



## ***The Changing Nature of Careers: A Review and Research Agenda***

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*This review analyzes how the changing nature of careers can be conceptualized by examining two major categories of careers research. Specifically, the developmental stage theories of Super (1957) and Levinson (1978, 1986, 1996) and the boundaryless career concept (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996) are used to assess our understanding of careers in today's dynamic work environment. Directions for future research on existing topics, as well as five major recommendations for a new research agenda, are offered. © 1999 Elsevier Science Inc. All rights reserved.*

The way we view careers has dramatically changed. Traditionally, careers were thought to evolve within the context of one or two firms and were conceptualized to progress in linear career stages (Levinson, 1978; Super, 1957). Success was defined by the organization and measured by promotions and increases in salary (Hall, 1996a). This traditional model dominated much of the empirical research on careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Feldman, 1989). For example, in a review of 58 articles in five journals, Arthur and Rousseau (1996) found that 74% of the articles on careers assumed environmental stability, 76% had an intrafirm focus, and 81% had hierarchical assumptions.

Although some individuals (e.g., self-employed, contract workers) have always been outside traditional career models, the traditional career has dominated U.S. employment because most organizational structures supported it. Now however, the tall, multi-layer, functionally organized structures characteristic of many large companies have changed (Miles & Snow, 1996). Firms have downsized to become more flexible in response to environmental factors such as rapid technological advancements (Coovert, 1995; Freeman, Soete, & Efendioglu, 1995; Howard, 1995) and increased global competition (Rosenthal, 1995). In the last two decades, managers, older workers, and the more educated—those typically less affected by downsizing—have experienced the highest job loss rates from organizational restructuring (Cappelli & Associates, 1997). Many of these individuals are now underemployed or working one or two part-time jobs (Feld-

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man, 1996; London, 1996; Polivka & Nardone, 1989; Tilly, 1991). Those surviving these recent rounds of downsizing have also had to adjust; many individuals have increased job responsibilities and working hours, and reduced promotional opportunities (Brockner, 1988, 1992; Brockner, Grover, Reed, & DeWitt, 1992).

The psychological employment contract between firms and workers has also altered. Under the old contract, workers exchanged loyalty for job security. Under the new contract, workers exchange performance for continuous learning and marketability (Altman & Post, 1996; Hall & Mirvis, 1996; Rousseau, 1989; Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995). This change in the psychological contract has resulted in decreased job security, (Batt, 1996; Beckman, 1996; Scott, O'Shaughnessy, & Cappelli, 1996), decreased employee loyalty (Goffee & Scase, 1992; Murrell, Frieze, & Olson, 1996), and increased worker cynicism (Kanter & Mirvis, 1989).

Given organizational restructuring and the alterations in the psychological employment contract, researchers have begun to examine careers across multiple firms and boundaries (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Osterman, 1996). Workers outside of the traditional career model, who have "boundaryless careers," are becoming the norm rather than the exception (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 1996a; Miles & Snow, 1996; Osterman, 1996). Whereas the traditional career was defined as professional advancement within one or two firms, a boundaryless career is defined as "...a sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of a single employment setting" (DeFillippi & Aruthur, 1996, p. 116).

Some of the hallmarks of a boundaryless career include: portable skills, knowledge, and abilities across multiple firms (Arthur, Claman, & DeFillippi, 1995; Baker & Aldrich, 1996; Bird, 1996); personal identification with meaningful work (Mirvis & Hall, 1996b; Mohrman & Cohen, 1995); on-the-job action learning (McCall, Lombardo, & Morrison, 1988); the development of multiple networks and peer learning relationships (Hall, 1996b; Kram, 1996; Raider & Burt, 1996); and individual responsibility for career management (Brousseau, Driver, Eneroth, & Larsson, 1996; Hall, 1996b). Table 1 summarizes the differences between the traditional career model and the boundaryless career concept.

**Table 1.** Comparison of Traditional and Boundaryless Careers

	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Boundaryless</i>
Employment relationship:	Job security for loyalty	Employability for performance and flexibility
Boundaries:	One or two firms	Multiple firms
Skills:	Firm specific	Transferable
Success measured by:	Pay, promotion, status	Psychologically meaningful work
Responsibility for career management:	Organization	Individual
Training:	Formal programs	On-the-job
Milestones:	Age-related	Learning-related

The intent of this review is to break new ground by: (a) analyzing how traditional models of adult development (e.g., Super, Levinson) have evolved in response to environmental changes, (b) examining the new conceptualization of boundaryless careers, and (c) recommending new directions for research on careers as we enter the twenty-first century. It is hoped that this article facilitates a better understanding of today's careers as a distinctively different phenomenon from the traditional career models that have long dominated our research.

### **Developmental Stage Theories**

Research on careers has been greatly influenced by the theories of adult development (Feldman, 1989; see also Cytrynbaum & Crites, 1989 and Dalton, 1989 for reviews). Two of the most prominent theories of adult development are those of Donald Super (1957) and Daniel Levinson (1978) (Borgen, 1991; Newton, 1994). Super's (1957) theory of career stages uses a life-span approach to describe how individuals implement their self-concept through vocational choices. Super suggests that the process of choosing an occupation that permits maximum self-expression occurs over time and can be summarized in four career stages: (1) exploration, a period of engaging in self-examination, schooling, and the study of different career options; (2) establishment, a period of becoming employed and finding a niche; (3) maintenance, a period of holding on to one's position and up-dating skills; and (4) disengagement, a period of phasing into retirement (Super, Thompson, & Lindeman, 1988).

Research on Super's theory supports the idea of implementing the self-concept through one's career (Osipow, 1983) and differences in attitudes and behaviors across the career stages (e.g., Cohen, 1991; Lynn, Cao, & Horn, 1996). Much of this research, however, has been cross-sectional (Hackett, Lent, & Greenhaus, 1991). Researchers have used age as a proxy for psychological career stage (Chao, 1986; Ornstein & Isabella, 1990) and inconsistent measures of the stages across studies (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1986; Hackett et al., 1991). Researchers have often employed Super's theory as a post-hoc explanation for their findings rather than for hypotheses testing (Hackett et al., 1991).

In contrast to Super's (1957) model, Levinson (1978, 1986) suggests a punctuated equilibrium model of life development based on chronological age. Using in-depth interviews of 40 men, he argues that life structures are defined by alternating periods of stability in which individuals pursue goals, values and related activities, and periods of transition in which the goals and activities of the previous period are re-appraised. Levinson (1986) suggests that the typical transition period lasts about five years and periods of stability last about five to seven years. The periods of stability permit individuals to focus on non-work issues, develop work skills, and mentally prepare themselves for transition periods. Levinson's (1978) research highlights the importance of the career dream, mentoring, and the midlife crisis.

There has been relatively little empirical research on Levinson's theory (Swanson, 1992) and most of it does not support the link between specific age groups and attitudes as he suggests (Ornstein & Isabella, 1990). The lack of

support for Levinson's proposed link between age and attitudes could be caused by a failure to account for the interplay between the context in which an individual works and the effect of the relative age of the individual compared to the work group. For example, Cleveland and Shore (1992) reported factor analysis findings that distinguished person-oriented definitions (i.e., chronological age, subjective age) from context-oriented definitions (i.e., age relative to group). They also found the interactive effects of person and context age models account for more variance than additive models. This study suggests research that has found inconsistent age effects when testing Levinson's theory may have failed to account for the interaction of age and work context. Additional research on the stage theories that use multiple measures of age (e.g., chronological, relative, social) is needed.

Two major issues have arisen regarding Super's (1957) and Levinson's (1978) models. First, are these models of adult development generalizable to women? Second, are these models still applicable given the changing work environment?

#### *Generalizability to Women*

Although both Super (1984) and Levinson (1986) have stated their theories are applicable to both men and women, one of the major research questions plaguing both theories has been whether these models are truly generalizable to women<sup>1</sup> (Cytrynbaum & Crites, 1989). Given the unique aspects of women's experiences including workplace discrimination (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998; Stoltz-Loike, 1996), pay and promotion inequities (Barnum, Liden, & Ditomaso, 1995; Dreher & Cox, 1996; Tharenou, 1997; Watkins & Subich, 1995), greater family demands (Gordon & Whelan, 1998; Seron & Ferris, 1995; Stohs, 1995; Witkowski & Leicht, 1995), and sexual harassment issues (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993), many have questioned whether women's careers can be adequately explained by stage models developed with male samples (Bardwick, 1980; Cytrynbaum & Crites, 1989; Gallos, 1989; Powell & Mainiero, 1992, 1993; Tharenou, Latimer, & Conroy, 1994). With the increasing number of women in the workforce (Johnston & Packer, 1987; London & Greller, 1991), it is important to determine the applicability of these models, which are often used to develop human resource and career development programs (Schein, 1978).

There have been only four major published studies that have specially tested the generalizability of these models to women. To determine the generalizability of his theory, Levinson (1996) conducted in-depth interviews with 45 female academics, homemakers, and business professionals between the ages of 35 and 45.<sup>2</sup> He found that women progress through the same age-related stages as men, but face "gender splitting" (i.e., cultural, social stereotypes, and sexism). Likewise, Roberts and Newton (1987), reported that although women progressed through similar periods of stability and transitions as men, they tended to have "split dreams." By age 30, women changed their focus from either career to family or vice versa.

In contrast, Ornstein and Isabella (1990), replicating an earlier study that focused on men (Ornstein, Cron, & Slocum, 1989), found little support for the applicability of either Levinson's or Super's model to women. Although organizational commitment, turnover intention, and desire for advancement differed for women of different ages, the results did not support the patterns suggested by Levinson. No support was found for Super's career stages.

Like Ornstein and Isabella (1990), Smart and Peterson (1994) found little support for Levinson's theory. They reported that only pay satisfaction showed a regular alteration between stage and transitional career periods; there was no such pattern for the other eleven variables examined (e.g., job satisfaction, career involvement, intention to remain with the firm).

Overall, these findings indicate that neither Super's (1957) or Levinson's (1978) theory adequately captures the complex lives of women. The research on women's careers suggests a different career timetable for men and women, and that tournament models of organizational success (i.e., reaching a certain level by a certain age) do not accurately describe the careers of many women.

Given the small number of studies testing Super's (1957) and Levinson's (1978) theory with female samples, additional research considering gender differences in career progression is needed. Future research on women's careers should take a broader approach and consider the interaction of multiple factors, including the timing of parenthood, family responsibilities (e.g., childcare, eldercare, household chores), the career stage of the woman's partner, organizational support (e.g., flexible work schedules, formal mentoring programs), and workplace discrimination.<sup>3</sup>

Although a separate theory of career development for women has been called for (Gallos, 1989; Tharenou, Latimer, & Conroy, 1994), no such theory has been developed. However, one potentially useful approach to examine women's careers was suggested by Powell and Mainiero (1992, 1993). They argue that because age-related models of linear progression do not represent the experiences of women, that a "river of time" approach should be used instead. Their approach outlines two types of concerns that influence women's lives: (a) concerns for career and personal achievement, and (b) concerns about non-work personal and family relationships. Women place themselves somewhere on a continuum where at different times they emphasize their career, or their relationships, or balance both.

Similarly, Brush's (1992) "integrated perspective," used to explain gender differences between female and male business owners, could also provide insights into women's careers. Brush (1992) suggests that women do not view their businesses as separate economic units as do men, but instead perceive their businesses as part of an interconnected system of relationships that includes family and the community. Women business owners, as opposed to male owners, tend to emphasize flexibility, team management, knowledge growth, and simultaneous management of work/non-work demands (Brush, 1992). These characteristics have also been associated with the boundaryless career concept. Thus, research on women entrepreneurs and the integrated perspective may provide

important insights not only into the careers of women, but also the experiences of individuals following less traditional career paths.

In sum, the traditional career stage models were developed to explain the careers of men and were tested primarily with male samples. These models have not addressed the unique career experiences of women, especially given that women may have much different career timetables than men, and they are more likely to experience workplace discrimination and sexual harassment. Moreover, as suggested by Brush's (1992) research, men and women may have very different career priorities (i.e., men's single focus on career versus women's focus on integrating career and family) and business values (i.e., men focus on growth in business size versus women's focus on growth in business knowledge). A richer picture of both men's and women's careers may be gained by investigating the effect of values and the meaning of career success on career decision making.

#### *Applicability to Changing Work Environment*

In addition to concerns regarding the generalizability of the stage models to women, the continued applicability of these developmental theories has been questioned (Hall, 1996a; Ornstein & Isabella, 1993; Osterman, 1996; Weick, 1996). For example, while stage models imply long term employment with one or two firms, in reality most Americans change jobs every four-and-one-half years. Moreover, employment levels and new-job creation rates in large firms, where traditional careers typically flourish, are declining (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). Because of environmental changes (e.g., technological advances, increased global competition), evolving organizational structures (Lawler, 1994; Miles & Snow, 1996; Pfeffer & Baron, 1988) and alterations in psychological contracts (Morrison & Robinson, 1997; Rousseau, 1989; Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995), a number of authors (e.g., Hall & Mirvis, 1996; Super, 1992) have suggested conceptual revisions to Super's (1957) and Levinson's (1978) theories.

Super (1987, 1992) did, in fact, update his theory by detailing how individuals differ in the amount of commitment and participation they devote to six major roles (child, student, leisurite, citizen, worker, homemaker), across the career stages. Super (1987, 1992) suggests that at the peak of their careers, some individuals may engage in only two roles (e.g., homemaker and worker), while others at the same age and stage may engage in more than two roles. Choices regarding commitment to these roles cause various levels of role conflict, stress, and self-fulfillment. Super's (1987, 1992) revised theory may better capture the experiences of individuals with discontinuous careers (e.g., women, and some contract workers and contingent employees) and better recognize work and non-work roles.

Instead of one set of career stages as depicted by Super (1957), Hall and Mirvis (1996) suggest there are now multiple, shorter learning cycles over the life span. Thus, an individual's career will be characterized by a series of ministages of exploration-trial-mastery-exit across functions, organizations, and other work boundaries. A new cycle will be driven by constant learning and mastery rather than by chronological age. This approach integrates Super's (1957) developmen-

tal career stage model and the boundaryless career concept (e.g., Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 1996a).

Smart and Peterson (1997) tested Super's (1990; Super, Zelkowitz, & Thompson, 1981) idea of recycling (i.e., returning to the issues of early career stages). They found that individuals in the midst of career changes had greater concerns related to Super's first career stage than individuals of similar demographics characteristics and career history who had no intention of changing careers. Two unpublished dissertations (Cross, 1991, and Costello, 1981, as cited in Super, 1992) also note the occurrence of the recycling process.

Similar to Smart and Peterson (1997), Bejian and Salomone (1995) suggest that a new stage, called "career renewal," be added at the end of Super's establishment stage. This new stage would be a "...period of doubt and self-examination that could be followed by a renewed commitment to career issues" (Bejian & Salomone, 1995, p. 53). More research on the recycling and renewal process may provide a greater understanding of why individuals make voluntary transitions from traditional to non-traditional (e.g., self-employment) careers.

Sullivan, Carden, and Martin (1998) developed a career grid taxonomy integrating the literature on career development models, including Super's (1957) theory, and the literature on evolving organizational structures. They recommend that career types be differentiated on two continua: transferability of competencies, (i.e., how portable or organization-specific an individual's knowledge, skills and abilities are) and internal work values (i.e., the relatively stable goals individuals attempt to achieve through their careers). The career grid may be a useful approach for investigating an individual's transition and adjustment from a traditional to a boundaryless career, and for examining gender and race differences in career decision making.

Additionally, the measurement of career stage also suggests possible ways the developmental theories can be adapted to environmental changes. Lynn, Cao, and Horn (1996) used a sample of 718 men and women accountants to examine the effect of career stage on turnover intention. They reported that job involvement, organizational commitment, and reward satisfaction were positively related to professional tenure, and that turnover intention was negatively related to professional tenure for men. There were no significant differences for women. Lynn et al. (1996) argue that professional tenure may not be an appropriate measure of career stage for women because of their discontinuous career patterns. This suggests that multiple measures should be used to examine different aspects of career progression. For example, age could be used to measure cohort effects, organizational tenure could be used to measure career stage within the context of one firm, and professional tenure could be used to measure career stage across the boundaries of multiple firms.

Overall, these revisions permit established theories of adult development to examine the careers of a diverse workforce in various organizational settings and occupations. Several authors (Bejian & Salomone, 1995; Hall & Mirvis, 1996; Smart & Peterson, 1997) suggest some form of "recycling," whether conceptualized as a new stage or as cycles of learning, be incorporated into developmental

stage theories. The recycling process may contribute to a richer understanding of individuals with interrupted career paths.

These revised models suggest future research questions including: What factors, such as personality and demographic characteristics, influence an individual's adjustment when making the transition from a traditional to a boundaryless career? How do mentoring (Baugh & Scandura, 1998) and other relationships develop across not only career stages, but multiple firms and boundaries? What new or revised measures can be used to capture learning ministages or recycling over an individual's lifetime? How can the developmental theories be revised to accurately capture the experiences of diverse members of the workforce such as minorities, the disabled, gays and lesbians, and foreign-born workers?

### **Boundaryless Careers**

It has been suggested (e.g., Campbell & Cellini, 1981; Thomas, 1980) that many individuals do not experience an uninterrupted ascent up the corporate ladder as described by the developmental career theories. Instead, many individuals are traveling career paths that are discontinuous and go beyond the boundaries of a single firm (DeFillipi & Arthur, 1996). For example, Schneer and Reitman (1993) found that 23% of the MBAs surveyed experienced early career gaps (i.e., periods of unemployment of at least one month), and 13% experienced mid-career gaps. One of the major changes in how careers have been conceptualized is that they are increasingly viewed as boundaryless.<sup>4</sup>

Arthur and Rousseau (1996, p. 6) define boundaryless career as follows:

Within the general meaning of boundaryless careers—as being opposite of organizational careers—lie in several specific meanings, or emphases. The most prominent of these is the case of where a career, like the stereotypical Silicon Valley career, moves across the boundaries of separate employers. A second meaning occurs when a career, like that of an academic or a carpenter, draws validation—and marketability—from outside the present employer. A third meaning is involved when a career, like that of a real-estate agent, is sustained by external networks or information. A fourth meaning occurs when traditional organizational career boundaries, notably those involving hierarchical reporting and advancement principles, are broken. A fifth meaning occurs when a person rejects existing career opportunities for personal or family reasons. A sixth meaning depends on the interpretation of the career actor, who may perceive a boundaryless future regardless of structural constraints. A common factor in the occurrence of all these meanings is one of independence from, rather than dependence on, traditional organizational career arrangements.

Following from Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) definition of the boundaryless career, subsequent sections of this article will examine empirical studies by focusing on the following types of career experiences: (1) transitions across occupational boundaries; (2) transitions across organizational boundaries; (3)

changes in the meaning of employment relationships; (4) network relationships; (5) transitions across the boundaries between roles; and (6) transitions across boundaries within roles.<sup>5</sup>

**Occupational boundary transitions.** Most research on occupational transitions has focused on the initial career choice of college students. Despite evidence that adults are making occupational choices throughout their lifetimes (e.g., Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), relatively little research has been conducted on what motivates adults to change occupations. The following four studies, however, examine the decisions of adults regarding crossing boundaries between occupations.

Blau and Lunz (1998) examined the effect of professional commitment on 457 medical technologists' intentions to leave their profession. They found that the technologists who were younger, less satisfied, and male showed greater intent to change professions. When age, satisfaction, and gender were controlled for, professional commitment accounted for significant differences between those intending to stay and those intending to leave. Although past research has focused on organizational commitment and workers' attachment to one firm (Ornstein & Isabella, 1993), with increased job mobility and changes in individuals' views of career success and work/non-work balance, professional commitment may replace organizational commitment as one of the most used research variables on boundaryless careers. Future research should investigate the differences in professional commitment across various career patterns (e.g., boundaryless vs. traditional) and the interaction of professional and organizational commitment. For example, Wallace's (1993) meta-analysis found that professional and organizational commitment have a moderately strong, positive relationship. Also future research should examine the conceptualization and measurement of professional commitment. Nine different professional commitment scales were used across the twenty-five studies Wallace (1993) reviewed, and these scale differences could account for variance across studies.

Breeden (1993) conducted a longitudinal study of job and occupational transitions of 436 employed adults who sought career counseling. Thirty-six percent of the adults changed jobs, thirty-nine percent changed occupations, and twenty-five percent made no changes. Those who changed careers had significantly greater satisfaction than those who made no changes. Similarly, Oleski and Subich (1996) applied Holland's (1985) theory of congruence to the career transitions of 42 non-traditional college students. They found career changers moved toward work environments with greater congruence to their personality.

Moore and Buttner (1997) used surveys and interviews to examine the work experiences of 128 women entrepreneurs. They found that the women's decisions to leave corporate firms to become self-employed were motivated by organizational factors and personal aspirations, rather than by family demands. Some of the women were corporate climbers, who originally aspired to corporate careers. Others were intentional entrepreneurs, who had life-long aspirations to be an entrepreneur. Moore and Buttner's (1997) study is especially noteworthy for two reasons. First, because of the increasing number of women, especially age 40 and over, that are choosing self-employment, the entrepreneurship literature may

provide important insights into the career development of women. Second, it has been suggested that individuals adopt entrepreneurial approaches to be successful in the era of the boundaryless career (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1996). The study of effective entrepreneurial strategies may provide career insights into navigating across organizational boundaries.

In sum, these four studies examine the causes (e.g., professional commitment, organizational factors) and consequences of crossing occupational boundaries. Despite the small number of studies on this type of boundaryless career, the recent theoretical literature suggests that more individuals will be making this type of transition in the future. Examining these transitions within the framework of career pattern research such as Hall and Mirvis' (1996) mini-cycles or Sullivan et al.'s (1998) career grid may provide a more comprehensive understanding of these changes.

***Organizational boundary transitions.*** Despite the large number of studies on turnover (e.g., Campion, 1991), only six studies have examined this boundary transition from the individual, rather than from the organizational, perspective. The lack of research on inter-firm mobility using such an individual viewpoint is surprising considering that data from the 1970s and 1980s suggest 50% of career changes were inter-organizational (Nicholson & West, 1989).

Several studies examined the effect of personality on inter-firm transitions. Kilduff and Day (1994) found that high self-monitors (i.e., those especially aware of role expectations and social cues) were more likely than low self-monitors to change employers and locations, and receive promotions. Similarly, Larwood, Wright, Desrochers, and Dahir (1998) reported that individuals with cosmopolitan personalities were more likely to change firms, while those with local personalities were more likely to engage in political behavior. Judge and Watanabe (1995) found that individuals were most likely to leave an organization if they had often left jobs in the past. The effect of personality variables on the transition preferences and effective adjustments to transitions is a potentially useful area for further research.

In addition to personality variables, a number of studies have examined the effect of career concerns on inter-firm transitions. Hambrick and Cannella (1993) found that executives of acquired firms were more likely to leave when they perceived that their relative standing in the company was low. Stroh, Brett, and Reilly (1996) reported that despite popular beliefs, female managers were more likely to leave the firm because of lack of career opportunities, job dissatisfaction, or disloyalty to the employer, than for family considerations. Baker and Aldrich (1996), using a life course perspective, developed a model of career patterns based on three dimensions: number of employers, knowledge accumulation, and role of personal identity. The model depicts these changing career patterns by representing both careers built around few employers (i.e., traditional careers) and careers built around many employers (i.e., boundaryless careers).

Overall, these six studies suggest that additional research examining the interaction of personality variables with job context is needed. Further, most of what we know about inter-organizational boundary crossing comes from the turnover literature, which uses an organizational perspective rather than an indi-

vidual, career perspective. A potentially fruitful approach for studying inter-organizational transitions is the use of Lee and associates' (Lee & Maurer, 1997; Lee & Mitchell, 1994) framework for studying turnover.

Lee and Maurer (1997) argue that traditional turnover theories that focus on job dissatisfaction do not apply to the careers of a growing segment of the workforce—knowledge workers (i.e., computer scientists, engineers, social scientists). In addition to turnover caused by dissatisfaction, knowledge workers also leave organizations: (a) to enact previously developed action plans, (b) in reaction to an abhorrent event, or (c) in response to attractive alternatives (Lee & Maurer, 1997; Lee & Mitchell, 1994). This framework could be extended to other boundaryless careerists and integrated with previous theories of career orientations (Derr, 1986; Driver, 1982; Schein, 1978) to provide a greater understanding of turnover and other mobility behaviors.

### *Changes in Employment Relationships*

Although the changing nature of employment relationships has sparked such popular press cover stories as “The End of the Job” (Bridges, 1994) and “Free Agent Nation” (Pink, 1998), only three recent studies have examined what Arthur and Rousseau (1996: 6) refer to as the breaking of traditional organizational career boundaries. Altman and Post (1996) interviewed twenty-five Fortune 500 senior executives to examine their perspective on changing work relationships. They found that executives noted the demise of the old contract and recognized a new contract based on employability and employee responsibility, rather than job security and paternalistic company programs. The executives noted the benefits (e.g., more flexibility, work-family programs) and costs (e.g., poor morale, increased unplanned turnover) of the new contract.

Tsui, Pearce, Porter, and Tripoli (1997) examined employees' responses to two balanced (quasi spot, mutual investment) and two unbalanced (underinvestment, overinvestment) types of employment relationships. They found that the mutual investment (i.e., firm exchanges long term financial and career investments for employee investments in firm-specific skills and performance of activities beyond core job duties) and overinvestment (i.e., firm exchanges broad range of rewards and a commitment to career opportunities for a limited set of employee job activities) relationships were associated with greater performance and more positive attitudes than underinvestment (i.e., employee exchanges a broad range of activities beyond core job duties, and firm provides short-term monetary rewards, but no long-term commitment) or quasi spot (i.e., firm exchanges short-term financial inducements for specified employee contributions) contract relationships. The authors suggest firms that have quasi spot and underinvestment relationships with their employees may be trading off performance to gain flexibility.

Zabusky and Barley (1996) used participant observation and interviews to examine the careers of technicians. They found that the technicians value careers of achievement over careers of advancement. The technicians aspired to be experts in their fields; they valued growth and preferred the reward of challenging work over promotions. Ironically, their organizations were unable to reward their

expertise and achievements, illustrating the difficulties of moving from a culture of advancement (i.e., traditional career model) to one of achievement (i.e., boundaryless career model). Additionally, this study shows how individual career strategies must be considered within the context of organizational business strategies (Gunz & Jalland, 1996; Gunz, Jalland, & Evans, 1998; Sonnenfeld & Peiperl, 1988).

These three studies provide insight into how employment relationships are changing under the new psychological contract. Moreover, they show that despite positive aspects of the new social contract, there are also negative outcomes. The conceptual literature on the new psychological contract and the boundaryless career tends to focus on the potential positive aspects, such as increased opportunities for growth and job challenge. Relatively little (e.g., Hirsch & Shanley, 1996) has been written on the potential downside of boundaryless careers, such as the underemployment of workers, the possible reduction in organizational training and development programs, and the lack of personal identification with a firm. Additional research on the effects of the new contract should address: How different types of employment relationships influence outcomes such as productivity, commitment, organizational citizenship behaviors, and employee morale? How the working poor and those with few technological skills remain employable as jobs become more complex and dependent on technology? How individuals outside the traditional organization (e.g., self-employed, contract workers) get needed training? What government or social actions will be needed to help employees without organizational attachments and related benefits such as pensions and health-care insurance?

**Networks.** Conceptualizations (e.g., Hall, 1996b; Kram, 1996; Raider & Burt, 1996) of the boundaryless career emphasize the importance of network relationships (i.e., social capital). This line of research focuses on how each worker has a network of relationships with colleagues, friends, and other associates who provide information that aids in the worker's development of career opportunities. Social capital is more readily acquired when a network contains no redundant contacts. This network configuration increases the amount of information and social contacts an individual can rely on to provide career assistance (Burt, 1992). Four major studies have examined these types of relationships within the context of the boundaryless career concept.

The first three articles study how networks provide workers with a competitive edge in regards to career advancement, mobility, and learning. Burt (1997) examined how managers with large networks composed of individuals who did not have relationships with one another (i.e., had networks with structural holes) were promoted more quickly and received larger bonuses than individuals with networks composed of few contacts. Moreover, the value of these networks was greater for those managers with fewer peers. These managers lacked the frame of reference for behavior and legitimacy provided by numerous peers.

Saxenian (1996) provided a case study of how social networks supported the high rates of job mobility and continuous learning among professionals in Silicon Valley. She detailed how the region's open labor markets made job hopping the

norm and encouraged loyalty based on professional relationships, rather than organizational membership.

Jones (1996), using case studies and prior literature, examined project networks in the film industry. She described a career in project networks as "...a series of competition and negotiations for work" (p. 68). She detailed four career stages in project networks: beginning (getting access to industry or profession), crafting (learning skills and industry culture), navigating (building reputation and networks), and maintaining (developing others and balancing work and non-work demands).

These three studies suggest that individuals with large, non-redundant networks will be more successful job seekers and receive greater organizational rewards. Individuals seeking to cross the boundaries of multiple firms should be more successful if they develop such large and diverse networks. Such networks, however, are not encouraged by traditional organizational structures. Therefore, those facing involuntary transitions to boundaryless careers may have difficulty navigating these new career paths and finding employment.

The fourth study focusing on networks within the boundaryless career concept is Granrose and Chua's (1996) in-depth analysis of the system of Chinese family businesses. They outlined how Confucian principles dictate the proper behavior for establishing and maintaining relationships and how these family businesses enlarged their social networks through both new and former employees. The research of Granrose and Chua (1996) illustrates the importance of examining boundaryless careers from an international perspective.

In sum, social network theory (e.g., Burt, 1992; Ibarra, 1993) may provide an effective framework by which to conduct future research on the boundaryless career. Network theory may be particularly useful in studying the interactions of short-term (e.g., contract and temporary workers) and longer-term traditional careerists, and the interactions of non-traditional careerists in professional network groups. Additionally, the effect of gender, race, age, and personal characteristics on the development of large, non-redundant networks and being successful in a boundaryless career needs more investigation.

***Inter-role transitions.*** Three studies examined workers crossing the boundaries between roles. In a comprehensive study, Bruce and Scott (1994) tested Louis' (1980a, 1980b) inter-role transitions model by examining the voluntary career transitions of 742 naval officers. They found that officers making entry or resignation transitions were more likely to experience role ambiguity and adjustment difficulties than were officers who were retiring or being promoted. Individuals making lateral transitions, retiring or resigning experienced greater personal gains than those making other types of transitions. Promotion, entry, and lateral transitions were associated with greater career gains than retirement or resignation transitions. Interestingly, they found no significant differences in stress levels across the voluntary transitions studied, perhaps because the officers had time to prepare for the transitions. While Bruce and Scott (1994) examined voluntary transitions, Louis' (1980a, 1980b) model should also be used to examine involuntary transitions. Although some individuals may choose to become

“boundaryless careerists,” others may be forced from traditional careers because of job loss or demotions.

Furthermore, the process by which individuals make intrafirm transitions (e.g., lateral, promotions) and become socialized into new work groups and department cultures has not been fully examined. The boundaryless career literature suggests that workers will be making more job transitions today than under the traditional career systems of the past. Thus, techniques for facilitating these multiple transitions will be needed. For instance, the use of realistic job previews (Wanous, 1980) and other socialization techniques to ease employees' transitions from one department to another has yet to be investigated. Also, given the greater number of transitions inherent to the boundaryless career concept, the linking of internal transfers to other transitions (e.g., turnover) and organizational policies needs to be studied. For example, Dalton and Todor (1993) suggest that turnover, absenteeism, and internal transfers are related. They contend that if firms offer liberal internal transfer policies, individuals dissatisfied with their supervisor or desiring a geographic transfer because of family considerations will be able to assuage their concerns while remaining with the firm.

Two empirical studies examined the outcomes of lateral transitions. Campion, Cheraskin, and Stevens (1994) studied the use of lateral transitions as part of the career development process in a large pharmaceutical company. They found that the rate of job rotation was positively related to promotion, salary growth, and improved knowledge and skills. The authors suggest that future research examine issues including skill development through job rotation, relative costs of job rotation versus other approaches, and optimal timing and patterns of job rotations. Despite the potential positive outcomes regarding the use of job rotation as a method of on-the-job learning, there is little empirical research on its use. Additionally, research needs to examine not only the use of job rotation, but how the job content of these job changes impacts learning and career growth.

In contrast to the positive outcomes of Campion et al.'s (1994) study, Murrell, Frieze, and Olson (1996) found that frequent lateral moves had a negative effect on salary, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. Given the conflicting findings of these two studies, additional research on the effects of frequent lateral transitions over time is needed. This research is especially important considering that the literature on boundaryless careers emphasizes that such transitions will result in positive individual and organizational outcomes by building skills and network contacts. However, it may be that employees are being rotated under the guise of cross-training when, in fact, firms are using this strategy to avoid replacing downsized workers. Firms may get more work from a smaller number of employees, causing increased worker stress and burnout. Such potential negative outcomes of these transitions need to be empirically tested.

***Intra-role transitions.*** Research on intra-role transitions has focused on how managerial jobs have become more complex and require increased work hours in response to more boundaryless organizational structures. Five studies have examined how white-collar jobs have become increasingly complex. Scott, O'Shaughnessay, and Cappelli (1996), using quantitative data from Hay Associates, found that firms valued generalist over specialist skills because of increased

team-based approaches and new technologies. They reported that although the managers in the eleven insurance firms had few opportunities for promotion, those that did advance received greater rewards than in the past.

Similarly, Beckman (1996) gave an insider's view of how the jobs of managers at Hewlett-Packard became more fluid in response to the company's evolution from a bureaucratic to a more networked organization. Skills in negotiation, teamwork and cross-boundary management grew in importance over traditional supervisory and technical skills.

Like Beckman, Batt (1996) also examined how evolving organizational structures influenced the nature of managerial jobs. Using both qualitative field research and quantitative data, she examined the careers of Bell-South managers during its transition from a bureaucratic to an enterprising organization. Batt (1996) found that the managers' jobs became broader and more cross-functional. They coached, rather than directed, their subordinates.

Useem (1996), using a multi-method approach (e.g., interviews, primary sources), examined the careers of senior managers in 1000 large U.S. firms. He found organizational restructuring caused executives to devote more time to organizational strategy. The executives developed generalist over specialist skills.

Using a case study approach, MacDuffie (1996) examined the broken ladders of white-collar employees (e.g., middle-managers, engineers) working under lean production methods at General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. The jobs of these white-collar workers became more complex as workload demands, decision-making responsibilities, cross-functional interactions, and exposure to customer demands and market pressures increased. They experienced many of the same woes as blue-collar auto employees, including reductions in pay and benefits, outsourcing, and layoffs.

In addition to the research on the increasing complexity of white-collar jobs, one study examined how increased work hours changed job content and firm culture. Landers, Rebitzer, and Taylor (1996) examined how law firms and a consulting firm made promotion decisions using long working hours and travel as surrogate measures of commitment and ambition. These norms resulted in a "long-hours trap," making it difficult for these firms to offer shorter work hours or less travel to the professionals desiring them. The use of such criteria for promotion decisions may be especially harmful to employees trying to balance work with non-work demands.

These studies on intra-role transitions show how jobs adjust to changes in organizational structures. Many of them also illustrate the use of multi-method research designs to study careers. Although these studies detail the increased job complexity and working hours of white-collar workers, relatively little is known about how these changes impact individual attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction, organizational commitment), behaviors (e.g., productivity, organizational citizenship), on-the-job learning, and work/non-work balance.

### Directions for Future Research

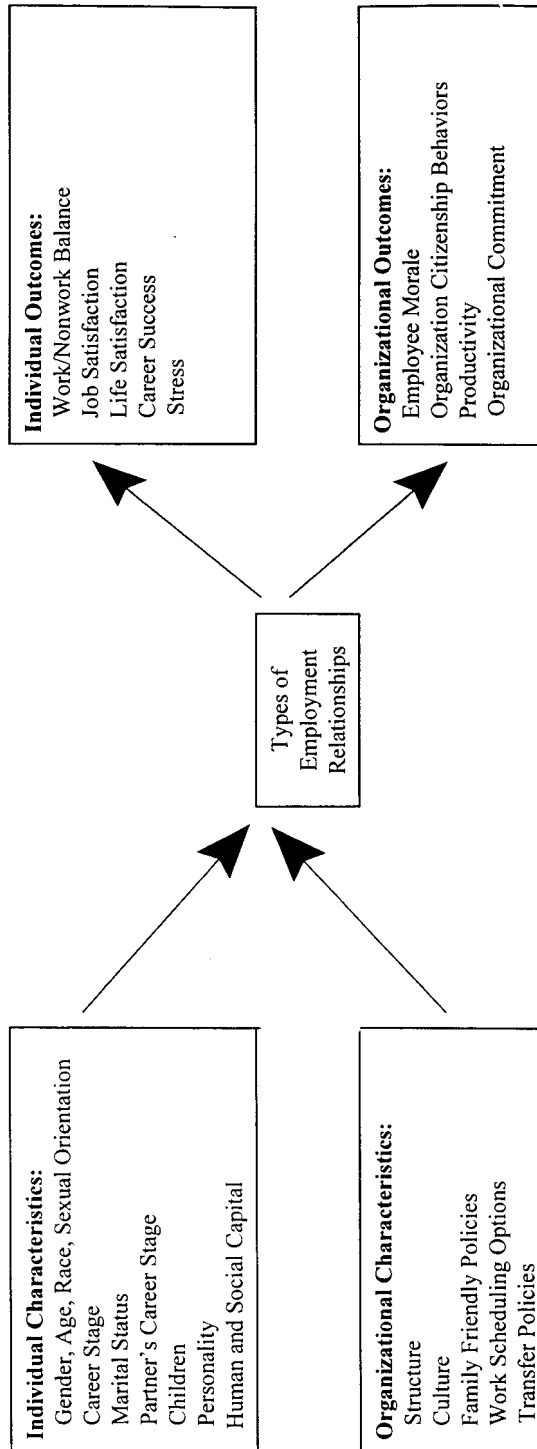
Past research has tended to focus on traditional careers in one or two firms (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Feldman, 1989). In contrast, many of the studies reviewed in this article focus on revisions to traditional developmental theories and newer career paths across multiple boundaries. Although the field has made progress towards the increased study of non-traditional careers, we need more theory-building and empirical work in order to comprehend the increasingly complex career environment. Following are five major recommendations for future research within the context of the changing nature of careers.

***Recommendation 1:** Examine how different employment relationships affect individual and organizational outcomes.*

Given the changes in the psychological contract between employers and employees (Altman & Post, 1996; Tsui et al., 1997; Zabusky & Barley, 1996), the changing patterns of careers (e.g., Hall & Mirvis, 1996; Smart & Peterson, 1997; Super, 1987, 1992), and the increasing variety of employment relationships (e.g., core, contract, part-time) in today's organizations (Feldman, 1990; Handy, 1989; Lawler, 1994; Pfeffer & Baron, 1988) due to evolving organizational structures (Batt, 1996; Beckman, 1996; Miles & Snow, 1996; Useem, 1996), it is important that researchers: (a) examine how the interplay of individual and organizational factors influence the formation of different types of employment relationships, and (b) examine how these different types of employment relationships impact individual and organizational outcomes.

Figure 1 illustrates factors to be considered in future research on changing employment relationships. Individual factors such as demographics, personality, and family situation, need to be examined. For instance, it may be especially difficult for older workers who may have greater human capital sunk costs in a firm, such as high investments in firm-specific skills and non-portable pensions (Becker, 1964, 1993; Carson & Carson, 1997; Hirsch & Shanley, 1996; Mirvis & Hall, 1996a), to adjust to the new career environment. Older workers may lack the skills most associated with non-traditional careers (Baker & Aldrich, 1996) and may encounter age discrimination (Hansson, Dekoekkoek, Neece, & Patterson, 1997) when they attempt to make transitions. Older individuals, perhaps more accustomed to traditional employment relationships, may experience more negative outcomes (e.g., job and life dissatisfaction) if forced into a less traditional employment relationship. In contrast, individuals with certain personality traits, such as high tolerance for ambiguity, may perceive less risk (Ghosh & Ray, 1997) and view these employment changes more positively (Niepce & Molleman, 1998). They may be better able to adjust to boundaryless careers and derive more satisfaction from a less traditional employment relationship.

Also, additional research on both individual and organizational outcomes from different types of employment relationships needs to be conducted. For example, although many studies have been completed on work stress, (see Ganster & Schaubroeck, 1991, and Sullivan & Bhagat, 1992, for reviews), the



**Figure 1.** Model of Factors Influencing Choice of Employment Relationships and Individual and Organizational Outcomes

relationship between stress and career transitions, with the exception of job loss (Leana & Feldman, 1994), is rarely examined. Research needs to address such questions as: How do career stages and person-environment fit moderate stress as individuals cross different types of boundaries (e.g., inter-role vs. organizational vs. professional) and enter into different types of employment relationships? How do non-work factors influence such decisions? How do chance and alternative opportunities influence employment relationships? How does an individual's identity change in response to changes in the employment relationship?

The formation, adjustment, and ending of different types of employment relationships are complex phenomena. These boundary crossings can be best understood by examining a wide variety of variables and by using multi-method, longitudinal research designs. The changing nature of careers makes it increasingly important to examine career outcomes and work history over time. The meaning of one job at one point in time lacks context, yet most research on careers is still not longitudinal.

***Recommendation 2:** Examine the effectiveness of organizational programs and newer learning methods that focus on developing the skills needed for success in non-traditional career paths.*

Studies (e.g., Beckman, 1996; Campion et al., 1994) have emphasized the importance of individual learning and skill development in order to successfully navigate a non-traditional career. Human resource and career management systems need to be revised to effectively utilize employees with different types of career patterns (see Sullivan et al., 1998). Some organizational entry, mentoring, and formal training programs may still be useful for a firm's core employees or for those organizations with more traditional structures, such as Proctor and Gamble, UPS, and Wal-Mart (Peiperl & Baruch, 1997). Different programs will be required to meet the needs of employees outside the firm's core, who may be employed by the organization for only short periods of time (e.g., contract workers, contingency employees). These programs will need to quickly socialize the workers, while still providing legally required information on issues such as safety and sexual harassment.

Given that the literature on organizational entry tends to focus on traditional college students (Ornstein & Isabella, 1993), additional research is needed on the organizational entry process of adults, especially when individuals may be moving quickly across multiple boundaries within and between firms and countries. Research questions to be examined include: What methods can be used to accelerate the recruitment, selection, training, and socialization of organizational newcomers? How will managers motivate short-term employees who may have little organizational commitment? How will the use of electronic and other types of monitoring change as firms engage in a greater variety of employment relationships? How will self-managed and project teams composed of individuals with different employment relationships and commitment levels be effectively managed? How will a firm's culture and identity be maintained as workers more frequently cross organizational boundaries?

Furthermore, the effectiveness of the growing number of popular learning methods, including developmental assignments (White, 1992), self-reflection (Daudelin, 1996; Seibert, 1996), and team-based development (Cianni & Wnuck, 1997), needs to be examined within the context of different career patterns. The organizational application of these methods has far outstripped empirical research and theory. As more individuals cross more boundaries more often, additional research is needed on the most adaptive, useful methods and their impact on individual and organizational learning.

***Recommendation 3:*** *Examine the effect of boundaryless careers on the career experiences of women and minorities.*

As noted earlier in this review, relatively little research has been conducted on the career experiences of women within the traditional career context (Swanson, 1992; Watkins & Subich, 1995). Moreover, the small number of studies that have examined women's career stages have found that the traditional stage models that were proposed to represent the careers of both men and women fail to apply to women (e.g., Ornstein & Isabella, 1990; Roberts & Newton, 1987; Smart & Peterson, 1994). It is hoped that research on the boundaryless career, unlike research on traditional stage models, fully examines the experiences of both men and women.

To begin, it has been suggested that women's experiences of balancing work and non-work demands, coupled with feminine traits, may make women better suited than men to boundaryless careers (Fondas, 1996). Furthermore, women may be more successful than men in working in newer organizational forms where empowerment, relationships, and team skills are emphasized over competition (Cooper, Graham, & Dyke, 1993; Fletcher, 1996; Hall, 1996a; Hall & Mirvis, 1996). The abilities most associated with being effective in boundaryless careers (e.g., focus on process over outcomes, cooperation, and greater sensitivity to employees' needs) are typically defined in U.S. culture as feminine traits (Fondas, 1996; Gallos, 1989). Research needs to investigate whether women are better suited to boundaryless careers and advance more quickly in newer organizational structures as hypothesized.

Although boundaryless careers have many positive aspects, there are also potential negatives (Feldman & Weitz, 1991; Hirsch & Shanley, 1996). The boundaryless career era may not significantly improve the working lives of women and minorities. For example, as firms become more fluid and hire a greater number of workers for shorter term projects, discrimination in hiring and compensation may increase, especially as the pace of business may make it more difficult to monitor the fairness of employment practices. Sexual harassment may also increase as contract and part-time workers fear that reporting such incidents will cost them future jobs or as company practices make it difficult for short-term employees to follow through on complaints. Similarly, women and minorities outside formal organizational structures may have increased difficulty in finding sponsors and networks to gain career advice. Research on the positive and

negative effects of changing employment relationships on the career experiences of women and minorities is needed.

***Recommendation 4:*** *Examine the impact of technology on careers.*

Technology is one of the driving forces causing changes in the way we work (Coovert, 1995; Freeman et al., 1995; Howard, 1995), yet very little research has examined its impact on work and career outcomes (Sullivan, Duplaga, & Bolander, 1997). Approximately 30 million Americans are telecommuters (Apgar, 1998), but we do not know how the virtual office influences the establishment and maintenance of networks, quality of work life, and work/non-work balance.

The boundaryless career emphasizes the importance of networking, but how will individuals be able to engage in these relationships when face-to-face interaction is reduced through the use of technology? Research on working relationships that are conducted primarily through electronic mail, video conferencing, and telephone needs to be completed. There is also a lack of research on the potential negative effects of the virtual office (such as individual stress due to isolation, increased workaholism as work/non-work boundaries become more blurred, employability of individuals who lack technological skills, and the development and maintenance of organizational culture).

***Recommendation 5:*** *Examine the cross-cultural generalizability of careers research.*

Although research (Adler, 1997; Carraher & Whitely, 1998; Hofstede, 1980; Laurent, 1983) demonstrates that values vary across national borders, little research on international careers has been conducted (see Van Veslor & Leslie, 1995, for a recent exception). For example, Granrose and Chua's (1996) investigation of family businesses in China is one of the few studies of the boundaryless career conducted outside of the U.S. We know relatively little about the career experiences of individuals in countries besides the U.S., especially growing markets such as China and Eastern Europe. Despite the popularity of developmental stages theories (e.g., Levinson, 1978; Super, 1957) in the U.S., the cross-cultural applicability of these models has been rarely examined. Furthermore, when these stage models have been applied overseas, these studies have focused on countries with cultures similar to the U.S. (e.g., England, Australia).

There are a variety of directions for future cross-cultural careers research. In addition to studying the international transferability of traditional theories and concepts, some interesting questions about the portability of the boundaryless career concept arise. For example, Japanese workers tend to have higher work centrality, and place a greater emphasis on job security and stability than do U.S. workers (Lundberg & Peterson, 1994; England & Misumi, 1986). This research suggests that Japanese workers, and workers in countries with similar cultures to Japan, may be more attracted to traditional careers and may have more difficulty adjusting to boundaryless careers than would American workers. With increased

globalization, research on the types of career patterns present in other countries is needed.

Moreover, research on the applicability of U.S. career theories to countries with very different political, social, and cultural histories, especially those countries (e.g., Eastern Europe) where emphasis is placed on extrinsic work outcomes rather than psychological success (Kiriazov, Sullivan, & Tu, 1998), needs to be developed. The boundaryless career concept may not adequately capture the working lives of many non-Americans, as other cultures may not be experiencing the same forces of change (e.g., evolving organizational structures, *Zeitgeist*) that are moving U.S. workers to more boundaryless careers.

Also, while there is a substantial amount of research on the selection, training, and adjustment problems of expatriate managers (e.g., Adler, 1997), little research has examined how short- and long-term expatriate assignments influence career development. No theories of careers specially include expatriate assignments or adequately explain the careers of expatriate managers. In sum, given increased globalization, much research must be conducted on the cross-cultural generalizability of career theory.

### Conclusions

This review, as well as previous reviews (e.g., Feldman, 1989; Hall, 1987), recognizes that the careers field has “come into its own” (Hall, 1987, p. 301) with specialized journals, a flourishing division within the Academy of Management, and growth of career specialists within industry. In the last few decades, the field has made tremendous strides towards increasing our understanding of career experiences and providing practical advice to managers. Despite these impressive accomplishments, careers is a relatively young field. There are three major issues that researchers should address as we approach the next millennium.

First, greater clarity of terms and further conceptualization are needed in order to fully investigate the new career patterns called boundaryless. For example, the term “boundaryless careers” is really a misnomer, as systems need boundaries in order to define themselves and to separate themselves from the environment. Therefore, in a real sense, careers are not boundaryless. Instead, the literature on boundaryless careers focuses on how boundaries have become more permeable. Moreover, the boundaryless perspective is still tied to the traditional organizational career perspective in that organizations, not individuals, have boundaries. Thus, when examining these new career patterns from the view point of the individual careerist, it may make more sense to use the term “protean career” to emphasize the individual’s adaptability and self direction, and to use the term “boundaryless” when examining careers from an organizational perspective.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, organizational practices still outpace career theory. Despite the problems with the developmental stage theories noted in this review, newer conceptualizations of careers—including the recent focus on boundaryless careers—have not yet resulted in the same level of theory development (e.g., Holland, 1985; Super, 1957; Levinson, 1978) that has guided previous research on

careers. As we move towards a generation of workers who have career patterns different than those still ingrained in our educational systems and some corporations, new theories delineating the different types of employment relationships need to be developed.

Second, although careers research recognizes its interdisciplinary roots, it still tends to overlook potential contributions from other fields (e.g., anthropology, sociology) that may expand our understanding of career processes. For instance, the literature on self-employment and entrepreneurship may provide a rich basis for investigating boundaryless career patterns. Similarly, the organizational development literature may provide models and concepts of change that would aid our understanding of the changing nature of careers.

Third, there are many workers and work issues that are still as invisible under the new career contract as they were under the old contract. While the amount of careers research on women, older workers, and temporary employees has increased, there is still a lack of research on the career experiences of racial minorities, the disabled, gays and lesbians, and the working poor. Moreover, the literature tends to emphasize the positive aspects of boundaryless careers and neglects the potential problems associated with newer career patterns (e.g., underemployment, increased isolation). Greater attention needs to be paid to studying the careers of invisible workers and dysfunctional career outcomes.

In sum, the changes occurring to our organizations and careers are exciting and challenging. Clearly, we have much to gain by expanding our conceptualizations of careers beyond the traditional models. It is hoped that this review encourages new research on the changing nature of careers.

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### Notes

1. The generalizability of such models to minority group members is also of importance. However, relatively little research has been conducted on minority group members (Cox & Nkomo, 1990) or minority career experiences (Thomas & Alderfer, 1989). For a rare application of Levinson's (1978) model to the careers of African-American male entrepreneurs, see Herbert (1990).
2. Levinson conducted the interviews during the 1980s and the final version of the book was completed after his death (Newton, 1994).
3. Many of these factors should also be considered when studying the careers of men. Research on the careers of men indicates that as men age, they experience greater conflict over balancing work and family demands, and have decreased needs for mobility, competition, and power (see Stoltz-Loike, 1996, for a review). Thus, as detailed in the next two sections, adult development theories need revision to better explain the lives of both men and women.
4. Although the idea of non-traditional career patterns is not new (Driver, 1982; Feldman, 1985; Hall, 1976), considerably more conceptual development and research attention has been paid to these patterns in recent years.
5. This section focuses on research published in the last five years. See Feldman (1989), Hall (1987) and Ornstein and Isabella (1993) for reviews of earlier studies.
6. Thanks to Tim Hall for this idea.

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