN is an initiative of Southside Partnership DLR, an organisation that tackles socioeconomic disadvantage in the Dún Laoghaire–Rathdown area of Dublin. The SPTN develops individuals to contribute to the organisations within their communities by facilitating local groups to learn from each other through networking and collaboration. It works with community groups operating with restricted budgets to promote ongoing sustainability beyond the funding provided by national agencies. The network invests in individuals whose leadership will assist in delivering organisational change. Since its commencement in 2007, it has provided quality, affordable accredited and non-accredited programmes, organising 200 training courses for over 3,000 people. Annual evaluations from the network’s participants (trainees and managers) indicate that at least:

- 93 per cent believe that the training is applicable to their work and careers.
- 84 per cent state that the courses have advanced their knowledge.
- 83 per cent maintain that the programmes have positively changed their attitudes.
- 79 per cent contend that the developmental initiatives have increased their skill sets.

By investing in the expertise of practitioners through the provision of peer support, mentoring and the sharing of resources, the SPTN equips individuals with the competencies to progress their careers. This, consequently, enhances the capability of community groups to manage change within a resource-constrained environment, underlining the symbiotic relationship between organisational and individual career management.

Source: <http://www.southsidepartnership.ie/>.

A useful way of understanding the balancing of organisational and individual positions is within a framework that depicts the stages through which careers typically evolve. These stages include entry, early career, mid-career, later career and end career (Greenhaus et al., 2009). This life cycle commences with induction to the organisation where the new recruit begins the process of socialisation into

the norms of the company, assisted by directed career planning. The next phase encompasses progress within defined areas of work relevant to the job holder, where skills and aptitudes are developed through experience, training, coaching and performance management. By mid-career, some staff will have promotional prospects open to them, while others may have reached a plateau. Notwithstanding the trajectory, during this phase there is evidence that all individuals benefit from participation in developmental schemes such as role enrichment, role enlargement and job rotation. The penultimate stage, later career, involves reassuring employees that they can still contribute by providing opportunities to undertake new challenges. At the final juncture, end career, the possibility of phasing disengagement might be considered, such as offering part-time roles for a specified duration before an employee ultimately leaves the organisation. This career life cycle, though, needs to be underpinned by appropriate human resource strategies, involving, *inter alia*, deciding on the degree to which the company develops talent internally or hires it externally, establishing defined career routes, formulating succession management plans, integrating professional development planning as a crucial element of a performance management process, and devising systems and processes to achieve the advancement and dissemination of learning and knowledge across the company (Greenhaus et al., 2009). The achievement of these aims will also require the detailing of specific activities in the organisation's career management and career development policies and procedures. Examples include lateral moves to create cross-functional experience, *ad hoc* assignments, internal and external secondments, formal mentoring, career counselling, career workshops and retirement preparation programmes (Cedefop, 2008; King, 2004). Employees will also need to be supported by individual career plans delineating the routes that they can take to advance within an organisation. This career progression is usually described in terms of what people are required to know and be able to do to perform a sequence of jobs at increasing levels of responsibility in pre-designated competency bands, thus situating career management and career development within a competency-based framework.

Empirical Evidence

While textbooks suggest that career management and career development programmes should focus on sustained and long-term success (Armstrong, 2012; Greenhaus et al., 2009), research studies reveal mixed evidence on whether or not this actually takes place. A study by the coaching firm Fairplace (2012) of just over 2,000 employees indicates that almost two in five British workers (39 per cent) have never had a career conversation with their line manager, over a quarter (26 per cent) have no long-term career plan, and only one in ten (11 per cent) feel that they have the opportunity for long-term development within their current organisation. Research suggests that such perceptions can damage employee motivation and loyalty (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2012a), with one study of careers in the high-tech sector suggesting that formal and informal organisational policies are especially likely to adversely impact on women's managerial career aspirations (Cross and Linehan, 2008). A study by business consultants Insala (2012) found that the primary reason for career management and development programmes in the United Kingdom (UK) is to improve employee engagement (33 per cent), followed by succession planning (28 per cent) and employee retention (15 per cent). Factors such as the effective utilisation of human resources, retention of employees, the attraction of high-quality candidates, and the management of employee career expectations have been found to be key influencers in Ireland (Heraty and Collings, 2006). This contrasts with a survey of over 2,000 respondents by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (2011), which found that the most common career supports revolve around enabling individuals to improve their performance and widen the scope of their existing role, closely followed by measures that emphasise either the short term or attend to the next promotion.

The current recessionary climate is impacting on workers' career expectations and on the availability of organisational career opportunities, with the main barrier to the continuance of career development programmes being the lack of resources (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2011). Expenditure on career management and career development is contingent upon the size of the company's training and development budget. Based on a study of almost 340 private sector firms employing 115,000 staff, the Irish Business and Employers' Confederation (IBEC) found that

the average percentage of payroll costs represented by training in 2010 was 2.6 per cent, but was 3.3 per cent in 2008 (McGann and Anderson, 2010). The public service has also experienced a decline in funding for training and development, with a previous commitment to devote 4 per cent of payroll to this activity now radically revised downwards (Department of Finance, 2003). The impact of these cutbacks is evident within private sector companies. In a survey of 444 managers responsible for human resource management (HRM) in Irish enterprises, more than half of the firms have decreased their training and development budget (Roche et al., 2011). Where allocations were cut and only partial training carried out, it often involved the re-training or cross-training of staff to assume new tasks, with four out of ten companies training staff for new roles within the business. The research by Roche et al. (2011) highlights the fact that the commitment of organisations to developing their employees' skills and competencies has predominantly remained undiminished during the recession, countering the view proffered by some commentators of the 'hollowing out' of skills during an economic downturn (Humphreys, 2013). This is reflected in a recent comparative analysis studying European labour markets post-recession, including Ireland (Couch, 2011).

Roche et al. (2011) provide case studies highlighting the varying career management and career development experiences of companies during a recession. For example, when the Dublin Airport Authority introduced a voluntary redundancy programme, a career development centre was organised to facilitate the out-placing of middle managers at the company. This supports evidence from the UK indicating that even in a period of downsizing and retrenchment half of the organisations making positions redundant (51 per cent) utilised career transition services, which was an increase from the 34 per cent of the previous year (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2012b). Despite the economic downturn in Ireland, Medtronic, a global medical technology company, actively develops internal career paths, and, consequently, about half of its vacancies are filled from in-house staff pools annually (Roche et al., 2011). The Archangel case study (Box 11.2) describes how a company can manage the internal career paths of knowledge workers in a flexible manner, whilst simultaneously taking account of the vagaries of the external environment.

Box 11.2: Upskilling Knowledge Workers

Set up in 1997, 'Archangel' is a professional consulting company offering archaeological services such as excavation for national road schemes, environmental and cultural heritage impact studies, and educational field schools. During the Celtic Tiger, the company employed a core team of 26 archaeologists on contracts of indefinite duration (permanent staff), supplemented by an average of 100 archaeologists on short-term contracts (temporary staff) for every project. These numbers reduced in the recession. The majority of employees (permanent and temporary) are knowledge workers, requiring particular archaeological qualifications, experience, competence and competencies. The company utilises a project management structure whereby a permanent staff member manages each archaeological project, leading a team employed on temporary, short-term contracts. These team members are recruited within a defined career structure, hired as project managers, site directors, supervisors, assistants (two grades) and general operatives. During an assignment, temporary workers receive ongoing site-specific training, with their performance reviewed and assessed against pre-determined competencies on a periodic and prearranged basis. Successful performance on a project assists the temporary employee in being retained for the next suitable venture, with upward progression on the career hierarchy a distinct possibility. Permanent and temporary archaeologists employed at site director grade and above require a licence to practise from the National Monuments Service. Archangel expects temporary staff to self-fund this certification, presenting valid, up-to-date accreditation for every project, but the company finances the certification process for permanent staff. This permit is specific to the employee with the staff member, not the organisation, holding the intellectual property rights, underlining the portable nature of a knowledge worker's portfolio of skills. Archangel also pays for relevant continuous professional development activities that advance the archaeologists' learning, as their expertise is used to promote the company's services, which, in turn, influences profitability, emphasising the overlap between organisational and individual perspectives in career management and career development (King, 2004).

In conclusion, the empirical evidence underlines the fluid nature of careers within the contemporary workplace. It points to the realities that individuals need to continually adapt, upskill and re-train while organisations have to plan for short-, medium- and long-term success by providing programmes that meet current and future resource requirements.

Conclusions

Providing effective career management and career development programmes is a critical challenge for twenty-first century human resource practitioners and business leaders. Such programmes have an important role in building sustainable organisations and for offering employees a meaningful focus for their future. Organisations and employees, however, bring varying perspectives to the situation and one of the challenges in the career management process is how such differences might be recognised and resolved. A partnership approach (Cedefop, 2008; Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2011; King, 2004) offers one possibility as this entails employers supporting employees to develop the skills they need tomorrow, but within a context that appreciates that individuals are different and will have diverse expectations and requirements from a career. The value of this collaborative approach is that it reflects the current and future capabilities required by the organisation to fulfil its strategy and meets its objectives, as well as satisfying the needs of individuals to build the competence and competencies to feel engaged with, and valued by, their organisation.

Reconciling organisational and individual needs necessitates integrating career management and career development within the broader business strategy. Short-term horizons and an emphasis on financial results mean that the requirement for effective career management and career development with its more intangible, enduring outcomes is often overlooked. Senior managers and human resource professionals require evidence to substantiate the benefits of focusing on long-term ongoing career management and career development measures, rather than transitory programmes, and this need provides several opportunities for researchers. For example, by using quantitative and qualitative longitudinal studies, career scholars could research the impact on organisational performance of embedding extended timelines into the performance, reward and development systems of companies. Such an approach would facilitate our understanding of how altering key human resource systems over time, like performance appraisal, contingent pay structures and learning initiatives, influence organisational career management and career development, and ultimately organisational performance. This could be conducted in tandem with exploring the effect of such measures on the individual career

actor, providing both 'hard' and 'soft' data to support the organisation's business and human resource strategies.

Meeting the challenge of balancing the organisational and individual positions in career management and career development initiatives will become even more important as working patterns continue to evolve in our globalised world. To reflect contemporary conceptualisations of careers within the globalised labour market, research might usefully be conducted with underrepresented groups and within a variety of work experiences (Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Mulhall, 2011; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). The incorporation into research agendas of a wider range of employment settings could augment our understanding of modern careers by mirroring the diversity of arrangements that individuals enact. For example, exploring the careers of part-time and temporary workers, those involved in double employment, and individuals who combine paid employment with self-employment. This would facilitate a more complete consideration of a person's career, incorporating the totality of the unfolding sequence of his/her work experiences over time.

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