

**Objective and subjective career success –
empirical findings from the
Vienna Career Panel Project based on
the notion of "Career habitus"**

*Johannes Steyrer, Guido Strunk, Michael Schiffinger,
Wolfgang Mayrhofer,
Michael Meyer*

Interdisciplinary Department of Management and Organisational Behaviour
Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien (WU-Wien)
Althanstrasse 51, A-1090 Wien, Austria
Tel. +43-1-31336-4241
Fax +43-1-313 36-724
<http://www.wu-wien.ac.at/inst/ivm/local.htm>

Paper
submitted for
21st EGOS Colloquium
June 30 – July 2
Freie Universität Berlin

Abstract

The paper aims at identifying major factors that influence objective and subjective career success in terms of increases in the scope of authority, salary progression, career satisfaction, and perceived career success. The analysis focuses on the first ten years after graduation in business and management science and additionally distinguishes between five 2-year sub-intervals. Data were obtained from business school graduates of a large Austrian university who are part of a longitudinal panel study, the Vienna Career Panel Project (ViCaPP). Our results show that the objective success criterion scope of authority seems to be influenced by social origin. The cultural and social capital acquired in early life stages provides the basis for later hierarchical progression. Concerning the salary progression our results lend support to the notion of a self-monitoring and self-promoting, Machiavellian, flexible and more or less individualistic „winner-type“, oriented towards money and prestige rather than social contacts, who actually attains an above-average income. Subjective career success seems to be quite strongly determined by a stable personality, oriented towards achievement and at ease with making contacts and establishing social relationships, rather independently of social origin. Although a broad range of frequently used explanatory variables in career research were taken into account our models explain only little variance. The attempt of framing a concluding appraisal of the results in some respects comes therefore to a rather humbling end.

1 Introduction

One central issue in career research is the question which factors influence objective and subjective career success. There is a broad range of potential influencing variables, including different career patterns, personality, social background, work and/or societal or even global context. Most empirical research concentrates on the effects of single influencing factors, making most of the current state of research a conglomerate of narrow in-depth analyses. Attempts of comprehensive studies for explaining career success are hitherto rather scarce.

The following article constitutes one such attempt, by including 43 influencing variables that are deemed relevant in career research and analysing their effect on subjective and objective career success. Objective career success is operationalised by 1. *Scope of authority*, 2. *Salary progression*, while subjective career success is measured by 3. *Career satisfaction*, and 4. *Perceived career success*.

The 43 explanatory variables are grouped into the following five main explanatory factors: 1. *Social origin*, 2. *Personality*, 3. *Social behaviour*, 4. *Career tactics*, and 5. *Career patterns*. In addition, various control variables like gender, age and graduation cohort, or form of employment are included. Furthermore, we also attempt to analyse the development of "objective" and "subjective" careers during the first ten years after graduation. Therefore, we do not just observe and analyse career outcomes after this ten-year period, but included separate biennial analyses in order to trace the respective influence of each factor in different career stages.

The article therefore addresses the following question: *To which extent do Social origin, Personality, Social behaviour, Career tactics, and Career patterns influence objective and subjective career success in five different career phases measured in 2-year intervals during the first ten years after graduation in business and management science?*

This paper clearly has an empiristic focus and design, with a "shotgun" approach to answering the above question. We would also like to emphasise that the results we present here are *work in progress*, guided primarily by explorative curiosity rather than by sound and in-depth theoretical work and secondary data analysis. Due to this and the scope of our analyses, we also forbore from testing single hypotheses. The underlying assumption is that all included explanatory variables contribute to career success in some way. This article aims at identifying the most crucial ones and describing their effect.

2 A habitus-based concept of career success

As mentioned above, the goal of this paper does not consist in establishing a theoretically well-founded model of influencing factors for career success. Nevertheless, the following section shall give a short outline of underlying concepts and theories that guided our research design.

The existing literature offers many different frameworks for the explanation of career patterns with its own merits (e.g., Brüderl, 1991; Forbes, 1987; Haller, König, Krause & Kurz, 1985; Lipset & Bendix, 1952; Rosenbaum, 1979a; Arthur, Hall & Lawrence, 1989b). Most career scholars would agree that such frameworks are especially fruitful if they, among others, allow for multi-level analysis; offer a reflexive relationship between action and structure; go beyond the organisation as main point of reference; avoid the selective bias or one-sided choice of micro vs macro level; and include neglected areas like power distribution, social inequalities, etc.

The work of late French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu provides a basis for doing just this. *Field*, *habitus* and *capital* are its major elements and can be used and applied to the area of career (for a more detailed view see Iellatchitch et al., 2003).

As the emphasis here is put on the aspect of habitus, the other two central elements of this theoretical concept shall only be briefly described in a career-related context: 1. *Career fields* are the social context within which individual members of the work force make their career moves. They are equipped with a specific portfolio of field-relevant capital and try to maintain or improve their place in the given and unfolding network of work related positions.

Career capital consists of the different modes of support the individual obtains and has at his/her disposal and may invest for his/her further career success. Career capital is a mix of the three generic sorts of capital: *Economic* (e.g. convertible money particularly based on income), *Social* (resources based on social connections, group or class membership), and *Cultural capital* (e. g. dispositions of habitus, cultural products, academic degrees). Furthermore, Bourdieu adds *Symbolic capital* as the fourth sort of capital which is perceived and socially recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu 1986).

While the field defines the structures of the social setting in which the habitus operates, the habitus refers to an ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking, and acting that forms all the expressive, verbal, and practical manifestations and utterances of a person (Krais 1993). The habitus is embodied history, the active presence of the whole past (Bourdieu 1990). This ensemble of schemata is not a set of fixed and finite rules, but refers to a (necessarily limited) generative principle. The relation of the habitus to the different sorts of capital may be summarised as follows: the habitus can be oriented

primarily towards the accumulation of symbolic or economic capital, but is basically made up of cultural capital, or knowledge in the widest sense of the word (Lash 1993). In this sense *career habitus* describes a *durable but evolving system of potentially actualised dispositions*.

Our measures used in the empirical part of our study are based on the four assumptions identified by Müller and Kraus within Bourdieu's concept of habitus (Müller 1986);(Kraus 1985):

- (1) *Unconsciousness*: Habitus operates at the subconscious level throughout life and is therefore largely resistant to reflection and modification.
- (2) *Stability*: Habitus is primarily formed by constraints and freedoms given by class situation prevailing in childhood socialisation, and is largely of an inert disposition. This does not imply that habitus is innate; it can be modified by the influence of a 'career', i.e. by secondary, professional and organisational socialisation.
- (3) *Incorporation of social structures*: Habitus may be defined as a cognitive, perceptive and action matrix (Bourdieu 1977), whereby cognitive structures are regarded as internalised social structures; thus socialisation is a process of incorporation of social structure.
- (4) *Strategy*: Habitual thinking, acting and perceiving is directed towards objects specific for a particular social field. These objects of interest are regarded as specific combinations of economic, cultural and social capital.

These assumptions help to make the habitus operational and offer the possibility of linking socio-psychological constructs traditional within career research with a habitus based perspective of careers. Therefore, we use two different classes of variables in our study.

Based on the assumption of stability we look at the *Social origin* of our probands, such as parents' education level or level of parental occupation. Based on the assumption of unconsciousness we take classical *Personality* measures into account, such as leadership and achievement motivation, emotional stability or conscientiousness. Within the assumption of incorporation we focus on *Social behaviour* that is primarily influenced by socialisation, e. g. openness for social contacts or team orientation and flexibility. Based on the assumption of strategy we consider *Career tactics* in which behaviour is strategically designed to maximise self interest, such as career tactics including networking, demonstrating power and status, making friends and allies or Machiavellianism. Furthermore six different aspects of career aspirations are included within the dimension of strategy.

Figure 1 gives an overview of the career model and shows the four different aspects of habitus and the various measures used within our study. The explanatory question concentrates on the interplay of these variables including specific career patterns (e. g. transitions, periods of parental leave, employment status) and their relative importance for subjective and objective career success.

Figure 1: A habitus-based concept of career

3 Variables and Measurements

3.1 Personality

The following variables are taken into account within the dimension of *Personality*:

Leadership Motivation: People who score high on this dimension are motivated to actively influence and shape social processes. They perceive themselves as having natural authority and/or serving others as a reference person. Studies with regard to power motivation show that this pattern plays an important role in a person's desire to take on leadership positions (House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991) and that people who score high on this scale tend to be promoted more often than those who do not (Howard & Bray, 1990; Jacobs & McClelland, 1994).

Achievement Motivation: Achievement motivation describes the willingness to tackle high performance standards as well as to continually benchmark and if necessary improve one's own performance. Findings show that a high score represents a strong impulse for above-average vocational efforts (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). We use a scale of "leadership" and "achievement motivation" that was developed by Hossiep & Paschen (Hossiep et al., 1998) and is based on McClelland's theoretical concept. (McClelland, 1987).

Conscientiousness: Conscientiousness as one of the Big Five dimensions (Costa et al., 1989) measures the extent to which individuals are hardworking, organised, dependable, and persevering. In our sample we have used the German operationalisation from the NEO-FFI (Borkenau et al., 1993). Most meta-analyses on the relation between conscientiousness and job performance show that it is the variable with the largest positive influence effect (Barrick et al., 1991 Salgado, 1997). Conscientiousness was associated with high degrees of performance across all occupational groups and all measures of performance.

Emotional Stability: Within the Big Five Model "emotional stability" measures the degree to which an individual is calm, self confident and cool, and emotional as opposed to insecure, anxious, and depressed. People who score high on this scale are not easily upset and tend to be free from persistent negative feelings. They rather hold realistic ideas and are good at controlling their impulses and desires (Costa et al., 1992). In our sample we have used the German operationalisation from the NEO-FFI (Borkenau & Ostendorf, 1993). The meta-analysis submitted by Salgado (Salgado, 1997) shows emotional stability to be a valid predictor across job criteria and occupational groups, corroborates the findings of Hough et al. (Hough, Eaton, Dunnette, Kamp, & McCloy, 1990). However, Barrick & Mount (Barrick & Mount, 1991) found deviating results in their meta-analysis. The non-validity of emotional stability was tracked down to be a selection process within the applicant pool, where the subjects low in "emotional stability" were already excluded from the laboratory force.

The respective item count and scale consistency values are presented in table 1.

Table 1: Scales and Measurements - Personality

3.2 Social Behaviour

Openness for social contacts as it was operationalised by Hossiep & Paschen (Hossiep et al., 1998), overlaps with the construct "extraversion" in the Big Five Model. This dimension

concerns the degree to which individuals are gregarious, assertive, and sociable as opposed to reserved, timid, and quiet. The results of empirical studies concerning this dimension are described in the section about the networking scale.

Team orientation refers to the interest in working in teams combined with a willingness to "throttle back" personally in favour of overall team effectiveness, as well as actively taking responsibility for improving cooperation and being prepared to share and support team decisions (Hossiep et al., 1998).

The dimension *Flexibility* as defined by Hossiep & Paschen (Hossiep & Paschen, 1998) overlaps with the dimension "openness to experience" in the Big Five Model (Costa & McCrae, 1989, 1992), which refers to a high adaptation ability of individuals to all possible areas of life. "Flexibility" as Hossiep & Paschen define it is limited to vocational activities. People who score high on this scale "display a high preparedness and ability to adjust to changing work-related conditions and situations" (Hossiep et al., 1998, 23). Since at present there exist no relevant empirical findings for the dimension "flexibility", we are limited to results from the Big Five Model. Salgado was not able to determine a positive correlation between "openness to experience" and indicators of job performance in his meta-analysis for any of the examined occupational groups (Salgado, 1997). However, there are findings from a study conducted by Judge, Martocchio & Thoresn (Judge, Martocchio, & Thoresn, 1998) where "openness to experience" was strongly linked to success during job training.

The respective item count and scale consistency values are presented in table 2.

Table 2: Scales and Measurements – Social Behaviour

3.3 Career Tactics

The construct *Self monitoring* as developed by Snyder (Snyder, 1987) refers to the ability of an actor to adapt his/her own behaviour to external situational factors as an "active construction of public selves to achieve social ends" (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000, 546). Thus, the behaviour of *high self-monitors* is highly responsive to social and interpersonal cues about situationally appropriate behaviour, whereas *low self-monitors* do not control their expressive behaviour to appear situationally appropriate. In the meanwhile numerous empirical findings exist which prove the positive impact of this dimension on different facets of organisational behaviour (Baron, 1989; Zaccaro, Foti, & Kenny, 1991; Turnley & Bolino, 2001).

All other scales within the dimension of *Career tactics* were operationalised in the so called Career Tactics questionnaire (KATA). This scale was developed especially for ViCaPP. The scales were extracted by means of factor analysis from a pool of 236 items (distributed among 201 working people) based on various theoretical constructs, such as impression management, influence tactics, networking, career insight efforts etc. Then they were optimised with regard to internal scale consistency, normal-distribution-fit and scale range (see the scales and measurement table below).

Networking is defined as a behaviour where persons seek numerous and various business contacts that may also 'spill over' into private life. A similar sort of behaviour which transcends "pure" networking is represented by the dimension "making friends and allies". People who score high on this scale try to gain the confidence, loyalty, and support of persons from their professional environment. Group and organisation studies show that especially social actors who link a multiplicity of socially unconnected actors and cliques have both

information and control advantages if they are open for social contacts and good networkers (Burt, Jannotta, & Mahoney, 1998). A central reason for that is seen in the reduced information redundancy, which is connected with the “social bridging” of so-called structural holes (Burt, 1997). Burt (1992), for instance, reported for managers of high-tech enterprises that non-redundant relations with a cluster of influential or important persons and cliques had a positive impact on early promotion. Similarly the findings of Michael & Yukl, (1993) and Orpen (1996) showed that both internal and external networking positively influenced the hierarchical progression and/or the salary level from middle to top management. Ostgaard & Birley (1996) also demonstrated the relevance of networking for various performance and development indicators in entrepreneurial organisations.

The dimension *Self promotion/self assertion* concerns a behaviour where actors emphasise their abilities, qualifications and achievements and - if necessary - overcome resistance against their plans with sheer pressure.

People who score high on the KATA scale *Demonstrating power and status* use their position power, symbols of status and influence, and even bluff to gain respect and compliance from people in their occupational environment. Studies on the use of political tactics to advance one’s career show that tactics based on self promotion are negatively related, while for instance, “ingratiation” is positively correlated with achieving this goal (Judge & Bretz, 1994). In another study the so called “organisational strategy“ was the major influence factor on promotion to middle management. This strategy included the use of power and status to affect who was selected for graduation (Ferris, Buckley, & Allen, 1992).

The last KATA dimension, *Knowing and enhancing one’s market value* refers to the extent to which persons strive for the capability to correctly assess their employability as well as for improving their qualifications according to the requirements of the job market.

The respective item count and scale consistency values are presented in table 3.

Table 3: Scales and Measurements – Career Tactics (KATA)

Another set of scales developed during ViCaPP measures various *Career aspirations*. *Career aspirations* reflect the strength of an individual's intention to be active in a particular career field. They consist of a cluster of needs, motives and behavioural intentions which individuals articulate with respect to four different career fields. 1. *Company-World*: People strive for a position of responsibility and influence and a long-term career within one organisation. 2. *Free-floating professionalism*: People want to be under contract to one or a few organisations for special and challenging tasks, staying with the same organisation only for a limited time. 3. *Self-Employment*: People seek "traditional" self-employment, i.e. offering a range of quite standardised products and/or services to a relatively stable clientele. 4. *Chronic-Flexibility*: People aspire to a "freelance" career with different projects for various clients and ever-changing work contents. Furthermore two additional aspects of career aspiration were measured: 5. *Money/Prestige*: People try to optimise with their careers income und social acceptance. 6. *Freedom/Individualism and Flexibility*: People strive for careers where a free and independent development is guaranteed and flexibility is seen as valuable in itself. The respective item count and scale consistency values are presented in table 4.

Table 4: Scales and Measurements – Career Aspirations (KAS)

Machiavellianism is a personality trait involving the willingness to manipulate others for one's own purposes (Christie and Geis 1970). This dimension was measured here by extracting subscales based on items in the ViCaPP questionnaire that represent machiavellian behaviour (Heil 2005). The results concerning the relation between Machiavellianism and career (success) are rather ambiguous: Gemmil and Heisler (1972) found no significant relation between upward mobility and Machiavellianism". Corzine (1988) showed that "High Machs" were not promoted more often nor did they expect to be promoted more often than "Low Machs". However, Schultz (1993) showed in a more recent study that "Machs" succeed primarily in loosely structured situations where there are only few established rules.

The extraction of our subscales rested on the works of Christie and Geis (1970) and Schultz (1993), but also bears a reference to the classic text of Machiavelli (1513), to ensure a valid representation of this construct. There are seven resulting subscales: 1. *Lack of Affect*; 2. *Lack of Morality*; 3. *Realistic down-to-earth orientation*; 4. *Goal orientation*; 5. *Manipulative Behaviour*; 6. *Image seeking*; 7. *Preference for loosely structured situations*. The respective number of items and scale consistency values are given in table 5.

Table 5: Scales and Measurements – Machiavellianism

3.4 Social Origin

In a landmark study, Blau and Duncan (1967) analyse the effects of the familial socio-economic background on career success of individuals in the U.S. They find that socio-economic background of the family of origin affects the type and length of education that individuals get. In turn, this influences occupational entry and career achievements. However, in later stages of their careers, individuals' socio-economic background seems to be less important for career outcomes. Previous jobs and work experiences have greater significance during these stages. Focusing on top-level managerial positions in Germany, the UK and France, Hartmann (1996; 2000) finds that in all three countries more than three quarters of top managers are of upper middle class origin. Furthermore he shows that in France and Britain selection also works via exclusive education and titles, whereas in Germany personal characteristics associated with the upper middle class are primarily important. Those who grow up in "upper middle class" families therefore know the unwritten habits and rules for elite positions better than those from a different social background. A number of studies use socio-economic background as control and differentiating variables for different facets of careers and career success. Examples include the effects of career mentoring on promotions and compensation received by early career managers and professionals (Whitely, Dougherty & Dreher, 1991) or career success in early career stages (Whitely, Dougherty & Dreher, 1991), differentiating factors between executives and lower managers (O'Donovan, 1962), the development of organisational commitment of medical technologists (Blau, 1999), the influence of social capital on income (Parks-Yancy, 2002), the development of work patterns in different career stages (Raelin, 1984) or occupational choices of MBA students (Sonnenfeld, Peiperl & Kotter, 1988). In our study, social origin was measured by the following criteria: 1. *Parental occupation* (e. g. homemaker, worker, employee, executive employee, professional freelancer), 2. *Parental education level*, classified by the standard Austrian educational attainments.

3.5 Career pattern, scholastics, and control variables

Concerning career patterns, the following variables were included: 1. *Number of transitions within an organisation*, 2. *Number of transitions between organisations*, 3. *Frequency and duration of parental leave*. Study outcomes (*Scholastics*) were measured by 4. *Duration of study*, and 5. *Final exam grade*.

Our regression models include the following control variables: 1. *Sex*, 2. *Cohort group* (see below), 3. *Proportions of White-collar employment, Self Employment, Part-time employment, Full-time employment, Temporary vs. unlimited work contract*.

3.6 Dependent Variables

Scope of authority is measured by the number of subordinates within the selected periods. *Salary progression* is quantified by the annual gross income. *Career Satisfaction* is based on an 11 point Likert scale between extremely satisfied and extremely dissatisfied. *Perceived career success* was operationalised by the question: "In general, how successful are you seen by your professional peers?" This question could be also answered on an 11 point Likert scale.

4 Sample and Methods

Data were obtained from business school graduates of a large Austrian university who are part of a longitudinal panel study, the Vienna Career Panel Project (ViCaPP). This sample consists of three different cohorts: an early-career sample (645 graduates of 2000-2002) a mid-career sample (250 graduates of around 1990) and a late-career sample (110 graduates of around 1970). The panel participants filled in a questionnaire that covers biographical information as well as the four dimensions of career habitus. By means of structured interviews (mid- and late-career sample) or a second questionnaire (early-career sample) the career patterns of these graduates were surveyed.

The following results are based on data of 219 graduates from the 1990s cohort, and 71 graduates from the 1970s cohort, respectively. The average age of the 1990s cohort is about 40 years vs. 60 years for the 1970s cohort. The proportion of women is 38% for the 1990s cohort and 16% for the 1970s cohort, which represents the actual gender quota at the surveyed university at the respective time.

Methodically, the bivariate correlation analysis is based on Pearson's linear correlation. The calculated regression models are a mixed type, where the control variables are always included regardless of significance, while the explanatory variables are selected by the stepwise procedure.

5 Results

The tables 6 (*Scope of authority*), 7 (*Salary progression*), 8 (*Career Satisfaction*) and 9 (*Perceived career success*) give a summary of our results. Within the left columns the results

of the correlation analyses can be found. The right columns indicate the results from our regression analyses (the upper value shows the beta coefficient and the lower value the significance). Besides our splitting into five intervals we also display results for the whole 10 year period. For a better overview only significant results are shown. Please note that the two dimensions of subjective career success are reversed (so, actually read "career dissatisfaction" and "perceived career failure").

5.1 Discriminatory power and contentual delimitation of the employed scales

As presenting all results for each scale or variable would use too much space, this section will be limited to a description of the most important findings.

Some scale names, such as, e.g., *Networking*, *Openness for social contacts*, and *Team orientation*, already imply certain similarities which should also be reflected in scale properties. The employed career aspiration scales (KAS) have also been shown already to actually rather measure a dichotomous construct due to scale intercorrelations (organisational vs. post-organisational career aspirations; see Strunk et al., 2002a; Strunk, Steyrer, Mattl & Mayrhofer, 2002b. Strong intercorrelations can also be found for several scales from the BIP and the KATA.

In order to illustrate the overlap between the scales, one can calculate the average scale intercorrelation. Its square times hundred indicates the shared variance of scales (by overlapping content). This shared variance for our central influencing factors is the following: *Personality*, *Social behaviour* (10.5%), KATA (18.3%), KAS (33.1%), *Machiavellianism* (11.4%), *Social origin* (7.6%), *Scholastics* (6.6%).

Still, the various parts are sufficiently distinct from each other. KATA and *Personality* only have about 5% of shared variance, KAS and *Personality* only 3%. The most important overlap can be found between KATA and the *Machiavellianism* scales with about 19%. *Social origin* and *Scholastics* have almost nothing in common with the other aspects, with a maximum overlap of 0.8%.

5.2 Bivariate correlations

All in all, the observed bivariate relations are moderate, and should be interpreted with caution, as the effect of variables like *Sex*, *Cohort*, *State of employment* etc. are not controlled here and therefore interfere with the results. Nevertheless, the found patterns in the course of time are quite interesting. Some influencing variables only show an effect after a certain time, and by and large covariation seems to increase over time for objective career success. This is quite surprising on the one hand, but may on the other hand be explained by quite mundane aspects.

One interesting aspect is that the influence of variables such as *Social origin* and *Personality* refers back to very early manifestations. If personality and habitus are basically set at the age of three to five years, it is quite astounding how far-reaching into adult life the effect of these variables is. The increase (instead of decrease) in correlation suggests quite startling "time-

lag" effects. On the other hand, the first two observed career years are farther from the survey date than career years nine and ten. Therefore, the observed increase in covariation might also be due to the shorter time span to the survey date.

Typically, the developments of the significance of predictors for objective career success follow two main patterns:

- a) **No relevance – rise – plateau:** during the first two sampling periods (years 1 & 2 and 3 & 4), the variable has no significant effect, then suddenly increases in relevance during the third sampling period and afterwards rests on a high level (or becomes even still more important) during the last two sampling periods. This pattern can be observed for, e.g., the educational level of father and mother and *Demonstrating power and status* as antecedents for the number of subordinates.
- b) **Linear increase:** the relevance of predicting variables increases in an almost linear way over time. This effect could be observed for, e.g., *Leadership motivation* as explanatory variable for the *Salary progression*.

In case of negative covariation, these patterns show an analogous negative trend. Only for one variable (paternal occupation level as predictive variable for the number of subordinates) a decrease in relevance over time could be observed (with almost zero impact from the third sampling period on).

Few clear patterns emerged for the dynamics of influence of the explanatory variables for subjective career success. Neither the number of predicting variables nor their impacts vary considerably over time, resulting in rather stable effects over time (except for small fortuitous fluctuations).

5.3 Multivariate effects

The results of the regression analyses are rather concise, with less explanatory variables compared to the bivariate results. This is partly due to the fact that only few latent factors have an important effect on covariation, and these are represented by several similar variables (e.g., *Openness for social contacts* and *Team orientation*, where only the more powerful variable was chosen for the regression model). It is possible that other variables than the included ones may have a significant effect on the outcome variable, but these are omitted unless they improve the overall model quality. Thus, the regression models do not show all variables that have a significant effect on career outcomes, but represent the minimum number of additive linear combinations that explain a maximum of variance. Furthermore, interaction effects can cancel each other in a way that their effects can no longer be identified.

In order to verify the abovementioned hypotheses on the changes over time in the predicting variables' relevance, this procedure cannot be employed in the existing variant. It would be more appropriate to include the control variables and each single explanatory variable by forced entry. The effect of the latter would then show independently of the other predictive variables but adjusted for the effects of the control variables and could be compared for each sampling period.

The R^2 of the regression models is negligibly small for subjective career success (0.005 to 0.13) and shows no trends over time. The values for the objective career outcomes are better,

with a maximum of 0.16 for *Scope of authority* (there might be nonlinear effects, logarithmising the number of subordinates could be a helpful procedure here), and 0.46 for *Salary Progression*. The developments over time are inconsistent here.

5.4 Interpretation and discussion of results

5.4.1 Scope of authority

Both the bivariate and the multivariate analyses show *Social origin* to have an effect on the number of subordinates. More precisely, in the early career entry phase it is especially the father's job position that has an effect here, while later on his educational level plays a relevant role. This is also true for the educational level of the mother though with less relevance. This suggests that during the delicate entry phase, it is mainly the parents' (father's) *Social capital* that plays a role, while in later stages *Cultural* and *Symbolic capital* gains significance, providing an appropriate scaffolding for exercising an executive function.

Personality dimensions seem to be of less relevance, as no significant bivariate correlations could be observed, and only *Leadership motivation* has a significant effect at the end of the analysed period in the multivariate model. It can be hypothesised that interaction effects come into play here: an increase in leadership responsibility during the first career years might lead to an increased leadership motivation.

A similar relation might apply to the results for the KATA scales. The *Demonstration of power and status* plausibly increases with an increased sphere of power and influence, and the manager learns to separate private and business life and control his emotions (*Lack of Affectivity*) in job-related interactions. Furthermore, *Networking* shows a negative correlation with the number of subordinates in the second half of the observed period. This could be a sort of attempt to compensate an only moderate amount of objective career success by increased networking. A similar effect might come into play as far as the late increase in self-promotion activities (*Self-promotion and self-assertion*) is concerned.

The career aspiration towards *Company world* shows a positive effect on this success criterion throughout the whole observed period, which may be due to the factor of comparatively large spans of control in this field as opposed to the other fields. In the same vein, aspiration towards *Freedom/individualism and Flexibility* is negatively linked to the number of subordinates towards the end of the observed period. One possible explanation based on dissonance theory could be that this represents an attempt to establish cognitive equilibrium in the face of dissatisfying hierarchical progression compared to significant others.

By and large the results suggest that except for *Social origin*, our explanatory criteria are apparently not so much valid predictors of leadership responsibilities but rather dependent variables themselves, acting as a consequence of an executive function or as compensation for unsatisfactory career success.

5.4.2 Salary progression

A look at the bivariate statistics reveals that the major part of the personality variables is positively linked to income, with the strength of the correlation increasing over time. In the

multivariate analyses, only *Achievement* and *Leadership motivation* remain as significant predicting variables, and rather at early career stages.

It is interesting to note that none of the two results suggests a relationship between income and various aspects of networking and communication activities (*Openness for Social Contacts, Networking, Making Friends and Allies*). Neither did our results confirm the relevance of *Conscientiousness* that was found in several meta-analyses.

One interesting result that emerges especially clearly in the bivariate analysis is a sort of „*Income maximisation profile*“, characterised by *Self-monitoring, Self-promotion/Self-assertion*, a decidedly individualistic career aspiration oriented towards *Money and prestige, Flexibility* and *Machiavellian behaviour (Realistic down-to-earth orientation, Goal orientation, Manipulative Behaviour)*. On the other hand, *Knowing and enhancing one's market value* was associated with (and probably at least partly a result of) low income, especially towards the end of the analysed period.

The influence of the social background could not be interpreted unambiguously but seems to play a less important role than for the number of subordinates. In this sense especially no significant results could be found within the multivariate statistics. Further more there was one variable, *Educational Level of the mother*, which was negatively linked to income in the bivariate analysis. In a quite speculative explanation, one might suppose that mothers with less successful careers contribute to an inclination of their children to compensate for this and successfully strive for higher income.

There are also some interesting results related to *Scholastics*: 1. a longer duration of study (frequently associated with work experience) had a positive effect on income in early career stages, 2. better grades were only associated with higher income in later career stages.

Finally, the results also suggest that too frequent changes of employing organisations on average rather have a negative than a positive effect on income over a ten-year period. Hardly surprisingly, periods of parental leave are also negatively linked to income development.

By and large, the results lend support to the notion of a *Self-monitoring* and *Self-promoting, Machiavellian, Flexible* and more or less individualistic „winner-type“, oriented towards money and prestige rather than to social contacts, who actually attains an above-average income. Important add on factors with increase importance during the first decade of career are *Leadership* and *Achievement motivation*.

5.4.3 Career satisfaction

Subjective career success is primarily influenced by emotional stability. The more emotionally stable, the higher the career satisfaction. This correlation becomes increasingly stronger throughout the observed career years, both in the bivariate and multivariate analyses. *Achievement* and *Leadership motivation*, and *Openness for social contacts* also appear to be positively linked to career satisfaction. This result is further supported in the bivariate analysis by a positive relationship with *Realistic down-to-earth orientation* and *Goal orientation*, which cover similar aspects.

Moreover, there is a negative relationship between career satisfaction and the number of transitions in the career entry phase, and it actually seems quite plausible that people who

have to deal with several "failed attempts" before finding an appropriate workplace are less satisfied with their career. The result that little career satisfaction during the first four years leads to increased efforts in *Knowing and enhancing one's market value* is not too surprising either.

Parental leave at the end of the observed period was also negatively linked to career satisfaction, which may be due to the frustration about (assumedly) missed career opportunities. *Social origin* seems to be of almost no relevance.

All in all, career satisfaction seems to be determined primarily by a stable, achievement- and leadership-oriented personality which is at ease with social relationships. As Mayrhofer et al. (2005) already observed, the correlation between objective and subjective career success is rather moderate. The results here could be seen as a hint that career satisfaction is rather a result of a stable personality than of situational factors.

5.4.4 Career success perceived by others

For this measure of subjective career success, an almost identical pattern of influencing variables as for career satisfaction could be identified. However, the relevance of emotional stability decreases slightly, while *Openness for social contacts*, *Networking*, and *Self-promotion* play a more important role. Our results also suggest that perceived lack of career success in the mid-career stage leads to more networking activities.

These results might lead to the conjecture that communicatively proficient persons are soonest able to confirm to themselves that they are appreciated and seen as successful by others. Put differently, the investment in social contacts yields subjective secure ness to be perceived as successful.

6 Conclusio

The attempt of framing a concluding appraisal of the results in some respects comes to a rather humbling end. The regression models explain only little variance (the maximum is about 15 %), and higher amounts of explained variance are only due to the inclusion of "hard" factors like full-time vs. part-time employment (in this cases we received about 46 %). This is even more sobering as a broad range of explanatory variables that are quite well established in career research has been included in the analyses.

Furthermore, the results suggest that several of the predicting variables actually rather appear to be dependent variables of career success, but additional research will have to be done to shed sufficient light on this issue.

If one tries to formulate some central conclusions about influencing factors of objective and subjective career success according to our data – with all due caution and a grain of salt – this leads to the following statements:

1. The "objective" success criterion *Scope of authority* (measured by number of subordinates) seems to be strongly influenced by social origin. The cultural and social

capital acquired in early life stages provides the basis for later hierarchical progression.

2. The *Salary progression* depends to a certain extent from a special kind of habitus characterised by an "winner type" showing *Self-monitoring*, *Self-promotion* and *Self-assertion*, a decidedly individualistic career aspiration oriented towards *Money and prestige*, *Flexibility* and relatively strong proportion of *Machiavellian* behaviour.
3. *Career satisfaction* as one aspect of "subjective" career success is quite strongly determined by a stable personality, oriented towards achievement and at ease with making contacts and establishing social relationships, rather independently of social origin and even objective career success.
4. *Perceived career success* as perceived by professionally relevant others seems to be linked to an extroverted (i.e., *Open to social contacts* and inclined to *Networking*) personality who invests into social relationships and contacts, with this "investment" maybe serving as a basis for perceived positive feedback about one's own career.

By and large, these results suggest that even prominent explanatory factors for career success (for example, the significance of the Big Five for career-related outcomes is well established by numerous studies of ample scope, see, e.g., Barrick, Mount & Judge, 2001) do apparently not show their effect irrespective of the person's career stage. It makes a difference whether one tries to predict career success in the entry phase or in later career stages. For example, neither *Personality variables*, *Career tactics* and *Machiavellianism*, nor *Social origin* have a major impact on career outcomes in the entry stage. Even gender does not yet play an important role here (see, e.g., Strunk, Hermann & Praschak, 2005).

Like in traditional capital market models, a young graduate seems to have a certain potential and a certain market value. At the entry stage they are all attributed a similar market value. Only after a certain time of being part of the supply and meeting the demands of the labour market, the market values of all candidates diverge, and individual attributes gain relevance.

The first "career tournaments" (Rosenbaum, 1979, 1984) lead to a more pronounced diversification of career paths. The further career development is increasingly determined by attributes and attitudes of the career habitus. Additionally, certain career-promoting tactics start to show their effect and can be further refined based on personal experience.

Bibliography

- Arthur, M. B., Hall, D. T., & Lawrence, B. S. 1989. Handbook of career theory. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Baron, R. 1989. Personality and organisational conflict: Effects of the type A behaviour pattern and selfmonitoring. *Organisational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 44(196 - 281).
- Barrick, M. R., & Mount, M. K. 1991. The big five personality dimensions and job performance: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76: 1-26.
- Barrick, M. R., Mount, M. K., & Judge, T. A. 2001. Personality and Performance at the Beginning of the New Millennium: What Do We Know and Where Do We Go Next?, *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, Vol. 9: 9-30.
- Blau, G. 1999. Early-career job factors influencing the professional commitment of medical technologies, *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 42: 687-695.
- Blau, P. M., & Duncan, O. D. 1967. The American occupational structure. New York et al.: Wiley.
- Borkenau, P., & Ostendorf, F. 1993. *Neo Fünf-Faktoren Inventar nach Costa and McCrae. Handanweisung*. Göttingen.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*: 241-258. New York.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In Other Words. Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge, UK.: Polity.
- Brüderl, J. 1991. Mobilitätsprozesse in Betrieben. Frankfurt.
- Burt, R. 1992. *Structural Holes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, R. 1997. The contingent value of social capital. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42(2): 339 - 365.
- Burt, R. S., Jannotta, J. E., & Mahoney, J. T. 1998. Personality correlates of structural holes. *Social Networks*, 20: 63 - 87.
- Christie, R., & Geis, F. L. (Eds.). 1970. *Studies in Machiavellianism*. New York.
- Corzine, J. B. 1988. Machiavellianism and careers at plateau. *Psychological Reports*, 63: 243-246.
- Costa, P. T., & McCrae, R. R. 1989. *The NEO PI/FFI manual supplement*. Odessa: Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Costa, P. T., & McCrae, R. R. 1992. Trait psychology comes of age. In S. T. B. (Ed.), *Psychology and Aging*: 169 - 204. Washington: Lincoln.
- Ferris, G. R., Buckley, M. R., & Allen, G. M. 1992. Promotions systems in organisations. *Human Resource Planning*, 15: 47-68.
- Forbes, J. B. 1987. Early intraorganisational mobility: Patterns and influences. *Academy of Management Journal*, 30(1): 110-125.
- Gangestad, S. W., & Snyder, M. 2000. Self-monitoring: Appraisal and reappraisal. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126(4): 530 - 555.
- Gemmil, G. R., & Heisler, W. J. 1972. Machiavellianism as a factor in managerial job strain, job satisfaction and upward mobility. *Academy of Management Journal*, 15: 51-62.
- Haller, M., König, W., Krause, P., & Kurz, K. 1985. Patterns of career mobility and structural positions in advanced capitalist societies: a comparison of men in Austria, France & US, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 50: 579-603.
- Hartmann, M. 1996. Top-Manager, die Rekrutierung einer Elite. Frankfurt, New York.
- Hartmann, M. 2000. Class-specific habitus and the social reproduction of the business elite in Germany and France, *Sociological Review*, Vol. 48: 262-282.

- Hossiep, R., & Paschen, M. 1998a. *Das Bochumer Inventar zur berufsbezogenen Persönlichkeitsbeschreibung (BIP)*. Göttingen: Hogrefe.
- Hossiep, R., & Paschen, M. 1998b. Das Bochumer Inventar zur berufsbezogenen Persönlichkeitsbeschreibung (BIP). Handanweisung. Göttingen: Hogrefe Verlag für Psychologie.
- Hough, L. M., Eaton, N. K., Dunnette, M. D., Kamp, J. d., & McCloy, R. A. 1990. Criterion-related validities of personality constructs and the effects of response distortion on those validities. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75(581 - 595).
- House, R. J., Spangler, W. D., & Woycke, J. 1991. Personality and charisma in the U.S. presidency: A psychological theory of leader effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36: 364-396.
- Howard, A., & Bray, D. W. 1990. Predictions of managerial success over long periods of time. In K. E. Clark, & M. B. Clark (Eds.), *Measures of leadership*: 113-130. West Orange.
- Iellatchitch, A., Mayrhofer, W., & Meyer, M. 2003. Career Fields: A small step towards a grand career theory? *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 14(5): 728-750.
- Jacobs, R. L., & McClelland, D. C. 1994. Moving up the corporate ladder. *Consulting Psychology Journal*, 46: 32-41.
- Judge, T. A., & Bretz, R. D. 1994. Political influence processes and career success. *Journal of Management*, 20: 43-65.
- Judge, T. A., Martocchio, J. J., & Thoresen, C. J. 1998. Five-factor model of personality and employee absence. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72: 745 - 755.
- Krais, B. (Ed.). 1985. *Der Begriff des Habitus bei Bourdieu und seine Bedeutung für die Bildungstheorie*. München.
- Krais, B. 1993. Gender and Symbolic Violence: Female Oppression in the Light of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Practice. In C. Calhoun, E. LiPuma, & M. Postone (Eds.), *Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lash, S. 1993. Pierre Bourdieu: cultural Economy and Social Changes. In C. Calhoun, E. LiPuma, & M. Postone (Eds.), *Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lipset, S. M., & Bendix, R. 1952. Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns II. Social Mobility, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57: 494-504.
- Mayrhofer, et al. 2005. Spieglein, Spieglein an der Wand .Zum Verhältnis von objektivem und subjektivem Karriereerfolg. In Mayrhofer, W., Meyer, M., Steyrer, J. (Eds.), *Macht? Erfolg? Reich? Glücklich?* Wien. Linde.
- McClelland, D. C. 1987. *Human Motivation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McClelland, D. C., & Boyatzis, R. E. 1982. Leadership motive pattern and long-term success in management. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67: 737-743.
- Michael, J., & Yukl, G. 1993. Managerial level and subunit function as determinants of networking behaviour in organisations. *Group & Organisation Management*, 18(3): 328 - 351.
- Müller, H. P. 1986. Kultur, Geschmack und Distinktion. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderheft 27: 163-190.
- O'Donovan, T. R. 1962. Differential Extent of Opportunity Among Executives and Lower Managers, *Academy of Management Journal*: 139-149.
- Orpen, C. 1996. Dependency as moderator of the effects of networking behaviour on managerial career success. *The Journal of Psychology*, 130: 245-248.
- Ostgaard, T., & Birley, S. 1996. New venture growth and personal networks. *Journal of Business Research*, 36: 37 - 50.

- Parks-Yancy, R. 2002. Antecedents of managerial and professional career trajectories and their differential effects on blacks and whites: gaining parity through human and social capital, *Academy of Management Proceedings*: A1-A6.
- Raelin, J. A. 1984. An Analysis of the Work Patterns of Salaried Professionals Over Three Career Stages, *Academy of Management Proceedings*: 58-62.
- Rosenbaum, J. E. 1979. Tournament Mobility: Career Patterns in a Corporation, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24: 220-241.
- Rosenbaum, J. E. 1979a. Tournament Mobility: Career Patterns in a Corporation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24: 220-241.
- Rosenbaum, J. E. 1984. Career Mobility in a Corporate Hierarchy. New York: Academic Press.
- Salgado, J. F. 1997. The five factor model of personality and job performance in the european community. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82(1): 30 - 43.
- Schlutz, C. L. 1993. Situational and dispositional predictors of performance: A Test of hypothesized Machiavellianism x structure interaction among sales persons. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23(4): 478-498.
- Snyder, M. 1987. *Public appearance/private realities: The psychology of self-monitoring*. New York: Freeman.
- Sonnenfeld, J. A., Peiperl, M. A., & Kotter, J. P. 1988. Corporate Career Systems and Individual Career Profiles: A Longitudinal Analysis, *Academy of Management Proceedings*.
- Strunk, G., Hermann, A., & Praschak, S. 2005. Eine Frau muss ein Mann sein, um Karriere zu machen. In J. Steyrer (Ed.), *Macht? Erfolg? Reich? Glücklich? Einflussfaktoren auf Karrieren*. Wien: Linde.
- Strunk, G., Mayrhofer, W., Meyer, M., Steyrer, J., Schiffinger, M., & Iellatchitch, A. 2002a. Karrieren jenseits bekannter Trampelpfade? Postorganisationale Karrierewünsche von Absolventen der Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien, *Herbstworkshop 2002 des Verbands der Hochschullehrer für Betriebswirtschaft*. Wien.
- Strunk, G., Schiffinger, M., & Mayrhofer, W. 2003. Career, Chaos and Complexity, *Academy of Management (AoM)*. Seattle.
- Strunk, G., Steyrer, J., Mattl, C., & Mayrhofer, W. 2002b. How Career Tactics and Personality Influence Post-Organisational Career Aspirations, *25th International Congress of Applied Psychology*. Singapore.
- Turnley, W., & Bolino, M. 2001. Achieving desired images while avoiding undesired images: Exploring the role of self-monitoring in impression management. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(2): 351 - 360.
- Whitely, W., Dougherty, T. W., & Dreher, G. F. 1991. Relationship of Career Mentoring and Socioeconomic Origin to Managers' and Professionals' Early Career Progress, *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 34: 331-351.
- Zaccaro, S., Foti, R. J., & Kenny, D. 1991. Self-monitoring and trait-based variance in leadership: An investigation of leader flexibility across multiple group situations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76: 308 - 315.

Figure 1: A habitus-based concept of careers

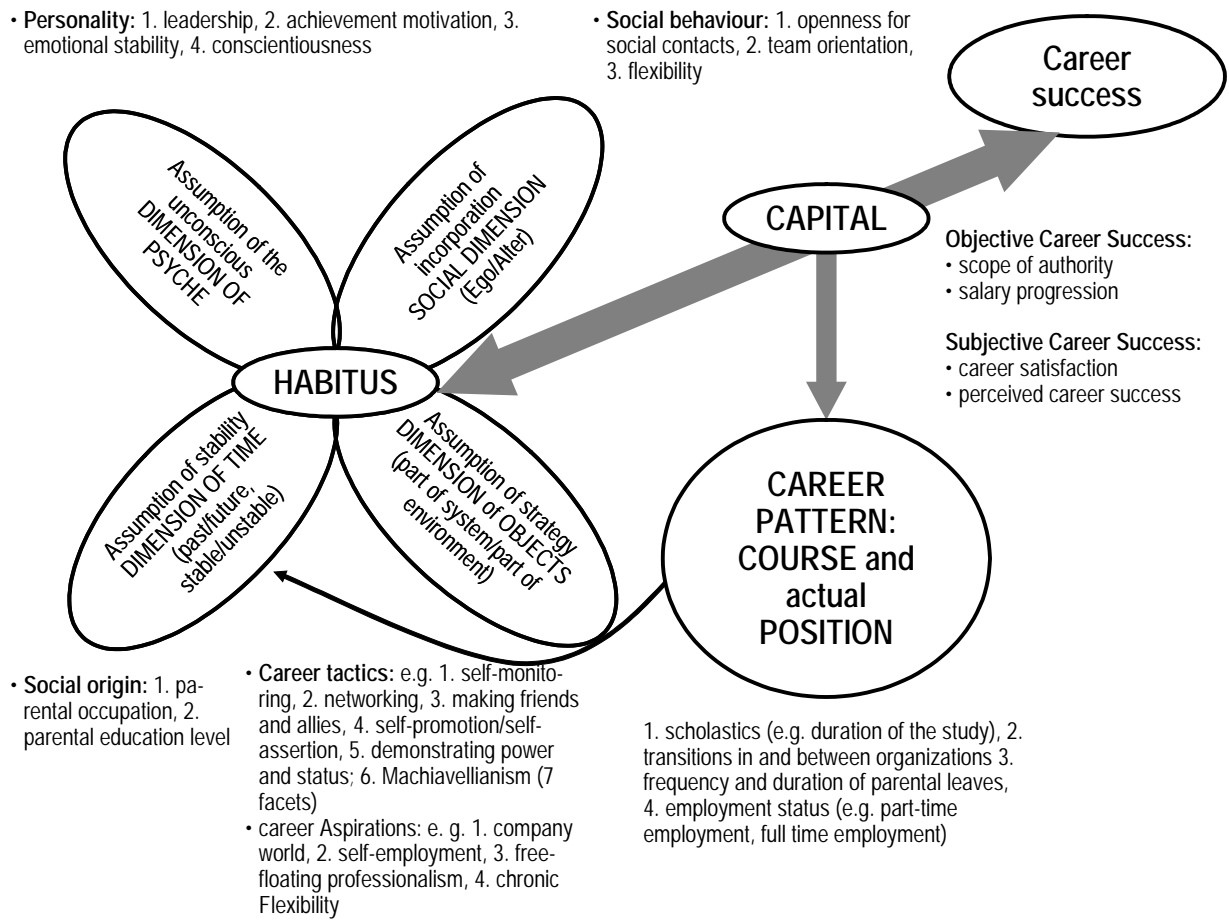


Table 1: Scales and Measurements – Personality

<p>NEO FFI (NEO-FFI) <i>Costa & McCrae; 1989, 1992; German: Borkenau & Ostendorf; 1993</i></p> <p>Norming based on N = 2112</p>	<p>Emotional Stability (Neuroticism) <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> are not easily upset and tend to be free from persistent negative feelings. They rather hold realistic ideas and are good at controlling their impulses and desires. Sample Item: <i>I am not easily worried.</i> $\alpha_{\text{(Literature)}} = 0.85$ $\alpha_{\text{(ViCaPP - N = 782)}} = 0.85$</p>
	<p>Conscientiousness <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> describe themselves as being systematic, ambitious, strong-willed, self-disciplined, dependable, punctual, neat and well organized. Sample Item: <i>I keep my things clean and proper.</i> $\alpha_{\text{(Literature)}} = 0.85$ $\alpha_{\text{(ViCaPP - N = 788)}} = 0.81$</p>
<p>Bochumer Inventory of Job-Related Personality Description (BIP) <i>Hossiep & Paschen; 2001</i></p> <p>Norming based on N = 5354</p>	<p>Achievement Motivation <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> display willingness to tackle high performance standards. They seek to continually benchmark and if necessary improve their own performance. Sample Item: <i>Even after excellent achievements I still try to get better.</i> $\alpha_{\text{(Literature)}} = 0.81$ $\alpha_{\text{(ViCaPP - N = 788)}} = 0.80$</p>
	<p>Leadership Motivation <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> are motivated to actively influence and shape social processes. They perceive themselves as having natural authority and/or serving others as a reference person. Sample Item: <i>Being able to influence others satisfies me.</i> $\alpha_{\text{(Literature)}} = 0.88$ $\alpha_{\text{(ViCaPP - N = 777)}} = 0.85$</p>
<p>Number of Items: 24</p>	
<p>Number of Items: 30</p>	

Table 2: Scales and Measurements – Social Behaviour

<p>Bochumer Inventory of Job-Related Personality Description (BIP) <i>Hossiep & Paschen; 2001</i></p> <p>Norming based on N = 5354</p>	<p>Flexibility <i>People who score high on this scale ... display a high preparedness and ability to adjust to changing work-related conditions and situations.</i></p> <p>Sample Item: <i>I can adjust to profound changes in my work contents without any difficulties.</i></p> <p>α (Literature) = 0.87 α (ViCaPP – N = 784) = 0.88</p>
	<p>Team Orientation <i>People who score high on this scale ... show a distinct interest in teamwork and the attendance to place back self-interest for the benefit of the group</i></p> <p>Sample Item: <i>I am convinced that almost all contemporary problems can only be solved by teamwork</i></p> <p>α (Literature) = 0,89 α (ViCaPP – N = 784) = 0,89</p>
	<p>Openness for Social Contacts <i>People who score high on this scale ... are at ease with building and maintaining social relationships within the work context.</i></p> <p>Sample Item: <i>When I come across people I don't know, I always find a conversation topic without any difficulties.</i></p> <p>α (Literature) = 0.90 α (ViCaPP - N = 779) = 0.87</p>

Number of Items: 43

Table 3: Scales and Measurements – Career Tactics (KATA)

<p>Career Tactics Questionnaire (KATA)</p> <p><i>ViCaPP (designed for the project)</i> <i>Norming based on N = 1324</i></p>	<p>Networking <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> seek numerous and various business contacts that may also “spill over” into private life. Sample Item: <i>After work I often go for a drink with professionally relevant people.</i> α (ViCaPP - N = 1324) = 0.79</p>
	<p>Making Friends and allies <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> Seek to influence people in a way so that they take side with you and increase their trust and loyalty in myself Sample Item: <i>I try to be in as much as possible in so's good books when they are relevant for me</i> α (ViCaPP - N = 1324) = 0,83</p>
	<p>Demonstrating Power and Status <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> use their position power, symbols of status and influence, and even bluff to gain respect and compliance from people in their occupational environment. Sample Item: <i>I make use of the power and status that go with my job.</i> α (ViCaPP - N = 1324) = 0.68</p>
	<p>Self-Promotion and Self-Assertion <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> strongly emphasize their abilities, qualifications and achievements and – if necessary – overcome resistance against their plans with sheer pressure. Sample Item: <i>I grab opportunities to emphasize my professional merits.</i> α (ViCaPP - N = 1324) = 0.77</p>
	<p>Perceiving and increasing your attractiveness for the work place <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> try to estimate their market value accurately and to increase their human capital in order to adapt it to the necessities of the job market Sample Item: <i>Every now and then I make and application in order to audit my market value</i> α (ViCaPP - N = 1324) = 0.78</p>
<p>(SÜW) <i>Snyder; 1974;</i> <i>German: Schiefele; 1990</i></p> <p><i>Number of Items: 11</i></p>	<p>Self-Monitoring <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> display behaviour intended to shape the image others have of them positively. Sample Item: <i>I can speak offhand about topics I rarely know anything about.</i> α (Literature) = 0.77 α (ViCaPP - N = 785) = 0.81</p>

Table 4: Scales and Measurements – Career Aspirations (KAS)

<p>Career Aspiration Questionnaire (KAS) <i>ViCaPP</i> (designed for the project)</p> <p>Norming based on <i>N = 330</i></p> <p>Number of Items: 65</p>	<p>Career Aspiration – Company World <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> strive for a position of responsibility and influence and a long-term career within one organisation. Sample Item: <i>Feeling part of an organisation.</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 326)} = 0.86$</p>
	<p>Career Aspiration – Free-Floating Professionalism <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> want to be under contract to one or a few organisations for special and challenging tasks, staying with the same organisation only for a limited time. Sample Item: <i>Managing projects without being too tightly connected to an employing company.</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 328)} = 0.71$</p>
	<p>Career Aspiration – Self-Employment <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> seek “traditional” self-employment, i.e. offering a range of quite standardized products and/or services to a relatively stable clientele. Sample Item: <i>Turning a business idea into a profitable company.</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 326)} = 0.81$</p>
	<p>Career Aspiration – Chronic Flexibility <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> aspire to a “freelancer” career with different projects for various clients and ever-changing work contents. Sample Item: <i>Always taking on new tasks in various fields of activity.</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 326)} = 0.83$</p>
	<p>Career Aspiration – Money and Prestige <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> try to optimize their career income and social acceptance Sample Item: <i>Attain an above-average income</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 326)} = 0,78$</p>
	<p>Career Aspiration – Freedom/Individualism/Flexibility <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> Strive for careers where a free and independent development is guaranteed and flexibility is seen as valuable in itself Sample Item: <i>I distance myself from a clear life concept</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 326)} = 0,70$</p>

Table 5: Scales and Measurements – Machiavellianism

<p>Machiavellianism Derived from all other scales <i>ViCaPP</i> (designed for the project) Norming based on N = 768</p> <p>Number of Items: 131</p>	<p>Lack of Affectivity <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> show a low level of emotions in interpersonal relationships Sample Item: <i>In my social contacts I strictly distinguish between job life and private life</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0.66$</p>
	<p>Lack of Morality <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> do not base their behaviour upon moral or ideological values Sample Item: <i>I find subtle ways to influence people in order to be appreciated by them</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0.61$</p>
	<p>Realistic down to earth Orientation <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> apply a very realistic down to earth orientation in their decisions and hold back other relevant aspects as much as they can Sample Item: <i>I am not easily concerned</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0.67$</p>
	<p>Goal orientation <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> describe themselves as highly goal and achievement oriented Sample Item: <i>I work hard in order to achieve my goals</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0,85$</p>
	<p>Manipulative Behaviour <i>people who score high on this scale ...</i> express a willingness to manipulate others for their own purposes Sample Item: <i>I am satisfied whenever I am able to influence other people</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0,75$</p>
	<p>Imageseeking <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> try to increase their social prestige as much as they can Sample Item: <i>I try to achieve a high social prestige</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0,80$</p>
	<p>Preference for loosely structured situations <i>People who score high on this scale ...</i> show a preference for loosely structured social situations to increase their chances to influence other people Sample Item: <i>I distance myself from a clear life concept</i> $\alpha_{(ViCaPP - N = 768)} = 0.89$</p>

Table 6 Scope of Authority

Scope of authority		Correlation Model					Regression Model						
		1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10
R ²								0,073	0,083	0,118	0,157	0,134	0,151
Personality	Emotional Stability (Neuroticism)												
	Conscientiousness												
	Achievement Motivation												
	Leadership Motivation									0,153 0,029	0,232 0,003		0,143 0,038
Social Behavior	Flexibility												
	Openness for Social Contacts												
	Team Orientation												
Career Tactics	Self-Monitoring												
	Making Friends and Allies												
	Networking				-,157(**)	-,125(*)				-0,239 0,000	-0,209 0,005		-0,242 0,000
	Demonstrating Power and Status					,122(*)	,127(*)				0,225 0,003		
	Self-Promotion and Self-Assertion										-0,233 0,007		
	Perceiving and increasing your attractiveness for the work place												
Aspirations	Career Aspiration - CW												0,143 0,035
	Career Aspiration - FFP												
	Career Aspiration - SE												
	Career Aspiration - CF												
	Career Aspiration - Money/Prestige					,120(*)	,139(*)						
	Career Aspiration - Freedom/Individualism/Flexibility					-,124(*)	-,127(*)						-0,149 0,023
Machiavellianism	Lack of Affectivity		,130(*)	,128(*)	,122(*)	,158(**)	,162(**)		0,137 0,034			0,186 0,003	
	Lack of Morality												
	Realistic down to earth orientation												
	Goal orientation												
	Manipulative Behavior												
	Imageseeking												
	Preference for loosely structured situations												
Social Origin	Occupation of the father	,141(*)	,167(**)					0,132 0,041	0,173 0,008				
	Occupation of the mother								-0,132 0,044				
	Education level of the father			,175(**)	,214(**)	,217(**)	,185(**)			0,194 0,003	0,216 0,001	0,288 0,000	0,211 0,001
	Education level of the mother			,134(*)	,166(**)	,177(**)	,155(*)						
Scho-lastics	Duration of study												
	Grade point average												
Career Pattern	Number of transitions in organizations												
	Number of transitions between organizations												
	Number of parental leaves												
Control Variables	Proportion of white-collar employment	-,181(**)											
	Proportion of self-empoloyment	,219(**)	,121(*)					0,305 0,017					
	Proportion of part-time employment	-,124(*)											
	Proportion of full-time employment												
	Proportion of untemporary work contract												
	Proportion of temporary work contract												
	Sex												
	Cohort group							0,170 0,011	0,188 0,004	0,253 0,000	0,200 0,003	0,222 0,001	0,295 0,000

Table 7: Salary progression

Salary progression		Correlation Model					Regression Model						
		1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10
R ²								0,416	0,455	0,324	0,384	0,310	0,379
Personality	Emotional Stability (Neuroticism)			,153(*)	,138(*)	,182(**)	,157(*)						
	Conscientiousness												
	Achievement Motivation			,138(*)	,228(**)	,267(**)	,211(**)	0,132 0,017					
	Leadership Motivation		,276(**)	,293(**)	,309(**)	,333(**)	,293(**)		0,252 0,000				
Social Behavior	Flexibility			,202(**)	,264(**)	,284(**)	,237(**)						
	Openness for Social Contacts								-0,167 0,020				
	Team Orientation			,145(*)	,174(**)	,197(**)	,170(**)						
Career Tactics	Self-Monitoring		,142(*)	,182(**)	,145(*)		,151(*)						
	Making Friends and Allies												
	Networking												
	Demonstrating Power and Status												
	Self-Promotion and Self-Assertion			,148(*)		,159(*)	,146(*)						
	Perceiving and increasing your attractiveness for the work place										-0,131 0,025	-0,180 0,007	-0,147 0,020
Aspirations	Career Aspiration - CW												
	Career Aspiration - FFP												
	Career Aspiration - SE												
	Career Aspiration - CF					,137(*)							
	Career Aspiration - Money/Prestige				,134(*)	,165(*)					0,144 0,012		
	Career Aspiration - Freedom/Individualism/Flexibility			,152(*)	,202(**)	,195(**)	,173(**)						
Machiavellianism	Lack of Affectivity								-0,148 0,006	-0,156 0,008			
	Lack of Morality												
	Realistic down to earth orientation		,165(*)	,155(*)	,133(*)	,214(**)	,186(**)						
	Goal orientation				,220(**)	,272(**)	,193(**)					0,226 0,001	0,183 0,005
	Manipulative Behavior		,148(*)	,179(**)	,175(**)	,188(**)	,197(**)						
	Imageseeking												
Machiavellianism	Preference for loosely structured situations			,214(**)	,273(**)	,289(**)	,247(**)			0,176 0,003	0,220 0,000	0,221 0,001	0,185 0,003
	Occupation of the father												
	Occupation of the mother					-0,132(*)	-0,132(*)						
	Education level of the father		,177(**)		,141(*)	,136(*)	,157(*)						
	Education level of the mother		,186(**)										
	Duration of study	,230(**)	,191(**)					0,179 0,002	0,147 0,009				
Scholasticism	Grade point average			-0,174(*)	-0,203(**)	-0,229(**)	-0,233(**)				-0,191 0,001	-0,178 0,005	-0,143 0,015
	Number of transitions in organizations												
Career Pattern	Number of transitions between organizations												-0,124 0,035
	Number of parental leaves		-0,191(**)	-0,205(**)	-0,269(**)		-0,179(**)		-0,423 0,000	-0,181 0,012			-0,265 0,001
	Proportion of white-collar employment	,198(**)	,179(**)	,148(*)	,280(**)						0,427 0,000		-0,561 0,002
Control Variables	Proportion of self-employment		-0,153(*)		-0,155(*)				-0,603 0,000				-0,731 0,000
	Proportion of part-time employment	,332(**)	,257(**)	,192(**)	,325(**)	,131(*)	,148(*)	0,571 0,000	-0,566 0,004				
	Proportion of full-time employment	-0,263(**)	-0,184(**)	-0,131(*)	-0,159(*)	-0,182(**)	-0,135(*)		-0,602 0,000	-0,149 0,012	-0,145 0,011	-0,133 0,032	-0,161 0,005
	Proportion of untemporary work contract	,156(*)		,148(*)	,240(**)								
	Proportion of temporary work contract												
	Sex										0,126 0,031	0,142 0,028	
	Cohort group							-0,442 0,000	-0,461 0,000	-0,474 0,000	-0,420 0,000	-0,365 0,000	-0,521 0,000

Table 8: Career Satisfaction

Career satisfaction		Correlation Model					Regression Model						
		1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10
R ²								0,079	0,05	0,128	0,081	0,129	0,094
Personality	Emotional Stability (Neuroticism)		-,127(*)	-,216(**)	-,165(**)	-,274(**)	-,226(**)			-0,276 0,000	-0,206 0,001	-0,334 0,000	-0,242 0,001
	Conscientiousness					-,144(*)							
	Achievement Motivation		-,156(**)			-,126(*)	-,131(*)		-0,165 0,011				
	Leadership Motivation		-,139(*)	-,153(**)			-,124(*)						
Social Behavior	Flexibility		-,143(*)	-,157(**)									
	Openness for Social Contacts		-,153(**)	-,130(*)		-,144(*)	-,144(*)						
	Team Orientation												
Career Tactics	Self-Monitoring												
	Making Friends and Allies												
	Networking												
	Demonstrating Power and Status												
	Self-Promotion and Self-Assertion												
	Perceiving and increasing your attractiveness for the work place									0,200 0,002			
Aspirations	Career Aspiration - CW												
	Career Aspiration - FFP												
	Career Aspiration - SE												
	Career Aspiration - CF												
	Career Aspiration - Money/Prestige												
	Career Aspiration - Freedom/Individualism/Flexibility												
Machiavellianism	Lack of Affectivity												
	Lack of Morality										-0,140 0,026		
	Realistic down to earth orientation		-,131(*)	-,120(*)		-,191(**)	-,164(**)						
	Goal orientation		-,118(*)			-,124(*)							
	Manipulative Behavior												
	Imageseeking												
	Preference for loosely structured situations		-,144(*)	-,131(*)									
Social Origin	Occupation of the father												
	Occupation of the mother							-0,150 0,020					
	Education level of the father												
	Education level of the mother												
Scho-lastics	Duration of study										-0,133 0,043		
	Grade point average												
Career Pattern	Number of transitions in organizations	,209(**)						0,254 0,000	0,164 0,013				
	Number of transitions between organizations												
	Number of parental leaves				,120(*)								
Control Variables	Proportion of white-collar employment						-,138(*)			-0,414 0,000	-0,360 0,003		-0,453 0,001
	Proportion of self-employment									-0,416 0,000	-0,410 0,001		-0,433 0,001
	Proportion of part-time employment						-,117(*)						
	Proportion of full-time employment					,126(*)						0,214 0,001	
	Proportion of untemporary work contract	-,119(*)	-,117(*)				-,149(*)						
	Proportion of temporary work contract												
	Sex									0,174 0,008			
	Cohort group												

Table 9: Perceived career Success

Perceived career success		Correlation Model					Regression Model						
		1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	1 - 10
R ²								0,052	0,104	0,085	0,074	0,071	0,074
Personality	Emotional Stability (Neuroticism)		-,121(*)			-,130(*)	-,135(*)						
	Conscientiousness		-,209(**)		-,128(*)	-,188(**)	-,175(**)						
	Achievement Motivation	-,198(**)	-,260(**)	-,170(**)	-,138(*)		-,210(**)						
	Leadership Motivation		-,194(**)	-,212(**)	-,157(**)		-,189(**)			-,0223 0,001			
Social Behavior	Flexibility		-,136(*)										
	Openness for Social Contacts	-,122(*)	-,197(**)	-,208(**)	-,182(**)	-,193(**)	-,214(**)						
	Team Orientation			-,180(**)			-,118(*)						
Career Tactics	Self-Monitoring			-,146(*)									
	Making Friends and Allies							0,244 0,004	0,140 0,031				
	Networking	-,118(*)						-,0171 0,045					
	Demonstrating Power and Status												
	Self-Promotion and Self-Assertion	-,205(**)	-,181(**)	-,148(*)	-,125(*)		-,180(**)						
	Perceiving and increasing your attractiveness for the work place	-,207(**)	-,209(**)	-,135(*)		-,139(*)	-,191(**)						
Aspirations	Career Aspiration - CW					-,125(*)							
	Career Aspiration - FFP					-,123(*)							
	Career Aspiration - SE					-,128(*)							
	Career Aspiration - CF												
	Career Aspiration - Money/Prestige		-,120(*)										
	Career Aspiration - Freedom/Individualism/Flexibility												
Machiavellianism	Lack of Affectivity												
	Lack of Morality												
	Realistic down to earth orientation	-,167(**)	-,230(**)	-,161(**)	-,178(**)	-,185(**)	-,224(**)					-,0212 0,001	
	Goal orientation	-,195(**)	-,266(**)	-,188(**)	-,183(**)	-,132(*)	-,234(**)	-,0203 0,002	-,0319 0,000		-,0184 0,004		-,0253 0,000
	Manipulative Behavior			-,138(*)			-,117(*)						
	Imageseeking	-,221(**)	-,152(*)	-,140(*)			-,174(**)						
	Preference for loosely structured situations		-,130(*)										
Social Origin	Occupation of the father												
	Occupation of the mother								0,180 0,005				
	Education level of the father												
	Education level of the mother												
Scho- lastics	Duration of study												
	Grade point average												
Career Pattern	Number of transitions in organizations												
	Number of transitions between organizations												
	Number of parental leaves				-,122(*)								
Control Variables	Proportion of white-collar employment				-,135(*)						-,0281 0,021		
	Proportion of self-employment												
	Proportion of part-time employment				-,155(**)								
	Proportion of full-time employment										0,131 0,044		
	Proportion of untemporary work contract												
	Proportion of temporary work contract												
	Sex												
	Cohort group							0,132 0,037		0,177 0,007		0,165 0,010	