

The employee evaluation of career success

Master thesis

Arbeid en organisatie psychologie
Faculteit gedragswetenschappen
Universiteit Twente
Enschede, Nederland

Date:

July, 2012

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Niet vertrouwelijk

Acknowledgements

In front of you, you will find my final piece of work in my study of industrial and organizational psychology. It has taken some blood, sweat and tears and a few useful discussions but finally it has shown its results. This master thesis is the result of my graduation project about how do employees evaluate their career success, for the University of Twente.

The first words of this thesis I would like to thank my graduation committee; Professor Huadong Yang and PhD candidate Monique van Rijn, for guiding me thorough this process, and helping me out as often as possible. I enjoyed working our cooperation. Good teamwork is crucial to work effectively and create good results, and we have already shown this during a cooking course in which we made tapas ;). Monique, I hope that you will finish your project as good as possible and that my contribution is useful for you, thanks again for your time and effort, as you were the person that I could turn to first.

I also would like to thank the interviewees who have helped me during this project. Most of you came out of my own social network. I really appreciate your cooperation. Thank you for sharing your views and perceptions of your own career with me. Finally I have to thank my family and friends for supporting me during this project and for constantly showing interest and faith in me, this gave me all the ingredients to come to this result.

Abstract

In past research about career success, career researchers have always considered two types of career success: objective and subjective career success. Objective career success has been mainly measured by employees' salary and number of promotions, while subjective career success has been measured by employees' job and career satisfaction (Arthur, Khapova & Wildrom 2005; Seibert & Kraimer, 2001). According to Heslin (2005) evaluating and measuring career success in this way has severely narrowed our understanding of the nature of career success. The aim of this study was to gain a deeper understanding about the nature of career success by answering the questions: "Is there another dimension to career success, and what are the differences between profit and non-profit employees?" To answer this question, 20 structured interviews were conducted with ten employees working in a profit organization and 10 employees working in a non-profit organization. The results show that although measuring objective and subjective career success by employees' salary, number of promotions and job and career satisfaction indeed facilitates our understanding of career success other indicators such as job performance, status, work-life balance and job security also play an important role in employees' evaluation of their career success.

Samenvatting

In eerder gedane onderzoeken naar carrièresucces waren er door onderzoekers twee typen carrière succes te onderscheiden; objectief en subjectief carrière succes. Objectieve aspecten van carrière succes wordt door werknemers gezien als salaris en het aantal promoties, terwijl subjectieve aspecten gezien worden door werknemers als werk en carrière tevredenheid (Arthur, Khapova & Wildrom 2005; Seibert & Kraimer, 2001). Volgens onderzoek van Heslin (2005) zijn deze evaluatie en metingen van carrière succes te minimal om een volledig beeld te krijgen van het volledige begrip. Het voornamelijkste doel van dit onderzoek is een antwoord te kunnen geven op de vraag: kunnen we een andere dimensie naast subjectief en objectief aan carrière succes toevoegen, en wat is het verschil tussen werknemers uit de profit en non-profit sector? Om deze vraag te beantwoorden zijn er 20 gestructureerde interviews afgenomen, waarvan 10 werknemers werkzaam waren in een profit organisatie en 10 werknemers in een non-profit organisatie. De resultaten laten zien dat de manier waarop objectief en subjectief gemeten wordt door werknemers' salaris, aantal promoties en werk en carrière tevredenheid inderdaad niet een volledig beeld geven. Om dit wel te realiseren zullen de indicatoren prestatie, status, werk-leef balans en baan veiligheid ook moeten worden meegenomen, omdat deze indicatoren ook volgens werknemers van groot belang zijn in de evaluatie van hun carrière succes.

Introduction

For most of us our career is very important, it is part of our dreams, goals and accomplishments. Our career also provides us with our daily income and identity and gives us insight in what we find important in life, and what we want to achieve during our lives. When being young an often asked question is: “What do you want to become in life?” Later on this question often changes in: “What kind of job do you have?” Our career is a central part of our lives and everybody wants to have a successful career. But what is a successful career?

Career success can be defined as “the positive psychological or work related outcomes or achievements one accumulates as a result of work experiences’ (Seibert & Kramer, 2001, p.2). The most common framework of career success that has been used by researchers in the field is the distinction that has been made by Hughes (1937) between *objective* and *subjective* career success. Objective career success can be defined as the external indicators of career success that one accumulates during one’s careers, such as salary and number of promotions. Because of the external nature of the indicators of this type of career success, objective career success is directly observable, measurable and verifiable by others (e.g. Heslin, 2005). Subjective career success, on the other hand, can be defined as the individual’s internal apprehension and evaluation of his or her career across many dimensions that are important to that individual. This form of success focuses more on the internal satisfaction about the work that the person is doing and his or her career and thus is not directly observable by outsiders. The most important indicators for subjective career success are job satisfaction and career satisfaction (e.g. Arthur, Khapova & Wildrom 2005; Judge, 1999; Seibert & Kramer, 2001; Spurk, 2009).

The two types of career success have gained a lot of attention among career success researchers, who especially focused on variables influencing the attainment of the two types of career success, such as demographic variables, individual traits or behavioural styles, and organizational variables (Seibert & Kramer, 2001). But which kind of aspects determines success to employees? This is an interesting question because it states that success can depend on multiple aspects such as your position at work, or the organization you are working for, or maybe it is not that important anymore, maybe you will find yourself successful if you do something that you’re really like, or if you have a good balance between your work and life by working part-time and having enough time to spend

with your family. We can extract success in multiple aspects such as work and organizational aspects which contain your status en position and maybe your promotion, which in turn will depend on the organizational characteristics and perspectives, and the support you will receive at work. Individual aspects which contains your characteristics, age, background and environment and finally the aspects on community level they contain the economic and governmental situation (Kramer & Seibert, 2001,; Judge et all 1999; Ng, 2005). All these aspects can be logically explained but they do not say anything about the specific aspects of career success that are of importance, and it gives us no answer if we start comparing equal groups.

However, little attention has been paid to further analyzing the nature of career success. According to Heslin (2005) career researchers have held four implicit assumptions about the nature of career success that have greatly influenced and impaired the literature on career success. The first implicit assumption that career researchers hold according to Heslin (2005) is that even though most of the career success research has been conducted within managerial and professional contexts, the objective related outcomes of careers, such as salary attainment and promotions, are adequate indicators of career success in all working contexts. The second implicit assumption is that job and career satisfaction are capturing the breath of dimensions upon which people react to their careers in a subjective manner. The next and third assumption is that people use the same career concerns about the success they attain in the objective compared to the subjective domain. Finally the last and fourth assumption within the career success literature is that people evaluate their career success only by self related criteria and do not compare their career success with the career success of others. According to Heslin (2005), career researchers should try to transcend these four implicit assumptions in their future studies, in order to get a deeper understanding of the nature of career success.

With this research project I will focus on the perception of career success and how this is perceived by the employees working within a profit and a non-profit organization, and what the differences are between the profit and non-profit employees, concerning their most important success aspects on their view of career success. On the other hand it is important to see if there is a third indicator besides objective and subjective career success which has not yet been discovered in past literature and research.

In order to create a complete overview of the indicators employees' use to evaluate their career success, the different organizational structures of profit and non-profit

organizations and the differences that exist between employees' motivation in these two types of organizations are taken into account within the next sections.

Profit versus non-profit organizations

A profit organization is an organization whose primary goal is to make profit (earn money). The owners of the organization can decide to keep the profit for themselves, or they can spend some or all of it in the organization business itself. A non-profit organization, however, has a mission that benefits the “greater good” of the community, society, or the world. It is an organization that does not distribute its surplus funds to owners or shareholders, but instead uses it to help and pursue its goals. A non-profit organization cannot use its funds for anything other than the mission for which it was formed (Steinbereithner, 2006).

Profit and non-profit organizations differ from each other in terms of their organizational structure, the demands they put on their employees, and the career opportunities they create for their employees (Borzaga, 2006). A profit organization usually has a hierarchical or vertical organizational structure, which means that there are many layers within the organization and that there exists much difference between the different positions of employees within the organization. Within profit organizations many different positions that employees hold within the organization can be distinguished, such as employee, team leader, head of the department, line manager, senior manager or CEO (Borzaga, 2006). Because of this bureaucratic organizational structure, employees in profit organizations have many opportunities to climb the career ladder in terms of salary increases, gaining promotions, and increasing their status within the organization (Mirvis, 1983). However, this focus on climbing the career ladder also creates an organizational culture of long working hours and high demands on employee performance (Benz, 2005).

In comparison with a profit organization, a non-profit organization has a more flat or horizontal organizational structure in which there are just a few layers and in which employees are more equal to each other than in a profit organization (Benz, 2005). Because of this horizontal structure, it is difficult for employees within a non-profit organization to climb the career ladder in terms of salary increases, promotions or status increases. Instead, in non-profit organizations there is more equity in wages and positions of different employees (Borzaga, 2006; Leete, 2000). In comparison to profit

organizations, employees in non-profit organizations have shorter working hours and more autonomy in their work (Mirvis, 1983).

The differences in organizational structure, demands placed on employees and career opportunities for employees between profit and non-profit organizations suggest that employees in the two types of organizations are not similar in their concern about the success they attain in the objective, compared to the subjective domain of career success. The hierarchical organizational structure and the primary goal of making profit of profit organizations are creating a working environment in which the objective aspects of career success such as salary, promotion and status become highlighted. This suggests that employees in profit organizations will have a stronger focus on aspects of objective career success. Within the rather flat or horizontal organizational structure of non-profit organizations, in which employees are more equal to each other, a working environment is created in which objective aspects of career success are being downplayed and subjective aspects of career success such as job and career satisfaction become highlighted. This suggests that employees in non-profit organizations will have a stronger focus on aspects of subjective career success.

Employees' motivation in profit versus non-profit organizations

Besides the influence of organizational structure on employees concern about objective versus subjective career success, the motivation of the employees to do their job is also an influential factor when it comes to their focus on objective versus subjective career success (Borzaga, 2006). Within the literature two types of employee motivation can be distinguished: *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Individuals who are intrinsically motivated engage in their work activities because they find them interesting and enjoyable to do and they have a high need for autonomy in their work. Individuals, who are extrinsically motivated, on the other hand engage in their work activities because they expect to attain a desired outcome such as monetary rewards or a higher status within the organizations (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Studies on the motivations of employees in profit and non-profit organizations have shown that these two types of motivation can also be distinguished within the employees working in the two different types of organizations. A study from Light (2008), for example, has shown that employees working for a profit organization have a strong focus on monetary rewards. Benz (2005) has also shown that employees in profit organizations view their wages, benefits and promotional opportunities as the most

important benefits of their work, which are based on their job performance. These studies suggest that employees working within profit organizations are externally motivated to do their job, expecting a reward such as a higher salary or promotion in return.

Studies on the motivation of non-profit employees, on the other hand have suggested that they are more intrinsically motivated to do their job. Gagne (2005) for example, has shown that employees working within the non-profit sector are stronger committed to their work, have a weaker monetary orientation, and report more challenge, variety and autonomy in their work than employees working within the profit sector. Leete (2000) also showed that non-profit employees judge their work activities as more meaningful and as having a greater impact on others than profit employees. Furthermore Borzaga (2006) showed that the job satisfaction of non-profit employees is uncorrelated with their monetary remuneration. Results from the study of Benz (2005) on worker satisfaction in non-profit organizations also indicate that employees' well-being and satisfaction in non-profit organizations cannot be attributed to the differences in monetary compensation. Instead, he argues that the well-being and satisfaction of non-profit employees is attributable to the non-pecuniary work benefits that non-profit organizations offer to their employees, such as child day care, flexible work hours, number of vacations days, job security and health insurances.

The discussed differences in organizational structure and employees motivation between profit and non-profit organizations suggests that employees do not have the same concerns when it comes to attaining career success in the objective versus the subjective domain. Profit employees seem to focus on career success in the objective domain while non-profit employees seem to focus on the subjective domain. Furthermore, the measures that have been used in previous research about objective career success (salary and promotions) and subjective career success (job and career satisfaction) do not seem to be the only adequate proxies of those types of career success. Besides salary and number of promotions once status and job performance within the organization also play an important role in evaluating once career success in the objective domain. In the subjective domain non-pecuniary work benefits such as a good work life balance and job security seem to play an important role besides job and career satisfaction. Finally, the focus of profit employees on the objective domain of career success suggests that they evaluate their career success in terms of their salary, number of promotions, job performance and status. Because status in terms of your

salary, number of promotions and job performance is largely defined by social norms and values, profit employees may be prone to comparing their career success with the career success of others.

Focus of this study

This study will be about the evaluation of career success, in which the perspectives of employees working in profit and non-profit organizations are being investigated. Special interest will be in the aspects and dimensions (objective and subjective) of career success taken on by the employee working in either a profit or non-profit organization.

The research question can be formulated as:

Can we add another dimension to the already existing objective and subjective forms of career success?

The secondary goal of this research can be formulated into a second research question: *What are the differences in career success perception between profit and non-profit employees?*

As a response to the theoretical work of Heslin (2005), in this study I will also focus on gaining a deeper understanding of the nature of career success by answering the following research questions.

- 1) Are objective outcomes like salary and promotions adequate proxies for career success in all working contexts?
- 2) Do job and career satisfaction adequately capture the breath of dimensions upon which people react to their careers in the subjective domain?
- 3) Do employees have the same concerns when it comes to attaining career success in the objective versus subjective domain?
- 4) Do employees evaluate their career success only according to their self-related criteria, or do they also use other-referent criteria, comparing their career success with the career success of others?

In order to answer these questions, 20 interviews have been conducted with employees working both in profit and non-profit organizations. In which their perception on career success was investigated.

Contribution of this study

This study makes three contributions to the research field of career success. First, to my knowledge, the theory of Heslin (2005) that the four implicit assumptions that career researchers have held about career success impaired our understanding of the nature of career success, has not been empirically tested. By overcoming these four assumptions in this study, it provides evidence that the success criterion has indeed been operationalized in a deficient manner. The second goal is to increase the specific knowledge about the perception of career success in the non-profit sector. As already said there is a lot of research about career success in the profit sector, but the individuals' perception of career success and the motivational anchors are missing on a theoretical and practical side.

Furthermore practical problems can be reduced or solved when the results give insight in the different career perspectives and aspects such as: rewarding systems, or strategic human resource management. The outcomes can be useful for organizations to gain insight in what motivates employees in their individual career.

Method

Interviewees

Ten respondents working in the profit sector and 10 respondents working in the non-profit sector participated in the interview. Of those 20 interviewees 9 were female (45%) and 11 were male (55%) and their age ranged from 25 to 59 years (mean age = 31.7 years). Ten of the interviewees received a bachelor's degree (50%), 7 interviewees received a master's degree (65%), and 3 received a secondary degree (15%). Interviewees within the profit sector were working as consultants (30%), as entrepreneurs owning their own business (30%), or were working within the health sector (20%). Furthermore, one interviewee was working as an account manager (10%) and one interviewee was having a job as a secretary (10%). Interviewees within the non-profit sector were working in the governmental sector (40%), in the educational sector (40%) or in the health sector (20%). The years of work experience of the interviewees within their current organization ranged from 1 to 25 years (mean = 6.5 years).

Procedure

An interview scheme was developed according to the book by Ben Emans (1990). The questions in the interview existed out of three parts. The first part asked the interviewees for some demographic information such as their age, educational level en marital state. The second part asked the interviewees to give information about the organization they were working for and their job within the organization: for what kind of organization were they working, what was their function within the organization and what was their specific job within the organization? The questions in the third part of the interview were about interviewees' perceptions of career success: how do they evaluate their own career, what are important aspects of career success and how would they define career success?

The interview scheme was pretested by conducting three pilot interviews. After the pilot interviews it appeared necessary to change the order of some of the questions and to add new questions. Relating to the questions about the demographic information of the interviewees, the question was added if the interviewee had children, because this could be of influence in the work-life balance of employees. In the second part of the interview an extra question was added about the structure of the organization: 'Can you give me a short description of the organization?' This was done because the structure of

the organization (bureaucratic or flat) might influence the career opportunities of the interviewees and thus their career success perspective. In the third part of the interview the questions: 'How would you describe your own career' was changed into 'How would you describe your own career up till now?' This was done because during the pilot interviews some of the interviewees did not know from where to start with their description and if they should refer to their whole career, or just their career within their current organization. Furthermore, the question 'How would you define career success?' was changed into "What is your own definition of career success?", because during the pilot interviews interviewees did not refer to their own specific definition, but gave a widely used general definition of career success.

In total 43 persons within the social network of the interviewer were contacted, either personally or by email, to participate in the interview. During this first contact the interviewees were informed about the purpose of this study and the confidentiality of their answers. After a confirmation of their participation a suitable place and time for the interview was indicated by the interviewee. Most of the interviews took place at the home of the interviewee (70%) and six interviews took place at the workplace of the interviewee (30%). Twenty of the 43 interviewees who were approached were willing to participate in the interview (response rate = 46, 5%). The duration of the interviews ranged from 21 to 58 minutes with an average of 39.5 minutes.

Interview procedure

Structured interviews were conducted following the constructed interview scheme. The interview began with a short introduction for the interviewee in which the purpose of the interview was explained, the interviewees were assured that the interview would be confidential and results would only be used for scientific purposes, and interviewees were asked if they had any objections to the interview being recorded on a voice recorder. After confirmation of the interviewee the actual interview started.

The interview started by asking the interviewee if there were any special circumstances concerning their job or career at the moment of the interview, that could influence their answers to the interview questions (e.g. a reorganization at work or personal problems). Once the interviewees indicated that this was not the case, the interview continued with some general questions about the demographics of the interviewee: age, educational level, marital state, and number of children. These questions were followed by questions about the organization they were working for and their job:

“What kind of organization are you working for?”, “Could you give me a short description of the organization (e.g. products or services of the organization, structure of the organization, amount of employees etc.)?” What is your function within the organization?”, “Can you tell me something about the kind of work you are doing (e.g. description of your activities)?”, and “How long have you been working within this organization?” After this part the interviewees were told that the actual interview would now begin with questions about their career and their perception on career success.

The first question asked the interviewees to give a short description of their career so far, in order to get an overview of the career of the interviewees. The next question for the interviewees was how they evaluated their own career till so far. Next, the interviewees were asked to come up with 3 to 5 aspects of career success which were important to them, starting with the most important one. The interviewees were then asked what their own definition of career success was and if they compared their own career success to the career success of others. The last question of the interview asked the interviewees if there were any other aspects of career success that are important to them that were not discussed during the interview. The interview was then ended by asking if the interviewee had any comments about the interview and thanking the interviewee for the interview (see Appendix 1 for the entire interview scheme).

Qualitative analysis

To analyze the transcripts of the interviews, a coding scheme was constructed. The analysis steps within the coding scheme were guided by the content approach of (Patton, 2000). There were 4 steps for coding the interviews:

1. The first step was to code the demographics of the interviewees, which were gender, age, educational level, marital state and number of children.
2. The second step was to code the working environment of the interviewee. Raters had to indicate in what kind of organization the interviewee was working, the structure of the organization, and the amount of work experience of the interviewee within the current organization.
3. In the next step, the raters had to code the third part of the interview which consisted out of four questions about the career success perspective of the interviewees. To help the raters in coding this part of the interview a coding scheme was developed. For every question the raters had to decide if the interviewee was talking about objective or subjective career success. After this judgment, the raters had to judge about which aspect

of objective or subjective career success the interviewee was talking. The raters could choose from 8 different aspects that were further divided into job aspects- aspects that are directly related and connected to the job- and non-job aspects-aspects that are not directly related or connected to the job, but can be seen as outcomes of the job. The job aspects were: job satisfaction, career satisfaction, job security (subjective career success) and job performance (objective career success). The non-job aspects were work-life balance (subjective career success) and status, salary and promotion (objective career success). For each question the raters were asked to identify for every sentence if the interviewee was talking about objective or subjective career success and about which of the eight different aspects of career success the interviewee was talking.

4. In the final step, the raters had to code if the interviewees were comparing their career success with the success of others, and if they did, with whom they compared their success (e.g. family, friends, and colleagues). (See Appendix A for the entire coding scheme).

Each of the interviews was code by the researcher and an independent rater. The interrater agreement was 70% and in cases of disagreement, consensus was reached through a discussion.

Results

The results will be reported by focusing on the career success aspects. At first the results of the traditional already existing career success aspects that have been distinguished out of empirical research by Judge (1999) are being reported. Second I will report the new career success aspects that diverge from the already existing aspects and also the difference between the profit and non-profit employees is laid out. The results will be followed by the four implicit assumptions that according to Heslin (2005) career researchers have held about the nature of career success. All the aspects of career success will be explained and discussed and the results will be supported with examples from the interviews.

Traditional objective career success aspects

Salary

Salary was defined in the coding scheme as the monetary reward that employees receive for doing their job. The aspect of salary was mentioned by 16 interviewees with a total of 42 times (8.5%), with interviewees mentioning the aspect spontaneously 18 times and mentioning it 24 times only after the interviewer asked them directly about the importance of salary. Salary was the least mentioned aspect of the four aspects of objective career success. Although most of the interviewees did not mention the aspect of salary spontaneously and explicitly, some mentioned it more implicitly as something that is needed to be able to do the things you want; underneath you will find examples of employees mentioning the aspect of salary explicitly and implicitly.

“I am not working for fun, so this means that the profit from the store is important for me, and I hope that it continues to increase in the near future. I hope that I have more customers and a higher profit so that by the end of the line I will have a higher income”. (Explicitly)

And

“Well, it is comfortable if you still have money left at the end of the month, so that you can spend it on things that you want and you can live comfortably. However, when I really wanted to make a lot of money I should have studied business administration and not technical and medical science”. (Explicitly)

Or

*“Money buys freedom, and my freedom is now limited because I need to travel a lot. For me it is important that the effort you give is being paid reasonably. I am not saying that my salary should double within two years, but I wouldn’t mind. At this moment I can afford to pay all my costs and I can do whatever I want”.
(Implicitly)*

Promotion

The aspect of promotion was the most often mentioned aspect of the four aspects of objective career success, and is defined in the coding scheme as receiving a higher position or more responsibilities within an organization. It was mentioned 83 times (16.5%) in 17 interviews, 30 times it was mentioned after the interviewer asked the interviewees directly about the importance of promotion and 53 times the aspect was mentioned spontaneously by the interviewee. An example of an interviewee asked about the 5 aspects she finds successful and thereby mentioning the importance of promotion is:

“For me it is important that I have the opportunity to grow to a higher position with more responsibilities extra tasks, a challenging job and also money. Those aspects are the most important to me when it comes down to career success, I they are also in the right order. Nowadays the money is not so important anymore but the opportunities to grow within the organization are, but I understand that everything takes its time, and therefore it is alright if it takes a little longer”.

And

“In the end it is my intention to get to a higher position, which says something about your performance within the organisation. I would like to have a certain position and status within the organization, so that I can be seen as a specialist. I want to have a position in which I stand out from the crowd”.

New objective careers success aspects

Job performance

Job performance is defined in the coding scheme as: how well is an individual performing his/her job. The aspect of job performance has an external perspective as viewed by the organization and is therefore measureable by others. Job performance is mentioned in total by 18 interviewees who referred to this aspect a total of 79 times

(15.7%). Of the 79 times the aspect of job performance was mentioned by the interviewees, 46 times it was mentioned without any help from the interviewer, while 32 times it was mentioned after the interviewer asked if job performance was an important indicator of career success. Examples of interviewees who mentioned the aspect of job performance are:

“Very important is the aspect of performance, I want to make the impossible possible. When I was younger and I was playing football I still wanted to make the 8th goal if possible while all my other teammates were already satisfied with the result. It is a kind of inner feeling that I have to create and do more. I want to show others what I am capable of”.

Or

“Willing to perform is also something that is according to my point of view a characteristic. Right now I am at a certain level which I would like to maintain. The only way for me to increase my performances is to grow, which is something I rather do not want, and besides the market en economic situation is sometimes leading, if the market changes I have to change as well. At the moment I am very satisfied, which is most important. Also you need to be healthy to perform anyhow”.

And

“Of course it is important to do well; I try to deliver good health care”.

Status

Status is defined according to the coding scheme as: prestige within society or within a job or organization. The aspect of status was mentioned by 18 interviewees, who mentioned the aspect a total of 64 times (12.7%). Of the 64 times that the aspect of status was mentioned by the interviewees, the interviewees mentioned it 40 times spontaneously as an important aspect of career success, while the interviewees mentioned the aspect of status 24 times as an important aspect of career success after the interviewer asked them directly about the importance of status. The interviewees talked about their status within their organization, but also about their status within their social network. An example of an interviewee talking about his/her status within the organization is:

“I find it quite satisfying to fulfill a central role or function with status. This is also part of my ambitions. For the outside world the aspect of status is not so important,

but at my workplace I would like to achieve a certain position. I also consider a central role within the organization being inherent to a high position, which automatically is associated with a higher status”.

An example of an interviewee talking about his/her status within his/her social network is:

“I see myself already as successful, because during primary school people didn’t expect much from me, a person without ambition. I think that if I now tell people what I’m doing that they will be surprised”.

Difference between profit and non-profit on objective aspects of career success

The objective aspects of career success were mentioned more often by the profit employees (148 times) compared to the non-profit employees (120 times). Being more objectively focused means that the profit employees find the outcomes of the work (non-work) more important than the aspects of the work itself (work). The results show that non-work aspects are mentioned more often by the profit employees (137 times) compared to the non-profit employees (113 times).

Although the overall differences in objective aspects are little, there is a difference to be seen in the order of importance within the aspects. The profit employees find promotion and status most important were non-profit employees having a stronger focus on performance and promotion. For profit employees the aspect of promotion was mentioned most often (45 times) followed by status (41 times), performance (38 times) and salary (24 times). For the non-profit employees the aspect of performance was mentioned 41 times followed by promotion (38 times), status (23 times) and salary (18 times).

Traditional subjective career success aspects

Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction can be defined according to the coding scheme as: how content or satisfied an employee is with his or her job. The aspect of job satisfaction was mentioned by all the interviewees, and was the aspect of career success that was most often mentioned in the interviews. Being satisfied with your job and liking your job thus seems to be the most important aspect of career success. It was mentioned a total of 108 times (21.5%). Examples of interviewees talking about job satisfaction are.

“I think that you can measure career success by the fact that you are really happy

with what you are doing, and that you are in the right place. And when you look at it in this way your function name is not so important. If you are living up to your ambitions and doing something you like, you are successful”.

Or

“To me the working life exists out of two things: first doing something you like and second being satisfied with your working activities”.

And

“The most important thing is having a passion for your work and what you are doing, only with real passion you will be able to release enthusiasm, which in turn will influence others to realize your plans and ideas”.

Career satisfaction

Career satisfaction is compared to job satisfaction more focused on the entire career instead of the job someone is having and can be defined as: how content an individual is with his/her career. Being satisfied with your career was mentioned by 12 interviewees as an important aspect of career success. They mentioned the aspect of career satisfaction 30 times (6.4%) spontaneously and 2 times when the interviewer asked directly about their career satisfaction. An example is:

“I am very satisfied with my career till so far, following a traineeship is an excellent way to find out for yourself what you really want and to find out what you do not want. I think this is very important within the beginning of your career and that you will end up doing something you really like. I would definitely do it all over again if I had to”.

Or

“My career satisfaction is really good at the moment, I had a few setbacks in the past which made me feel unsatisfied and unmotivated, but right now my company has grown which gives me more opportunities to do what I really like”.

Job security

Job security is defined in the coding scheme as: the probability that an employee will keep his/her job. The aspect of job security was mentioned in total 32 times by 14 respondents (6.4%). Most of the respondents only referred to job security when asked directly about the importance of this aspect, in this case 22 times. An

example of an interviewee talking about the role of job security is:

“At this moment I am looking for something else, which means that I will receive most likely a short term contract. I do find this a bit scary, but it will not affect me. I think it is comfortable to have some security but sometimes you are not always going to have this, which is something I have to live with”.

Interviewees who did mention the importance of job security referred to their family situation as a reason for why job security is so important to them, for example this woman was explicitly asked about the importance of job security within her own success:

“Job security is very important to me, there was a time when I did not have a long term contract but I did have a mortgage, therefore I was insecure about changing jobs. I still did it, because I really wanted that job. Then in the annual year meeting the CEO told us that we had to downsize. In that period I had multiple sleepless nights and when they told me that I could stay within the organization, I felt so much relief. Therefore I told myself that I would never do something like this again. The only reason to change from an organization on a short term contract is because my family situation has changed and that the risks for me are minimal”.

And

Well, we just bought a house and in this economic situation job security is important for me. Besides I did not have a lot of stability and securities in the past, my parent had their own business and were depending on customers to have an income. This meant that sometime we did have money and sometimes it was very scarce. I would very much like to have the stability of a certain income every month. I do not have a long term contract at the moment, but I would very much like to have so.

New subjective career success aspects

Work life balance

Work- life balance was defined in the coding scheme as: The balance that an employee has between how much time he/she invests in work and how much time he/she invests in family and friends. The aspect of work-life balance was mentioned by all interviewees for a total of 61 times (12.2%). Important to notice is, that from the total of

61 times the aspect was mentioned 55 times only when the interviewer asked about the importance of the subject directly. Only 6 times the aspect was mentioned spontaneously.

The results suggest that when it comes to the importance of a good work-life balance once family situation plays a very important role. Interviewees who mentioned the importance of a good work-life balance spontaneously were all interviewees who either had a relationship or children. Within the situation described in the example underneath, the interviewee was a single mother and had changed jobs multiple times. Although she was very ambitious and also talked about wanting to follow a master course in the future, her priorities were not only focused on her career when describing career success. For example:

“For me a good work life balance is very important. I have three children at home and I want to be a good mum for them, I need my energy for them as well. Therefore I asked extra supervision to get a better balance between work and life”.

Or

“Career success for me, is that I can manage my own cooperation and I think that this is very important, just as having satisfied staff, combined with good timing. This means that beside work there is also time for my family. I do not want to be busy all the time with my job. I need to focus on other things as well. Besides it is important to create a certain form of peace within my organization but therefore you also need some peace within yourself. There is only a thin line when it comes down to work and private life, because when something worse happened in your private life, it will directly influence your work. The balance must be good and be carefully planned. I also want to be very innovative and therefore you cannot sit still, to create this continuously drive, I think it is important to be surrounded by professionals”.

The following interviewees also make it very clear that the importance of a good work-life balance is largely depending on their family situation:

“In the beginning I was only focusing on my work, because I did not have a relationship. Now I do have a girlfriend and I know that she wants some of my attention too, therefore I limit the amount of hours that I am working at home. Still my work is more important than my life at home, but that is according to my own standards, I can understand if people do not share my opinion, some might find me

crazy for saying this. But on the other hand I notice that when I take some time off from work my performance is better”.

And

“I find it important to have some spare time to do the things I like, outside of my work, but on the other hand I think that it is normal not to divide this always as a 50-50 case, sometimes I have to work a little harder, and I really don’t mind. I do not have a relationship at this moment and this makes me more flexible, so sometimes I can start later, so I can have a sleep in and sometimes I have to work in the evening as well. I think it is part of the job, and part of life”.

Difference between profit and non-profit on subjective aspects of career success

Were the profit employees mentioned the objective aspects more often, the non-profit employees have a stronger focus on the subjective aspects (135 times compared to 98 times). It also shows that non-profit employees have a more work focused perception of career success mentioned (142 times compared to profit employees whom mentioned the work aspects (109) times).

Within the subjective aspects of career success the main difference is to be found in the amount of times the aspects are mentioned, but there are no differences in the order of importance when comparing the two kinds of employees. For the profit employees job satisfaction is mentioned 42 times, followed by work-life balance (27 times) and finally career satisfaction (16 times). The results for the non-profit employees are first job satisfaction (66 times) followed by work life balance (34 times) and finally career satisfaction (16 times).

The result of the four implicit assumptions of Heslin (2005) will be discussed below.

Assumption 1: Objective related outcomes are adequate indicators for career success

The first implicit assumption states that objective related career outcomes, such as salary attainment and number of promotions, are adequate indicators of career success in all working contexts (Heslin 2005). The results of this study show that all 20 interviewees are concerned with both objective and subjective indicators of career success. In total, the interviewees mentioned objective forms of career success – such as salary and promotions - 268 times during the interview (53.4%), while subjective forms of career success - such as job and career satisfaction – were mentioned a total of

233 times (46,6%).

The results also showed that the main indicators of objective career success – salary and number of promotions – used in the career success literature, are not the only indicators of career success. Besides mentioning salary and number of promotions as forms of objective career success, interviewees also mentioned status and job performance as forms of objective career success.

Assumption 2: Job and career satisfaction capture the breath of dimensions upon which people react to their career in the subjective domain.

The results show that subjective forms of career success – such as job and career satisfaction were mentioned a total of 233 times (46,6%). Although both job and career satisfactions were mentioned by the interviewees, job satisfaction was mentioned more often (108 times) than career satisfaction (32 times). Besides the aspects of job and career satisfaction, interviewees also mentioned a good work-life balance and job security as important indicators of subjective career success.

Assumption 3: people are similar in their concern about the success they attain in the objective versus the subjective domain.

Although all interviewees mentioned both objective and subjective forms of career success, the results did show a difference between the interviewees working within profit organizations and the interviewees working within non-profit organizations. Interviewees working within profit organizations seemed to have a stronger focus on objective versus subjective forms of career success (mentioned 148 and 98 times, respectively), while interviewees working within non-profit organizations seemed to have a stronger focus on subjective versus objective forms of career success (mentioned 135 and 120 times, respectively).

Interestingly, the indicators of career success that were most often mentioned by profit and non-profit employees were the same: promotion, job satisfaction and job performance. However, the employees did differ in how often they mentioned each indicator spontaneously as important for their career success. Profit employees mentioned promotion most often (34 times), then job satisfaction (31 times) and finally performance (24 times), while non-profit employees mentioned job satisfaction most often (49 times), after this they mentioned performance (23 times) and finally

promotion (19 times).

Assumption 4: People conceptualize and evaluate their career success only by self related criteria

In total 13 out of 20 respondents (65%) mentioned that they compared their career with others. They compare their career mostly with friends, colleagues and other acquaintances from the same age, background, educational level and career path. Comparing the career with family is rarely done because of the fact that most interviewees did not have family members with similar jobs or careers. An example of an interviewee comparing his/herself with somebody else:

“When I was a student I mostly looked at graduated colleagues, but I found out that after a while I was just as good as them. After I got promoted I had different roles as a therapist and eventually I became a manager. During that period I looked at and learned from other colleagues that were also managers to see how they were running their own business”.

Just 7 respondents mentioned that they referred to their own personal standards and preferences when evaluating their career success, and therefore do not compare their career success with the career success of others:

“I think that everybody looks at one another, but I really do not care about it at all! Neither do I look at someone else’s salary or social status. I know that a lot of people do make these kinds of comparisons but I do not apply this to myself”

Even though some interviewees did say that they did not make any comparison with others it was sometimes mentioned implicitly in their answer on other questions, for example:

“I started as a clinical trial assistant and after that I became a clinical research associate, at that moment I could really start working in the field. After this I started working for another pharmaceutical company and there I became a senior. If I look back at this, then I see that my career is progressing, this makes me proud. Others might make bigger steps and go faster than I do, but at this moment I am satisfied”.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to answer the research questions *'can we add another dimension to the already existing dimensions of career success and what is the difference between profit and non-profit employees in their evaluation of career success?* These questions have been researched by qualitative interviews on both the two groups of employees assessing their importance on career success aspects. On the other hand this study also explored the four implicit assumptions made by Heslin (2005) to get a deeper understanding about the nurture of career success.

In the past, career researchers have studied employees' career success extensively, relying on the distinction between objective and subjective career success suggested by Hughes (1937). Within the career success literature the focus has been on objective domains of career success and its associated aspects (e.g. Heslin, 2005; Arthur, 2005; Judge, 1999). Aspects such as salary, status and promotions were considered as the main indicators of career success, and career researchers have mainly been concerned with finding predictors of objective career success (e.g. Seibert & Kramer, 2001). The subjective domain of career success, on the other hand, received less attention from career researchers (e.g. Heslin, 2005). When we try to give answer to the research questions we can conclude that there are no other dimensions to career success despite from objective and subjective forms of career success. With the interviews and its results another new dimension did not come forward besides when the interviewees talked about the career success aspects a new aspect besides from the ones mentioned has not been found.

The traditional aspects found, are indeed indicators for career success and are perceived as such. If the new career success aspects have been explored and assessed they either cannot be placed under a new dimension of career success at all, because all of them have either a subjective or objective point of view when it comes down to the evaluation of the aspect by the employees.

When comparing the two groups of profit and non-profit employees the results show that profit employees do have a more objective focus of career success instead of non-profit employees and find outcomes of the job such as salary, promotion and status more important, but when carefully looking at the aspects individually the differences between the two groups are relatively small. On the objective career success aspects most of the differences could be seen between the aspects of status for the profit employees and

performance non-profit employees. There are no differences to be seen in the subjective aspects of careers success, both groups mentioned all the aspects and rated them all the same in hierarchical order, in which we can draw the conclusion that the profit and non-profit employees differ in their objective/subjective focus, but do find almost the same aspects important when evaluating their own career success.

The findings of this study also show that the four implicit assumptions that career researchers have held about the nature of career success have indeed limited and narrowed our understanding about the nature of career success. The results showed that the indicators of objective career success that have been used so far are not the only adequate indicators of objective career success. The interviewees indicated that their job performance and status also play an important role in their evaluation of objective career success. The salary of the interviewees was actually the least important indicator of objective career success. Also for subjective career success the indicators of job and career satisfaction that have been used up till now do not seem to capture the whole range of aspects concerning subjective success. Interviewees also indicated that their work-life balance and job security are important indicators for evaluating their subjective career success. However, the importance of work-life balance and job security seemed strongly dependent on the family situation of the interviewee, becoming more important when the interviewee had a relationship or children. Furthermore, the indicator of career success that was most important for the interviewees was job satisfaction. Finally the outcomes show that 65% of the interviewees do not only look at their self-referent criteria when evaluating their success, but tend to compare their career success with the career success of others. Within the next section the theoretical implications, limitations and practical implications of this study will be further discussed.

Theoretical implications

First, the results of this study show that employees take into account both the objective and subjective domain of career success in evaluating their career success.

In the past, researchers have, however, mostly focused on the objective domain of career success (e.g. Heslin, 2005; Arthur, 2005; Judge, 1999). Objective career success is mainly measured by employees' salary and number of promotions and subjective career success by employees' job and career satisfaction (Arthur, Khapova & Wildrom 2005; Seibert & Kraimer, 2001). The findings of this study show that this is a narrow view on the nature of both types of career success, and that in future studies career success should be measured by taking into account more indicators, such as job

performance and status (objective career success) and work-life balance and job security (subjective career success). As the results also show that job satisfaction is overall most often mentioned by the employees. There is a difference to be seen in how we approach careers success nowadays comparing to the past especially when we look at the two dimensions. The subjective side of success is becoming more important as the line between work and life is growing thin. Therefore, future studies should focus on both the objective and subjective dimensions of careers success and should include all the indicators mentioned within this research.

Second, The findings of this study showed that the importance of work-life balance and job security is highly dependent on the personal circumstances of the interviewees such as; having a relationship or having children. Besides economic changes within the working market are also of influence. For example; ten to twenty years ago, it was more common for an employee to stay within the organization for long period of time. Nowadays it is more common to switch from employer. In the boundary less careers today, employees stay within an organization for a shorter period of do not receive a permanent contract. This means that the value of certain career success aspects is changing. The importance for an employee on aspects such as; job security, performance and career building is different nowadays that in was 20 years ago or when an employee receives a permanent contract (Engelland & Riphahn, 2003). Another aspect is the so called “modern working” which is gaining more popularity such as; home working, part time working, and having flexible workplaces, which means that the gap between work and life is getting smaller and that work will be more entwined with our lives. Future studies should therefore also take personal circumstances and environmental circumstances of employees into account when evaluating career success.

Third, although in the past researchers have assumed that employees use self-referent criteria when it comes to evaluating their career success (Heslin, 2005), the findings of this study show that employees indeed have a tendency to compare their career success with the career success of others. Especially in working environments that highlight objective aspects of career success (such as in profit organizations), that are easily comparable between employees, researchers should also take into account other-referent criteria of career success.

Limitations

At least three limitations of this study need to be addressed. First, the coding of the interviews was performed by two raters, including the researcher. Although the researcher tried to code the interviews as objectively as possible, the coding could be biased by the expectations of the researcher. Second, all of the interviewees were acquaintances of the interviewer. This close relationship with the interviewer could cause the interviewees to answer the questions in a social desirable way. This could be evident, for example, in the findings that salary is the least important indicator of objective career success, while job satisfaction is the most important indicator of career success. Although there were 20 interviewees who participated in the interviews, there were only 4 interviewees older than 45 years and these were the only interviewees who had children. The average ages of the interviewees were 32 years and most of the interviewees stood at the beginning of their careers. This could have influenced the answers of the interviewees, especially when it comes to the importance of indicators of career success like promotion, work-life balance and job security. Furthermore, this also makes it hard to generalize this study to older employees and employees who are in another career stage. Third is the inexperience of the interviewer when interviewing the employees, therefore it could be possible that questions are not properly asked or understood.

Practical implications

Studies of Judge (2001) and Ostroff (1992) have shown that having satisfied employees has a lot of advantages for an organization, such as better organizational performance, lower employee turnover rates, and a stronger employee commitment. One way in which HR practitioners can keep employees satisfied is by taking the career success perspective of their employees into account when rewarding their employees. The results of this study suggest that employees at the beginning of their career and working in a profit organization will be most satisfied when they earn a promotion based on their job performance. Employees in later career stages and who have a family to take care of, on the other hand, will be most satisfied when they can create a good balance between their work and private life, for example by getting the opportunity to work at home.

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Appendix A the interview scheme

Interview questions

Name interviewee: _____

Date of the interview: ____/____/2011

Time of the interview: ____:____hours

Place of the interview: work interviewee / home interviewee / home interviewer /
Somewhere else

Relationship with the interviewee: _____

Duration of the interview: _____minutes

Background

1) Gender: Male/ female

2) Age: ____years

3) Educational level = Secondary degree/HBO/WO/

4) Marital state: Single / Married/living together

4. a) amount of children?

Questions about the organization

5.a) what kind of organization are you working for?

5.b) Could you give me a short description of the organization?

- *Products or services that are being served by the organization*
- *Amount of employees*
- *Structure of the organization*
- *Work sector of the organization*

5.c) What is your function in the organization?

Manager/Supervisor/Employee/Entrepreneur/etc.

5.d) Could you tell me something about the kind of work you are doing?

- Description of the activities
- Clear examples

5.e) How long have you been working within this organization? ____ Years

Start of the initial interview

6) Could you give me a short description of your career till so far?

7) How would you evaluate your own career till so far?

8) Could you give me 3 till 5 aspects of career success that are important to you, please start with the aspects that are most important to you?

8) How important is status to you? (Depending on the answers given at question 8 by the respondent?

9) How would you define career success, please give me your own description?

10) Do you compare your career with others, and with whom do you compare with?

11) During the interview we have talked about certain aspects of career success, are

there other aspects that are also important as well

Appendix B the coding Scheme

Coding scheme

In this paper the coding scheme of the interviews about career success is laid out. The coding of the interviews will be done in 5 steps

Coding of the demographic variables

Coding of the questions about subjective and objective career success

Coding of the questions of job and non-job aspects

Coding of the questions about the 8 aspects of career success

Underneath you will find the questions in the interviews in the right numerical order, after the interview the 5 steps will be further explained together with a table that has been filled in.

Fill in the table 1 on the description of the subjects underneath. Also fill in the interview number which you can find above the first page of the interview, please do not forget, because we will not know which interview you have coded.

- 1) *Age*: mention the age of the interviewee in years
- 2) *Gender*: choose between male or female
- 3) *Educational level*: give the educational level of the interviewee: Secondary degree /Bachelor/Master
- 4) *Marital state*: Married/living together/Single
- 5) *Children*: does the interviewee has children, Yes/No
- 6) *Amount of children*: number of children
- 7) *Structure of the organization*: Please choose between a flat or a bureaucratic structure, if the organization has a more flat structure, it means that there will not be

many layers within the organization. Within these kinds of organizations most of the employees are equal to each other. Within a more bureaucratic structure of an organization, there are many layers and there is more hierarchy in functions and positions.

- 8) *Years work experience within the organization*: give the amount of work experience in years, and where the interviewee was working at the time.
- 9) *Work sector*: answer for what kind of organization the interviewee was working for, you can choose for example:
health/municipality/education/government/consultancy, etc.

Table1 demographic variables

Interview Number...	Age	Gender	Educational level	Civil state	Amount of children	Structure of the organization	Amount of work experience within the organization	Kind of organization

Step 2: Scoring the questions 6 till 10

Fill in the next tables for every question at the start from question 6, before you fill in the table, think and analyze the answer that the respondent has been given in the interview, and decide for yourself if the answer is about objective or subjective career success, and decide also if the respondent is talking about work or non-work aspects.

Once you have thought about those two things, we would like you to give us the pieces out of the text in which you think is covering the aspects of career success. You can “copy /paste” the interview text and place them in the right place at the table.

Finally we would like you, to give us after every citation that you have selected, to give one of the 8 aspects of career success between the notes.

1. Job security
2. Work satisfaction
3. Career satisfaction
4. Work life balance
5. Performance
6. Salary
7. Promotion
8. Status

It might be possible that the respondent will mention something about career success what is according to your opinion is not covering one of the 8 aspects of career success, in that case please fill in between the notes, about what aspect you think the respondent is talking about. Besides it might also happen that the respondent will mention more than one aspect of career success, and in that case you have to fill in more boxes of the table. Make sure that the table is filled in as complete as possible.

Underneath you will find the definitions of career success, subjective career success, objective career success, work aspects, non-work aspects and the 8 aspects of career success. Please, keep those definitions in mind while filling in the table.

Definitions of career success

Career success: *The positive psychological or work related outcomes or achievements one accumulates as a result of work experiences.*

Objective career success: *External indicators of career success that one accumulates during one's careers such as salary, number of promotions or social status.*

Objective career successes is directly observable measureable and can be verified by an outsider.

Objective career success contains indicators such as: salary, promotion.

Subjective career success: *Subjective career success may be defined as the individual's internal apprehension and evaluation of his or her career, across many dimensions that are important to that individual, in other words it is a person's own evaluation of his/her career. Important indicators are: work life balance, location of work, security, and job satisfaction.*

Definitions of work and non-work aspects

Non-job aspects: *variables that are more outcomes of the job itself, instead of having a specific job aspect such as: salary, promotion, work life balance and status.*

Job aspects: *variables that are directly linked to the job, and are connected with the job, such as: career satisfaction, job performance, job security, job satisfaction*

Definitions of the 8 aspects of career success

Job security: *is the probability that an individual will keep a certain job.*

Terms you can think of: security, contracts, keep one's job.

Job satisfaction: *describes how content an individual is with his or her job.*

Terms you can think of: liking the job, satisfaction.

Career satisfaction: *describes how content an individual is with his/her career.*

Terms you can think of are: career, being satisfied with the choices made in his/her career, being satisfied with a career, advance.

Work life balance: *broad concept including proper prioritizing between "work" (career and ambition) on one hand and "life. The balance that an individual has between how much time he/she invests in work and how much time is left to invest in family/friends.*

Terms you can think of: happiness, health, social life, holiday, part-time working, and family.

Job performance: *how well an individual is performing a certain job.*

Terms you can think of: doing a good job.

Salary: *Monetary reward that someone receives for doing a certain job/task.*

Terms you can think of are: money, salary, benefits, income.

Promotion: *receiving a higher position or more responsibilities within an organization*

Terms you can think of are: getting higher on the ladder, growth.

Status: *prestige in society or in position*

Terms you can think of: function, responsibility, expertise.

Example question 8

	Work aspects	Non work aspects	
Subjective career success	<p>After all I should really enjoy my work, which is a leading for me.</p> <p><i>(Work satisfaction)</i></p>	<p>Because working till 67 should still be challenging for me, and would be nice in the last years of my working life. But it is also satisfying if you have a certain routine in your work activities, because I have also 3 children at home, and there I want to be a good mum (<i>work-life balance</i>)</p>	
Objective career success	<p>That is depending on my feeling of control. I want the students to feel good at my performance and knowledge, and that I can mentor the students well. (<i>Performance</i>)</p>	<p>To sum up, that others see me as a good teacher, besides having an amount knowledge and expertise and also in the direction of other study areas. I have also mentioned to others that I still wanted to go the the university later on. (<i>Status</i>)</p> <p>Yes, but I do not have the ambition for a management function, but later on I would like to do an additional course for being a supervisor. (<i>promotion</i>)</p>	

Question ...

	Work aspects	Non-work aspects	
Subjective career success			
Objective career success			

Appendix C the results

Non-profit with help	Work	Non-work	total
Subjective	Career satisfaction 1 (1%) Job satisfaction 17 (13,8%)	Work life balance 28 (22.7%)	59
Objective	Performance 18 (14.6%)	Status 16 (13%) Salary 11 (9%) Promotion 19 (15.4%)	64
	49	74	123

Non-profit without help	Work	Non-work	total
Subjective	Career satisfaction 15 (11.3%) Job satisfaction 49 (37.1%)	Work life balance 6 (4.5%)	76
Objective	Performance 23 (17.4%)	Salary 7 (5.3%) Promotion 19 (14.4%) Status 7 (5.3%)	56
	93	39	132

profit with help	Work	Non-work	total
Subjective	Career satisfaction 1 (1%) Job satisfaction 11 (10.7%)	Work life balance 27 (26.2%)	48
Objective	Performance 14 (13.5%)	Salary 13 (12.6%) Promotion 11 (10.7%) Status 17 (16.5%)	55
	35	68	103

profit without help	Work	Non-work	total
Subjective	Career satisfaction 15 (10.5%) Job satisfaction 31 (21.6%)	Work-life balance 0 (0%)	50
Objective	Performance 24 (16.7%)	Salary 11 (7.6%) Promotion 34 (23.7%) Status 24 (16.7%)	93
	74	69	143

Demographic variables non-profit

Interview number	Age	Gender	Educational level	Marital state	Children	Function	Structure of the organization	Years of work experience	Kind of organization
1	39	V	Bachelor	Single	3	Employee	Flat	13	Education
2	29	V	Master	Single	0	Employee	Bureaucratic	2	Government
3.	59	M	Bachelor	Married	2	Manager	Bureaucratic	25	Government
4	27	V	Bachelor	Living together	0	Employee	Flat	2	Health care
5	31	M	Master	Single	0	Employee	Bureaucratic	4	Government
6	25	V	Master	Living together	0	Employee	Bureaucratic	2	Government
7	27	V	Bachelor	Living together	0	Employee	Flat	1	Education
8	30	M	Secondary degree	Living together	0	Employee	Bureaucratic	4,5	Health care
9	30	V	Bachelor	Married	2	Employee	Flat	7	Education
10	26	M	Master	Single	0	Employee	Flat	1	Education

Demographic variables profit

Interview number	Age	Gender	Educational state	Martial state	Children	Function	Organizational structure	Years of work experience	Kind of organization
11	25	M	Bachelor	Single	0	manager	bureaucratic	8	Health care
12	30	V	Master	Living together	0	employee	bureaucratic	4	Consultancy
13	31	M	Bachelor	Living together	0	manager	bureaucratic	1	Employment services
14	43	M	Bachelor	Living together	2	entrepreneur	flat	16	Health care
15	43	M	Bachelor	Living together	0	entrepreneur	flat	10	Finance
16	30	V	Master	Living together	0	employee	bureaucratic	1	Health care
17	31	M	Secondary degree	Living together	0	entrepreneur	flat	6	Retail
18	29	M	Master	Living together	0	employee	bureaucratic	2	Consultancy engineering
19	34	M	Bachelor	Living together	0	employee	bureaucratic	4,5	Consultancy
20	35	V	Secondary degree	single	0	Employee	bureaucratic	14	Administration

