Career Pandemonium: Realigning organizations and individuals

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Widespread internal changes in organizations are wreaking havoc on traditional careers. Many people are experiencing major difficulties in their attempts to adapt to the uncertainties of career life. Observing these difficulties, writers on careers have begun to advise individuals to take personal control over their careers by becoming more versatile in their skills, accepting of change, and proactive in shaping their life at work. Increasingly, organizations are seen as freed from the responsibility of managing careers in their efforts to remain flexible and ready to shift with environmental changes. However, both individuals and organizations have needs for stability and for change. Organizations are better advised to adopt a pluralistic approach to career management that embraces different definitions of career success. In so doing, organizations will be better able to support the diverse needs of their employees and, simultaneously, enable the organization to reward and maintain diverse competencies in their workforces.

Change requires change. Accordingly, organizations today are making abundant changes internally to cope with a highly turbulent external environment. With frequent re-organizing, down-sizing, right-sizing, delayering, flattening the pyramid, teaming and out-sourcing among the many changes that are taking place in organizations, careers and career opportunities are being altered profoundly. In many respects, the state of careers these days is one of pandemonium resulting from progressive destabilization of relationships between people and organizations.

Organizational writers have begun to address the consequences on careers of the current changes in the structure and distribution of work in organizations. For instance, several leading business journals recently have declared the job itself, as a vehicle for packaging work, to be on the endangered species list. Moreover, they are writing, the constant re-organizations and down-sizings have fundamentally ruptured the informal employment covenant between employer and employee. And, they observe, in a de-layered organization "getting ahead" in one's career can no longer mean ascending a corporate ladder.

Various remedies are being offered to deal with the resulting havoc in careers. Typically, the recommendations call for a shift to a new, more change-oriented definition of careers and philosophy of career management. It is being said that responsibility for career development must now lie with the individual, not the organization. Individuals should prepare themselves for a career involving frequent changes in employers and in the very nature of the work that one performs. People need to be more flexible and versatile in their skills and knowledge.

In such a world of flux and change, the ideal employee increasingly is portrayed as one who is willing to go anywhere, at anytime, and at a moment's notice, to do anything. One must not cling to a job, organization, or type of work. Those who still think of getting ahead in terms of moving up, and those who feel commitment to a particular function or type of work, must get in tune with the times and learn to adapt and to let go.

In terms of present day reality in organizations, such recommendations have real merit. However, we wish to argue that this reality can be managed from a different perspective. Organizations even now need some degree of stability and commitment and so do individuals. Organizations need growth and, consequently, they need people who itch to drive and build the organization. And, yes, organizations need individuals who are highly versatile and adaptive, just as there are people who thrive on variety and change. Organizations have diverse needs, and so do people.

Organizations change and they need to be able to adapt. However, in our view, the advisable course of action is not merely to abandon past, static and narrow, concepts about careers in favor of new, more change oriented career concepts that are equally narrow. That is, we argue against abandoning one monolithic concept for another monolithic concept. In a world where change is the norm, this repeated cycle of "out-with-the-old-and-in-with-the-new," is likely to increase rather than reduce pandemonium.

Instead, we suggest that a more powerful strategy is to incorporate older, more static career concepts along with newer, more dynamic career concepts in a pluralistic strategy for dealing with careers and organizational arrangements. We believe such a pluralistic framework will serve both as a means for coping with change and the diverse needs of organizations and people, and, thereby, as a tool for realigning individuals and organizations.

The End of the Job

In a recent Fortune magazine article, Bridges asserts that the concept of the job is an artifact of the industrial era that is now becoming obsolete:

The reality we face is much more troubling, for what is disappearing is not just a certain number of jobs or jobs in certain industries or jobs in some part of the country or even jobs in America as a whole. What is disappearing is the very thing itself: the job (emphasis added).

The practice of organizing work into fixed sets of tasks that are assigned to specific people or groups of people on a more or less permanent basis, that is jobs, is now being transformed and replaced by the practice of organizing work into clusters of functions or general fields without specific, defined tasks or fixed duties.

Commenting on the same phenomenon, Savage describes "the rigor mortis of the industrial era" where the division of work and managerial supervision represented "structured distrust." As the industrial era is replaced by the knowledge era, he predicts, both jobs and managers will be gone.

If accurate, these writers' predictions have broad-reaching implications for the structure of careers in the near future.

The Broken Covenant Between Employer and Employees

According to Waterman, Waterman, and Collard, in previous decades there has existed an unspoken covenant between employer and employee that basically assured continued employment in exchange for performance and loyalty. Although these authors may have over-stated the case for there having been much of a covenant during large portions of the twentieth century, it certainly is clear that downsizings, head-count reductions, and large-scale layoffs have become so commonplace, even in the absence of major business fluctuations, that whatever semblance of a covenant there may have been has effectively been nullified. Employees can count on no bond with their employers beyond an immediate paycheck.

Decline of Hierarchy

Pursuing a traditional management career up an organizational hierarchy has become very difficult these days, mainly because in many organizations there is no longer much hierarchy to climb. Middle management layers have been sliced wholesale right out of the organization effectively eliminating the career ladder and replacing it with a stepping stool.

Increasingly, organizations are building high involvement work teams which internally handle coordination, scheduling, and work distribution functions without reliance on fixed supervisory positions.

Within these teams, work often is distributed as per the demands of the particular situations that the teams face. Team members are expected to handle different kinds of tasks at different times and to share any expertise that they may have. The ideal team member is one who has many diverse skills and who can easily work without direct supervision.

In such teams, there is little room for individuals who wish mainly to direct the activities of others. Nor do these teams provide a friendly environment for those who wish to specialize in one function or specialized set of activities. Consequently, there are no real jobs in the traditional sense and no stepping stones to more senior positions.

Generation X and Changing Workforce Values

Writing from a different perspective, other authors point out that whatever the covenant may or may not have been between employer and employee in the past, the new generation now entering the workforce has values that do not favor organizational commitment. For instance, a recent Fortune article on the so-called Generation X points out that the current group of twenty-something people now entering the workforce appears not to have any particular interest in climbing a corporate ladder. Nor do they seem to want to spend their careers in one type of work or job. Instead they appear to want to explore and do different kinds of work in order to learn about themselves and to express their individual values.

This makes Generation X a very difficult generation to manage. Employers can't bribe them with fancy titles; they don't care. They are unimpressed with the need to do specific tasks in specific ways merely because a boss wishes them to. To capture their interest, work must have "meaning." And, because of their insistence on individual expression, what has meaning for one may not have meaning for another. Thus, it is argued, organizations will have to adopt creative or at least unorthodox methods of helping Generation Xers find meaning in work if the organizations are to benefit from the energy and efforts of the new generation.

Cross Currents and Flux

The picture that emerges here is one of shifting sands and cross currents. It is a picture in which older, bewildered and disenfranchised workers search for a stable place to complete their careers in the midst of constant change, in which others find their earlier successes in ascending a career ladder cut short by a free-fall into an inter-disciplinary, self-managing team environment, and in which younger workers search for meaning in a world lacking in commitment to anything beyond survival from one quarter to another. The picture is one of pandemonium insofar as careers are concerned.

Monolithic Antidotes to Career Pandemonium

At first glance, a reasonable organizational strategy for remaining nimble and agile is to eliminate virtually all vestiges of structure, along with jobs, functional departments and established career tracks. Therefore, when the environment changes, there is nothing formal in the organization that needs to be changed. Some organizations have already departed on this strategy, such as Ideo, a large Palo Alto, California, industrial design firm, where reportedly no one has a title or boss.

However, to assure success in a fully de-jobbed organization, it becomes critical to staff the organization with resilient and versatile employees. For instance, in the case of Ideo, the firm's head of marketing claims that hiring the right people is the essential key to success. "If you hire the right people - if you got the right fit - then everything will take care of itself." says Tom Kelly the firm's head of marketing.

Making the shift from a post-industrial, quasi-bureaucratic organization to a highly organic and flexible organization represents a monolithic solution to the flux and pandemonium of the present. By this, we mean that this solution essentially requires abandoning one narrow definition of career success (e.g., making it to the top of the ladder) for another definition, better suited for a changing world, but just as narrow in its insistence upon change as the fundamental principle of career success.

From a career standpoint, this means discarding established career concepts in favor of newer and very different career concepts. No longer will careers be linear, structured, or stable. Careers will involve frequent change. Career management in the de-jobbed, de-structured organization will extend little beyond assuring recruitment of appropriately adaptive employees.

If organizations are to adopt this monolithic, change-oriented view of careers, then it only makes sense that individuals trade in their old, linear, or stable visions of career success for a newer, more dynamic conceptualization of career. Thus, to survive and thrive in the future, people must change. One must be agile and quick, able to ride the tides of shifting career paths. One must prepare to fend for oneself, relying on nobody and nothing but one's own capabilities. The more diverse one's capabilities, the better prepared one will be to move quickly and surely as old opportunities fade and new ones arise. As Hirsch puts it, individuals must "pack their own parachutes" and become "free agents" on their own.

Just as de-structuring is recommended as the monolithic solution to a shifting external environment, the monolithic career solution is to encourage the development of what Waterman et al. call a "career resilient workforce".

In other words, [individuals] should forget about clinging desperately to one job, one company, or one career path. What matters now is having the right competitive skills required to find work when we need it, wherever we can find it.

Instead of people dedicated to a particular discipline, function, job, or career path, the career resilient workforce would be composed of employees who not only are dedicated to the idea of continuous learning but also stand ready to reinvent themselves to keep pace with change; who take responsibility for their own career management and, last but not least, who are committed to the company's success.

In this scenario, if organizations shoulder any responsibility for careers beyond recruitment, it may be to help employees to regularly assess their skills, interest, and values so that they can figure out for themselves what kind of work experiences to seek.

The common denominator in the fore-going monolithic organizational and individual strategies for dealing with the present chaos in careers is that traditional concepts about careers and traditional career-related human resource management practices be replaced by much more change-oriented and career self-management-oriented concepts and practices.

For these strategies to work on any large scale for organizations and for the workforce, however, there are a number of difficult requirements and conditions that would need to be satisfied.

First, there would need to be sufficient people in the workforce who in terms of skills and motives would be capable of, and emotionally suited to, careers of constant change and continuous learning. By "emotionally suited" to careers of constant change, we mean people who have very high levels of tolerance for uncertainty and who generally feel confident of their ability to handle whatever challenges are thrown their way. If a majority of the working population must fit this description, it is not at all clear that this requirement can be met, especially in the near future. In the short term, the change-oriented solution is liable merely to replace one group of career-winners with another. That is, people who prefer change and whose skill sets are quite diverse are likely to become the new winners. In the past where careers were more linear and stable, these are the people who are likely to have felt limited and stultified in their careers. People who prefer stability and/or linear progress in their careers and who in the past have best fit the available opportunities are liable to become the new losers, as pandemonium is transferred from one group to another.

Second, there is the matter of expertise. Some work requires lengthy and highly specialized training. In a knowledge and information-based economy, the skills and knowledge of people with special expertise could replace physical and financial capital as the essential assets of the organization. In an organization where everyone is expected to do anything and to be ready for change at a moment's notice, there is unlikely to be much incentive or opportunity to invest in the development of highly sophisticated and technical skills. The "jack of all trades" may be essential in some work situations, but not sufficiently skilled or knowledgeable in many others.

Third, if employees are to be discouraged from staking any significant portion of their careers with any one organization, who will care enough to drive organizations forward toward growth and prosperity? With no special ties to, or identity with the organization, employees may not even have enough of an emotional stake in long-term organizational outcomes to feel alienated from their employers. Indifference and opportunistic apathy could become widespread.

Finally, the monolithic solution assumes that either there will be little need for different organizational solutions in the future or that implementing new solutions when needed can be accomplished with little cost to individuals or organizations. While the newly heralded change-oriented approach is certainly more suited for future turbulence than stability, there still are likely to be periods when relevant parts of the environment and organizations become relatively stable. Being limited to one approach would significantly constrain the ability of organizations to dynamically interact with not only different types of individuals but also the ebbs and flows of change in specific areas of the environment.

A Pluralistic Approach

Instead of shifting wholesale from structure and stability to free-form and change-friendly organizational arrangements and career practices, we suggest that both organizations and the workforce as a whole might benefit more from a pluralistic approach that combines varied amounts and types of organizational structure with an array of quite different career experience opportunities.

In this schema, organizations would retain sufficient structure to maintain certain core competencies and organizational leadership, while utilizing more dynamic and less structured arrangements to meet the demands of external change and flux.

This pluralistic approach to organization design would naturally provide opportunities for diverse career experiences. This pluralistic strategy would minimize the likelihood of pleasing one group of employees while alienating another, and would provide the basis for maintaining a diverse workforce with which to meet changing business conditions more effectively.

A Pluralistic Career Concept Framework

Implied in our preceding comments is the notion that careers can be defined pluralistically, with multiple as opposed to singular concepts. A singular definition would be to define a career as a steady progression toward positions of increasing authority and responsibility, and to measure career success in terms of position in an organizational hierarchy. In the past, this singular definition implicitly seems to have defined most aspects of career management and development practices in many, if not most, organizations - at least in the U.S.

However, a pluralistic definitional framework would specify explicitly that there exist markedly different ways of defining career success and, consequently, markedly different approaches to career management and development in organizations. In this framework, the preceding, promotion-based definition would be considered to be only one of several ways of defining the structure of a career. Other very different concepts would also be accepted as valid and legitimate definitions of career success.

In our work, we have found it very useful to draw upon a multiple career concept model that identifies four, fundamentally different patterns of career experience. The four patterns - or career concepts - basically differ in terms of direction and frequency of movement within and across different kinds of work over time. The four concepts can be combined in various ways to form "hybrid concepts" that in turn can be used to describe many different patterns of career experience. In addition, our work with these concepts indicates that distinctly different sets of motives underlie each of the four concepts. That is, individuals who differ in their endorsement of particular career concepts as descriptive of the ideal career also differ predictably in their underlying work and career-related motives. We describe the four basic concepts and their associated motives as follows (see Appendix for details regarding conceptual and research bases of the framework). Table 1 presents a summary of the concepts and key associated motives.

The Linear Career Concept

The Linear concept is the familiar, upward movement view of career success. The ideal Linear career consists of a progressive series of steps upward in a hierarchy to positions of ever-increasing authority and responsibility. The higher one moves, the better is the career as seen from this perspective. In our experience, people who see the ideal career in Linear terms often find it difficult to imagine any other definition of success. In the U.S., in particular, the Linear concept seems traditionally to have an edge over other views of success. It seems deeply rooted in the cultural emphasis American society places on upward mobility, as reflected in rags-to-riches, Horatio Alger-type stories.

We find that people with strong Linear career concepts often bring numerous motives to their careers. Chief among these motives are power and achievement. Basically, Linears are motivated by opportunities to make important things happen.

The Expert Career Concept

The Expert career concept differs sharply from the Linear concept. From the Expert perspective, the best career is one involving lifelong commitment to some occupational field or specialty.

Once the career choice has been made, the individual focuses on further developing and refining his or her knowledge and skills within that specialty. If there is upward movement, it occurs roughly within a three-level progression that equates basically to apprentice, journeyman, master. This probably reflects the origins of the Expert concept in the medieval, guild structure of occupations. Old as it may be, there are many people who view the Expert career concept as descriptive of their ideal career.

	Four Care	able 1 eer Concepts es and Motives		
	Linear	Expert	Spiral	Transitory
Direction of movement	Upward	Little movement	Lateral	Lateral
Duration of stay in one field	Variable	Life	7-10 years	3-5 years
Key motives	Power Achievement	Expertise Security	Personal growth Creativity	Variety Independence

People with strong Expert career concepts seem to know clearly what it is that they desire most in their careers: expertise or technical competence, and security or stability. Getting ahead in the Expert framework means becoming more and more proficient in one's specialty. For people with strong Expert career concepts, the nature of the work they perform is an integral part of their self-identity. Viewed from this perspective, one can see that a quick, Linear-type trip up the corporate ladder can be a fundamentally self-alienating experience for an individual with a strong Expert career concept and motive set.

The Spiral Career Concept

Despite their obvious differences, both the Linear and the Expert career concepts describe rather traditional perspectives on career success. The Spiral concept, however, describes a distinctly less traditional pattern. Viewed from the perspective of the Spiral career concept, the best career is one in which a person makes periodic major moves across occupational areas, specialties, or disciplines. Ideally, these moves come every seven to ten years. The Spiral career concept captures, in career terms, the essence of the "seven-year itch." A seven-year span seems to permit individuals sufficient time to develop in-depth competence - if not full mastery - in many fields before moving on to new fields.

The ideal move from a purely Spiral point of view is from one area (e.g., engineering or research) into an allied area (e.g., product development). The key here is that the new field draws upon knowledge and skills developed in the old field, and at the same time throws open the door to the development of an entirely new set of knowledge and skills.

Like their Linear counterparts, Spirals seem to bring numerous motives to their careers. However, chief on their lists of motives are personal development (broadening of one's skill sets) and creativity.

The Transitory Career Concept

Of the four concepts, the Transitory career concept is the least traditional. As a pattern, it can be described as one of consistent inconsistency. From the Transitory perspective, the ideal career is one in which a person moves every three to five years from one field or job to a very different or, preferably, a wholly unrelated field or job.

People who intentionally pursue Transitory careers often do not think of themselves as actually having careers. From their vantage point, they merely are treating themselves to a fascinating smorgasbord of work experiences. Yet, we view the Transitory concept as describing a distinct career pattern. People with a strong Transitory career concept are similar to their Expert counterparts in one way only: they also have very clear ideas about what it is they are looking for in a career, albeit the very opposite, namely variety and independence. In fact, we suspect that the old adage, "variety is the spice of life" was coined centuries ago by someone with a Transitory career orientation.

Shifting Alignment of Individuals and Organizations

Viewed from the perspective of the preceding career concepts, the present career pandemonium can be seen as produced by a shift in the fit between organizational cultures and career concepts traditionally supported by organizations in the past in favor of other career concepts that typically have not been supported well.

Compared to today, organizations in the past have adapted to the relatively stable external environments they faced with mechanistic structures and efficient bureaucracies. In these organizational circumstances, employees with Expert and Linear career concepts have had the advantage, insofar as personally rewarding careers are concerned. Those with Expert concepts have benefited from the stability of organizational arrangements and specialty job classifications in particular. Employees with Linear concepts could look forward to real opportunities for upward advancement, at least within their special functions. All that was needed to help things along was a bit of organizational growth to open up more jobs at higher levels of the organization.

These stable and highly structured organizational environments were decidedly less friendly to employees with Spiral and Transitory career concepts. Things just didn't change enough. Boundaries between jobs and departments were too rigid. People whose resumes betrayed lots of change were likely to be viewed warily as unreliable or flaky. Ten years and more ago, when introducing these four career concepts in organizations, we often found our description of the Spiral concept greeted with some amusement, and our description of the Transitory concept greeted with comments such as, "We sure don't want anyone like that around here!"

Now things have shifted. As organizations internally have become more turbulent and structures have become more organic, people with Spiral and Transitory career concepts are much more at home and much more welcome. Organizations want people who are prepared to move and adapt flexibly to changing circumstances. People with Linear and Expert career concepts, on the other hand, now face much less friendly environments. Experts cannot count on much job security, and can count even less on having a stable job description or role to play, let alone having opportunities to refine their specialized skills. Linears have little prospect of moving up when the ladder is so short. To make matters even worse for the Linears, the demographic bulge of the mid-career Baby Boomers is making competition exceptionally intense for the dwindling number of higher level positions on ever-shortening corporate ladders.

And, so the pendulum swings, from one extreme to another. The old career winners become the new career losers, as the old losers become the new winners. But, one could argue, this is the way it always has been in a world where "survival of the fittest" has been the supreme law.

In Favor of Career Pluralism

From a career management standpoint, to take comfort in the law of survival may not serve well either the interests of organizations or their employees. For organizations to let Linears and Experts figuratively stew in their juices, turn into deadwood, or pack their own parachutes, while those same organizations smile upon Spirals and Transitories as the new winners may be akin to allowing the proverbial baby to be thrown out with the bath water.

Rather than argue that the working population en masse adopt radically new perspectives on careers or suffer the consequences of not doing so, the position we take in this paper is that organizations ought to support pluralistic concepts of careers. This would mean breaking with the past in which organizations appear to have based their career management practices and policies on either one or another singular or "monolithic" concept of career (in the U.S., usually but not always the Linear concept), or alternatively on a random set of notions about careers with no particular theme at all.

Fundamentally, we argue that in supporting pluralistic careers, organizations stand to gain the advantage of developing and maintaining within their workforces diverse sets of complimentary skills and capabilities that, in turn, provide distinct competitive and survival advantages in a fast-moving, unpredictable, and largely unforgiving world.

Individuals who differ in their career concepts and motives do not merely differ; they clearly complement each other as well. To see what we mean, consider the behavioral competencies that are likely to be supported motivationally by different career concepts, as show in Table 2.

Faced with highly changeable environments, it is easy to see why organizations are tempted to emphasize the behavioral competencies associated with Spiral and Transitory career motives. But, in what measure should these competencies be celebrated over and above those more closely associated with Linear and Expert motives? Totally? We think not. We find it difficult to imagine many organizations with only needs such as these. Nonetheless, we do believe that some organizations have greater need of Spiral and Transitory type competencies than do others that in turn may have relatively greater need of Expert of Linear competencies.

Table 2 Career Motives and Associated Behavioral Competencies					
Linear	Expert	Spiral	Transitory		
Leadership	Quality	Creativity	Speed		
Competitiveness	Commitment	Teamwork	Networking		
Cost-efficiency	Reliability	Skill diversity	Adaptability		
Logistics management	Technical competence	Lateral coordination	Fast learning		
Profit orientation	Stability orientation	People development	Project focus		

Said otherwise, we suggest that organizations vary from one another in terms of the particular mix of competencies they require at any one time. Insofar as organizations have variable competency requirements and insofar as behavioral competencies are related to motives, it follows that organizations have variable needs for people with particular career motives. In our parlance, this equates to saying that organizations have variable needs for people with Linear, Expert, Spiral, and Transitory career concepts and motives, but seldom, if ever, exclusive needs for just one of them.

If organizations have needs for different mixes of career concepts in their employees then it follows also that organizations need pluralistic career management practices. This may be no more true today than in the past. However, inasmuch as career opportunities and career management practices are in flux today, the present time seems to present a particular opportune time to move away from the more or less, monolithic perspectives on careers of the past and move toward career management practices that embrace multiple career concepts. As we explain below, organizations appear to have "career cultures" that often reflect more or less systematically a particular career concept. We see the present as a good time to move from monolithic career cultures to pluralistic cultures that support multiple career concepts.

A Framework for Identifying Organizational Career Cultures

That organizations have cultures with respect to careers has come to be recognized in the literature on careers. Increasingly, writers on careers have noted that organizations need to adjust their career cultures. For instance, Hall and Richter recommend a shift away from what they call the "promotion culture" of the past in organizations. By this they mean that explicit and implicit career management policies and practices are deeply rooted in the cultural fabric of the organization. In a promotion culture, beliefs, values, and expectations would revolve around the idea that moving up the hierarchy is a good thing, and that the best people are the people that can and do get promoted to the highest levels.

From our career concepts perspective, we would call Hall and Richter's promotion culture a Linear career culture. And, while Linear career cultures traditionally have been quite commonplace in organizations, other career cultures can and do exist. Just as individuals differ in career concepts, organizations differ in their career cultures, although career culture differences may not vary as widely as do individual differences in career concepts and motives

Table 3 presents a summary of organizational career cultures as related to the four career concepts. The classification shown in the table is broken-down into rewards, rewarded competencies, and organizational structure.

		Table 3				
Organizational Career Cultures						
	Linear	Expert	Spiral	Transitory		
Structure	Tall pyramid Narrow span of control	Flat Strong functional departments	Matrix Self-directed, interdisciplinary teams	Loose amorphous structure Temporary teams		
Valued Performance Factors	Leadership Efficiency Logistics management	Quality Reliability Stability Technical competence	Creativity Teamwork People development	Speed Adaptability Innovation		
Rewards	Promotions Management perquisites Executive bonuses	Fringe benefits Recognition awards Continuing technical training	Lateral assignments Cross-training Creative latitude	Immediate cash bonuses Independence and autonomy Special temporary assignments Job rotation		

The cultural outlines shown in the table clearly represent examples of monolithic career cultures. In practice, however, most organizations are not nearly so consistent or monolithic in their cultures. In fact, organizational career cultures in some organizations seem to consist of a hodge-podge of inconsistent elements. For instance, a survey in a major aerospace organization revealed that - at least in the eyes of its employees - the organization had an Expert structure, and valued Expert competencies, but emphasized Linear rewards. More specifically, a survey of employees indicated that the organization was relatively flat with few levels or hierarchy, and was organized largely around traditional functions. Performance appraisals consistently placed high emphasis on technical competence. These features suggest an Expert culture.

Yet, the most visible reward (and route to future rewards) was promotion, the supreme Linear reward. Consequently, the most technically brilliant performers were most likely to be rated "ready now" for promotion into management or to higher levels of management (which by no means guaranteed actual promotion) where management perquisites, salaries and executive bonuses increased sharply from one level to the next. Therefore, in this organization, those who performed best as Experts were most likely to be rewarded as though they desired Linear careers.

This is not what we mean by pluralism; this essentially is a career management mess of inconsistencies and conflicting philosophies. But, it is not uncommon in organizations where different philosophies, policies, and practices are put in motion by different groups, at different times, and for different purposes.

Table 4 Linking Organizational Strategies to Career Cultures				
Strategic Direction	Strategic Advantage	Organizational Career Culture		
Growth Deeper market penetration	Low Price High Volume/Low Cost	Linear		
Maintain position	Quality Reliability	Expert		
Diversification	Creativity Innovation	Spiral		
Entrepreneurial opportunity New market creation	Speed Novelty Ease of use	Transitory		

Strategic Pressures on Career Cultures

Although, as we have pointed out, we favor pluralistic career cultures that support multiple career concepts, we do acknowledge that particular organizations might need to manage their career cultures in such a way as to throw a bit more support toward one or two concepts than the others.

What reasonably might incline an organization toward one career culture over others? Certainly, organizational strategy would be a major consideration. As other authors have pointed out, organizational strategy gives rise to needs for certain skills and competencies that in turn need to be supported by organizational human resource practices. In Table 4, we show how these strategic pressures logically link to career concepts. The table shows a cross-classification of strategy, competitive advantage, and organizational career culture. The basic logic on which the classifications in the table are based is this: a particular organizational strategy makes requirements on the behavior of the organization, which in turn places demands on certain competencies in the organization, and - through the motivational connection - indicates the career culture needed to support the strategy.

For example, looking at the first row in Table 4, a strategy of growth through greater penetration of a specific market (column 1) would likely require having a distinctive price advantage over competition achieved through high volume/low cost production (column 2), which in turn would be supported best with a Linear career culture (column 3). A Linear culture would provide the best support in view of the motivational predisposition of people with Linear career motives toward competition, efficiency, and profit orientation (see Table 2). In contrast, Spirals might be more inclined to emphasize innovation and creativity over efficiency, and Experts would be inclined to deal with efficiency and quality trade-offs in favor of quality.

So, as the table indicates, a Spiral culture would better support a strategy calling for creativity and diversification. An Expert culture would better support a strategy aimed at maintaining the organization's position based on high quality and high reliability products and services. A Transitory culture would suit a strategy of exploiting new opportunities by getting into new markets quickly with highly innovative or easy to use products or services.

Non-Strategic Pressures on Career Culture

Although we view strategy to be an important consideration in shaping organizational career culture, it is our view is that it is but one consideration among others. Additional considerations would include the actual career concepts of current employees, the level of technology of the industry and the rate of change. In an ideal world, organizational strategy would be formulated also on the basis of these other considerations. In other words, an organization might modify its strategy or construct a strategy based at least in part on the career motives of its employees and their present competencies. For instance, an organization with a high frequency of Spiral motives in its workforce might deliberately give its strategy a Spiral twist by seeking out opportunities to move into new technology areas or to launch new spin-off products or services. But, that is a topic for another paper.

Pluralistic Career Cultures

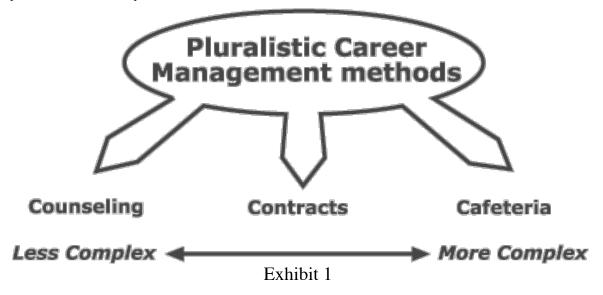
When we speak of pluralistic career cultures, we have in mind a thoughtful blending of elements from two or more of the columns shown in Table 3 which shows key features of each type of career culture. There are many ways to do this, from those that are very simple and easy to implement, but limited in scope, to those that are very complex and broad in scope, but require significant time and energy to implement. Exhibit 1 shows several types of methods that vary in complexity.

Training and Counseling

The training and counseling method is very easy to implement, and probably for this reason it is the single most common approach in use today to develop career pluralism in organizations. Basically, the idea is that through training, assessment, and counseling, the organization exposes large segments of its employee and managerial population to pluralistic career concepts.

Usually, there is no particular emphasis placed on any particular career concept as better than others. People simply learn about alternative career concepts, get assessment feedback about their own concepts and motives, and receive limited counseling on what types of career tracks would make sense for them based on their own career concept profiles. In this scenario, employees are encouraged to make informed choices about their own careers in light of available opportunities.

For example, at NASA Goddard Space Flight Center, Director of Human Resources, Wayne Boswell, and his staff have been conducting career awareness workshops using pluralistic career concepts for various divisions and units at the Center. Boswell, however, has taken this approach one step further by selecting and training career mentors also in the use of pluralistic career concepts in advising their counselees. Linda Jensen, who directs career development programs at NASA Ames Research Center in Palo Alto, California, has begun a similar program aimed at exposing the Center's entire management and employee population to pluralistic career concepts.



Eli Lilly and Company in Indianapolis, Indiana, under the direction of Tom Pritchard, has experimented also with training and counseling in pluralistic career concepts by beginning training at executive and senior management levels. In these workshops, executives and managers get feedback in their own career concepts and motives and are trained to use career concepts in making task assignments and in advising their subordinates.

Johnson and Johnson also has used career concepts training and assessment to facilitate the staffing and development of special, "tiger teams" formed to speed the development of high-priority, new products.

Contracts

Tailoring formal or informal contracts is another way to move the organization toward career pluralism. Here, the basic idea is that managers and employees agree on a particular program of career development for each individual, or for groups of employees. These programs vary in terms of how detailed they are with respect to specific assignments. However, they usually are quite explicit about career direction - e.g., promotion within a particular functional area, upward movement within project management, assignments involving new business ventures.

A clear example of the contracting approach that has been in use for several decades in some organizations is the so-called, dual-career ladder. In organizations with dual ladders there is one ladder for people pursuing a Linear-style managerial or executive career path, and a separate ladder for individuals pursuing careers as technical specialists.

This second ladder implicitly is intended for managing Expert careers. However, we have noted in many instances that the technical ladder often boils down to a Linear perspective on Expert careers. For example, to move up the ladder, one often must take on more responsibility and do more "important work." Ideally, an Expert career management system would allow real experts to continue doing what they have been doing with increasing latitude and autonomy. In addition, technical ladders often take on a second-class stigma when it becomes clear that the highest levels on the ladder still do not command as much compensation as the highest levels on the managerial ladders.

This raises a general point of caution. In an traditional organization where previously a singular or monolithic career management system has been operative, introducing a second alternative might run the risk of creating a career alternative perceived as "second class." Just as this seems often to be the case with the second ladder in a dual career ladder system, this may account at least in part with difficulties that other authors have noted with the "Mommy Track" as an alternative to more traditional careers in organizations. However, in a truly pluralistic system, individual differences are viewed as naturally desirable. Making multiple distinctions and supporting multiple motives, beyond just one or two categories, can reinforce the basic idea that diversity is required for organizational success.

At present, embracing this view of diversity and pluralism may still represent a real challenge in many organizations. Nonetheless, we have seen a trend toward more willingness in organizations to negotiate, special, non-traditional, career plans from a pluralistic perspective. This seems more common in smaller organizations with less bureaucracy and fixed policies. A good example is Transpacific Development Company, a large real-estate development and management firm where individual assignments and career planning is carried out interactively with the employees' career concepts and motives taken into account. This approach is not limited to smaller firms, however. At Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) where there is a great deal of lateral movement, special arrangements are prepared for people wishing to shift career paths, as for example in the case of tanker captains who wish to come ashore to pursue careers in management. The agreements often involve special agreements on compensation packages to ease the financial impact of moving from one track to another.

Cafeteria Methods

Cafeteria-style career management programs are among the newer approaches to career pluralism in organizations. Fundamentally, cafeteria plans provide an array of career-track options, training opportunities, performance evaluation schemes, and reward systems to make it possible for employees to have career experiences that are most in synch with their own career concepts and motives and with the strategy of the organization.

Organizations have just begun to experiment seriously with cafeteria-type career programs and are gradually feeling their way toward more sophisticated approaches. We have yet to see any one organization with more that a couple of elements of a cafeteria program in place. But, that may change soon.

Tetra Laval, a major food-processing and food-packaging company headquartered in Sweden, has used the training and counseling approach to familiarize managers and employees with multiple career concepts. Marie Högstedt, HR Manager at Tetra Laval Prepared Food, reports useful insights provided by the Career Concept model for developing more pluralistic appraisal and reward systems that can evaluate a broader set of career competencies and motivate more of the employees to develop and apply these competencies.

Tom Pritchard at Eli Lilly has also moved beyond training and counseling to encourage more pluralism by explicitly tailoring performance evaluations to incorporate multiple career concepts. In one of the divisions of the company he and his staff have experimented with the unit's annual "talent assessment" procedure in which all employees are rated by management in terms of their career potential. Formerly, the talent assessment focused exclusively on potential for upward movement. As is the case in many companies, the term "potential" previously was assumed to be synonymous with management talent. Pritchard's project expanded the assessment to include ratings also for lateral movement, and for technical development, thereby encompassing Spiral and Expert career orientations as well as Linear. The introduction of the new talent assessments was combined with training for managers to familiarize them with the logic of non-Linear career concepts.

In addition, Eli Lilly has for a number of years identified "transferable skill" positions that enable individuals to move Spiral-fashion from unit to unit and function to function, rather than being restricted to Linear/Expert career paths in specific units and functions.

Northern Telecom has formed Leadership Development Programs (LDPs) for each of five functional specialties to assist and encourage young people to develop outside the confines of their traditional "Expert silos." The LDP provides a functional base and identity while individuals work on far-flung developmental assignments. Each program has a central coordinator who is involved in recruiting and selecting people for the program, planning developmental assignments and negotiating positions in various Northern Telecom organizations world-wide. Participants come together annually for training, special projects, and for sharing their experiences.

Joe Stelliga, who heads NorTel's HR LDP, finds that the program is a great tool in recruiting high quality, young talent. Rita McCracken, Northern Telecom's official Organizational Thrill Seeker and People Development Visionary (that's her actual title!), a recent graduate of the Leadership Development Program reports that the company is discovering that young people especially bring multiple needs with them to their careers and the LDP is one means of dealing with multiple needs.

The high frontier of cafeteria programs is clearly compensation. In most organizations, compensation systems are fundamentally Linear in their design. Money is all stacked up on the management ladder. To get ahead financially in any significant way, one must move up the organization to higher level pay-grades. Pay grades generally are established based on guidelines that take into account scope of responsibility for budgets and people. Therefore, to opt for anything other than a traditional Linear career typically carries a significant financial penalty.

Recently, however, some organizations have begun experimenting with non-Linear pay systems, such as pay-for-performance and skill-based pay plans. Skill-based pay plans, for example, compensate individuals on the basis of the range of skills and work functions at which they have demonstrated proficiency. These plans are most often used in conjunction with high-involvement work teams. They are intended to encourage skill diversity and flexibility. Clearly, they favor Spiral career motives.

Gradually, pay systems are moving toward more pluralism. For example, Northern Telecom is revamping its performance management philosophy and, in the process, is examining ways to introduce compensation systems that support, rather than penalize, career pluralism. This would offer employees the possibility of signing up for different kinds of pay packages based on their career motives and the type of career track they would prefer. Inasmuch as individuals may shift motivationally at different career stages, this could also provide avenues for keeping motives and rewards aligned throughout individuals' careers.

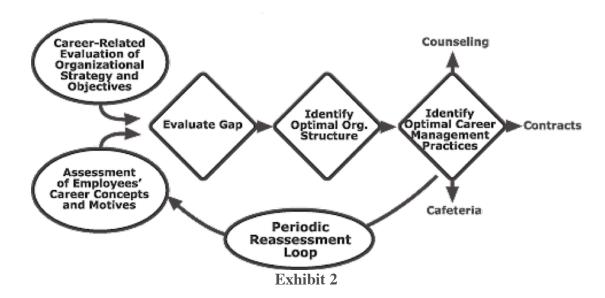
Designing and Managing Pluralistic Career Cultures

The preceding examples provide a number of lessons for techniques that can be used to build and manage pluralistic career systems in organizations. First, career pluralism covers a broad spectrum. The extreme of career pluralism would be to set up a system that would "let all blossoms bloom" equally. However, we know of no such system in existence today. Nor do we expect to find the ultimate career pluralist culture any time soon. Leaving aside the administrative complexities of managing such a system, an entirely plural culture in which all career concepts are equally valued and supported at all times would unlikely meet the needs of any organization over time. Organization strategy and objectives may shift, making certain competencies and motives more or less critical at different points in time; employees motives and preferences may fall into one or two categories of career motives more than others, and they also may change.

Rather than attempt to develop fully pluralistic career cultures, we believe that a better approach would be to view organizational career culture as dynamic and as requiring periodic readjustments as strategic considerations demand and as the changing mix of employees' career motives and competencies shift, either as a function of employee turnover, or changes within individual employees over time in career motives and competencies.

Exhibit 2 shows a schema for evaluating organizational and employee needs and for making periodic adjustments in career management practices. The crucial aspect of this approach is that the process we describe is iterative. There is no notion that one configuration of career culture attributes will be optimal across time. Fit is considered a dynamic phenomenon requiring periodic reassessment and readjustments.

Exhibit 2 Iteratively Adjusting Structure and Career Management Practices



When viewed from this perspective, career pluralism is defined as a system that offers diversity within and across different periods of time, but not always in equal measure.

At any one point, it may be optimal for both the organization and its employees to place greater emphasis on rewards and other organizational arrangements that support certain combinations of career motives more than others, based on strategic considerations and employees' motives. But, what is optimal in one strategic environment or for one employee population may not be optimal during a later period in which different a different strategy applies, new employees with different motives have entered the picture, and/or more experienced employees have entered different career stages. So, for instance, an organization might find that a Linear/Spiral culture might be best at one period in its history whereas a Spiral/Transitory culture might be needed during a later period.

Consequently, as we see it, Exhibit 2 depicts an iterative and continuous process of realignment. That is, an initial structure and mix of career management practices will be identified that best fits the organization's strategy and workforce now. This particular configuration could be one that effectively strikes a compromise to accommodate any gap between strategic needs and employee motives. To close the gap, the organization could introduce training and reward systems designed to move employees in a direction more consistent with that needed for strategic success, but without the expectation that this will solve the career culture puzzle for all time.

Elements of this approach are now being implemented at Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey, by Vice President of Human Resources, Andrea Schutz, and her staff. ETS has for several years been conducting a program of organizational renewal to prepare for the decades ahead. As part of this program, workshops have been conducted on pluralistic career concepts with samples of employees from through-out the organization. Assessment data, accumulated as survey data, have been compiled to examine the career concepts and motives of employees in all major units.

These results are being compared systematically with the strategic objectives of each unit to evaluate the gap in organizational and employee needs. Schutz reports that where differences in objectives and employee needs exist, the plan is to create "hybrid structures and career cultures" that build bridges between organizational needs and employee needs. For instance, where the unit's objectives call basically for a Spiral strategy based on creative diversification, but employees needs emphasize Expert motives, the move will be to work toward a Spiral/Expert organizational structure and career culture. This would involve creating interdisciplinary teams where functional experts maintain their specialties and are rewarded both for creative breakthroughs and technical excellence. Training programs would aim both at maintaining high levels of technical expertise and cross-training in different functions.

If successful, the ETS renewal program will create one of most advanced, pluralistic career management systems in a large organization. As such, it could serve as an important prototype for other complex organizations.

Looking Toward the Future

The present pandemonium in careers means confusion and frustration for many people. However, in the long-run it may provide the impetus and opportunity to produce innovative career systems in organizations that go far beyond those of the past in motivating strategic behavior and in serving the needs of the many rather than the few. The few examples that we have cited of organizations working toward career pluralism demonstrate clearly that we do not need to toss the baby out with the bath water and create new career losers out of old career winners.

Endnotes

See M.B. Arthur, "Career Theory in a Dynamic Context," in D. H. Montross and C.J. Shinkman (Eds.) *Career Development in the 1990s: Theory and Practice* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1992, 65-84) and P. Sparrow and J.M. Hiltrop, *European Human Resource Management in Transition* (Hertfordshire, UK: Prentice Hall, 1994) for recent discussions on careers and HRM in various dynamic situations.

- See E.H. Schein, *Career Dynamics: Matching Individual and Organizational Needs* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, ¹⁹⁷⁸) ^{and} C.B. Derr, *Work, Family, and Career* (New York: Praeger, 1980) for discussions of the dynamics of, and tensions between, the needs of individuals and organizations.
- W. Bridges, "The end of the job," Fortune, 1994, September, 19, 62-74.
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- P. Hirsch, op. cit.
- Waterman et al. op. cit., 87, 88.
- See for example, M.B. Arthur, D.T. Hall and B.S. Lawrence "Generating New Directions in Career Theory: The Case for a Transdisciplinary Approach" in M.B. Arthur, D.T. Hall and B.S. Lawrence (Eds.) Handbook of Career Theory (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 7-25).

- D.T. Hall and J. Richter, Career Gridlock: Baby Boomers Hit the Wall, *Academy of Management Executive*, 1990, 4(3), 7-21.
- E.H. Schein, "A Critical Look at Current Career Development Theory and Research," in D.T. Hall and Associates, *Career Development in Organizations* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986, 310-331) calls for a theory and a technology that deal with the process issues of how organizations administer performance appraisal, career planning, and management development in different ways to better grasp the impact of cultural forces. The connection between culture and careers is extended to include both organizational and national cultures in a framework by C.B. Derr and A. Laurant, "The Internal and External Career: A Theoretical and Cross-Cultural Perspective" in M.B. Arthur, D.T. Hall and B.S. Lawrence (Eds.) *Handbook of Career Theory* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 454-471).
- Hall and Richter, op. cit.
- See M.J. Driver and M.W. Coombs, op cit.
- See J.E. Butler, G.R. Ferris, and N.K. Napier, *Strategy and Human Resource Management*, (Cincinnati, OH: South-Western Publishing, 1991) and C. Fombrun, N.M. Tichy and M.A. Devanna, *Strategic Human Resource Management* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984) on the relationship between strategy and human resource management.
- We wish to point out that the linkages between strategy and career culture presented in the table are our own propositions. They are not based upon a body of empirical research. We initially arrived at these propositions by considering the kinds of strategies that, if successful, logically could be expected to create organizational conditions supportive of each career concept. For example, if an organization increases its market share, the organization is likely also to grow in size to support the expanded levels of activity necessary to service a larger market. This should mean more jobs, including higher level positions that would open up opportunities for the kind of upward movement that otherwise is presently threatened by organizational down-sizing. Accordingly, a strategy of expansion fits well with the Linear career concept. Conversely, individuals with strong attachment to the Linear career concept and with Linear motives of power and achievement should be most motivated to "score the big gains" that are needed for expansion that in turn would create the opportunities for upward motion. So, we see the linkages as a two-way street. The strategy supports the concept and the concept supports the strategy. Similar logic was used to develop linkages between strategy and the other concepts.
- See F.N. Schwartz, "Management Women and the New Facts of Life," *Harvard Business Review*, 1989, January-February, 65-76 and L. Bailyn, *Breaking the Mold*, New York: Free Press, 1993.
- The notion of cafeteria HR systems is especially linked to flexible reward systems as, for example, described by E.E. Lawler, *Strategic Pay: Aligning Organizational Strategies and Pay Systems*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990.

Appendix

The Conceptual and Research Bases of the Career Concepts Framework

For a recent, more detailed treatment of the four career concepts and their associated motives, see K.R. Brousseau and M.J. Driver "Enhancing Informed Choice: A Career-Concepts Approach to Career Advisement," Selections, 1994, Spring, 24-31. The impact of demographic and organizational trends on careers from a career concept perspective is also discussed in K.R. Brousseau, "Career Dynamics in the Baby Boom, Baby Bust Era," Journal of Organizational Change Management, 1990, 3(3), 46-58, and M.J. Driver Work-Force Personality and the New Information-Age Workplace, in An Aging Workforce Competes (Washington, D.C.: The National Planning Association and The National Council on Aging, 1994).

The conceptual foundations of the career concept model lie in several places. In the 1960s and early 1970s, writers began taking note of the apparent increasing tendency of some people to have multiple careers. Usually, the authors were referring to people who made fundamental changes in the nature of the work they performed, moving from one field into another quite different field to the extent that they appeared to be changing careers. For example, John Gardner, who had written about the dynamic nature of his and others' careers in his book Self-Renewal, was talking about a pattern of career experience fundamentally different from the more traditional up-the-ladder pattern. This contrast led to the identification in our work of what we now call the Linear and the Spiral career concepts. Another influence on our thinking was the work of other career theorists, particularly those working in the field of occupational choice, and most notably among them, J.P. Holland. Holland posited that individuals differ in the motivational themes that underlie their choices of occupational fields. Besides establishing a framework for identifying differential motivational themes in people's careers, this literature on occupational choice suggested a conceptualization of careers different from both the Linear and Spiral concepts: some people choose not to move up any particular ladder and do not wish to shift from one type of work to another. This gave rise to the Expert career concept, which in our early work we referred to as the "Steady State" concept.

The fourth concept then simply fell into place. When we began systematically examining people's career histories and talking to people about their careers, it became clear that a significant number of people's career patterns followed no consistent pattern that could be understood in terms of the three concepts. In particular, we found some people whose careers seemed to follow a consistent pattern of inconsistency involving frequent career changes. Many of these people appeared not to think of themselves as having careers in a traditional sense, but nevertheless they were very work-oriented and seemed to be enjoying their working lives. Hence, we identified the Transitory concept.

Having identified four fundamentally different concepts of careers, defined in terms of direction and frequency of movement, we turned our attention to the motivational foundations of these career concepts. For instance, we hypothesized that achievement would be the key motive underlying the Linear career, and indeed, several empirical studies confirmed that achievement motivation is a key motive in the Linear career, but not as important as another motive that we had missed: power and influence. Gradually, the constellation of motives associated with each career concept as presented in this paper emerged from our theorizing and related research.

Two large studies conducted in the early 1980s, still partially unpublished, contributed highly to our present understanding of career concepts and career motives. One was conducted in a large utility company and another was conducted in a major aerospace firm (for reading on the latter see, M.J. Driver & M.W. Coombs, "Fit Between Career Concepts, Corporate Culture and Engineering Productivity and Morale," in Enhancing Engineering Careers: Conference Record of the 1983 IEEE Conference on Careers (The Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, Inc., 1983, also available as a reprint from Decision Dynamics Group, 615 Hampshire Rd., Suite 357, Westlake Village, CA 91361). These studies clarified career concept and career motive linkages and they further illuminated the impact of fit between attributes of organizational career culture and individuals' career concepts on organizational commitment, self-perceived performance effectiveness, work satisfaction, as well as various aspects of non-work life satisfaction.

The measurement of Career Concepts has been found to have satisfactory levels of reliability and predictive validity (see M.W. Coombs, Measuring Career Concepts: An Examination of the Concepts, Constructs, and Validity of the Career Concept Questionnaire, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1989).

As we are so far only in the process of developing an instrument for measuring the career-related behavioral competencies, the proposed relationships in Table 2 are currently based on largely anecdotal observations and deduction. The career culture and strategy relationships proposed in Table 3 and 4 are beginning to receive some more empirical support. In addition to the two studies mentioned above, three partly quantitative case studies of Swedish organizations identified mutually supportive as well as incongruent relationships between their strategies, cultural components, and employee career concepts and motives in accordance with the framework. Finally, some of the conceptual bases for our suggested pluralistic career cultures and management are outlined by M.A. Von Glinow, M.J. Driver, K.R. Brousseau, and J.B. Prince in "The Design of a Career Oriented Human Resource System," Academy of Management Review, 1983, 8(1), 23-32.

We initially arrived at our propositions about linkages between strategy and career culture by considering the kinds of strategies that, if successful, logically could be expected to create organizational conditions supportive of each career concept. For example, if an organization increases its market share, the organization is likely also to grow in size to support the expanded levels of activity necessary to service a larger market. This should mean more jobs, including higher level positions that would open up opportunities for the kind of upward movement that otherwise is presently threatened by organizational down-sizing. Accordingly, a strategy of expansion fits well with the Linear career concept. Conversely, individuals with strong attachment to the Linear career concept and with Linear motives of power and achievement should be most motivated to "score the big gains" that are needed for expansion that in turn would create the opportunities for upward motion. So, we see the linkages as a two-way street. The strategy supports the concept and the concept supports the strategy. Similar logic was used to develop linkages between strategy and the other concepts.

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